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The Interpreter Foundation

The goal of The Interpreter Foundation is to increase understanding of scripture through careful scholarly investigation and analysis of the insights provided by a wide range of ancillary disciplines, including language, history, archaeology, literature, culture, ethnohistory, art, geography, law, politics, philosophy, etc. Interpreter will also publish articles advocating the authenticity and historicity of LDS scripture and the Restoration, along with scholarly responses to critics of the LDS faith. We hope to illuminate, by study and faith, the eternal spiritual message of the scriptures—that Jesus is the Christ.

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THE POWER IS IN THEM

Daniel C. Peterson

Abstract: *The Interpreter Foundation has spent five years dedicated to publishing quality scholarship regarding the gospel, history, and scripture of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The result is a body of work both to be proud of and to stand upon as we move forward. Profound appreciation is given to those who have contributed to this effort, and an invitation is extended to be part of future explorations and exhortations of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.*

By the time this introduction appears, the Interpreter Foundation, which was launched in late July 2012 and which was publicly announced (and offered its first publication) on 3 August 2012, will have celebrated its fifth birthday. It will have published twenty-six volumes of *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture*, comprising approximately 300 articles written by roughly 115 authors. It will have published at least one new article every Friday for nearly 270 consecutive weeks.

And that's to say nothing of the blog entries posted, the scripture roundtables recorded, the conferences and lectures sponsored, and the books published.

I use the inanimate pronoun *it* as if the Interpreter Foundation were a thing in and of itself. But in the most important sense, Interpreter isn't that at all: The Interpreter Foundation is a group of people, virtually all of them volunteers and none of them receiving a salary, who have come together in their free time, above and beyond the demands of their careers, the needs of their families, and the obligations of their church and other service, to do something that they — we — think needs to be done and consider worth doing.

This fact needs to be stressed and understood. It's true of this volume as it has been true of the over two-dozen volumes that preceded it and every other effort of Interpreter.

Such understanding is essential both to sensing the depth of the gratitude that I owe to all those who've contributed and to grasping the fundamental necessity of such generous offerings to the mission of the Interpreter Foundation — not only in the past but, even more, going into the future.

Without minimizing the worth of what has been accomplished thus far, the achievements of the past five years will, we hope, serve as a prelude to even greater accomplishments over the next half-decade and beyond.

As the apostle Paul expresses it in the King James translation of Galatians 6:9–11,

> Let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.
>
> As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith.
>
> Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand.

Or, as J. B. Phillips rendered the same passage,

> Let us not grow tired of doing good, for, unless we throw in our hand, the ultimate harvest is assured. Let us then do good to all men as opportunity offers, especially to those who belong to the Christian household.
>
> Look at these huge letters I am making in writing these words to you with my own hand!

With that last phrase — "Look at these huge letters I am making in writing these words to you with my own hand!" — Paul seems to be emphasizing how important it is, in his view, for Christians to persist in doing good things and not to "grow tired" or give up.

Already in a revelation given at Kirtland, Ohio, on 11 September 1831, the Lord was making the same exhortation to the very small number of baptized Latter-day Saints worldwide, whose community was centered there:

> Wherefore, be not weary in well-doing, for ye are laying the foundation of a great work. And out of small things proceedeth that which is great.[1]

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1. Doctrine and Covenants 64:33.

Few of those gathered at Kirtland could have conceived of today's Church, with members and temples on every inhabited continent. The dedication of the Kirtland Temple in then-frontier Ohio, which would be the first building ever constructed by what would later be formally called The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was still nearly five years away, and such a project would have seemed impossible to most of them.

"The Church was too few in numbers," Brigham Young recalled in 1853,

> and too poor in purse to attempt such a mighty enterprise … Joseph [labored] in the stone quarry, quarrying rock with his own hands, and the few then in the Church, follow[ed] his example of obedience, and diligence, wherever most needed; with laborers on the walls, holding the sword in one hand to protect themselves from the mob, while they placed the stone and moved the trowel with the other.[2]

But they did it, and the rewards they ultimately reaped were enormous:

"God was there," Elder Orson Pratt later testified regarding the dedication of the Kirtland Temple,

> his angels were there, the Holy Ghost was in the midst of the people … and they were filled from the crowns of their heads to the soles of their feet with the power and inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and uttered forth prophecies in the midst of that congregation, which have been fulfilling from that day to the present time.[3]

Eliza R. Snow concurred. "The ceremonies of that dedication may be rehearsed," she reminisced,

> but no mortal language can describe the heavenly manifestations of that memorable day. Angels appeared to some, while a sense of divine presence was realized by all present, and each heart was filled with "joy inexpressible and full of glory."[4]

Now, the Interpreter Foundation isn't the Church. We who work with it and those of us who lead it are under no such illusions. But we are firmly convinced that its efforts can be beneficial to the Saints, to seekers of truth and righteousness, and even, in a modest way, to the Kingdom itself.

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2. *Deseret News* (16 April 1853), 42.

3. *Deseret News* (12 January 1876), 788.

4. Cited in Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: Tullidge & Crandall, 1877), 95.

Moreover, we believe that such initiatives as Interpreter, undertaken by ordinary members of the Church and not directed by the Church's leaders, have a legitimate and important place in the Restoration.

"For behold," explained the Lord in a revelation given on 1 August 1831,

> it is not meet that I should command in all things;

> for he that is compelled in all things, the same is a slothful and not a wise servant; wherefore he receiveth no reward.

> Verily I say, men should be anxiously engaged in a good cause, and do many things of their own free will, and bring to pass much righteousness; For the power is in them, wherein they are agents unto themselves. And inasmuch as men do good they shall in nowise lose their reward.[5]

Many valuable efforts in Latter-day Saint history have begun as local and often even private initiatives. Some of them — the Scots convert Richard Ballantyne's 1849 Sunday School, for instance, and the welfare efforts of Harold B. Lee, who had been called as president of Salt Lake City's Pioneer Stake in 1930 — were eventually adopted as programs by the Church as a whole. Most others have not been, but they offer sometimes quite valuable supplemental service nonetheless. Examples of these might include such varied enterprises as the Mormon History Association, the Society for Mormon Philosophy and Theology, the Mormon Historic Sites Foundation, the Liahona Children's Foundation, Book of Mormon Central, and FairMormon.

The Interpreter Foundation has now, in my judgment, firmly established its place among such groups. It has arrived at that position through five years of dedicated effort by authors, editors, technical consultants, proofreaders, peer reviewers, and, yes — although the organization is lean, frugal, and operated almost entirely by volunteers, it still faces unavoidable expenses — generous donors of amounts large and small.

We're deeply appreciative of all this. We understand that nobody owes us or the Interpreter Foundation anything whatsoever. We have no claim on anybody else's time, effort, or money.

But isn't this a great effort? Isn't it exciting? What better news can there be than that of the atonement and resurrection of Christ and, now, of his reappearance in modern times and of the restoration of his

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5. Doctrine and Covenants 58:26–28.

ancient Gospel? Isn't that news worthy of sustained study and reflection? Doesn't this message deserve our best efforts to commend and defend it? The great eighteenth-century hymn writer Isaac Watts captures our sentiment well:

> Sweet is the work, my God, my King,
>
> To praise thy name, give thanks and sing,
>
> To show thy love by morning light,
>
> And talk of all thy truths at night.[6]

Once again, I thank all those who have made the success of the Interpreter Foundation possible in whatever way they have contributed, whether prominently or humbly. For

> the body is not made up of one part but of many.
>
> Now if the foot should say, "Because I am not a hand, I do not belong to the body," it would not for that reason stop being part of the body. And if the ear should say, "Because I am not an eye, I do not belong to the body," it would not for that reason stop being part of the body. If the whole body were an eye, where would the sense of hearing be? If the whole body were an ear, where would the sense of smell be? But in fact God has placed the parts in the body, every one of them, just as he wanted them to be. If they were all one part, where would the body be? As it is, there are many parts, but one body.
>
> The eye cannot say to the hand, "I don't need you!" And the head cannot say to the feet, "I don't need you!" On the contrary, those parts of the body that seem to be weaker are indispensable, and the parts that we think are less honorable we treat with special honor.[7]

And once again, I invite those who have been with this effort already to continue to support it according to their talents and abilities, and I invite those who may perhaps have been looking on but who are interested and wish it to succeed, to join us.

> Now, what do we hear in the gospel which we have received? A voice of gladness! A voice of mercy from heaven; and a voice of truth out of the earth; glad tidings for the dead; a voice

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6. *Hymns*, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, No. 147.

7. 1 Corinthians 12:14–23 (New International Version).

of gladness for the living and the dead; glad tidings of great joy. How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those that bring glad tidings of good things, and that say unto Zion: Behold, thy God reigneth! As the dews of Carmel, so shall the knowledge of God descend upon them!

Brethren [and sisters], shall we not go on in so great a cause? Go forward and not backward. Courage, brethren [and sisters]; and on, on to the victory! Let your hearts rejoice, and be exceedingly glad. Let the earth break forth into singing. Let the dead speak forth anthems of eternal praise to the King Immanuel, who hath ordained, before the world was, that which would enable us to redeem them out of their prison; for the prisoners shall go free.[8]

The cause of Christ and his Gospel, the Good News that it represents and that he is, deserve our very best efforts in every aspect of our lives and with every means at our disposal. After all, as the Lord stated, the power is in us to exercise our agency in this regard. For some of us, the Interpreter Foundation has proven to be a wonderful place in which to contribute and exercise that power.

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8.   Doctrine and Covenants 128:19, 22.

A Lengthening Shadow
Is Quality of Thought Deteriorating in LDS Scholarly Discourse Regarding Prophets and Revelation?

Part One

———————

Duane Boyce

Abstract. *Many mistakes that occur in scholarly endeavors are understandable. The truth is often difficult to discover, and this makes errors inevitable and expected. And, of course, some mistakes are so insignificant that to complain of them would be mere pedantry. But this is not true of all errors. Some are both obvious and of such significance to their topics that they are egregious. With respect to the gospel, there is reason to be concerned that this is occurring to some degree on the topic of prophets and the Lord's revelations to them. Erroneous claims and arguments are not difficult to find, including some published under the auspices of reputable and mainstream entities. Is it possible that such errors are becoming common, and commonly accepted, in Latter-day Saint scholarly discourse? To help answer this question, it is useful to consider, among others, works by Terryl Givens, Patrick Mason, and Grant Hardy. This paper will do so in three Parts.*

Synoptic Introduction

My central concern is easy to state, particularly in question form: Is there a general deterioration of thought on the topic of prophets and revelation in LDS scholarly discourse, and is the deterioration worsening? Put another way: Do significant errors regarding prophets

and revelation occur, and are they becoming both common, and commonly accepted, in the rhetoric of LDS scholars?

Errors and Their Egregiousness

To explain what I mean by "significant errors" in asking this two-part question, imagine (if you have an interest in political theory) a discussion of the nature and effects of communist thought that omits the 85–100 million deaths caused by communist regimes in the twentieth century.[1] Or (in the field of Mormon studies) imagine coming across an assertion that Joseph Smith himself claimed to be the author of the Book of Mormon — *not* its translator — based on how he was designated on the title page of the 1830 edition of the book (i.e., "author and proprietor"), entirely ignoring the publication conventions of the time that thoroughly explain this peculiarity.[2] Or (if you have a background in philosophy) imagine a claim that a particular study provides a comprehensive treatment of Wittgenstein's philosophical thought, only to discover that the treatise focuses exclusively on the *Tractatus* and completely ignores the *Investigations* (among other later works).[3]

All these errors would be (or are) egregious, partly because they are so obvious. In each of these cases the relevant facts are both easily accessible *and* important to the topic, and it would be unconscionable to overlook them. Indeed, one might say that some intellectual errors are so obvious, and so significant to their subject matter, that they amount to betrayal of the intellect itself. It is hard to imagine any justification for them.

These examples are useful because the first element of our two-part question asks whether errors of this type are to be found in scholarly gospel discussions regarding prophets and revelation. After all, it would seem that a significant number of mistaken claims and arguments have appeared on the topic in recent years. The subject is certainly significant, so the only real question is whether the errors are so obvious and so important to the topic that there is no justification for them. Do they, too, constitute a betrayal of the intellect?

Errors and Their Contamination of the Intellectual Landscape

The second element of our two-part question asks whether such errors, if they are occurring, are spreading their influence and infiltrating the thinking of LDS scholars generally. After all, it is one thing for an author to make a significant mistake in his or her own personal thinking and quite another for a respectable and mainstream venue to compound that

error by accepting and publishing it. It is still another for the error then to be widely accepted by the scholar's peers as *non-*error.

To the degree this occurs, authors' original mistakes can spread without limit, infiltrating and contaminating the conventional wisdom of scholars generally, subtly reconstituting the intellectual landscape they accept and share. False conclusions can become the new shared assumptions — never to be questioned again — and deficient patterns of thinking can become the new *norms* in argument. Intellectual standards themselves thus decline.[4]

Is this general deterioration of thought occurring in LDS scholarly discourse regarding prophets and revelation?

The Path Forward

To explore the two-part question of this paper, I will identify a number of recent mistakes regarding prophets and revelation that have been produced by LDS scholars and published in reputable venues. These errors are composed of two parts: (1) a claim that is faulty because it is either completely tenuous, implausible, or manifestly false; and (2) the errors in analysis that lie behind the faulty claim and that lead to it. Whether appearing in offhand comments or in the course of full investigations of prophets and revelation, examples of such errors do not seem difficult to find.

Because this article is lengthy, it is divided into three parts — Part One appearing here, and Parts Two and Three in subsequent issues. Since some readers will want only a headline view of the content, periodic summaries and conclusions appear along the way, including a general conclusion at the end of Part Three. The following sections appear over the three Parts:

Part One

Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: "In All Patience and Faith"
Patrick Mason: The Lord's Guidance to the Church
Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: The Priesthood-Temple
    Restriction
Conclusion to Part One

Part Two (all sections are based on Grant Hardy's work)

Grant Hardy: Introduction
Nephi as Exclusionary and Condemning in Attitude
Nephi's Failure to Eat of the Fruit of the Tree

Despite the length of this article, the examples I address are still just a sample of a larger pool of mistakes I have noticed, all of which could be examined in the same way. Nevertheless, the instances discussed here are at least instructive, and others can add to my list as their own time and interests permit. Together, the examples we consider will allow readers to reach their own assessment of the two-part question posed by this paper.

A final note: Although it facilitates expression to refer to well-known authors by name, this article is not a study of authors. It is a study of claims. Do the assertions we examine withstand scrutiny or don't they? The question (as always) is not whether an author is smart or famous or "faithful" (ad hominem considerations all), or even whether anything else an author has produced is cogent or even admirable. The only question is whether a *given* important claim is intellectually sound — and if it is not, the reasons it is not. That is the focus of this study.

Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: "In All Patience and Faith"

To begin, consider a single paragraph by Terryl Givens.[5] In it he desires to show that we should not expect moral superiority from men called as prophets — they are not "infallible specimens of virtue and perfection." As partial support for the obviousness of this claim, Givens draws attention to the Lord's statement to the infant Church, regarding Joseph Smith, that "thou shalt give heed unto all his words and commandments" and that "his word ye shall receive, as if from mine own mouth, in all patience and faith" (D&C 21:4–5). Givens quotes only the phrase "in

all patience and faith" in this passage, however, remarking that "God would not have enjoined us to hear what prophets, seers, and revelators have to say 'in all patience and faith' if their words were always sage and inspired."[6] Givens thus interprets this passage to indicate that we are to have patience and faith toward the Brethren since they are not always "sage and inspired."

Givens has made this claim more than once,[7] and Patrick Mason has recently made it at much greater length — devoting an entire chapter to the matter in a recent popular book.[8]

Misreading and Absurdity

Unfortunately, the interpretation Givens and Mason offer of this verse is untenable. After all, immediately prior to telling us to receive prophets' word in patience and faith,[9] the Lord tells us to receive that word "as if from mine own mouth." But this creates an obvious problem. If the Lord is telling us to receive prophets' words as if from *his own mouth*, it is not likely that he is simultaneously telling us to have patience and faith because those words might not be "sage and inspired." Such an interpretation reduces to the claim that the Saints should recognize that the Lord's own words are not always sage and inspired and therefore that members should be patient with *him*. This absurdity is not what Givens and Mason intend, but it is what their interpretation of the verse logically entails.

A Natural Interpretation

The Lord's instruction to consider Joseph Smith's words "as if from mine own mouth," and to do so "in all patience and faith," would more naturally be interpreted to mean something like: "Follow my servant Joseph even though you will suffer all manner of persecution and hardship by doing so" — which of course is exactly what history shows that the Saints experienced. Such a statement is hardly unique to Joseph Smith, however. The Lord could have said the same (and probably did) regarding ancient prophets like Noah and Moses. Far from encouraging his children at the time to be patient *with* these prophets (e.g., "be tolerant of Moses even though his clumsy confrontations with Pharaoh are making your lives harder day by day"), a statement of this sort would actually have meant: "Trust that Moses is following my will even though in the short term Pharaoh will make your hard lives even harder" (see Exodus 5:5–22).

The application is equally obvious in the case of Lehi. At the time they first left Jerusalem an admonition to receive Lehi's word "in all patience and faith" would emphatically not have been a command to put up with this "visionary man" who was needlessly causing everyone such sacrifice. Instead, it would have been something like: "Trust in your father even though I have not told him where you are going, how long it will take, or how hard it will be. I will provide help along the way, but fundamentally your father is doing my will in patience and faith — not knowing all the answers — and so should you."

The same point, of course, could be made regarding prophets ranging from Abraham and Daniel to Jeremiah, Abinadi, and John the Baptist. The scriptural record indicates that following each of them would have required patience and faith — not because they were mistaken, but precisely because they were *right*. Worldly elements rejected these prophets, and those who followed them risked exactly the same treatment. This seems a common element in scriptural history: The character of our fallen world (including Satan's widespread and destructive influence) all but guarantees trying circumstances, to one degree or another, for those who follow the prophets, and those circumstances guarantee the need for patience and faith. The Lord's words to Joseph Smith are entirely consistent with such a theme. Far from suggesting we need to be patient with prophets, the passage tells us we need to be patient in enduring the worldly consequences of *following* prophets. This is a scripturally consistent interpretation of the passage and, unlike the Givens/Mason reading, it does not entail absurd consequences.

A recent example of this principle is evident in the reaction to certain remarks made by President Russell M. Nelson. He spoke explicitly of the process through which the presiding councils of the Church receive revelation, and identified as revelation a specific decision made through this process (regarding children in same-sex marriages)[10] — a decision that did in fact result in public criticisms of the Church, which easily found high-profile coverage.[11] Remarks of Elder M. Russell Ballard are also interesting in this regard. He said, "This is the Church of Jesus Christ. He is the head of it. We know His will; we fight His battles."[12] That Elder Ballard uses the term "battles" makes obvious that he sees controversy to be inevitable regarding certain decisions and actions by the presiding Brethren, and *that*, more than anything, is what would seem to require patience and faith.[13]

All this seems evident enough. Unfortunately, Givens and Mason quote only a part of the passage they cite, and this leads them into error.

They reach a conclusion about prophets that, judging by where they have presented it, has had influence among the Saints, even though it is the near-opposite of what the verse actually says and even though it entails a conclusion about the Lord that is logically absurd.

Patrick Mason: The Lord's Guidance to the Church

Consider next Patrick Mason's discussion regarding the Lord's guidance to the Church. In the course of his chapter "In All Patience and Faith,"[14] Mason asserts that, just as with individuals, the Lord "intervenes occasionally" in guiding the Church.[15] The rest of the time the Lord operates with the presiding councils of the Church according to the principle familiar from Joseph Smith: namely, they possess correct principles and govern themselves.[16] Revelation from the Lord thus occurs on a now-and-then basis, and the rest of the time the Brethren operate according to their own judgment. That is why they can make errors — even "grave" ones — and that is why patience regarding them is required of us.[17]

But is "occasional" — "now-and-then" — an apt description of the extent to which the Lord provides revelation to his leaders? It is worth asking since Mason fails to account for two large considerations in making this claim. The first is a question of mere plausibility, and the second is a question of what prophets and apostles themselves have said on this topic.

Plausibility

Think of the matter first from the standpoint of plausibility. Consider, to begin, Russell M. Nelson's experience, prior to joining the Twelve, of a vision he received during the course of performing heart surgery. The vision showed him how to proceed to solve a valve problem that had not yet been medically discovered, and that resulted in his patient's recovery.[18] Consider also the report of President Gordon B. Hinckley announcing from the pulpit that the Lord had just revealed to him the man who should be called as patriarch in a different but related stake — an account similar to examples shared by President Thomas S. Monson, among others, in calling stake patriarchs.[19] Note also the public report that Harold B. Lee, following his death, visited with Hugh B. Brown from the spirit world incident to the dedication of the Washington, D.C. Temple.[20] Note, as well, President Nelson's experience of contact from two sisters beyond the veil — contact that eventually led to significant

spiritual accomplishment by their family members on this side of the veil.[21] Also relevant is the experience of Bruce R. McConkie, who, in a vision, saw Joseph F. Smith and others from the spirit world who were in attendance at the funeral of Joseph Fielding Smith.[22] And consider as well the direction given to Dallin H. Oaks as he left the presidency of BYU. He was choosing at the time between pursuing possible nomination to the Utah Supreme Court and several much more lucrative positions in the legal profession. He received the specific direction: "Go to the Court and I will call you from there."[23]

These experiences — and there are far more that could be cited — are useful to consider for two reasons. First, they are interesting because their scope is so limited. Hugh B. Brown enjoyed a through-the-veil experience that enriched him but no one else. Presidents Hinckley and Monson (and others) experienced revelations regarding patriarchs, one stake at a time, and President Nelson had a through-the-veil experience that blessed a single family. And Bruce R. McConkie similarly enjoyed a vision that directly blessed no one but himself. Such experiences indicate the Lord's willingness to provide revelation on matters of limited scope, and this at least suggests that he would be willing to provide it on matters of much wider consequence — matters of importance to the entire Church, not to mention the world.

Second, it is relevant that Russell M. Nelson and Bruce R. McConkie had the visions mentioned above prior to their callings to the Twelve, and that Dallin H. Oaks received specific direction from the Lord in discrete and exact words before he was likewise called as an apostle. Such experiences indicate these individuals' openness to the Spirit, and it seems reasonable to suppose their capacity would not diminish after being ordained prophets, seers, and revelators. This supposition, combined with the first point — that the Lord is probably willing to give revelation on a range of matters, including important ones — makes plausible the idea that he *does* give revelation on a range of matters, including important ones. This is not dispositive, of course, but it is clearly suggestive that revelation is more common than the "occasional" or "now-and-then" revelation that Mason supposes.

Prophets and Apostles on Revelation

But plausibility is not the only issue. In claiming that revelation to the presiding Brethren is only "occasional," Mason also fails to address multiple direct declarations by prophets and apostles that contradict his

view — and that would therefore seem to require discussion by him. Speaking as the prophet, for example, President Kimball said:

> We testify to the world that revelation continues and that the vaults and files of the Church contain these revelations which come month to month and day to day. I know the Lord lives and I know that he is revealing his mind and will to us daily, so that we can be inspired as to the direction to go.[24]

President Harold B. Lee spoke similarly:

> I bear you my solemn witness that it is true, that the Lord is in his heavens; he is closer to us than you have any idea. You ask when the Lord gave the last revelation to this church. The Lord is giving revelations day by day, and you will witness and look back on this period and see some of the mighty revelations the Lord has given in your day and time. To that I bear you my witness.[25]

President Gordon B. Hinckley also reported:

> There has been in the life of every [prophet and apostle I have known] an overpowering manifestation of the inspiration of God. Those who have been Presidents have been prophets in a very real way. I have intimately witnessed the spirit of revelation upon them. … Each Thursday, when we are at home, the First Presidency and the Twelve meet in the temple, in those sacred hallowed precincts, and we pray together and discuss certain matters together, and the spirit of revelation comes upon those present. I know. I have seen it.[26]

These are expressions from three men who served as prophets: "He is revealing his mind and will to us daily," "the Lord is giving revelations day by day," and prophets possess "an overpowering manifestation of the inspiration of God." Few would employ the concept of "occasional" to summarize what such statements indicate about the degree to which prophets receive revelation from the Lord.

But of course these declarations are far from the only descriptions of revelation in the presiding councils of the Church. Elder Boyd K. Packer, for example, also spoke of recorded but unpublished revelations: "Perhaps one day other revelations which have been received and have been recorded will be published."[27] Of his own experience as a member of the Twelve and the First Presidency, President James E. Faust said, "I can testify that the process of continuous revelation comes to the Church

very frequently. It comes daily."[28] Speaking similarly, President Howard W. Hunter said that "there is an unending stream of revelation flowing constantly from the headwaters of heaven to God's anointed servants on earth."[29] And Spencer W. Kimball once reported of President McKay that he was "responsible for … more revelations in his fifteen years of leadership than are in all the Doctrine and Covenants." He added:

> I could take time to tell you of these revelations — temples that have been appointed, people who have been called, apostles who have been chosen, great new movements that have been established, great new eras, great new challenges. … They came by revelation.[30]

Speaking specifically of their callings as seers, President Boyd K. Packer said of those who lead the Church that "it is their right to see as seers see" and, based on what they see, "it is their obligation to counsel and to warn."[31] And Elder Dallin H. Oaks observed, "Visions do happen. Voices are heard from beyond the veil. I know this." He added that most revelation, however, "comes by the still, small voice," and then said, "I testify to the reality of that kind of revelation, which I have come to know as a familiar, even daily, experience to guide me in the work of the Lord."[32]

In this connection President Boyd K. Packer's declaration is noteworthy. He said that experiences such as "dreams, visions, visitations, miracles" are present in the Church, and added, "You can be sure that the Lord can, and at times does, manifest Himself with power and great glory."[33] On another occasion he said, "He lives now, directing personally the operations of His Church upon the earth and manifesting Himself personally to His servants."[34] He also remarked, "Revelation continues with us today. The promptings of the Spirit, the dreams, and the visions and the visitations, and the ministering of angels all are with us now."[35]

Of the revelatory powers that occur in the Church, Elder James E. Faust shared the experience enjoyed in President Kimball's first temple meeting with all the general authorities following his ordination and setting apart as President of the Church. Elder Faust reported that President Harold B. Lee, who had just passed away, was present and that "the spirit of President Lee bore witness to us — that we should support and sustain President Spencer W. Kimball, and that everything that has been done is in accordance with the mind and the will of the Lord." Elder Faust added that they felt the presence of other prophets as well,

including "President Smith, President Grant, President Taylor, President Snow, the Prophet himself, and even the Savior Jesus Christ."[36]

Speaking similarly, President Boyd K. Packer reported the presence of Brigham Young, Lorenzo Snow, and Elder Rudger Clawson at the dedication of the Brigham City temple,[37] and, at the solemn assembly in which he was sustained as President of the Church, Harold B. Lee spoke of the presence of "personages," some of whom were unseen and some of whom were "seen."[38]

Elder David B. Haight publicly shared one experience in which he "was shown a panoramic view" of the Lord's earthly ministry. Elder Haight saw the Lord's baptism, his teaching, his healing of the sick, his mock trial, and his crucifixion and resurrection. He viewed such scenes "in impressive detail, confirming scriptural eyewitness accounts." Elder Haight said, "[I] was taught over and over again the events of the betrayal, the mock trial, the scourging of the flesh of even one of the Godhead," and witnessed his "struggling up the hill in His weakened condition carrying the cross." He also saw the Savior stretched upon the cross, the nailing of his body to it, and his hanging on the cross "for public display." "The eyes of my understanding," Elder Haight remarked, "were opened by the Holy Spirit of God so as to behold many things."[39]

In this connection it is relevant that Boyd K. Packer could say of the Lord that "I know Him when I see Him, and I know His voice when I hear Him."[40] This report bespeaks a familiarity with the Lord that completely belies Mason's view. The same is true of Elder Richard G. Scott's declaration: "I bear solemn witness that He lives. I know He lives because I know Him."[41] President Packer also referred to the words exclaimed by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon following their joint vision of the Savior: "This is the testimony last of all which we give of him: That he lives! For we saw him" (D&C 76:22–23). President Packer's comment was simply, "Their words are my words."[42] And, after remarking that many witnesses saw the Lord shortly following his resurrection, President Ezra Taft Benson added, "There have been many in this dispensation who have seen Him. As one of those special witnesses … I testify to you that He lives. He lives with a resurrected body."[43] President James E. Faust spoke similarly. Bearing witness of the Savior "as one of the special witnesses," he said, "I know that He is close to the leadership of the Church … He *lives*." He added, "I can testify with the same conviction and sureness as the brother of Jared. As he saw the finger of God, it is written, 'he believed no more, for he knew.' I *know*."[44]

Speaking in the same general vein, President Marion G. Romney once remarked:

> I think that the witness that I have and the witness that each [of the apostles] has, and the details of how it came, are too sacred to tell. I have never told anybody some of the experiences I have had, not even my wife. I know that God lives. I not only know that he lives, but I know him.[45]

Speaking of this topic generally, Elder McConkie declared that modern apostles "are expected, like their counterparts of old, to see and hear and touch and converse with the Heavenly Person, as did those of old."[46] He said that apostles have the obligation to see the Lord — indeed, that they "are entitled and expected to see his face, and that each one individually is obligated to 'call upon him in mighty prayer' until he prevails."[47]

Finally, it is important to note President Boyd K. Packer's testimony that although the beginning of the Church was initiated "by the veil parting and visitations from beyond the veil," such experience "if anything, has been intensified in our generation. I bear witness to that."[48] On another occasion, he remarked, "There has come, these last several years, a succession of announcements that show our day to be a day of intense revelation, equaled, perhaps, only in those days of beginning, 150 years ago."[49] And on yet a third occasion, he reported that "we now live in a more intense period of revelation" than in the early days of the Restoration. "The Lord is close to us and is revealing Himself to us as the great work of the Restoration moves forward."[50]

An apt summary of all that we have considered is President Harold B. Lee's statement to members that "the measure of your true conversion … is whether or not you are so living that you see the power of God resting upon the leaders of this Church and that testimony goes down into your heart like fire."[51] In President Lee's view, the degree to which the power of God rests upon his leaders is significant enough, and apparent enough, that he equates appreciation of this with conversion itself.

All these statements are consistent with the expression of one Book of Mormon author who reported that "there are many among us who have many revelations." He said that "as many as are not stiffnecked and have faith, have communion with the Holy Spirit, which maketh manifest unto the children of men" (Jarom 1:4). To Jarom, communion with the Spirit should be more than merely periodic for everyone.

The statements we have considered also put one in mind of President Boyd K. Packer's remark regarding those who disagree with decisions that are made and who point to their disagreement as "evidence that the leaders are not inspired." He said, "It has always been so. Helaman described those who 'began to disbelieve in the spirit of prophecy and in the spirit of revelation; and the judgments of God did stare them in the face' (Helaman 4:23)."[52] On another occasion President Packer spoke of the sadness this entails. "To see clearly what is ahead and yet find members slow to respond or resistant to counsel or even rejecting the witness of the apostles and prophets brings deep sorrow."[53]

All the statements we have considered are relevant to Mason's view that revelation in governing the Church is "occasional." Individually, and certainly as a whole, these declarations contradict Mason's claim. Moreover, all these statements appear in prominent places and are completely accessible — *and* there are a lot of them. Though Mason does not do so, it would seem incumbent on anyone who asserts "revelation is only occasional" to address them.

An Important Proviso about Revelation: Degrees of Importance and Degrees of Control

In light of so many statements regarding the ongoing nature of revelation in the presiding councils of the Church, it is important to note that just because revelation occurs frequently, even daily, does not mean it is constant and that the Lord gives revelation on every matter faced by the presiding Brethren. The Lord did not always direct Joseph Smith on the endless array of issues that came before him but left him to his own judgment. "Speaking of revelation," it is reported, "he [Joseph Smith] stated that when he was in a 'quandary,' he asked the Lord for a revelation, and when he could not get it, he followed the dictates of his own judgment. …"[54]

This is easy to understand, both in the Prophet's day and in ours. The current Brethren deal with an enormous number of matters, and they vary widely in importance. On this topic Elder Dallin H. Oaks remarked (regarding the experience of all members) that "we are often left to work out problems without the dictation or specific direction of the Spirit. That is part of the experience we must have in mortality." Thus, he said, "revelations from God … are not constant. We believe in continuing revelation, not continuous revelation." But, he added:

> Fortunately, we are never out of our Savior's sight, and if our judgment leads us into actions beyond the limits of what is

> permissible and if we are listening … the Lord will restrain us by the promptings of his Spirit.[55]

President Packer taught the same principle. He said that "you cannot make a mistake, any mistake that will have any lasting consequence in your life, without having been warned and told not to do it."[56]

Although Elder Oaks and President Packer are speaking of members and leaders generally, there is every reason to suppose that is how the Lord often leads the Church itself. Although direct guidance is felt frequently (as mentioned earlier, Elder Oaks reports in this same talk that he experiences it "daily"), personal judgment also plays an important role in many dimensions. Often, on matters the Lord leaves to his leaders' judgment in governing the Church, any number of options might be acceptable. Even though the alternatives might still vary in quality, they are all sufficiently satisfactory that he would actually restrain none of them. Nevertheless, there are always limits to what the Lord will permit — options that would *not* be acceptable — and thus, even on matters primarily left to mortal judgment, he prevents what goes beyond those limits. This would seem to be the purport of the remarks of Elder Oaks and President Packer as applied to the Church.

It is easy to imagine that the Lord exercises such varying degrees of direction and control based on the importance of the issues under consideration. Sidney Rigdon, for example, was directed by the Lord on two occasions to do as "seemeth him good" regarding certain particulars (D&C 41:8; 58:50–51), and other brethren were also told to decide a given issue on their own because, the Lord told them, that particular issue "mattereth not unto me" (D&C 60:5). In multiple other places the Lord speaks similarly — giving direction by the Spirit but leaving certain details for members to decide for themselves (e.g., D&C 38:37; 48:3; 61:35; and 62:7–8).

The scriptural record thus supports what would seem to be common sense: some issues matter a great deal, some matter to a small extent, and, comparatively speaking, some matter very little if at all, and the Lord exercises direction and control commensurate with such varying degrees of importance. Surely this reality explains why President J. Reuben Clark could remark that "we are not infallible in our judgment, and we err,"[57] while President Gordon B. Hinckley could say that "the Lord is directing this work, and He won't let me or anyone else lead it astray"[58] (and President Uchtdorf could similarly say that "God will not allow His Church to drift from its appointed course"[59]). The difference in such

statements would seem to stem naturally from a difference in the issues each has in mind and in their relative importance.[60]

A Well-Known Statement by B. H. Roberts

In light of all this, it is useful to note a statement by B. H. Roberts, quoted both by Terryl Givens and more fully by another recent author, Roger Terry.[61] Terry, in particular, seems to use the statement to support a view like Mason's regarding revelation to the Church. He quotes Elder Roberts as follows (emphases by Terry):

> There is nothing in the doctrines of the Church which makes it necessary to believe that [men are constantly under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit], even … men who are high officials of the Church. When we consider the imperfections of men, their passions and prejudices, that mar the Spirit of God in them, happy is the man who can *occasionally* ascend to the spiritual heights of inspiration and commune with God! …

> We should recognize the fact that we do many things by our own uninspired intelligence for the issues of which we are ourselves responsible. … He will help men at need, but I think it improper to assign every word and every act of a man to an inspiration from the Lord. Were that the case, we would have to acknowledge ourselves as being wholly taken possession of by the Lord, being neither permitted to go to the right nor the left only as he guided us. There could then be no error made, nor blunder in judgment; free agency would be taken away, and the development of human intelligence prevented. Hence, I think it a reasonable conclusion to say that *constant, never-varying inspiration is not a factor in the administration of the affairs of the Church*; not even good men, though they be prophets or other high officials of the Church, are at all times and in all things inspired of God. It is only occasionally, and at need, that God comes to their aid.[62]

Here Elder Roberts seems clearly to support Mason's view regarding the periodic nature of revelation (the subject we are considering in this section). But while Elder Roberts' statement no doubt serves a useful purpose in denying exaggerated claims and expectations regarding those who hold the apostleship — including its highest office — it also presents us with a false choice. After all, from the fact that prophets

are not inspired "at *all* times and in *all* things" it hardly follows that revelation is therefore only *occasional*. As we have seen at some length, the Brethren's own statements identify the truth as falling somewhere between "constant" and "occasional," and thus there is no justification for making these the only options. Indeed, Elder Roberts' own reference to "need" suggests this: by his own account, if "need" is frequent, then inspiration too should be frequent. This, perhaps, is what we learn from the Brethren's own declarations regarding the degree of guidance they receive: since they do not report receiving revelation "at all times and in all things," but *do* report receiving it far more frequently than "occasionally," the *need* for guidance would therefore itself seem to be more than occasional.

It is instructive to notice the false choice in this instance because Mason offers the same kind of faulty alternatives in his discussion. He positions his view of revelation-as-occasional specifically in contrast to this hypothetical: "If God were to dictate every decision and forcibly instigate every policy, if he refused to allow his Church leaders, from prophets to Primary presidents, to ever make mistakes or commit sin, he would be defeating his own purpose: to help us learn to use our moral agency to develop our divine nature and become like he is."[63] The problem with this statement is that it is so exaggerated, it loses meaning (e.g., "*every* decision," "*every* policy," "*every* Church leader, from prophets *to Primary presidents*," "*ever* make mistakes," "*ever* commit sin," "dictate," and "*forcibly* instigate").[64] As we have seen, there are more options for the Lord's guidance than "*every* decision" and "occasional." Thus, to create a choice where an extreme view like this is one of the alternatives, and where "occasional revelation" is the other, is, again, to create a false choice.

What all this demonstrates is the inherent risk in taking, as a starting point in one's thinking, a position so extreme that it is obviously false. It is hard, for example, to imagine any thoughtful person who believes the Lord dictates "every decision" and prevents every mistake, or that "*every* word and *every* act" of anyone, in *any* position, is due to "inspiration from the Lord." The fact that presiding *councils* govern the Church — not individuals (even prophets) acting on their own — is enough to disprove any notion of this sort.[65] In addition to its obvious inaccuracy, however, the risk in starting with an extreme view of this kind is that it can beguile us into thinking that when we deny it, we automatically embrace its opposite. In other words, it is easy to suppose that if revelation is not constant, then it must be infrequent — merely occasional. But this is

mistaken. If I deny the statement "revelation is received at all times and in all things," all I assert is simply: "revelation is *not* received at all times and in all things." I do *not* assert "revelation is only occasional." That is more than a denial of the first statement: whether I am aware of it or not, it is a new contention, all its own. Unfortunately, it is easy to overlook this and thus to fall into the trap of manufacturing one extreme position *out of* another and then presenting the two of them as if *they* were our only alternatives. They're not.[66]

Summary

Multiple public reports by those holding the apostleship appear to be straightforward contradictions of Mason's claim about revelation. We have considered close to forty such declarations, some regarding guidance to the Church per se and some regarding personal spiritual manifestations (including examples prior to their callings to the Twelve). Whereas it would be unreasonable to expect Mason to address all these statements, it is incumbent on one asserting that revelation is only occasional to address at least some of them — or, for that matter, others like them.[67] Unfortunately, Mason does not do so and thus does nothing to show how his view is to be reconciled with these contrary statements. Moreover, while it is possible to cite remarks by B. H. Roberts to support a view like Mason's, that statement, due to its own weaknesses, actually fails to provide any such support.

Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: The Priesthood-Temple Restriction

In further exploring errors regarding revelation and prophets, it is useful to consider the priesthood-temple restriction removed in 1978. Both Givens and Mason make comments regarding this matter, and both suggest the original restriction was a mistake.[68] Much regarding this restriction remains a mystery, of course (a major reason for this will be discussed in due course), and thus it is important to avoid adding to the mystery by making important errors when discussing it. Unfortunately, both Givens and Mason make such mistakes in their respective treatments. Errors include severely misconstruing, overlooking, and mis-reporting statements by Spencer W. Kimball; omitting consideration of relevant statements about previous prophets' concern with the priesthood restriction; failing to address public statements made by

apostolic witnesses who participated in the change; and overlooking a key distinction in the pattern of revelation in the Church.

Spencer W. Kimball: The Priesthood Restriction an Error?

In the course of discussing the imperfection and fallibility of Church leaders, Givens tells us that Spencer W. Kimball, as an apostle, "referred as early as 1963 to the priesthood ban as a 'possible error' for which he asked forgiveness."[69] He is referring to this statement by Elder Kimball in a letter: "I know the Lord could change his policy and release the ban and forgive the possible error which brought about the deprivation."[70]

Patrick Mason cites the same statement in his own discussion of prophetic action.[71] Like Givens, he takes the statement as evidence that prophets can make serious mistakes in guiding the Church, and asks: "Can I forgive prophets for their faults, even their occasionally severe ones, and be patient with my brothers?"[72]

Radical Misinterpretation

Unfortunately, this is another case (as in their discussion of D&C 21:4–5)[73] where Givens and Mason both misread the very statement on which they rely. They take Elder Kimball to say that the priesthood-temple ban might have been a mistake and that the Lord could forgive the Church leaders who made it — all leading to the ultimate release of the restriction. But in reaching this conclusion, they completely overlook Elder Kimball's explicit reference to the priesthood ban as *the Lord's* policy. He says, "I know the Lord could change *his* policy and release the ban." Then he speaks about forgiving the "possible error" that brought about the restriction in the first place. But Elder Kimball obviously cannot be speaking of the restriction itself as an error because he has already identified it as the Lord's policy: he cannot be saying both that it is the Lord's policy *and* that it is an error. And for the same reason, when Elder Kimball speaks about forgiveness, he cannot be speaking about forgiveness for the *policy*: since he has already identified the restriction as the Lord's doing this would amount to saying that the Lord might forgive himself — which of course would be absurd.

So what can Elder Kimball mean in speaking of "possible error" and of "forgiveness"? In addressing this matter it is important to consider the circumstances. At the time Elder Kimball wrote this letter (1963) the priesthood-temple restriction had long been in place, and yet there was no universally accepted explanation for the restriction. As will be discussed later, the Lord regularly gives instructions without

explanations, and that often leaves all members (including leaders) on their own in trying to understand what the reasons might be in one case or another. (For example, why did the Lord restrict the priesthood to the tribe of Levi in the time of Moses? Why did he begin directing his work on earth through apostolic quorums after so many centuries of directing it through a system of patriarchs? If he is no respecter of persons, why, in the meridian of time, did God follow a sequence of presenting the gospel first to the house of Israel and only afterward to the gentiles? And so forth.) In such instances, some are entirely content to recognize that the Lord has left important questions incompletely answered (or, in some cases, not answered at all) and to leave the matter at that. Others pursue a different path and try to draw the best inferences they can from whatever evidence seems to apply. Those in the second category can be influenced by any number of factors, from cultural realities at the time to seeming hints appearing in scripture. At the time Elder Kimball wrote this letter, for example, one theory (advanced at the time by Joseph Fielding Smith and since explicitly disavowed by the Church) was that the restriction might have been due to lack of faithfulness in the pre-earth life. This theory is what Elder Kimball appears to have in mind in speaking of "possible error" and "forgiveness." He seems to be saying something like this: "The priesthood ban is the Lord's policy, but he could change it. *If* the restriction is due, as Joseph Fielding Smith (and some others) have thought, to error committed in the pre-earth existence, perhaps the Lord could forgive that error and release the restriction." In nothing he says does Elder Kimball *endorse* this explanation, of course. (And again, the Church has explicitly disavowed it.) He obviously does not claim to know the reason for the restriction and thus speaks only hypothetically, mentioning nothing more than "possible" error. Nevertheless, as discussed above, Elder Kimball clearly identifies the restriction as the Lord's policy and thus *cannot* be speaking of the policy itself as an error and as in need of forgiveness. He is conspicuously not saying what Givens and Mason represent him to be saying.

Ignoring a Relevant Statement

This becomes the more obvious when Elder Kimball goes on to say, in the same paragraph of the letter, that those who were pressing for change in the policy were bringing "into contempt the sacred principle of revelation and divine authority."[74] He would have little reason to say this if he hadn't thought the policy *was* a matter of revelation and divine authority — particularly since he has just explicitly identified it as *the Lord's* policy.

This sentence about revelation simply assumes and reinforces the earlier sentence about whose policy it was. Unfortunately, Givens and Mason both fail to consider this part of Elder Kimball's letter, in addition to completely misreading the part they do consider. As a result, Givens and Mason both reach a conclusion about Spencer W. Kimball that is the opposite of the truth. And they both reach it in the same way: through misreading one part of Elder Kimball's letter and through omission of another part of the same letter.

Overlooking Obvious Counterevidence

But there is an additional problem, beyond such misreading and omission. After all, Givens takes Elder Kimball's statement from a source in which the following declaration appears within centimeters of what he quotes. It is Spencer W. Kimball again, speaking as President of the Church, in response to a question about the priesthood restriction:

> I am not sure that there will be a change, although there could be. We are under the dictates of our Heavenly Father, and this is not my policy or the Church's policy. It is the policy of the Lord who has established it, and I know of no change, although we are subject to revelations of the Lord in case he should ever wish to make a change.[75]

"This is not my policy or the Church's policy … it is the policy of the Lord who has established it." This declaration is impossible to miss, appearing on the very page from which Givens quotes the earlier statement from Elder Kimball regarding "possible error" and "forgiveness."[76] It is additional evidence that Givens and Mason are inaccurate in their treatment.[77] Such a statement would be included and carefully considered in any adequate study of Spencer W. Kimball on this topic, and yet both authors fail to consider it altogether.

This is the third mistake in these authors' treatment of Elder/President Kimball (in addition to radically misinterpreting one of his statements — leading to a logically absurd consequence — and overlooking another). As a result, nothing in their efforts supports the view that Spencer W. Kimball thought the priesthood-temple restriction might have been an error and hoped that it could be forgiven. If the priesthood ban was really a mistake, as Givens and Mason suppose, it is at least clear that Spencer W. Kimball did not think so, and thus it is inaccurate at best and disingenuous at worst to use his words to further their contention.

Spencer W. Kimball: Personal Prejudice?

But there is yet an additional problem regarding the treatment of Spencer W. Kimball. In discussing President Kimball's persistent plea to the Lord regarding the priesthood-temple restriction, Mason reports the following: "Kimball had to struggle and fight — mostly, he admitted, against himself, and against the prejudices [presumably, the racist sentiments] natural to a white man born in America in 1895."[78]

But notice what President Kimball *actually* said on this matter:

> I had a great deal to fight … myself, largely, because I had grown up with this thought that Negroes should not have the priesthood and I was prepared to go all the rest of my life until my death and fight for it and defend it as it was.

And:

> I have always prided myself on being about as unprejudiced as to race as any man. I think my work with the minorities would prove that, but I am so completely convinced that the prophets know what they are doing and the Lord knows what he is doing, that I am willing to rest it there.[79]

So President Kimball "admitted" nothing like Mason reports. Instead, he stated the exact opposite — that he was actually *free* of the prejudice Mason attributes to him and that what he had to "fight" was simply the psychological momentum created by his defense of the restriction over a lifetime. After all, once the responsibility fell upon him, as President, to lead in receiving the Lord's revelations on important matters, he could no longer merely defend others as he had done throughout his ministry. Since, if the Lord changed his policy (as had been promised) it would be led through President Kimball, it now became President Kimball's responsibility to ask independently, just as other Presidents before him had asked. It was a "fight" to shift from a longtime attitude of defense to an attitude of such openness to change should the Lord desire it, but this fight was *not* against "the prejudices natural to a white man born in America in 1895," as Mason contends. That is actually the opposite of what President Kimball "admitted" about himself.[80]

Did the Lord Have to Wait on His Prophets?

It is also relevant to note this remark by Mason:

> Some assume that for many decades prophets had patiently waited on God to reveal if and when the policy should change.

> Based on Kimball's self-assessment, perhaps it was the case that God was patiently waiting on his prophets.[81]

The hypothesis Mason floats here overlooks significant evidence. For one thing, in addition to being radically mistaken about "Kimball's self-assessment," it overlooks President Kimball's own report that "his predecessors had sought the Lord's will concerning the priesthood policy, and for whatever reason 'the time had not yet come.'"[82] Since President Kimball had himself worked intimately with five of these predecessors over his decades in the Twelve, he can be considered a reliable source. Mason's comment also overlooks Leonard Arrington's report regarding President Lee's fasting and prayer on the topic.[83] In suggesting that prophets were casual about the subject of the priesthood-temple restriction, it would seem that Mason should acknowledge and address such reports — particularly President Kimball's own.[84]

In addition, Mason's conjecture about the Lord waiting on his prophets also overlooks one report regarding President David O. McKay. According to the account, President McKay reported that he had "inquired of the Lord repeatedly" regarding the restriction on blacks holding the priesthood. In his latest inquiry, he said, "I was told, with no discussion, not to bring the subject up with the Lord again; that time will come, but it will not be in my time, and to leave the subject alone."[85] This is consistent with other statements regarding President McKay, including the report by Elder Marion D. Hanks that President McKay "had pleaded and pleaded with the Lord but had not had the answer he sought."[86]

Also relevant on this issue is the report of Elder Boyd K. Packer, who was concerned about President Kimball's inability to let the matter rest. He asked: "Why don't you forget this?" But then, we are told, he "answered his own question, 'Because you can't. The Lord won't let you.'"[87] To Elder Packer's mind President Kimball wasn't focused on the priesthood-temple restriction purely as a matter of personal interest or simply as a function of his personality. To some significant extent it was *the Lord* making him restless and guiding him to deep pondering and preparation on the matter. Contrary to his workings with President McKay, now the Lord *wouldn't let* his prophet leave the subject alone. All this, of course, is exactly what one would expect if the time had finally arrived for the change — as previous prophets had taught would come[88] — and the Lord was now preparing for that transformation.

All these matters are relevant to Mason's suggestion about the Lord's "waiting patiently on his prophets." In making this type of suggestion,

one would hope that Mason would acknowledge and account for such statements by and about leaders of the Church (e.g., President Lee, President McKay, and Elder Packer), and particularly by President Kimball himself about past prophets. Unfortunately, Mason considers and addresses none of them.

Failure to Address Relevant Public Statements

In addition to the specific instances of error we have seen in the approach Givens and Mason take toward the priesthood-temple restriction, a general mistake is their failure to address the statements made by those present when the policy was actually changed. Elder Bruce R. McConkie, for instance, reports that in the very meeting where the revelation was received, President Kimball explicitly referred to the priesthood restriction as something the Lord had "theretofore directed."[89] This report, of course, is completely consistent with President Kimball's earlier statement as President, cited above: "This is not my policy or the Church's policy … it is the policy of the Lord who has established it." Following the change, President Gordon B. Hinckley also said of the restriction: "I don't think it was wrong … [V]arious things happened in different periods. There's a reason for them."[90] Elder McConkie spoke similarly, as did President Boyd K. Packer.[91] No one present and who has spoken publicly of the experience, has ever said the revelation was a correction of error. And for that matter, neither does the official statement of the revelation recorded in the Doctrine and Covenants (Official Declaration 2).

This pattern is consistent with the report we saw earlier regarding President David O. McKay, who, it is said, was told that the time for the change would come but that it would simply not come in his time.[92] It is also consistent with President Kimball's report, to the same effect, regarding other prophets.[93]

All these reports are relevant to the view held by Givens and Mason. They seem clear in suggesting that the priesthood-temple restriction was a mistake and that the 1978 revelation was a correction of that error. This is not an uncommon view. However, since each of the leaders mentioned above was intimately involved in apostolic discussions preceding the change, and since each was present when the change was actually made, *and* since each believed the change was *not* a correction, Givens and Mason need to supply an argument for why all of them were wrong. Unfortunately, both fail to consider the matter.

Overlooking a Key Distinction:
Instructions vs. Explanations

In addition to the errors we have just reviewed, Givens and Mason also overlook a key distinction in understanding the pattern of revelation, both generally and in this dispensation. Although multiple scriptural principles pertain to revelation and sustaining the Brethren in general — most of which I have discussed elsewhere[94] — one is particularly important regarding the priesthood-temple restriction. It is the distinction between instructions and explanations, a matter briefly mentioned earlier, that is pertinent to thinking about this subject. Elder Dallin H. Oaks said on this topic:

> If you read the scriptures with this question in mind, "Why did the Lord command this or why did he command that," you find that in less than one in a hundred commands was any reason given. It's not the pattern of the Lord to give reasons. We [mortals] can put reasons to revelation. We can put reasons to commandments. When we do, we're on our own.[95]

Elder Neal A. Maxwell emphasized the same point when he remarked: "I have found that the Lord gives more instructions than explanations."[96] Thus, while it is tempting to think that the Lord gives full light on everything he directs, this is actually not his pattern. When it comes to reasons and explanations, he often leaves mortals in the dark.

This, as suggested by both Elder Oaks and Elder Maxwell, seems to apply to every level of the Lord's kingdom. Incidents in the lives of Abraham, Moses, Lehi, Nephi, Mormon, Joseph Smith, and others all demonstrate that prophets often follow the Lord's direction without knowing why. Such precedents should lead us to *expect* that the Lord will not typically reveal the reasons for his decisions and that those reasons may not even be evident in our lifetimes.[97]

The Inevitability of Incomplete Understanding, Even by the First Presidency

This reality can leave even the First Presidency, just like earlier prophets, in the position of knowing by the Spirit a certain course to take without understanding exactly *why* it is the course to take. Given the Lord's pattern, such incomplete understanding seems inevitable. Indeed, as Elder Maxwell said on one occasion: "There will be times when we follow the prophets even as they are in the very act of obedience themselves;

they will not, in fact, always be able to explain to us why they are doing what they are doing — much as Adam offered sacrifices without a full understanding of what underlay that special ritual."[98] In a similar vein, President George Q. Cannon once said of the First Presidency that "we can see a certain distance in the light of the Spirit of God as it reveals to us His mind and His will, and we can take these steps with perfect security, knowing that they are the right steps to be taken."[99] But, he added, the Brethren do not know the result that will come from these steps. Nor, as Elders Maxwell and Oaks have said, are the reasons for the instruction necessarily clear. It is relevant, therefore, that President Cannon remarked: "It is just as necessary that the Presidency and the Apostles should be tried as it is that you should be tried. It is as necessary that our faith should be called into exercise as that your faith should be called into exercise."[100]

Appreciating the reality and scope of such incomplete understanding is central to understanding revelation itself. Mason reports that it can be "painful and disorienting" to consider that multiple prophets over this dispensation continued to withhold temple blessings and the priesthood from blacks even though we do not have a clear understanding as to why they did so.[101] This claim of anxiety due to such lack of understanding is no doubt true. But it would seem equally true of the prophets withholding those blessings: they did not have a clear understanding as to why they were doing so, either. This reality would appear to instantiate the general pattern of how the Lord works with mortals: he provides instructions, but he typically does not provide explanations, even to his prophets. To *expect* explanations, therefore, is to ignore centuries of precedent. This is the message of Elder Oaks, Elder Maxwell, and numerous scriptural incidents, and it was precisely Elder Kimball's position regarding the priesthood restriction itself. He once expressed the wish that the Lord had provided "a little more clarity in the matter" — nevertheless, he said, "for me, it is enough."[102]

Non-Authoritative Attempts at Explanation

As briefly mentioned earlier, even when the Lord does not provide explanations for the direction he gives, members and leaders might still try to reason from the scriptures to determine what the explanation might be. Unless otherwise explicitly so declared, however, these explanatory efforts do not enjoy the same official status as the action itself. This is true regardless of whom the speaker(s) might be.

Elder Oaks' statement perfectly expresses this point. Following his remark that we are on our own when we try to explain the reasons for commandments, he adds (specifically regarding the priesthood-temple restriction):

> Some people put reasons to the one we're talking about here, and they turned out to be spectacularly wrong. There is a lesson in that. … I decided a long time ago that I had faith in the command and I had no faith in the reasons that had been suggested for it."[103]

Here Elder Oaks relies on the distinction between instructions and explanations, accepting the priesthood-temple restriction itself as the correct action but simultaneously rejecting the various explanations that had been offered for it. The same distinction is evident in the Church essay regarding the priesthood. That essay disavows past explanations for the restriction, but (though it sets out at length the historical setting of the time) it does not disavow the restriction itself. [104]

This distinction between instructions and explanations highlights a general pattern in this dispensation: the Lord laid the *doctrinal* foundation of the Church essentially through revelations to Joseph Smith (expressed in the standard works),[105] and he has subsequently provided revelation to prophets, seers, and revelators not in order to reveal new doctrine but specifically to direct the ongoing *work* of the Church.[106] Doctrinal — explanatory — matters are therefore the exclusive province of the scriptures. This is why Joseph Fielding Smith himself (who expressed the idea that the priesthood-temple restriction resulted from behavior in the pre-earth existence) emphasized that if his own doctrinal explanations "do not square with the revelations, we need not accept them." He added: "If Joseph Fielding Smith writes something which is out of harmony with the revelations, then every member of the Church is duty bound to reject it."[107] Similarly, Bruce R. McConkie taught that even if a President of the Church teaches a doctrine out of harmony with the scriptures, "it is the scripture that prevails" and, he added, "it does not make one particle of difference whose views are involved. The scriptures always take precedence."[108]

All this emphasizes the point made by Elder Oaks: the Lord (as we saw in the previous section) provides direction on an ongoing basis to guide the affairs of the kingdom, but he typically does not provide the doctrinal foundation or explanation for what he directs. Those who seek to provide explanations are thus "on their own," and what they say in that domain is not authoritative if it contradicts or exceeds the clear teachings

of scripture.[109] Significant and impressive men of God have done this regarding the priesthood-temple restriction, of course — including Brigham Young, Joseph Fielding Smith, and Bruce R. McConkie — but, for the reasons we have seen, their explanations are not authoritative, and they never have been.

This distinction, then — between revelatory (and thus authoritative) instructions and non-revelatory explanations — seems pertinent to considering matters surrounding the priesthood-temple restriction. It is a distinction that applies to revelation generally, and it would seem important, therefore, to consider it in thinking about the priesthood-temple restriction specifically. Elder Oaks certainly does so. Unfortunately, Givens and Mason do not consider this matter in their respective comments on the subject, much less does either demonstrate why the distinction would be inapplicable in this case. Mason, for example, specifically refers to the Church essay regarding race and the priesthood[110] and appears, at least tacitly, as if he might suppose this official disavowal of past explanations for the restriction is tantamount to disavowal of the restriction itself. But this view is persuasive only if one considers the distinction between instructions and explanations in the first place and then shows why it doesn't apply in this particular circumstance. Mason does not do this. (In addition, of course, he also fails to account for the reports, which we saw earlier, of multiple leaders — including President Kimball — who participated in the change and who manifestly did not believe the change was a correction of previous error.) Indeed, both Givens and Mason overlook the distinction between revelatory (and thus authoritative) instructions and non-revelatory explanations altogether and thus both fail to account for the issues it raises for their thinking about the priesthood-temple restriction.[111]

Summary

The assertions we have considered by Givens and Mason regarding the priesthood-temple restriction are flawed. Both appeal to Spencer W. Kimball in multiple ways to indicate the possibility that the priesthood ban was a mistake and that the 1978 revelation corrected the error. However, although this does not seem to be an uncommon attitude — and although it is logically possible that this view of history is accurate — none of their appeals to Spencer W. Kimball actually supports it. Indeed, all their appeals to him backfire and, if anything, actually support the opposite of that position (including their oversight and/or avoidance of a statement by President Kimball that explicitly

states the opposite of that position). Both also fail to address and account for public statements by apostolic witnesses who participated in the 1978 revelation and who contradict the idea that the change was a correction of error. Finally, as we have just seen, they both overlook — and therefore fail to consider — the distinction between revelatory (and thus authoritative) instructions and non-authoritative explanations. This is a key distinction in understanding the Lord's general pattern in his dealings with mortals, including with the prophets and apostles he has chosen to represent him. As such it would seem to be a key distinction to understanding the priesthood-temple restriction as well.

As I said at the beginning, a good deal of mystery surrounds the priesthood-temple restriction, and that is why the topic generates so much discussion. The only point here is that consideration of this topic is not helped by the kinds of mistakes and oversights we have seen — errors in analysis that are both significant and avoidable and that therefore reduce clarity instead of increasing it.

Conclusion to Part One

As mentioned at the beginning, the motivation for this paper is to examine whether serious errors are occurring — and even increasing — in LDS scholarly discussions of prophets and revelation.

Although we are only partway through consideration of the matter, it is significant that we have already identified multiple errors on the topic in reputable sources. We have seen five important claims that prove to be faulty — either because they are implausible, completely tenuous, or manifestly false[112] — and we have also seen eleven fundamental errors in analysis that lead to these faulty claims. These errors range from severely misinterpreting a verse on "patience and faith" and overlooking numerous (and public) first-hand apostolic declarations regarding revelation, to misreading, omitting, and mis-reporting statements by Spencer W. Kimball as well as failing to appreciate a key distinction in understanding the Lord's pattern of revelation to mortals.

The errors we have seen do not appear to be trivial. While one can understand failure to consider one public statement or another on a particular topic — or perhaps even a handful — when those statements are so central and so numerous, it is difficult to understand overlooking them all.[113] Moreover, while it is also possible to appreciate how one can overlook a particular passage of scripture in forming one's conclusions, it is difficult to justify taking a single scriptural phrase completely out

of context and using it to promulgate a conclusion that is both highly significant *and* the near-opposite of what the passage actually says. It is even more difficult to justify this when the resulting misinterpretation also entails an absurdity. It is similarly hard to justify reporting an apostle's comment to be stating the exact opposite of what it actually says (especially when the misinterpretation results in another absurdity) as well as to excuse omissions of other statements by that leader that subvert the claim one is making. And so forth. It is hard not to see such matters as serious.

It is also worth noting that although we have examined some of the material from Mason's chapter, "In All Patience and Faith," more in that chapter regarding prophets and revelation calls for similar commentary.

This is still only the beginning, however. Part Two will consider additional claims and analyses that, to all appearances, are just as faulty as those we have seen here. These will be drawn from Grant Hardy's discussion regarding Nephi. Part Three will then address a potpourri of further examples, as well as provide a general conclusion regarding the subject of this study.

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Endnotes

1. See, for example, Stéphane Courtois, *et al.*, eds. *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1999). I give a brief treatment of the grisly reality, with

additional sources, in my *Even unto Bloodshed: An LDS Perspective on War* (Salt Lake City: Kofford, 2015), 194–97, 206–9.

2. One appearance of this charge is in David Persuitte, *Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon*, 2nd ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2000), 11. If it is possible to excuse Persuitte for committing this error in the first edition of his book (published in 1985), it is harder to do so for his repeat of the error in his second edition. Kenneth Godfrey, for one, drew attention to the mistake in his review of the book in 1986. See Kenneth H. Godfrey, "Not Enough Trouble," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19/3 (1986): 143. A few years later John Welch and Miriam A. Smith discussed it as well. See "Joseph Smith: 'Author and Proprietor,'" in John W. Welch, ed., *Reexploring the Book of Mormon: A Decade of New Research* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1992), Kindle location 2210–2243.

3. See Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, trans. D.F. Pears and B.F. McGuinness (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), and *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1953). For a brief overview of Wittgenstein and of his two contrary waves of influence, see my "The Spirit and the Intellect: Lessons in Humility," *BYU Studies,* 50/4 (2011): 84–86.

4. Here's an example of what I mean. Harvard paleontologist and evolutionary biologist, Stephen Gould, reports that for years researchers in his discipline often failed to publish what they actually found most frequently in their field work, namely: (1) when species appeared in the geological record, they did so suddenly, without evidence of gradual evolutionary development beforehand; and (2) most species appearing in the fossil record did not exhibit observable change over time — they looked about the same when they disappeared from the record as they did when they first arrived. Thus, while transitional forms were apparent between larger taxonomic groups, they were generally lacking at the species level. Because paleontologists considered such results to depart from what evolutionary theory predicted, they did not consider such fossil studies to offer new and important evidence but instead to indicate the imperfection of the record itself: the geological record had to be incomplete because it failed to conform to what they understood from the theory must have actually happened. As a result, paleontologists were disappointed

by much of what they actually found regarding species development, and "traditional paleontology therefore placed itself into a straightjacket that made the practice of science effectively impossible" (763). Specifically, rather than relying on what they found most frequently, paleontologists came to rely instead on individual isolated examples that at least seemed to demonstrate the gradual species change they expected. These included the horse, the oyster *Gryphaea*, and the antlers of the "Irish Elk" — examples that, according to Gould, became famous and that appeared in textbook treatments of evolution (and that were then replicated in succeeding textbook treatments). Unfortunately, Gould tells us, all these famous examples were shown to be false when studied rigorously. They did not actually demonstrate the gradual species development that textbooks used them to *exemplify*. It is no surprise that when this reality finally became known, other evolutionary scholars (such as biologists) — who had relied on such famous examples as *representative* of geological findings — were "often astounded and incredulous" at learning the actual geological reality (760). For his complete discussion of the topic, see Stephen Jay Gould, *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2002), esp. 745–63. I give a more complete treatment of these and related matters in my "Of Science, Scripture, and Surprise," *FARMS Review,* 20/2, (2008): 163–214; http://publications.mi.byu.edu/fullscreen/?pub=1431&index=8.

5. See Terryl Givens, "Letter to a Doubter," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture*, 4 (2013), 135; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/letter-to-a-doubter/#more-2521.

6. Ibid., 136.

7. In addition to "Letter to a Doubter," see Terryl Givens and Fiona Givens, *Crucible of Doubt: Reflections on the Quest for Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2014), Kindle location 1396. See also Marc Bohn, "Terryl Givens on What It Means to Sustain," *Times and Seasons*, February 3, 2016; http://www.timesandseasons.org/index.php/2016/02/terryl-givens-on-what-it-means-to-sustain/.

8. See the chapter, "In All Patience and Faith," in Patrick Q. Mason, *Planted: Belief and Belonging in an Age of Doubt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2015). Although he does not refer to this particular verse, David Bokovoy shares thoughts along similar lines in his "How to Save LDS Youth in a Secular Age," *Patheos*, December

26, 2014, http://www.patheos.com/blogs/davidbokovoy/2014/12/how-to-save-lds-youth-in-a-secular-age/.

9. The passage is specifically about Joseph Smith, but Givens and Mason apply its message to prophets generally. I will do the same in order to address their use of it.

10. Russell M. Nelson, "Becoming True Millennials," January 10, 2016, Young Adult Broadcast; https://www.lds.org/broadcasts/article/worldwide-devotionals/2016/01/becoming-true-millennials?lang=eng).

11. See, for just four examples: "New Policy on Gay Couples and Their Children Roils Mormon Church," *New York Times*, November 13, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/14/us/mormons-set-to-quit-church-over-policy-on-gay-couples-and-their-children.html?_r=0; "Mormon church labels same-sex couples apostates," *CNN*, November 7, 2015, http://www.cnn.com/2015/11/06/us/mormon-church-policy/; "New Mormon policy makes apostates of married same-sex couples, bars children from rites," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 5, 2015, http://www.sltrib.com/home/3144035–155/new-mormon-policy-would-make-apostates; and "Mormon LGBT policy change triggers widespread backlash," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 12, 2015, http://www.sltrib.com/news/lds/3170210–155/mormon-lgbt-policy-change-triggers-widespread. Indeed, according to one source, Facebook was also "ablaze with dismay" over President Nelson's own comments. See "Policy or Revelation?" *Times and Seasons*, January 14, 2016, https://www.timesandseasons.org/index.php/2016/01/policy-or-revelation/.

12. M. Russell Ballard, "To the Saints in the Utah South Area," September 23, 2015, https://www.lds.org/prophets-and-apostles/unto-all-the-world/to-the-saints-in-the-utah-south-area?lang=eng.

13. President Harold B. Lee spoke explicitly of the expression "in all patience and faith" in terms of what we may have to change in our lives as a result of declarations by the Brethren. He said: "You may not like what comes from the authority of the Church. It may contradict your political views. It may contradict your social views. It may interfere with some of your social life. But if you listen to these things, as if from the mouth of the Lord Himself, with patience and faith, the promise is that 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against you; yea, and the Lord God will disperse the powers of darkness from before you, and cause the heavens to

shake for your good, and his name's glory' (D&C 21:6)." See Harold B. Lee, "Heeding the True Messenger of Jesus Christ," in *Teachings of Presidents of the Church: Harold B. Lee*, Chapter 9, https://www.lds.org/manual/teachings-harold-b-lee/chapter-9?lang=eng.

14. This chapter appears in Patrick Q. Mason, *Planted: Belief and Belonging in an Age of Doubt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2015).

15. Mason's reasons for this view are embedded in his discussion of the priesthood-temple restriction, a topic covered in the section entitled "Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: The Priesthood-Temple Restriction."

16. Patrick Mason, *Planted*, Kindle location 2310.

17. One of the grave errors he has in mind is the priesthood-temple restriction removed in 1978. See *Planted*, Kindle location 2345. This topic is covered in the section entitled "Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: The Priesthood-Temple Restriction."

18. Russell M. Nelson, "Sweet Power of Prayer," General Conference, April 2003, https://www.lds.org/general-conference/2003/04/sweet-power-of-prayer?lang=eng.)

19. See Sheri L. Dew, *Go Forward with Faith: The Biography of Gordon B. Hinckley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1996), 379. See also: Thomas S. Monson, *Inspiring Experiences that Build Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret), 1994, 73–74; "They Pray and They Go," General Conference, April 2002, https://www.lds.org/general-conference/2002/04/they-pray-and-they-go?lang=eng&_r=1; "Your Patriarchal Blessing: A Liahona of Light," General Conference, October 1986, https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1986/10/your-patriarchal-blessing-a-liahona-of-light?lang=eng&_r=1;

20. Russell M. Nelson, *The Gateway We Call Death* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1995), 100–1.

21. Russell M. Nelson, "The Price of Priesthood Power," General Conference, April 2016, https://www.lds.org/general-conference/2016/04/the-price-of-priesthood-power?lang=eng.

22. Joseph Fielding McConkie, *The Bruce R. McConkie Story: Reflections of a Son* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2003), 12.

23. Dallin H. Oaks, *Life's Lessons Learned*: *Personal Reflections* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2011), Kindle location 788–801.

Incidentally, as Elder Oaks remarks here, he completely forgot the notification that the Lord would "call" him from the Court. Only as he prepared to write the above book and re-read his journal did he remember all the Lord had told him and realize its meaning.

24. Spencer W. Kimball, "Revelation: The Word of the Lord to His Prophets," General Conference, April 1977, http://www.lds.org/general-conference/1977/04/revelation-the-word-of-the-lord-to-his-prophets?lang=eng&query=.

25. Harold B. Lee, "Admonitions for the Priesthood of God," General Conference, October 1972; https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1972/10/admonitions-for-the-priesthood-of-god?lang=eng.

26. Gordon B. Hinckley, in *The Teachings of Gordon B. Hinckley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1997), 71, 555.

27. Boyd K. Packer, "We Believe All that God Has Revealed," General Conference, April 1974, https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1974/04/we-believe-all-that-god-has-revealed?lang=eng&_r=1.

28. James E. Faust, "Come Out of the Darkness into the Light," CES Fireside for Young Adults (8 September 2002); https://www.lds.org/media-library/video/2002–09–05-come-out-of-the-darkness-into-the-light?lang=eng#d.

29. Howard W. Hunter, *The Teachings of Howard W. Hunter*, ed., Clyde J. Williams (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 196.

30. Spencer W. Kimball, *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, ed. Edward L. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 447, Kindle location 6365.

31. Boyd K. Packer, "The Snow-White Birds," address at BYU, 29 August 1995; https://speeches.byu.edu/talks/boyd-k-packer_snow-white-birds/. It also appears in Boyd K. Packer, *Mine Errand from the Lord: Selections from the Sermons and Writings of Boyd K. Packer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2008), 458.

32. Dallin H. Oaks, "Teaching and Learning by the Spirit," *Ensign*, March 1997; https://www.lds.org/ensign/1997/03/teaching-and-learning-by-the-spirit?lang=eng. He also emphasized that those who have such experiences do not speak of them because "we are instructed not to do so (see D&C 63:64) and because we understand that the channels of revelation will be closed if we show these things before the world."

33. Boyd K. Packer, "The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ — Plain and Precious Things," General Conference, April 2005; https://www.lds.org/general-conference/2005/04/the-book-of-mormon-another-testament-of-jesus-christ-plain-and-precious-things?lang=eng&_r=1.

34. Boyd K. Packer, "The Light of Thy Childhood Again," *Church News*, November 28, 2009; http://www.ldschurchnewsarchive.com/articles/58265/The-Light-of-Thy-Childhood-Again.html.

35. Boyd K. Packer, "Revelation in a Changing World," General Conference, October 1989; https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1989/10/revelation-in-a-changing-world?lang=eng&_r=1.

36. James E. Faust, "The Odyssey to Happiness," BYU Fireside, January 6, 1974; https://speeches.byu.edu/talks/james-e-faust_odyssey-happiness/. This wording is a transcription of Elder Faust's spoken words, which were recorded and made publicly available at the time. That recorded version seems unavailable currently, however, and the printed version is somewhat modified from Elder Faust's actual verbal expression.

37. See "Dedicatory Prayer," Brigham City Utah Temple, 23 September 2012; http://ldschurchtemples.org/brighamcity/prayer/.

38. Harold B. Lee, "May the Kingdom of God Go Forth," General Conference, October 1972; https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1972/10/may-the-kingdom-of-god-go-forth?lang=eng. His actual words were: "There has been here an overwhelming spiritual endowment, attesting, no doubt, that in all likelihood we are in the presence of personages, seen and unseen, who are in attendance." Although President Lee, according to the command in D&C 63:64, attempts to be appropriately vague in these remarks, the reference to "personages seen" makes at least part of his meaning explicit.

39. David B. Haight, "The Sacrament — and the Sacrifice," General Conference, October 1989; https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1989/10/the-sacrament-and-the-sacrifice?lang=eng.

40. Sarah Jane Weaver, "President Packer Shares Christmas Testimony: 'Jesus is the Christ,'" *Church News*, December 25, 2010; http://www.ldschurchnewsarchive.com/articles/60298/President-Packer-shares-Christmas-testimony-Jesus-is-the-Christ.html.

41. Richard G. Scott, "Sisters in Councils," Worldwide Leadership Training, February 2011, https://www.lds.org/broadcasts/article/worldwide-leadership-training/2011/02/sisters-in-councils?lang=eng.

42. Boyd K. Packer, "The Witness," General Conference, April 2014; https://www.lds.org/general-conference/2014/04/the-witness?lang=eng&_r=1&cid=GCA14-L0814–1-notePacker.

43. Ezra Taft Benson, "Jesus Christ: Our Savior, Our God," *Ensign*, April 1991; https://www.lds.org/ensign/1991/04/jesus-christ-our-savior-our-god?lang=eng.

44. James E. Faust, "Beginnings," CES Fireside for Young Adults, May 7, 2006; https://www.lds.org/media-library/video/2006-05-03-beginnings?category=ces-devotionals/2006-ces-firesides&lang=eng.

45. Marion G. Romney, in F. Burton Howard, *Marion G. Romney: His Life and Faith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1988), 222.

46. Bruce R. McConkie, *The Promised Messiah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1978), 592.

47. Ibid., 594.

48. Boyd K. Packer, in an address for a Family History broadcast, 18 November 1999; cited in *Mine Errand from the Lord: Selections from the Sermons and Writings of Boyd K. Packer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2008), 137.

49. Boyd K. Packer, "A Tribute to the Rank and File of the Church," General Conference, April 1980; https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1980/04/a-tribute-to-the-rank-and-file-of-the-church?lang=eng.

50. Boyd K. Packer, "A Call to Faith," address at a seminar for new mission presidents, 27 June 2007; cited in *Mine Errand from the Lord: Selections from the Sermons and Writings of Boyd K. Packer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2008), 137. Some might wonder if President Packer is technically correct on this matter since it is possible he is not aware of every manifestation that occurred in the early days and therefore might not be in the perfect position to make this comparison. (For a treatment of many experiences that are not well-known, see John W. Welch, ed., *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations 1820–1844,* 2nd ed. [Salt Lake City and Provo, UT: BYU Press and Deseret, 2017]). But even if

this is true — even if President Packer is comparing the current era only with experiences that are common knowledge regarding the opening of this dispensation — it is still a highly significant statement. And that's to say the least of it. Moreover, whatever the historical record of the early days of this dispensation, no outside observer can be aware of the details President Packer has in mind in speaking so strongly of the current period. What experiences does he have in mind, over the decades of his intimate association with numerous apostles and prophets in furthering the Lord's work, that aren't known *at all* by the public and that will become known only in some future history? In any event, whether one imagines President Packer to be technically accurate or not, his comparison must at least be seen as inconsistent with the claim that revelation is only occasional in the Lord's guidance of the Church.

51. Harold B. Lee, "Be Loyal to the Royal Within You," *BYU Speeches*, 11 September 1973, https://speeches.byu.edu/talks/harold-b-lee_loyal-royal-within/. President Lee quotes the similar words of an unnamed apostle and then makes those words his own in emphasizing his point on this matter.

52. Boyd K. Packer, "Revelation in a Changing World," General Conference, October 1989; https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1989/10/revelation-in-a-changing-world?lang=eng&_r=1.

53. Boyd K. Packer, "The Twelve Apostles," General Conference, October 1996; https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1996/10/the-twelve-apostles?lang=eng&_r=1.

54. "The Prairies, Nauvoo, Joe Smith, The Temple, the Mormons, etc.," *Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette*, 15 September 1843, in *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Vol. 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings,* ed. Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1989, 443), cited in Matthew Roper, "Joseph Smith, Revelation, and Book of Mormon Geography," *The FARMS Review,* 22/2, 2010, 83; http://publications.mi.byu.edu/publications/review/22/2/S00003-5176a03b6d5fc3Roper.pdf.

55. Dallin H. Oaks, "Teaching and Learning by the Spirit," *Ensign*, March 1997, https://www.lds.org/ensign/1997/03/teaching-and-learning-by-the-spirit?lang=eng.

56. Devotional address at BYU–Hawaii, 1 March 2005; cited in Boyd K. Packer, *Mine Errand from the Lord: Selections from the Sermons and Writings of Boyd K. Packer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2008), 131.

57. Cited in D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1997), 7, 368.

58. Gordon B. Hinckley, "Excerpts from Recent Addresses of President Gordon B. Hinckley," *Ensign*, July 1996; https://www.lds.org/ensign/1996/07/excerpts-from-recent-addresses-of-president-gordon-b-hinckley?lang=eng.

59. Dieter F. Uchtdorf, "Come, Join with Us," General Conference, November 2013; https://www.lds.org/general-conference/2013/10/come-join-with-us?lang=eng.

60. Although observers can reach different judgments on the matter, it actually does not seem difficult to imagine at least the *kinds* of issues that are of highest importance and therefore on which the Lord would likely exercise the greatest influence. It is plausible to suppose these would be matters on which First Presidencies make the most formal announcements and take the most visible action, particularly on matters that affect the most people in the most significant ways. Insistence on the centrality of the family, the importance of (and clarifications about) moral cleanliness, the cessation of polygamy, the lifting of restrictions on the priesthood, and so forth would seem to fall in this category. It would also seem to include matters of significant social and moral importance, such as gambling and lotteries, pornography, the Equal Rights Amendment, homosexual conduct, and same-sex marriage. It seems plausible that mistaken decisions on such momentous topics would fall in the category of "leading astray," whereas mistakes regarding, say, activity days for Primary children or the awards to be earned by Priests or Laurels — or even the length of missionary service — would not. It is not hard to imagine that denials of "fallibility" apply with ease to matters of smaller important (e.g., various programmatic matters of one sort or another), while affirmations about "not leading astray" apply with equal ease to matters of significant social and spiritual importance. And of course one can imagine a wide range of issues in between. As mentioned, on many matters it would seem the Lord finds multiple options acceptable enough and simply allows his leaders to exercise their own judgment in deciding among them. In this connection,

it is relevant to note again President Nelson's explicit declaration about the receipt of revelation regarding children from the homes of gay couples. (See the subsection, "A Natural Interpretation," in the section "Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: 'In All Patience and Faith'" earlier in this Part.) A report of this sort gives a data point that helps inform us about the types of issues on which the Lord provides clear direction. It is not sufficient to provide anything like a full picture, of course, and one can expect reasonable people to disagree about particulars. Nevertheless, data of this sort — combined with the multiplicity of firsthand declarations testifying to ongoing and regular revelation — are difficult to reconcile with the claim that (as Mason asserts) for the most part the Lord simply keeps his distance and that his direction of the Brethren is only occasional.

61. See Terryl Givens and Fiona Givens, *Crucible of Doubt: Reflections on the Quest for Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2014), Kindle location 1433, and Roger Terry, "Why the True Church Cannot Be Perfect," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought,* 46/1 (Spring 2013), 94–107, https://www.dialoguejournal.com/wp-content/uploads/sbi/articles/Dialogue_V46N01_427c.pdf.

62. B. H. Roberts, "Relation of Inspiration and Revelation to Church Government," *Improvement Era,* March 1905, 362; cited in Roger Terry, "Why the True Church Cannot Be Perfect," 105.

63. *Planted*, Kindle location 2308.

64. As another example, Mason rejects the view of "an ironclad requirement that prophets be 100 percent right 100 percent of the time" and of prophets as "incorruptible paragons of virtue whose every word comes straight like lightning from heaven and whose every action is godly in both purpose and execution" (*Planted*, Kindle location 2288). This is another example of a position so extreme that there is no significance in Mason's denying it. It is hard to imagine who *wouldn't* deny it. We have already considered a more nuanced view of revelation in this section, and additional relevant material will be discussed in the next.

65. I discuss the preeminent role that councils play in Church government in my "Sustaining the Brethren," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture,* 14 (2015): vii-xxxii; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/sustaining-the-brethren/. In terms of

decisions, the highest authority in the Church is the full First Presidency, not the President alone.

66. Incidentally, this is how debates are created generally in which disputants end up defending rival positions *both* of which are false. It is impossible for either contender to win since each is defending a false claim. That is always the risk when the starting point of one's thinking is the formulation of a position so extreme that it is obviously mistaken: it easily leads to a contrary view that is just as extreme and just as mistaken. Nothing is gained by defending either position.

     As a final (but smaller) point, it is also possible that revelation is genuinely more common in recent decades than in the time of Elder Roberts. If the *need* for revelation is greater now than it was then, by his own principle regarding need, the frequency of revelation would also be greater. On this very matter, Elder Neal A. Maxwell reported in the late '70s that "the volume of 'operational revelation'" is at the highest level it's ever been" (see Bruce C. Hafen, *A Disciple's Life: The Biography of Neal A. Maxwell* [Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2002], 414), and we have already considered three remarks by President Boyd K. Packer regarding the unique intensity of revelation in recent times — well past the '70s and up to the present. (See the subsection "Prophets and Apostles on Revelation.") It is possible, therefore, that — even aside from the other problems inherent in quoting Elder Roberts' statement — it is an outdated report.

67. In an endnote (Kindle location 2481) Mason does refer to Wilford Woodruff's well-known declaration that the Lord will not permit the Church to be led astray. Mason interprets this statement to mean that the Brethren are precluded from leading the Church "entirely" astray, but that they are not precluded from making decisions that are wrong, serious, and have long-lasting negative consequences. The first thing to notice, however, is that this conception of "not leading astray" is so narrow — and permits so many serious and far-reaching errors — that meeting this standard would not require much revelation at all. Mason would not consider this a problem, of course, because that is exactly what he believes. Indeed, he believes the Church can be led significantly astray — though not entirely — precisely because he believes that revelation is only occasional. The difficulty is that Mason does not

even consider the numerous declarations of ongoing revelation that we have seen (much less accommodate them in his view), and thus he has not yet earned the right to assume this view of revelation. Indeed, there is every reason to believe Mason's view is false. But if so, it can hardly be used as a premise in any *other* argument — i.e., 'since revelation is only occasional, Wilford Woodruff must have meant only that no one can lead the Church *entirely* astray.' If Mason's premise about revelation is wrong, he can hardly claim that the conclusion he bases on it is *right*. As a further matter, Mason also overlooks a distinction that is important in understanding how the Lord works with his prophets, and this oversight, too, is instrumental in his thinking about revelation, including his view of Wilford Woodruff. This distinction will be discussed in the section entitled, "Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: The Priesthood-Temple Restriction."

68. Givens reports that Spencer W. Kimball considered the restriction a "possible error" and he does so in his paragraph about the imperfections and weaknesses of prophets. And this comment about Elder Kimball is immediately followed by his remark about the need for patience and faith regarding prophets since they are not always sage and inspired. See Terryl Givens, "Letter to a Doubter," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture*, 4 (2013): 135–36; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/letter-to-a-doubter/#more-2521. Givens would have no reason to mention the priesthood-temple restriction in the context of prophets' imperfections and weaknesses — and their inability to be always sage and inspired — if he didn't think the restriction was an illustration of those weaknesses and inabilities. It is difficult, at least, to imagine what other conclusion one could be expected to draw from his mention of the subject in this context. Mason is perfectly explicit in his view of the priesthood restriction as an error. He compares it to Lehi's "temporary lapse" in murmuring against the Lord — remarking, however, that the lapse was not equivalent to the greater problem of priesthood-temple denial and its effect over generations. He discusses the topic in the context of "human fallenness" and "sin" and, among other remarks, asks, "If I personally believe that Brigham Young erred when he instituted the priesthood ban in 1852, can I forgive him?" See Patrick Q. Mason, *Planted: Belief and Belonging in an Age of Doubt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2015), Kindle locations 2408–2437

69. Givens, "Letter to a Doubter," 135.

70. Spencer W. Kimball, *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, ed. Edward L. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), Kindle location 6394.

71. See the chapter, "In All Patience and Faith," in Patrick Q. Mason, *Planted: Belief and Belonging in an Age of Doubt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2015), Kindle location 2368.

72. Patrick Q. Mason, *Planted*, Kindle location 2396.

73. See the first section in this Part, "Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: 'In All Patience and Faith.'"

74. Spencer W. Kimball, *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, ed. Edward L. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), Kindle location 6394.

75. Ibid., 449, Kindle location 6393.

76. It is possible that Mason did not see this statement by President Kimball since, unlike Givens, he takes the earlier quote about "possible error" and "forgiveness" from a secondary source rather than from the actual *Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball* (Givens' source). See Note 14 in Mason's *Planted*, Kindle location 2499.

77. It would not be legitimate to argue that this statement by Spencer W. Kimball, as President, represents a change from his thinking as an apostle. As seen earlier, when we read the first statement (written as an apostle) accurately, it is perfectly consistent with the later statement made when he was President.

78. Patrick Q. Mason, *Planted: Belief and Belonging in an Age of Doubt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2015), Kindle location 2374.

79. These statements are reported in Edward L. Kimball's standard history of the topic, "Spencer W. Kimball and the Revelation on Priesthood," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 2 (2008), 48, 28–29, file:///C:/Users/Duane%20Boyce/Downloads/47.2kimballspencerb0a08 3df-b26b-430b-9ce2–3efec584dcd9.pdf. Mason includes the first quote in his book, though not the second. (Ellipses in the original.)

80. As an incidental matter, there are independent reasons to believe that President Kimball was free of personal prejudice. One of these is what he himself mentions: a long and well-documented ministry of service to minorities. Another is the reality of his life circumstances. From age 3 until his calling to the Twelve at

age 48, Spencer spent his life in Thatcher and Safford, Arizona — geographical areas that offered little exposure to African Americans. Personal prejudice is often born in areas where the wider community is already separated by racial mistrust and animosity, and Spencer Kimball would have experienced little of that over the first five decades of his life in those communities.

81. Patrick Q. Mason, *Planted: Belief and Belonging in an Age of Doubt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2015), Kindle location 2374. The idea that God was waiting on his prophets is Mason's answer to his earlier question: "Why didn't God inspire at least one of the prophets — there were ten in that span, from Brigham Young up until Spencer W. Kimball — to make a change on such a momentous issue?" (*Planted*, Kindle location 2207).

82. See Edward L. Kimball, "Spencer W. Kimball and the Revelation on Priesthood," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 2 (2008), 45, file:///C:/Users/Duane%20Boyce/Downloads/47.2kimballspencerb0a083df-b26b-430b-9ce2–3efec584dcd9.pdf. This study by Edward Kimball is a standard history on the subject of President Kimball and the priesthood-temple restriction, and it is one that Mason cites. That is why it is surprising that Mason overlooks an important element like this that appears in that source.

83. Cited in Edward L. Kimball, "Spencer W. Kimball and the Revelation on Priesthood," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 2 (2008), 32 (Note 71), file:///C:/Users/Duane%20Boyce/Downloads/47.2kimballspencerb0a083df-b26b-430b-9ce2–3efec584dcd9.pdf. Again, it is surprising that Mason overlooks a matter like this since it appears in this source, which he elsewhere cites. Incidentally, L. Brent Goates, President Lee's official biographer, expressed doubt about this story. His doubt is not dispositive, however. He also doubted another story about President Lee that was actually true. This was in reference to "an alleged dream or revelation which Elder Lee was supposed to have received during the Los Angeles Temple dedicatory services." In support of his discounting of the stories, Goates quotes from Elder Lee's brief diary account — but he completely overlooks President Lee's more robust description of the event in General Conference years later. There, President Lee specifically referred to this experience as a vision, whose dimensions were multiple and profound, and about which he spoke in utmost solemnity. The experience was thus more dramatic than Goates reports and the

persons reporting it were more reliable than Goates thinks. Even meticulous biographers can be mistaken. There is thus no reason to think that the doubts Goates expressed regarding President Lee's fasting and prayer on the subject supersede Arrington's straightforward report of the matter. For the discussion by Goates, see L. Brent Goates, *Harold B. Lee: Prophet and Seer* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1985), 324. For President Lee's public account of the experience, see General Conference, April 1973, "Stand Ye in Holy Places," https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1973/04/stand-ye-in-holy-places?lang=eng.

84. Again, all of these reports appear in a source with which Mason is familiar and elsewhere cites.

85. In Gregory A. Prince and William Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 104.

86. See Edward L. Kimball, "Spencer W. Kimball and the Revelation on Priesthood," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 2 (2008), 22, file:///C:/Users/Duane%20Boyce/Downloads/47.2kimballspencerb0a083df-b26b-430b-9ce2–3efec584dcd9.pdf. See also p. 45 in the same monograph. This report by Elder Hanks is another statement Mason overlooks in the study by Edward Kimball that he elsewhere cites.

87. Cited in Edward L. Kimball, "Spencer W. Kimball and the Revelation on Priesthood," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 2 (2008), 48, file:///C:/Users/Duane%20Boyce/Downloads/47.2kimballspencerb0a083df-b26b-430b-9ce2–3efec584dcd9.pdf.

88. For just one example, Official Declaration 2 itself speaks of "the promises made by the prophets and presidents of the Church who have preceded us."

89. See Mark L. McConkie, ed., *Doctrines of the Restoration: Sermons and Writings of Bruce R. McConkie* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 160.

90. See "We Stand for Something: President Gordon B. Hinckley," On the Record, *Sunstone* 21/4 (December 1998): 71 [cited in Gregory L. Smith, "Shattered Glass: The Traditions of Mormon Same-Sex Marriage Advocates Encounter Boyd K. Packer" http://publications.maxwellinstitute.byu.edu/fullscreen/?pub=1462&index=6 (accessed February 17, 2015)].

91. Regarding Elder McConkie, see Mark L. McConkie, *Doctrines of the Restoration*, 159–71; regarding President Packer, see "Lessons from Gospel Experiences," new mission presidents' seminar, 25 June 2008, disc 4, track 12, 0:00–0:54 (cited in Gregory L. Smith, "Shattered Glass," footnote 42).

92. See again Gregory A. Prince and Wm. Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 104, and the additional reports in Edward L. Kimball, "Spencer W. Kimball and the Revelation on Priesthood," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 2 (2008), 22 and 45, file:///C:/Users/Duane%20Boyce/Downloads/47.2kimballspencerb0a08 3df-b26b-430b-9ce2–3efec584dcd9.pdf.

93. See again Edward L. Kimball, "Spencer W. Kimball and the Revelation on Priesthood," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 2 (2008), 45, file:///C:/Users/Duane%20Boyce/Downloads/47.2kimballspencer b0a083df-b26b-430b-9ce2–3efec584dcd9.pdf.

94. I address the majority of these in my "Sustaining the Brethren," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture,* 14 (2015), vii-xxxii; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/sustaining-the-brethren/.

95. Dallin H. Oaks, *Life's Lessons Learned*: *Personal Reflections* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2011), Kindle location 655–659.

96. In Bruce C. Hafen, *A Disciple's Life: The Biography of Neal A. Maxwell* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2002), 413.

97. One example: The Lord instructed Mormon to include the small plates of Nephi in his record (after he had already directed Nephi to make the record in the first place), but he gave neither of these prophets any explanation for his instructions — and the (presumptive) reason did not become clear until centuries later (1 Nephi 9:5; Words of Mormon 1:6–7).

98. Neal A. Maxwell, *All These Things Shall Give Thee Experience* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1979), Kindle location 1340. The remark also appears in Cory H. Maxwell, ed, *The Neal A. Maxwell Quote Book* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 274.

99. George Q. Cannon, in Jerreld L. Newquist, ed., *Gospel Truth: Discourses and Writings of President George Q. Cannon,* vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Zion's Book Store, 1957), 346.

100. Ibid., 346.

101. Patrick Q. Mason, *Planted: Belief and Belonging in an Age of Doubt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2015), Kindle location 2345.

102. Spencer W. Kimball, *Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball,* ed. Edward L. Kimball, (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1995), 448; Kindle location 6393.

103. Dallin H. Oaks, *Life's Lessons Learned: Personal Reflections* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 2011), Kindle location 655–659.

104. See "Race and the Priesthood" at https://www.lds.org/topics/race-and-the-priesthood?lang=eng.

105. This doctrinal province seems, in significant part, to explain the Lord's declaration to Joseph Smith that "this generation shall have my word through you" (D&C 5:10) — i.e., the doctrines of the Lord are located in the revelations given to Joseph. Commenting on this passage, Bruce R. McConkie said, "What this means is that if we are going to receive the knowledge of God, the knowledge of truth, the knowledge of salvation, and know the things that we must do to work out our salvation with fear and trembling before the Lord, this must come in and through Joseph Smith and in no other way. He is the agent, the representative, the instrumentality that the Lord has appointed to give the truth about himself and his laws to all men in all the world in this age." In Mark L. McConkie, ed., *Doctrines of the Restoration: Sermons and Writings of Bruce R. McConkie* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 19.

106. This is evident even in the major *doctrinal* pronouncements of the Church since the time of Joseph Smith: such statements have been scriptural expositions — emphasizing various passages of the existing canon — rather than pronouncements claiming to announce new doctrinal truths. Significant examples that are widely familiar and accessible include: "The Father and the Son: A Doctrinal Exposition by the First Presidency and the Twelve" (1916); "The Origin of Man" (both the 1909 and 1925 statements by the First Presidency); "The Family: A Proclamation" (by the First Presidency and the Twelve, 1995); and "The Living Christ" (by the First Presidency and the Twelve, 2000). Note 109 discusses two examples of the Lord revealing new doctrine to prophets subsequent to Joseph Smith.

107. Joseph Fielding Smith, in Bruce R. McConkie, ed., *Doctrines of Salvation*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954–56), 3:203–4.

108. In Mark L. McConkie, ed., *Doctrines of the Restoration: Sermons and Writings of Bruce R. McConkie* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 231.

109. The exception, of course, would be if the matter were made official by the First Presidency and the Twelve, and particularly if it were presented to the Church for addition to the canon. This was the case with the vision given to Joseph F. Smith regarding the redemption of the dead, which did establish new doctrine subsequent to Joseph Smith. This revelation achieved official status through a process of formal approval by the full First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve (later, of course, to be presented to the full Church and officially accepted into the standard works). This indicates the pattern to be followed in any presentation of new doctrine to the Church. It will not come from any individual, acting alone, but only through the official councils the Lord has established. The same principle is evident in the revelation given to Brigham Young, found in Section 136 of the Doctrine and Covenants. The revelation includes two verses that constitute new doctrine, but they are limited in scope since they refer exclusively to Joseph Smith (D&C 136:38–39). As with the vision of Joseph F. Smith, this revelation was canonized through official Church action.

110. *Planted*, Kindle location 2325.

111. In this connection it is worth noting that ambiguity is sometimes introduced into this topic by contrasting "doctrines" with "policies." (This is a matter on which Edward L. Kimball might have written more clearly. See his "Spencer W. Kimball and the Revelation on the Priesthood," *BYU Studies* (47/2) 2008, 22; https://byustudies. byu.edu/content/spencer-w-kimball-and-revelation-priesthood.) It is easy to misinterpret a statement like "the restriction on the priesthood was a policy, not a doctrine" because we might think this means that, as a policy, it was therefore more or less man-made rather than revealed. But of course the matter of revelation applies to policies as well as to doctrines, since even a policy — a practice — can be either man-made *or* revealed. For generations God directed that the priesthood could be held only by the tribe of Levi and that only those descended from Aaron could hold the office of high priest in that priesthood. The fact that this pattern has been changed in this dispensation certainly signals that this

practice was a policy (i.e., it was not an eternal, unchangeable fact about the universe), but it does *not* signal that it was not revealed. The record clearly depicts that it was. This category of God's work — revealed *policy* — is the proper description for many activities occurring over the history of the world, including instructing Noah to build an ark, leading Abraham to the land of Canaan, leading the children of Israel out of Egypt, directing that the gospel go first to Israel and then to the Gentiles and later directing that the gospel go first to the Gentiles and then to Israel, constructing priesthood offices for the children of Israel according to lineage, identifying Salt Lake as the gathering place for Saints throughout the world and later identifying Saints' local geographies as their official gathering place, building smaller temples, and so forth. The Lord does many things on a temporary and even localized basis, often for reasons known only to him.

112. The claims are (1) that "in all patience and faith" refers to being patient with prophets, (2) that God intervenes only occasionally in guiding the Church, (3) that Spencer W. Kimball thought the priesthood-temple restriction was a possible error and asked forgiveness for it, (4) that President Kimball had to fight his personal prejudices along the way to overturning the priesthood-temple restriction, and (5) that the Lord may have been waiting on his prophets — rather than their waiting on him — with regard to removing the restriction.

113. As indicated in Note 67, this problem is not ameliorated by Mason's brief discussion of Wilford Woodruff's famous statement about leading the Church astray. Mason's interpretation assumes he is correct about the infrequency of revelation to the presiding councils of the Church, even though there is strong reason to suppose he is *not* correct about this. This assumption is exactly what is called into question by all of the reports/declarations we have considered and that Mason overlooks. That is one of the reasons his inattention to such reports is so serious: his neglect contributes to an implausible conclusion about revelation and his implausible conclusion about revelation partly determines his conclusion about what it means to "lead astray."

A Lengthening Shadow
Is Quality of Thought Deteriorating in LDS Scholarly Discourse Regarding Prophets and Revelation?

Part Two

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Duane Boyce

Abstract: *Many mistakes that occur in scholarly endeavors are understandable. The truth is often difficult to discover, and this makes errors inevitable and expected. And of course, some mistakes are so insignificant that to complain of them would be mere pedantry. But this is not true of all errors. Some are both obvious and of such significance to their topics that they are egregious. There is reason to be concerned that this is occurring to some degree on the topic of prophets and the Lord's revelations to them. Erroneous claims and arguments are not difficult to find, including some published under the auspices of reputable and mainstream entities. Is it possible that such errors are becoming common, and commonly accepted, in LDS scholarly discourse? Part One considered multiple examples, primarily from Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason, that begin to suggest a positive answer to this question. This installment, Part Two, considers examples from Grant Hardy that also suggest an affirmative answer.*

As discussed in Part One, the purpose of this paper is to investigate whether there is a general (and growing) deterioration of thought on the topic of prophets and revelation in LDS scholarly discourse. In other words, one wonders whether errors on this topic are becoming common, and commonly accepted, in the rhetoric of LDS scholars.

Part One focused on the matter of modern prophets and modern revelation, based primarily on works by Terryl Givens and Patrick

Mason. This Part will focus on the ancient prophet Nephi, as treated by Grant Hardy.

As mentioned in Part One, because of this article's length, many readers will prefer to go directly to the topics that interest them most and navigate their own paths through the material. Since some readers will want only a headline view of the content, periodic summaries and conclusions also appear along the way, including a general conclusion at the end of Part Three.

Here are the various sections that appear over the three Parts:

Part One

Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: "In All Patience and Faith"
Patrick Mason: The Lord's Guidance to the Church
Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: The Priesthood-Temple
    Restriction
Conclusion to Part One

Part Two (all sections are based on Grant Hardy's work)

Grant Hardy: Introduction
Nephi as Exclusionary and Condemning in Attitude
Nephi's Failure to Eat of the Fruit of the Tree
Nephi's Misleading Narrative Regarding Laman and Lemuel
"Another Side" to the Story Regarding Laman and Lemuel
Nephi's Omission of Lehi as a Witness of the Lord
"Irony" in Nephi's Committing the First Act of Killing in the Book
    of Mormon
One Methodological Note
Conclusion to Part Two

Part Three

Terryl Givens: Abraham, Moses, and Jonah
Brief Additional Illustrations
General Conclusion: A Lengthening Shadow

Grant Hardy: Introduction

In understanding how LDS scholars sometimes discuss prophets and revelation, it is important to consider both modern and ancient examples. We have already considered some modern instances in Part One. Grant Hardy's *Understanding the Book of Mormon*[1] gives us a look

at significant ancient prophets, specifically from the Book of Mormon: Nephi, Mormon, and Moroni. Hardy's approach is novel and welcome, but it is not free of numerous and important errors. At some level I think these are easy to overlook because of the uniqueness of Hardy's approach: enamored of its originality, we can find ourselves taking Hardy's word for what the Book of Mormon text says and thinking his conclusions are not only original but accurate.

Unfortunately, following this course too often proves to be a mistake. This is apparent in Hardy's discussion of Nephi, for example — the Book of Mormon figure to whom I will restrict my attention in the interest of brevity. Although there are many smaller issues in Hardy's text that deserve attention,[2] I will address only a few of the more substantive matters. These are various assertions about Nephi's nature and character that turn out to be unjustified and thus unfair — either because they are highly tenuous, implausible, or explicitly false. I will consider a sample of such contentions.

Nephi

To get a feel for Hardy's approach, it is useful to summarize assorted assertions he makes regarding Nephi.

Early on Hardy tells us that Nephi "is anxious that we perceive him" in certain ways, including as "spiritually superior to his brothers" (20).[3] Indeed, "from the beginning," Nephi "structures the narrative in such a way as to prevent readers from sympathizing with his older brothers" (33) and, we are told, he actually has a "vested interest in revealing their moral shortcomings" (39). We also learn that Nephi takes measures in his writing to "gain the sympathy of readers and alienate them from his brothers" (41) and that "the only development he allows them is negative" (41).

Hardy finds expressions of Nephi's "vested interest" in a number of places. For example, Nephi refers, without warrant, to the murderous nature of Laman and Lemuel well before any evidence of such a tendency actually appears in the record (35). Indeed, Hardy points out that Nephi himself "ironically" commits the first killing in the Book of Mormon (35). Nephi also shows unusual eagerness to explain his brothers' unrighteousness: following Lehi's exhortation to Laman and Lemuel on one occasion, Hardy tells us that Nephi "hardly takes a breath" before giving us a sense of their rebellious character (34). Nephi also "plays with the chronology" in recounting the events of his deliverance from

being bound on the ship in order to paint Laman and Lemuel in an unfavorable light (41).

In addition, Hardy asserts that the defense Laman and Lemuel offered for the people of Jerusalem was understandable in view of various scriptural interpretations dominant at the time (38–39), and it is likely Laman and Lemuel were simply orthodox, conservative Jews who were not unreasonably resistant to Lehi's claims to divine guidance (36–39). Their view of God's protection of Jerusalem, for example, was "defensible, conservative, and held by the majority of the religious establishment of the time" (39). And, even though Nephi refers to his brothers as would-be murderers, they actually appear to be "rather halfhearted" about the matter (39–40). We also learn that Laman and Lemuel were attuned to the needs of their wives, whereas Nephi apparently was not (46), and also that Nephi was "blind to gender issues" (83).

We also learn from Hardy that Nephi uses various rhetorical tools to lend extra weight to his credibility (36, 43–44), prevent us from making independent assessments of his declarations (36), and make sure readers do not question Lehi's perspective on his vision (37). Nephi also finesses the narrative in order to prevent charges against his credibility "to sink into the minds of readers" (50), "deflects" readers' attention from what he has omitted from the record (52) and obscures other matters by changing the subject, "hoping we won't notice" (20). We also see a "narrative gap" and Nephi's "attempt to disguise it" (22; also, 17, 20), and we learn that Nephi includes a commendation from Lehi because Nephi is "not content" to let his readers assess his declaration independently (36).

Hardy states other matters with similar confidence. He tells us what words Lehi did not speak that Nephi was hoping to hear (17), what Nephi "must have savored as poetic justice" (35), what "would have been impossible" for Nephi in light of his cultural background (49), what Nephi "is reminded of" (although Nephi never actually mentions it) (54), and what would have "strained" the relationship between Lehi and Nephi (55). He also informs us that Nephi, at the time of his writing, has "not fully assimilated" the equality-based, expansive theological perspective God has revealed to him (83), that he is "forced to admit" that righteousness is more important than tribal affiliation (83), and that Nephi uses various scriptural interpretations "to assuage deep personal frustrations" (84).

Moreover, although Nephi is anxious for readers to perceive him as "in harmony with his father at all times" (20), there is evidence the two did not always "see eye to eye" (50). This is indicated by the lack of a

recorded blessing to Nephi from Lehi (50), Nephi's failure (in talking about Isaiah) to mention Lehi as a witness of Christ (50), Lehi's naming of a new son "Joseph" (50), and Nephi's omission of Lehi's reaction when he and his brothers returned from Jerusalem with the plates of brass (17–19, 50). Additionally, Hardy tells us that whereas Lehi desires to partake of the fruit once he sees the tree in his vision, Nephi does not. Nephi opts instead for knowledge *about* the tree — a decision whose effects haunt him throughout his life (84–86). Moreover, whereas Lehi takes an inviting and inclusive approach toward his vision — tasting of the fruit and beckoning his family to taste of it as well — Nephi is focused instead on justice and condemnation. He primarily wants to protect the tree from the unworthy (52–54).

Four Immediate Observations

This is not all that Hardy says about Nephi, but this summary gives a decent overall picture of Hardy's tenor. Four observations suggest themselves immediately. First, almost all of these items question the accuracy of Nephi's account at certain points and/or certain aspects of his motives and character.

Second, Hardy periodically states matters with a degree of confidence that in the end cannot be justified. Here and there he acknowledges that his reading is speculative (e.g., 49), and he often speaks with appropriate tentativeness, but in in numerous places he speaks with a confidence that belies any caveats about speculation. As we will see, once they are examined, multiple assertions by Hardy are unjustified — because they are either false or at a minimum completely tenuous.

Third, this set of claims, taken as a whole, creates a far more negative picture of Nephi than the way readers are accustomed to thinking about him. Indeed, this feature of the commentary is common enough that one is surprised to encounter Hardy raising this caution in the course of his discussion: "It might be tempting to dismiss Nephi as a biased, self-aggrandizing character, but that would be a mistake" (44). This is puzzling because, if Nephi seems to readers biased and self-aggrandizing, it is only because that is how Hardy's own choice of language periodically characterizes him. Indeed, Hardy's caution reveals that he knows this: if he hadn't written as he does from the outset — and if he hadn't realized it — he would not have felt the need to issue the caution. Ironically, it would seem that Hardy first creates an impression for readers and then tells them they are mistaken if they have that impression. An option

would have been to use language that didn't require retraction in the first place.[4]

Fourth, and most important, most if not all the assertions listed above regarding Nephi could be contested on various grounds and shown to be faulty — whether because they are based on slender intellectual threads or because they are simply false. For simplicity's sake I will restrict myself to six examples. They are Hardy's claims regarding: (1) the exclusionary and condemning attitude Nephi takes toward his vision and how this differs from Lehi's; (2) Nephi's failure to eat of the fruit of the tree and what this reveals about him; (3) two ways Nephi is misleading in his narrative treatment of Laman and Lemuel; (4) the possible sincerity and mere mistakenness of Laman and Lemuel in their resistance to Lehi and Nephi; (5) Nephi's omission of Lehi as one of the witnesses of the Lord; and (6) the irony of Nephi's referring to Laman and Lemuel's murderous character although he himself actually commits the first killing in the book.

In addition, I will make a brief comment about one methodological matter in Hardy's approach.

Nephi as Exclusionary and Condemning in Attitude

To begin, consider one conclusion Hardy reaches in discussing the vision of the tree, the great and spacious building, and so forth, shared by Lehi and Nephi. Hardy reports that whereas Lehi takes an inviting and inclusive approach in regard to this experience — beckoning his family to the tree, for instance — Nephi is more justice-oriented and condemning. Hardy tells us, for example, that "Lehi speaks [of the vision] as a concerned father, Nephi as a condemning brother (and a younger one at that)" (54). Specifically, Hardy says, Lehi is concerned about how the great and spacious building "might entice people away from the tree," whereas Nephi's concern is the exact opposite: the elements he sees behave "sternly" against the wicked (53), and Nephi "worries that the tree might attract people from the building who are not worthy to eat of its fruit" (54). Overall, the picture Hardy paints is one of Lehi's simply wanting the best for people, whereas Nephi primarily wants to make sure the tree is protected from the unworthy.

Hardy is thus making twin charges. One is that Nephi's attitude is condemning and exclusionary in nature, and the other is that his attitude is different specifically from Lehi's.

These are significant assertions — particularly the first. It is useful to consider Hardy's evidence for these claims in three major categories: (1) Nephi's use of the expression "tree of life" to refer to the tree, whereas Lehi does not; (2) Nephi's discussion of the fire related to the tree as well as his use of terms like "hell," "awful gulf," and "justice," whereas Lehi does not; and (3) Nephi's description of God as rejecting the wicked, rather than (as with Lehi) of the wicked as rejecting God. As we examine each of these matters, we will discover that Hardy's evidence is not the support he thinks it is. Indeed, in the end his twin claims about Nephi both prove to be unsustainable.

Nephi's Expression: "Tree of Life"

For Hardy, one evidence that Nephi and Lehi adopt different attitudes toward their vision is found in the different ways they refer to the tree itself. Hardy notices that Nephi refers to the tree he sees as the "tree of life," whereas Lehi never refers to it this way. This indicates to Hardy that Nephi is reminded of the famous tree in the Garden of Eden called the tree of life. Indeed, Hardy states the matter confidently, telling us unequivocally that Nephi *is* reminded of this tree (54). The association with the tree in the Garden is significant for Hardy because he believes it is one evidence that Nephi thinks primarily in terms of *protecting* his tree. The tree of life in the Garden of Eden was, according to Hardy, "kept off-limits from the unrighteous by a 'flaming sword which turned every way'" (see Genesis 2:9; 3:22–24) (54). Since Nephi calls his tree the "tree of life" and since the original "tree of life" was protected from "the unrighteous," this is one indication to Hardy that Nephi is thinking of his tree in the same exclusionary, protective terms.

However, although this clue about Nephi's tree-of-life language is interesting, Hardy overlooks three major elements of the record that significantly weaken it as evidence for his claim.

Internal Reasons for Nephi's Expression

The first difficulty is the presence of multiple elements *internal* to Nephi's vision that would explain his expression "tree of life." Note, to begin, the presence of what Nephi specifically calls "living waters" in the vision he and Lehi saw — living waters that he explicitly equates with Lehi's tree. Indeed, Nephi says the rod of iron led "*to* the fountain of living waters, *or*," he adds, "to the tree of life" (1 Nephi 11:25). He also tells us that both the tree *and* the living waters represent "the love of

God" (1 Nephi 11:21–22, 25). For Nephi the tree and the living waters are equivalent symbols.[5]

Note also that Nephi's vision included seeing all that John the Revelator later saw (1 Nephi 14:19–30) — and John also saw a "tree of life" associated with living waters (Revelation 22:1–17). It was a tree that represented spiritual abundance and glory, including in the celestial city of God. Since (1) Nephi actually *saw* this tree, (2) it was specifically represented as a "tree of life," (3) it was associated with living waters, and (4) its spiritual meaning was similar to the tree in Lehi's dream, it is easy to imagine Nephi's drawing a connection between the two images and using the same expression for Lehi's tree. This tree image — one Nephi had actually seen and that he had observed in the same vision in which he saw Lehi's tree — would seem a more natural source for Nephi's expression "tree of life" than a tree in the Garden of Eden that Nephi had only read about.

In addition, Nephi is also shown Lehi's tree specifically in relation to the Savior's birth through Mary, his mortal mother (1 Nephi 11:9–23). This depiction of the Savior's entrance into life is actually dominant in Nephi's vision: the account of the infant Jesus — borne in the arms of his angelic, earthly mother — is bathed in holiness, and the connection between the tree and Jesus, and between Jesus and Mary, is made explicit.[6] The idea of life — indeed, of *divine* life — permeates the account.

These elements of the record make it easy to imagine Nephi's referring to the tree he sees as the "tree of life," independent of the tree in the Garden of Eden. Nephi explicitly saw what John saw of a "tree of life" — a tree that represented spiritual abundance and glory and that was associated with living waters. Moreover, even what he saw of Lehi's tree served as a forceful and holy symbol of the bestowal of life.

Elements of the record also indicate why Lehi would *not* necessarily think of the tree in these terms and thus why he would not necessarily use the term "tree of life" to describe it. For one thing, we have no indication that Lehi saw John's vision as Nephi did, and thus we have no reason to think Lehi saw the "tree of life" that Nephi and John saw. In addition, Lehi apparently failed even to notice the living waters that were intimately connected to the tree in his vision: he makes no mention of them, either in recounting his vision or anytime thereafter. Nephi explicitly tells us in one place that, due to Lehi's mind being "swallowed up in other things," he overlooked an element of the vision he had seen (1 Nephi 15:26–27), and the same seems to be true of this feature of Lehi's experience as well. In addition, Lehi evidently did not even see the tree's relationship to

the Savior and his birth. This life-drenched symbolism was presented to Nephi in an explicit and forceful way, but Lehi apparently was not shown it at all.[7] It is not surprising, then, that — in contrast to Nephi — Lehi nowhere refers to the tree as the tree of life; multiple elements of the text actually suggest he *wouldn't* refer to it that way.

Therefore, that Nephi refers to the tree as the *tree of life* and that Lehi doesn't is by itself decidedly weak evidence for Hardy's twin claims. Features of Nephi's own experience are sufficient to account for his language, independent of the tree in Genesis, and features of Lehi's own experience are sufficient to account for his difference from Nephi.[8]

Dissimilarities between the Lehi/Nephi Tree and the Genesis "Tree of Life"

The second major difficulty with Hardy's view that Nephi is thinking of the tree in the Garden of Eden is that it differs from the tree he and Lehi see in significant ways. A "strait and narrow path" and a "rod of iron" are central elements in the vision they saw (1 Nephi 8:20–21, 24; 11:25), and the whole intent of these elements was to help people reach this tree and partake of its fruit (see especially 1 Nephi 8:21–28, 30; 11:9, 21–23, 25). But none of this is true of the tree of life in the Garden of Eden. In that story there is no path, no rod of iron, and no imperative that people are supposed to find their way to the tree. Indeed, the tree is specifically *protected* from approach. (More on this momentarily.) These are not minor differences and in fact constitute what seem to be essential distinctions between the two trees.

There are additional differences as well. For instance, Hardy emphasizes (53–54) that the fire Nephi speaks of in his vision specifically represents the separation of "the wicked" from the righteous and that this separation is explicitly identified as due to "justice" (1 Nephi 15:27 30). But neither of these features matches very well the story in Genesis. For example, whatever their transgression, the Genesis account does not characterize Adam and Eve as "wicked." The Lord remarks that "the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil" (Genesis 3:22), and he casts Adam out of the Garden and also guards the tree of life with a flaming sword so that Adam cannot partake of the fruit "lest he … eat, and live forever" (Genesis 3:22). But there is no mention that God is imposing "justice" in preventing Adam from eating of the tree. All the Lord says is that he does not want Adam to live forever; he does not indicate this is a matter of justice or that it is due to wickedness.[9]

Nephi's Failure to Mention the Genesis Tree of Life

The third major difficulty with Hardy's contention that Nephi thinks of Lehi's tree in terms of the tree in the Garden of Eden is this: when, after Nephi sees Mary and the infant Son of God in vision, Nephi's angelic guide asks him if he knows the meaning of the tree, Nephi answers decisively in the affirmative — but he says nothing about the tree in Genesis in his explanation. Nor does the angel make any reference of this sort in his response to Nephi's explanation (1 Nephi 11:12–23). Although this would be a natural place for one or the other to make this connection if it were significant, neither of them draws such a parallel.[10]

Summary

Hardy places too much emphasis on Nephi's expression, *tree of life,* as evidence that Nephi is reminded of the tree in the Garden of Eden whereas Lehi is not. Nephi's own experience can very comfortably explain why this expression would occur to him, independent of any specific reference to this tree in Genesis. Moreover, there are at least five important differences between the tree Lehi and Nephi see and the tree of life in the Garden of Eden, including the very intent of the two trees. And when Nephi and his angelic guide explicitly discuss the meaning of Lehi's tree, neither refers to the tree in the Garden of Eden. All these features of the text seriously weaken Hardy's contention regarding Nephi's language in referring to the tree.[11]

Nephi's Justice-Oriented "Flaming Fire"

Nephi's expression "tree of life" (and its contrast with Lehi's language) is not all of Hardy's evidence for his claim of connection between Eden's tree of life and the tree of life in Lehi's dream. A second is the presence of fire and a sword in both Nephi's account of his vision and in the Garden of Eden (53–54). Nephi specifically mentions a "flaming fire" in speaking of Lehi's vision to Laman and Lemuel, and he explains that it represents the justice of God — a justice that divides the righteous from the wicked as well as from the tree itself (1 Nephi 15:30–36). And in his earlier report of the vision, he identifies what divides the wicked as "the sword of the justice of the Eternal God" (1 Nephi 12:18).[12] Both fire and a sword are thus features of the vision. This, of course, resembles the Genesis account. In that episode Adam and Eve were specifically prevented from approaching the tree because it was guarded by a "flaming sword" (Genesis 2:9; 3:22–24) — a sword that, in Hardy's words, kept the tree "off-limits to the unrighteous" (54). In putting the matter this way,

Hardy indicates that this flaming sword resembles what Nephi saw: a "flaming fire" that represented the justice of God and that similarly separated *his* tree from the wicked (1 Nephi 15:30–36). The two accounts seem alike — which suggests, again, that Nephi is drawing a connection between them.

But what seems to matter most to Hardy is that Nephi associates this fiery element with terms such as "awful gulf," "hell," "filthiness," and "the devil" in talking to Laman and Lemuel about the vision (1 Nephi 15:26–36). Lehi, in contrast, says nothing about such unpleasant matters in describing his experience, omitting mention of a fire and a sword altogether. All this is evidence to Hardy that Nephi is primarily concerned with justice and with condemnation of the wicked and that in this he is significantly different from Lehi.

This line of thinking has a certain surface appeal, but four features of the text combine to render it untenable.

Differences between the Fiery Elements

The first feature that creates a difficulty is the dissimilarity that exists between the two fiery elements. Whereas the fire and sword Nephi sees specifically represent the justice of God — and explicitly separate the wicked from the righteous and from God — this is not true of the fiery sword in the Garden of Eden. The Genesis account does not frame Adam and Eve as wicked, and its fiery element does not represent the justice of God: it is a flaming sword that merely prevents Adam and Eve from partaking of the tree and living forever.

That both accounts have fiery elements, therefore, is only weak evidence that the fire Nephi sees puts him in mind of the tree in the Garden of Eden.

The next three features of the text, however, are far more significant. In speaking with Laman and Lemuel, Nephi associates such concepts as an "awful gulf," "hell," "justice," "the devil," and so forth with these fiery elements. Hardy contends that Nephi's doing so indicates his condemning and exclusionary attitude and also indicates his difference from Lehi, who, as mentioned, never describes his vision in these terms.

But these claims collapse when confronted with the following additional features of the text.

Explicating *Lehi's* Vision

Note, for example, that Nephi confines everything he tells Laman and Lemuel to what occurred in *Lehi's* vision. Indeed, Nephi explicitly

identifies this "flaming fire," which represents "the justice of God," as something shown to Lehi: "And I said unto them that *our father* also saw the justice of God … and the brightness thereof was like unto the brightness of a flaming fire," etc. (1 Nephi 15:30). Laman and Lemuel are asking Nephi for an interpretation of *Lehi's* dream, and that is what Nephi is giving them.

The Interpretation Given by an Angel

Note, also, that Nephi was given his understanding of Lehi's vision by an angel. This angel was beside Nephi throughout the bulk of his manifestation (1 Nephi 11: 14–36), and Nephi declares of him that "I bear record that I saw the things which my father saw, *and the angel of the Lord did make them known unto me*" (1 Nephi 14:29), a matter Nephi explicitly mentions to Laman and Lemuel (1 Nephi 15:29).[13]

These two features of the text are significant. They demonstrate that Nephi is an intermediary in these verses: he is simply passing along an *angel's* interpretation of *Lehi's* dream. Neither the images nor their interpretations are the products of Nephi's own mind, and thus it is baseless to conclude from them anything about Nephi's particular attitude. Lehi's vision — and an angel's interpretation of it — do not provide grounds for drawing conclusions about *Nephi*.

Responding to Laman and Lemuel's Questions

Finally, note that Nephi speaks about an "awful gulf," "hell," and so forth only in response to Laman and Lemuel's questions (1 Nephi 15:26–36). Nephi does not aggressively foist a sermon upon his brothers against their wills; everything they hear on theses topics is in response to what they asked him. It is hard to see Nephi as exclusionary and condemning when he reveals these matters only because he is being *asked* for explanations. Moreover, Laman and Lemuel's asking provides additional evidence that Nephi's attitude is no different from Lehi's. After all, if Laman and Lemuel had presented their questions to Lehi, he would have given them the same answers Nephi gave them[14] — in which case *Lehi* is the one who would appear to Hardy as exclusionary and condemning. That Nephi, rather than Lehi, is the one who explains Lehi's vision to Laman and Lemuel is pure happenstance. No meaning about Nephi can be attached to it.

A Failed Rescue Attempt

Hardy explicitly acknowledges one of these features — namely, that Nephi is explicating the vision according to the interpretation given him by an angel. Unfortunately, he simultaneously minimizes and even seems to forget what he has acknowledged. He says, for example, that Nephi is not "exactly" improvising in his explanations and emphasizes that, after all, Nephi's explication "is the first time the brothers have heard their father's dream portrayed with words such as *hell*, *gulf*, and *justice*" (53). These comments, however, do not help Hardy's argument. The first of these claims is completely unsubstantiated and implausible, and the second is a red herring.

In the first case, Hardy's remark that Nephi is not "exactly" improvising (53) entails that he is at least somewhat improvising. But Hardy offers no evidence for this, and it is hard to see how he could, since Nephi explicitly reports that his understanding was due to the teachings of an angel. Hardy's is a charge without support and, so it would seem, without merit.

Second, Hardy's observation that Laman and Lemuel are hearing about Lehi's dream in "stern" terms of "hell" and "justice" for the first time — from Nephi — is completely beside the point. Laman and Lemuel hear these concepts for the first time from Nephi only because it is the first time they are asking questions — and they happen to be asking them of Nephi rather than of Lehi. Such a circumstance reflects nothing about Nephi's attitude. It is actually irrelevant to it and thus adds no support to Hardy's claims.[15]

What we see in the record, then, is that Nephi is an intermediary, passing along an angel's explanation of Lehi's dream because Laman and Lemuel are asking him questions about it. Mention of a fiery element (along with "hell," "justice," and so forth) does nothing to indicate a condemning and exclusionary attitude in Nephi. Nor does it suggest that Nephi's attitude contrasts in any way with Lehi's. The passage is not even *about* Nephi's attitude (at best, it is about the angel's). Moreover the only reason Laman and Lemuel hear of these matters for the first time from Nephi is simply because Nephi is the first one they ask — a coincidence that also signifies nothing about Nephi's attitude. In all these ways Hardy's contentions about Nephi fail.

But this is not all. Note, as I said earlier, that if Laman and Lemuel had asked their questions of Lehi rather than of Nephi, *Lehi* is the one who would appear to Hardy as exclusionary and condemning. But this would also be mistaken, of course. After all, Lehi was *given* his vision,

and if he received an interpretation of it, that would *also* be given to him. Lehi is thus no more responsible for the elements of the vision — and of their meanings — than is Nephi.

Ultimately, if Hardy wants to call all of this exclusionary and condemning, according to the text he will have to look beyond (and above) Lehi and Nephi for the responsible party.

Nephi's Illusory "Rejection" of the Wicked

A third evidence for Hardy that Nephi adopts an exclusionary and condemning tone is this declaration by Nephi regarding justice and hell: "Wherefore, the wicked are rejected from the righteous, and also from that tree of life, whose fruit is most precious and most desirable above all other fruits" (1 Nephi 15:36) (54).

In Lehi's "gentle account," as Hardy puts it, people are invited to partake of the fruit freely and simply need to overcome some hindrances in order to do so (53–54). In contrast, in this statement of Nephi's, we learn that "the wicked are *rejected* from the righteous, and also from that tree of life" (1 Nephi 15:36) (54). It is in this context that Hardy remarks: "For Lehi, the wicked tragically refuse what is freely offered by God; Nephi reverses this and has God refuse the wicked" (54).

Unfortunately for Hardy's argument, for two central reasons, all of this is mistaken.

Nephi's Sources and Laman and Lemuel's Questions

The first is a matter we have just seen: Nephi is merely reporting what occurred in *Lehi's* dream and he is teaching concepts actually delivered to him by an angel explaining the meaning of what Lehi saw. Neither the images nor their explanations come from Nephi himself. It is also relevant that, in this passage, Nephi is explicitly addressing questions asked by Laman and Lemuel. It is not part of a lecture Nephi was imposing on his brothers as a way of condemning them; everything they hear is in direct answer to their own questions. All these matters paint a different picture of Nephi than the one Hardy presents to us.

Rejected — The Wrong Word

The second reason Hardy's line of thinking fails is related to his reliance on the word *rejected* in Nephi's statement — i.e., "the wicked are *rejected* from the righteous, and also from that tree of life" (1 Nephi 15:36). It is the appearance of this word that leads Hardy to claim that Nephi is going out of his way to emphasize God's condemnation and judgment. Whereas

Lehi sees the wicked as refusing God, Nephi "reverses this," according to Hardy and instead "has God refuse ['reject'] the wicked" (54).

This argument evaporates, however, as Royal Skousen's work on the Book of Mormon text indicates that the word *rejected* in this passage should actually be *separated*.[16] This means the passage in point of fact reads: "The wicked are *separated* from the righteous." Understood this way, the passage turns out to be a problem for Hardy, since it straightforwardly undermines his characterization of Nephi. Instead of sounding condemning and stern in this passage — as Hardy says of him — Nephi actually sounds much like Hardy thinks *Lehi* sounds. The wicked are merely "separated" from the righteous, not *rejected* from them.

Reliance on the word *rejected* in this part of Hardy's argument, then, is an error. The truth about the language in this verse, far from serving as evidence for Hardy's view about Nephi's condemning and justice-oriented tone, actually serves as compelling evidence against it.

Additional Error. There is an additional layer to this error. After all, Hardy is familiar with Skousen's textual change from "rejected" to "separated." It is something he acknowledges in an endnote.[17] What he does not do, however, is allow this alteration to affect his argument. This is surprising. Throughout his volume Hardy refers to Skousen's textual changes and in each instance he accepts Skousen's modification. In this case, however, while acknowledging in an endnote Nephi's use of the word *separated* rather than *rejected*, Hardy proceeds in the text with his characterization of Nephi as if this correction didn't exist — or at least as if it didn't matter.

It does matter, though. Hardy's characterization of Nephi as exclusionary and condemning depends in no small measure on the appearance of the word *rejected* in this particular passage. When Hardy discovers this is the wrong word, one would therefore expect him to identify this passage as a counterexample to his thesis about Nephi and address it in some way. What we do not expect is what Hardy actually does: ignore the disabling effect this correction has on his argument altogether.

It is also worth noting, however, that even if this error in transmission weren't the case — even if Nephi *had* used the word *rejected* — this would still provide no support for Hardy's thesis of a stern and condemning attitude in Nephi. Even in that case, the account would still be the depiction of a report of Lehi's vision and of what an angel told Nephi the elements of the vision meant — and only in response to direct questions

from Laman and Lemuel in the first place. It would still be fallacious, therefore, to attribute the tone to Nephi himself.

In short, Hardy's reliance on the word *rejected* fails in two ways: it is the wrong English word to begin with and, even if it weren't, the concept still wouldn't be attributable to *Nephi*. In every respect Nephi's purported attitude of "rejecting" the wicked is illusory.

Three Final Matters

Hardy thus relies on completely inadequate evidence to claim that Nephi (in contrast to Lehi) is eager to protect the tree from the wrong people — i.e., that Nephi "worries that the tree might attract people from the building who are not worthy to eat of its fruit" (54). In addition, however, Hardy also fails to address other elements of the text that comprise counterevidence to this claim.

One of these is the textual evidence that Nephi *wanted* Laman and Lemuel to succeed. We see instances of Nephi's praying for Laman and Lemuel (1 Nephi 2:18), exhorting them to keep the commandments (1 Nephi 7:21; 15:25; 16:4; 17:15), rejoicing when they humble themselves and repent (1 Nephi 16:5), experiencing anguish for them (1 Nephi 17:47), and accepting and forgiving them for their mistreatment (1 Nephi 7:20–21; 17:55). Lehi also reports that Nephi's sole motivation toward Laman and Lemuel was their "own eternal welfare" (2 Nephi 1:25). This, of course, is consistent with Nephi's own report of his intent in making the record, namely, that he "may persuade men to come unto the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and be saved" (1 Nephi 6:4). These features of the text are not consistent with the claim that Nephi's fundamental concern was to protect the tree from the unworthy rather than lead people to it, and it would therefore seem incumbent on Hardy to address them.[18]

Hardy also seems to overlook Lehi's own tone elsewhere in the text. As mentioned earlier,[19] Lehi foretells the fate of Jerusalem in stark and condemning terms (1 Nephi 1:13), and Laman and Lemuel later complain about his "judging" attitude in doing so (1 Nephi 17:22). Moreover, Lehi also speaks in strong and graphic terms to Laman and Lemuel themselves. Early in the record, for instance, Lehi spoke to them with such power that "their frames did shake before him" and "he did confound them, and they durst not utter against him" (1 Nephi 2:14).[20] And later, after speaking to them of the harrowing future he had seen regarding the promised land, Lehi says to Laman and Lemuel:

> O that ye would awake; awake from a deep sleep, yea, even
> from the sleep of hell, and shake off the awful chains by which
> ye are bound, which are the chains which bind the children
> of men, that they are carried away captive down to the eternal
> gulf of misery and woe. (2 Nephi 1:13)

In this one dense expression Lehi packs in references to "the sleep of hell," "awful chains," "carried away," "captive," "the eternal gulf," and "misery and woe" — all specifically in reference to Laman and Lemuel. Moreover, over the course of several verses, Lehi also speaks to Laman and Lemuel of the "hardness of [their] hearts," "the fulness of God's wrath," the prospect of being "cut off and destroyed forever," "a cursing," "the captivity of the devil," "a sore cursing," "chains," "the displeasure of a just God," "destruction," and "the eternal destruction of both soul and body" (2 Nephi 1:17–22).

These expressions are not gentle beckonings to Laman and Lemuel to partake of the fruit of the tree. They are not tender invitations to ponder their conduct and improve. They are a frank presentation of the consequences of wickedness and a call to Laman and Lemuel to cease their rebellion against God. Based on the general way Hardy paints Lehi in the context of his dream (and his complete omission of Lehi's language in verses 17–22), we would be hard-pressed to expect such expressions or conduct from Lehi; we would imagine such talk to come only from Nephi. Yet there it is — and in spades. The expressions (1) are stronger and more graphic than anything Nephi says to Laman and Lemuel, (2) are (unlike Nephi's words) explicitly about Laman and Lemuel *personally*, and (3) in saying them, Lehi (unlike Nephi) is not merely repeating the words of an angel: they are Lehi's *own* words.

Finally, it is relevant to Hardy's claim of a difference between Lehi and Nephi that Lehi explicitly defends Nephi's conduct toward Laman and Lemuel. He tells Laman and Lemuel they were wrong to "have accused him," that Nephi sought their "own eternal welfare," that "his sharpness was the sharpness of the power of the word of God which was in him," that what they called anger was simply "the truth," and that Nephi's utterances were not his own but were due to "the Spirit of the Lord which was in him, which opened his mouth to utterance that he could not shut it" (2 Nephi 1:25–27). Hardy's claim that the text shows a fundamental difference in attitude between Lehi and Nephi is difficult to sustain when we see Lehi explicitly defend Nephi in this way.[21]

All three of these elements belie Hardy's claim about what the text reveals of Nephi, namely, that he primarily wanted to protect the tree

from the unworthy and that he was different from Lehi in attitude and tone. Unfortunately, Hardy fails to consider them all.

Summary

We have considered three items of evidence for Hardy's twin claims that Nephi is exclusionary and condemning in attitude and that in having this attitude, he differs from Lehi. The first is that Nephi uses the expression *tree of life* whereas Lehi does not; the second is that Nephi talks of fire, a sword, justice, and so forth (and in a way reminiscent of the Garden of Eden account) — whereas Lehi does not. And the third is that Lehi speaks of the unrighteous rejecting God, whereas Nephi speaks of God rejecting the unrighteous.

Unfortunately, this collection of evidence turns out to rest on a combination of tenuous scriptural comparisons, a mistaken attribution of justice-oriented concepts to Nephi, a failure to address evidence, and textual oversights. All we are left with, it would appear, is the single thread of a surface resemblance between Nephi's discussion of Lehi's vision and the tree in the Garden of Eden. It turns out that this thread is completely tenuous at best, and the other items of evidence all fail completely.

One upshot is this: It is hard to see any justification for combining Lehi's vision with an angel's interpretation of it and transforming that combination into an expression of attitude in *Nephi*. And this means it is hard to see any justification for saying, as Hardy does, that Nephi does not want everyone to reach the tree — that he "worries" the tree might "attract" unworthy people from the great and spacious building (54). From the fact that Lehi's dream — and an angel's interpretation of it — indicate that the unworthy aren't *at* the tree, it hardly follows that Nephi doesn't *want* them to find their way to it. Indeed, as we have seen, Nephi explicitly states that his *only* intention is to help people reach the tree, i.e., to help them come unto God and be saved (1 Nephi 6:4). To see the matter otherwise is to transform two facts that are completely irrelevant to Nephi's attitude into an unflattering and false portrayal of him.

Nephi's Failure to Eat of the Fruit of the Tree

In addition to his contention that Lehi and Nephi have different attitudes regarding their vision (and specifically that Nephi is exclusionary and condemning), Hardy also believes they have different responses to the tree itself. Whereas Lehi is eager to taste of the fruit of the tree when he

sees it — and is equally eager to invite his family to partake of it — Nephi prefers to gain knowledge about the tree rather than to actually taste of its fruit and experience the exquisite sweetness and joy it represents (1 Nephi 8:10–12; 11:23). "At a key moment," we are told, Nephi "opted for knowledge" rather than opting for the experience of actually tasting the fruit (84).

Lehi thus experiences sweetness, whereas Nephi declines the opportunity in order to gain knowledge, and, as a result, he "is wiser but not happier" (86). According to Hardy, Nephi is "wiser but not happier" because he learns in his vision of the eventual destruction of the civilization that will descend from him (e.g., 1 Nephi 12:19; 15:5). This is a knowledge that burdens him to the end. "For the rest of his life, and through the entirety of his literary labors," Hardy reports, "Nephi works through the implications of that choice" (86). Such enduring sorrow is a consequence of Nephi's own "particular propensities," however, since, according to Hardy, Nephi's own disposition led him to seek this knowledge in the first place rather than to actually taste of the fruit as Lehi did. Moreover, Nephi's opting for knowledge at this key moment also seems to explain why the Spirit of the Lord departs from Nephi at this juncture in his vision and is replaced by an angel. Hardy sees this switch as a "literary puzzle" that seems best explained by Nephi's choosing to seek knowledge instead of actually tasting of the fruit of the tree (84–86).

At first glance these observations might seem like revealing insights into Nephi, including how he differs from Lehi. But they are insights only to the degree they are accurate, and they actually do not pass this test. All of them rest on mistakes.

The Structural Difference between Lehi's and Nephi's Visions

The first mistake lies in drawing a straightforward comparison between Lehi's and Nephi's visions — as if they were structurally identical — when they actually seem structurally disparate. Note that Lehi is an actual participant in his vision, experiencing the whole event from the "inside": he personally walks for hours, suffers through a dark and dreary waste, comes to a tree, eats of its fruit, beckons his family, and so forth (1 Nephi 8:2–35). But Nephi's experience is fundamentally different: from the beginning his manifestation is a vision *about* Lehi's vision — what might be called a "meta-vision." Divine messengers explicitly instruct Nephi, show him events, and engage him in conversation about what

he is seeing (1 Nephi 11). Nephi walks nowhere, encounters no dark and dreary waste, comes to no tree, and interacts with no one he is observing — all because he himself is not a participant in the events he sees. His perspective is entirely from the "outside" and thus he *cannot* interact with its elements.

Because these visions are structurally different in this way, at a fundamental level they are incommensurable, as are Lehi's and Nephi's perspectives within them. Father and son do not behave the same for the simple reason that they *can't* behave the same. Drawing a straightforward contrast between the two makes the category error of confusing observers with participants. It is like comparing the on-stage behavior of an actor with the behavior of a theatergoer merely watching from the audience. No one thinks they should behave the same: they actually shouldn't. Indeed, they *can't*.

It also follows from these structural differences that Hardy is mistaken to draw conclusions about Nephi's "opting." Since eating of the fruit is not even a possibility in Nephi's vision, his failure to do so cannot be an expression of preference. This would be like saying a theatergoer's failure to walk on-stage expresses a preference. Actually, it expresses nothing more than what it means to be "at" a play rather than to be "in" one.

Nephi's Obvious Tasting of the Fruit

The second fundamental mistake lies in Hardy's overlooking other features of the record — features that indicate Nephi did not choose knowledge over spiritual experience.

One of these is the very nature of Nephi's life. After all, the tree is *symbolic*. It represents what people can experience of God's love — and the spiritual intimacy they can achieve with him — in this life.[22] But by the time of his vision Nephi was already enjoying exactly what the tree represents to a remarkable degree: the experience of love and intimacy with the Lord and of being alive in him. Nephi is actually experiencing in his life what the tree only represents. This is evident in Nephi's earlier report of the spiritual manifestations he shared with Sam (1 Nephi 2:16–17), and of the Lord's first-person declarations to him regarding both Nephi's divinely approved status and various central matters relating to the future (1 Nephi 2:18–24). In addition, the Lord also gave specific instructions to Nephi in his episode with Laban (1 Nephi 4:6–18).

All of these are significant manifestations of the Spirit and far exceed the kind of spiritual experiences enjoyed by typical Latter-day Saints today who are devoted and who can easily be said to be eating of the fruit of Lehi's tree. Nephi is experiencing in his life *exactly* what the tree symbolizes. Indeed, the fact that Nephi could experience the vision he received in 1 Nephi 11–14 is itself proof of his intimacy with the Lord.[23] Thus, any implication that Nephi somehow chose knowledge over spiritual intimacy overlooks the closeness Nephi obviously enjoyed with the Lord and that qualified him to receive dramatic, divine knowledge in the first place. Nephi's entire life is a demonstration of what it means to taste the fruit of the tree.

In addition, in Lehi's dream — where Nephi is represented as an actual participant and therefore *can* partake of the fruit of the tree — he does partake of it (1 Nephi 8:14–16).[24] What we see in Nephi's life, therefore, is confirmed by what the Lord presents to Lehi in his vision: that Nephi unquestionably chooses to taste the fruit of the tree.

Hardy thus overlooks important features of the text — first, that Nephi's vision was structurally different from Lehi's and didn't even permit tasting of the fruit; second, that Nephi's *whole life* exemplifies tasting of the fruit; and third, that when the Lord represented Nephi as a participant in Lehi's vision, and as one who *could* partake of the fruit, Nephi did. Nephi is a perfect example of one who sought both spiritual intimacy *and* spiritual knowledge.

The Knowledge that Actually Haunted Nephi

Hardy's third fundamental mistake is specifically related to the claim that Nephi was haunted throughout his life by the knowledge he gained in his vision and that he received this knowledge because he asked for it. According to Hardy, Nephi's propensity to seek knowledge, rather than to actually taste of the tree, explains this sad dimension of his life.

However, even if we ignored the problems with this view that we have already considered, the claim would still be mistaken. Nephi did not actually ask for the knowledge that ended up haunting him throughout his life. At the beginning of his vision (1 Nephi 11:1–11), Nephi asks for an interpretation of the tree which Lehi had seen and which he now sees, but he does not ask for the additional knowledge then given him about the eventual destruction of Nephite civilization (1 Nephi 12). Nor does he ask for all he learns thereafter (1 Nephi 13–14). An angel simply presents all this to Nephi, unbidden. It would seem to be a mistake, then, to attribute Nephi's lasting sorrow to his "particular propensities." None

of what Nephi learned after seeing the tree actually came as a result of his asking for the specific abundance of knowledge he received.

But there is a second point to be made. Even if we think only about the knowledge Nephi actually did ask for — namely, regarding the tree, etc. of Lehi's vision — it is worth noticing that many have actually benefitted from the knowledge Nephi gained. The text depicts the information as highly valuable to Laman and Lemuel, for example, who quarreled with each other because they could not understand Lehi's teachings generally (1 Nephi 15:2–7) and who were highly curious about the meaning of Lehi's vision of the tree, which Nephi was able to explain to them (1 Nephi 15:21–16:5). Following his explanation and following his exhortation to them to keep the commandments of God, Laman and Lemuel "did humble themselves before the Lord; insomuch that I had joy and great hopes of them" (1 Nephi 16:5).[25]

A Literary *Pattern*

Fourth, it also seems a mistake to attach significance to the replacement of the Spirit of the Lord by an angel in Nephi's experience. Hardy considers this shift a "literary puzzle" (85), and he thinks Nephi's propensity to seek knowledge rather than to actually enjoy the fruit of the tree is the likely explanation.

Although we have addressed this claim on other grounds, even if it were accurate it would still be irrelevant to this shift in divine messengers. This shift, after all, is no more unusual than what Nephi recorded of Lehi's own experience. Lehi starts out in his vision with "a man" guiding him — but who then disappears from the vision altogether, without any explanation (1 Nephi 8:5–35). Hardy does not find *this* peculiar and in fact does not even mention it.

Moreover, Nephi's experience is considerably less unusual than John the Revelator's experience during the vision he received. Over the course of John's vision, multiple divine figures addressed him and gave him instructions. These included the Lord, one of the twenty-four elders John saw surrounding the throne of God, each of the four beasts he had also seen surrounding God's throne, and at least two separate angels (and perhaps three) — including one angel who alternated between speaking as the Lord and speaking as himself.[26]

It would thus seem entirely customary for visions to include unusual elements and even to involve a change in divine messengers. Against this background, what Nephi experiences seems less a literary puzzle than a

literary pattern.[27] Indeed, we would actually find it puzzling if Nephi had *not* experienced surprises similar to John's.

Summary

Hardy does not appear to be justified in claiming that Nephi chooses knowledge over spiritual experience and that this propensity not only results in a sadness that haunts him throughout his life but also seems to explain a literary puzzle in his vision. This view overlooks the apparent structural differences between Lehi's and Nephi's visions, the reality of Nephi's clear tasting of the fruit of the tree in his life, the depiction of Nephi as tasting of the fruit of the tree in Lehi's version of the vision, the fact that Nephi does not ask for the knowledge that actually ends up saddening him, and the fact that Nephi's change in divine messengers is no more significant than the change Lehi himself experienced — and much less significant than the changes experienced by John the Revelator.

Nephi's Misleading Narrative Regarding Laman and Lemuel

Hardy makes multiple claims about the relationship between Nephi and his brothers, Laman and Lemuel. I will consider two examples that lend themselves to relatively brief treatment.

"Playing" with Chronology

In one place, Hardy argues that Nephi wants to present Laman and Lemuel as only worsening in their spiritual condition over time and never improving. "The only development [Nephi] allows them," he says, "is negative" (41). As evidence, Hardy notes that (1) early in his record Nephi reports that pleas of family members helped soften Laman and Lemuel's hearts toward him during one of their acts of aggression (1 Nephi 7:19–20), and that (2) in a later incident Nephi actually "plays with the chronology" in order to make sure we see that family beseeching had *no* effect on Laman and Lemuel (1 Nephi 18:9–22) (41). As recounted by Hardy, this latter is the famous incident (in 1 Nephi 18) in which Nephi reports that:

1. Laman and Lemuel bound him while on the sea (v. 11).
2. A great storm arose (vv. 13–14).
3. The brothers' sense of self-preservation led them to untie Nephi (v. 15).

4. Lehi had earlier asked them to relent; Sariah was distraught, as were their two youngest brothers; Nephi's wife and children had also begged — all to no avail (vv. 17–20).
5. Laman and Lemuel panicked in the storm and untied Nephi (v. 20).

Hardy reports that even though the family's pleas (event 4) happened before Laman and Lemuel freed Nephi (event 3), Nephi tells us this out of sequence because he does not want to risk Laman and Lemuel's getting even partial credit for responding to family members' appeals (rather than merely being concerned about their own lives). He tells us that "Nephi, as the narrator, wants to disrupt any sense that the appeals of family members were even a partial cause of his brothers' change of heart" (41). Nephi does this because he only "allows" Laman and Lemuel to develop negatively, and that is why he "plays with the chronology," mentioning their involvement in a way that distorts the actual sequence of events. In other words, Nephi is being manipulative in how he tells the story.

All of this is different from a *prima facie* reading of this account, of course. The natural default way to read it is to see Nephi as simply giving us a basic report of events (1–3) and then deciding to elaborate upon them in order to emphasize the degree of Laman and Lemuel's recalcitrance and the threat they had posed to Lehi's party (4–5). We see nothing suspicious, and indeed it seems consistent with Nephi's practice elsewhere of describing the character of Laman and Lemuel's behavior (see, for just a sample, 1 Nephi 2:8–13; 3:28; 7:6–22).

This, however, is not sufficient for Hardy, who sees Nephi as manipulating the chronology of the story in order to show that Laman and Lemuel only "develop negatively." There are two problems with this claim, however. The first is that Hardy's *only* evidence for this principle about Nephi's approach to Laman and Lemuel is Nephi's supposed manipulation of chronology in this single story. He offers no other evidence for it. But this is surprising. To be even minimally plausible, a general proposition about what Nephi will "only" allow requires demonstrating multiple positive examples of the claim, combined with an absence of any contrary examples — none of which Hardy attempts to supply.[28]

More importantly, Hardy provides no reason to believe that Nephi is doing anything other than what the default reading would say he is doing. He asserts that Nephi is manipulating the chronology, but he actually offers no argument for it. Indeed, the only clue in Hardy's

text for why he thinks Nephi is manipulating the sequence of events is actually Hardy's other claim: namely, that Nephi only allows Laman and Lemuel to develop negatively. Because Hardy supplies no other evidence, to all appearances *that* explains why we should see Nephi's narrative as manipulative.

If true, however, this amounts to obvious circularity. *We know that Nephi allows Laman and Lemuel to develop only negatively because we see a story in which he manipulates the chronology to do so, and the reason we know he is manipulating the chronology to do so is because, after all, he allows Laman and Lemuel to develop only negatively.* The way Hardy presents the material, the principle seems to rely solely on the story and the story solely on the principle. It is thus difficult to see how Hardy's claim about Nephi is anything other than vacuous: an instance of intellectual self-validation.

Laman and Lemuel as "Halfhearted" Assassins

Hardy also tells us that Laman and Lemuel appear to be orthodox and observant Jews and that for the most part Nephi's descriptions of their conduct are not serious — regarding their rebellion on the ship, for example, "the worst he can come up with is 'rudeness'" (39). Hardy acknowledges that Nephi describes Laman and Lemuel as would-be murderers several times but remarks that actually "they seem to be rather halfhearted assassins" (39). He adds:

> Although there are two of them, both living side by side with Nephi for years on end, they never kill him or even wound him, despite numerous opportunities and provocations. Rather than actually stoning or stabbing him, they threaten him (1 Nephi 16:37; 2 Nephi 5:1–4) or they tie him up (1 Nephi 7:16, 18:11) — actions that could be interpreted as attempts to quiet him or teach him a lesson (much like their beating of him at 1 Nephi 3:28), unsavory behavior that nevertheless left Nephi healthy enough to immediately return to Jerusalem and contend decisively with Laban. (39)

I will share seven observations.

First, it is surprising to see Hardy refer to Nephi's being tied up in the wilderness (in 1 Nephi 7:16) and to suggest that this could have been intended to "quiet" Nephi or to "teach him a lesson." That description omits consideration of what Nephi explicitly tells us, namely, that Laman and Lemuel bound him specifically in order to "leave me in the

wilderness to be devoured by wild beasts," all in order to "take away my life." Hardy thus proposes conclusions about Laman and Lemuel's motives in this episode (e.g., that they may have wanted to quiet Nephi or teach him a lesson) that materially affect our view of them and of Nephi, and yet he does this without mentioning what the text *already* tells us about their motives — information that paints the opposite picture of these three brothers. If Hardy wants to say that we can't trust Nephi's reports about Laman and Lemuel's motives, very well — but then it would seem that he owes us an argument for why this is the case. What he cannot do is what he actually does: omit the explicit commentary of the text altogether and supply his own commentary in its stead.[29]

Second, although Nephi uses the term "rudeness" to describe the conduct of Laman and Lemuel on the ship, this description applies only to their early behavior. Subsequently, they bound Nephi — disrupting the operation of the Liahona — and refused to release him despite their fears during a severe storm and despite the pleadings of multiple family members (a matter discussed above). "Harshness" is the term Nephi employs to describe behavior of this sort (v. 11) — an apt adjective, and one that Hardy overlooks.

Third (and related to the second point), if Laman and Lemuel's conduct was no more than rude, it is hard to understand why multiple family members would have to plead with Laman and Lemuel to release Nephi after they bound him. It is also hard to understand why those family members wouldn't just release Nephi themselves. Simple rudeness is hardly sufficient to dissuade parents from taking action when their children are in peril. Lehi could have released Nephi himself — or asked Sam or even Zoram to do so — unless Lehi felt that Laman and Lemuel's threats (v. 17) were serious enough to prevent him from doing so. Others on the ship must also have considered the threats serious enough that it affected their own actions, not only in relation to Laman and Lemuel but also in relation to Nephi.[30] Hardy's emphasis on the term "rudeness" obscures all of this.

Fourth, the claim that Laman and Lemuel do not actually present serious threats to Nephi (since they never actually wound or kill him) seems inconsistent with the five occasions on which they at least attempted to kill Nephi (1 Nephi 7:17–18, 19; 16:37; 17:48; 2 Nephi 5:1–4, 19).[31] The idea that Laman and Lemuel were fundamentally benign is inconsistent with how the text depicts these incidents. Indeed, by the same standard we probably would have to consider the multitudes of Jerusalem to have been halfhearted in seeking Lehi's life. We don't know how long Lehi

labored to preach, but however long or short it was, the multitudes failed to either wound or kill him — and yet, seemingly inconsistent with this, the text tells us of their intent multiple times, including once by the Lord himself (1 Nephi 1:20; 2:1, 13; 7:14). And, of course, from the fact that it took the wicked of Jerusalem (who were also, appropriate to their time, orthodox and observant Jews) three years to finally crucify the Lord, it hardly follows that they were halfhearted about the matter.

Fifth, the idea that Laman and Lemuel did not present serious threats appears to be inconsistent with the explicit report of the Lord's interventions in four of these cases.[32] In two of the incidents the Lord demonstrated miraculous power to spare Nephi (1 Nephi 7:16–18; 17:48); in one of them the Lord spoke directly to Laman and Lemuel, chastening them "exceedingly" by his own voice (1 Nephi 16:39); and in another the Lord directly warned Nephi to flee in order to spare his life from the threat posed by Laman and Lemuel (2 Nephi 5:1–4, 19). These interventions by the Lord do not appear consistent with the idea that Laman and Lemuel actually presented no real danger to Nephi.

Sixth, the idea that Laman and Lemuel were not a genuine threat seems inconsistent with the way they begged for forgiveness and repented following their incidents of aggression.[33] This occurred each time, until Nephi and his followers departed after reaching the promised land [1 Nephi 7:20 (which covers two incidents of aggression); 16:39; and 17:55]. It is hard to see why Laman and Lemuel would repent so earnestly if they felt only halfhearted in their conduct.

In light of all these factors, it seems completely mistaken to think of Laman and Lemuel as "halfhearted" in their aggression toward Nephi. The only possibility remaining to justify such a description (and this is the final point) would be the infrequency of Laman and Lemuel's most serious aggression — five times over eight-plus years of living together ("years on end," as Hardy notes) (39). But what standard would one have to have in mind in order to consider five attempts on another's life — over any stretch of time — "halfhearted"? It is true that Laman and Lemuel do not suffer by comparison to serial murderers, of course, and if something like that is the standard we are assuming, then the frequency of the brothers' attempts on Nephi's life genuinely *is* insignificant, and Hardy's characterization therefore might make sense: Laman and Lemuel do look good compared to serial killers (and to wanton murderers generally, for that matter).

However, it is generally not useful to measure conduct against the *lowest* measure we can think of — or even anything close to it. Following

that course, practically anyone's evil conduct can be made to appear tepid. It would seem that a more appropriate standard of comparison would be the conduct of families generally: How many family members try to kill their siblings *at all?* It happens, including in the scriptural record, but it can hardly be considered common. Even in extreme cases most would choose leaving over taking a life — an option Laman and Lemuel explicitly considered (e.g., 1 Nephi 7:6–15; 16:35–36). But if we have in mind a standard something like that — i.e., "how family members typically treat each other, even in times of stress" (a measure that seems suitable enough) — it is hard to see how "halfhearted" could possibly be an apt description of Laman and Lemuel's aggression toward Nephi. On a measure like that, their multiple threats to Nephi were far out of the norm since most men don't try to kill their brothers even once.

An appeal to infrequency, then, doesn't seem successful. However, even if, despite these considerations, we still felt comfortable in considering five incidents over eight-plus years to be insignificant, we would still face a problem. After all, as we have seen above, the attempts on Nephi's life do seem to be serious. But this means that each time in the text that Laman and Lemuel tried to slay Nephi, they … well, *tried*, and it isn't intuitive that "halfhearted" is the best term to describe genuine attempts of this sort, regardless of their frequency.

In the end, although this is the way Hardy chooses to describe them, it is difficult to see how the text supports "halfhearted" as an apt description of Laman and Lemuel's aggression toward Nephi.

"Another Side" to the Story Regarding Laman and Lemuel

In general, Hardy believes there is "another side" to the story than the one Nephi tells about Laman and Lemuel (44). In addition to what we have already seen, Hardy substantiates this in part by referring to how Laman and Lemuel's descendants understood the events of the wilderness journey — an understanding that describes Laman and Lemuel as repeated victims of Nephi's mistreatment (44). Moreover, Hardy suggests that although Laman and Lemuel might have been mistaken in their views regarding the fate of Jerusalem and the legitimacy of Lehi's calling, they weren't necessarily insincere: they were adopting a reasonable position in defending the people of Jerusalem and they were also likely nothing more than orthodox, conservative Jews whose resistance to Lehi's religious innovations was understandable (36–39).

Moreover, their impulse to resist and even slay Nephi can be accounted for by attentiveness to the Deuteronomic tradition that false prophets require death (39–40).

In making claims of this sort, however, it would seem to be relevant, first, to note that the Lord himself speaks of Laman and Lemuel's conduct in terms of "rebellion" and not of mere mistakenness (1 Nephi 2:21–23), and Lehi does the same, at much greater length (2 Nephi 1:13, 17–29). Expressions of Lehi's such as "the hardness of your hearts," "rebellion," "the sleep of hell," "awful chains," "gulf of misery and woe," and the pending "destruction of both soul and body" are not the expressions one typically uses to address innocent-but-sincere mistakenness. Hardy does not address it, but an important feature of the record is the agreement between Lehi and the Lord that Laman and Lemuel's conduct was more than mistaken — it was rebellious.

Second, in considering whether Laman and Lemuel were mistaken-but-sincere, it is relevant that an angel appeared to them on one occasion (1 Nephi 3:28–31) and that the Lord spoke to them by his own voice on another (1 Nephi 16:39). One would expect people who were sincere to respond with humility and obedience to such divine experiences. It would seem only natural that manifestations of this sort would overwhelm whatever misconceptions in belief and loyalty such people might have had prior to these experiences and that they would happily modify their beliefs and re-direct their loyalties in response to them. That's what Saul did, to name one. But not Laman and Lemuel. Their behavior did not remotely change following these firsthand experiences with the Divine. This suggests they were not actually sincere — that their conduct was not really motivated by concerns with doctrine or orthodoxy but simply reflected the rebelliousness of which Nephi, Lehi, and the Lord all found reason to speak.

Third, although the Book of Mormon recounts on numerous occasions the hatred the Lamanites held for Nephi and his descendants,[34] the motivation for this resentment is never associated with Laman and Lemuel's sincere devotion to religious orthodoxy or to the violation they felt by the presence of a false prophet in their midst. Hardy speculates about these motivations, but they never appear in the record — even in the complaints handed down through the generations. Instead, what we see are explicit complaints from later Lamanites about Nephi's "robbery" of the plates of brass at the time he separated from Laman and Lemuel upon arriving in the promised land (Mosiah 10:16; Alma 20:13) as well as his similar "robbery" of family authority that "rightly belonged" to

Laman and Lemuel (Alma 54:17). Indeed, this perceived usurpation of authority is one of the reasons Laman and Lemuel sought to kill Nephi (2 Nephi 5:3), and is central to the multiple "wrongs" that descendants of Laman and Lemuel attributed to Nephi's treatment of his brothers (Mosiah 10: 12–16, which is cited by Hardy).

Such complaints regarding robbery of the plates and of family authority would explain the generational hatred of the Lamanites for the Nephites and are plausibly the content of the "wicked tradition" reported multiple times to have been held by the Lamanites.[35] But there is no similarly clear report of resentment based on the religious heterodoxy of Lehi or of the false-prophet status of Nephi (*or* Lehi). Thus, while it is clear that Laman and Lemuel passed down the charge that Nephi mistreated them in more than one way, it is difficult to find evidence that their complaint included these latter claims — even though inclusion of this sort is what Hardy's view would predict. This absence does not prove Hardy incorrect, of course, but it does demonstrate lack of evidence in a dimension of the record that, if Hardy *were* correct, would be a natural place to find it.

Fourth, it is also relevant that two significant Lamanite figures in the record repudiate the Lamanite tradition of Nephi's mistreatment of Laman and Lemuel. One is Lamoni's father, king of the Lamanites, who not only cites the tradition (Alma 20:10, 13) but also later proclaims safety for the Nephite missionaries precisely in order that the gospel can be preached and that "his people might be convinced concerning the wicked traditions of their fathers" (Alma 23:3). The other is Samuel the Lamanite, who attributes the Lamanites' evil in his day specifically to "the iniquity of the tradition of their fathers" (Helaman 15:4).[36] Hardy thinks Laman and Lemuel might have had a legitimate point of view in complaining about Nephi (there is "another side" to the story), but it is not something that either Lamoni's father or Samuel believed. In addition to these two, of course, the record tells us of numerous other Lamanites who also rejected the tradition following their conversion (Helaman 5:49–51). These are features of the record that, it would seem, Hardy should acknowledge and address in proposing his own view.[37]

It is true, of course, that all these elements of the record are due to Nephi's authorship and that one might attribute hidden motives to him that would (1) explain these features and (2) leave Laman and Lemuel still in possession of a legitimate and defensible point of view in their anger toward Nephi, including his and Lehi's religious non-orthodoxy. Unfortunately, Hardy omits consideration of any of these features of the

record and thus does not suggest how such an argument might proceed. Nevertheless, that is what would seem to be required in making the claim he makes.

Nephi's Omission of Lehi as a Witness of the Lord

As another example of Hardy's approach, consider his interest in the relationship between Lehi and Nephi. In the context of hypothesizing that relations could have been strained between them (they did not "see eye to eye"), Hardy asks why Nephi, in 2 Nephi 11, lists himself, his brother Jacob, and Isaiah as the three witnesses of Christ, "ignoring the testimony of his father" (50). Isaiah, Jacob, and Nephi had all seen the Lord (e.g., 2 Nephi 11:3) — but then so had Lehi (e.g., 1 Nephi 1:7–15) — so why did Nephi not refer to *him*?

In addressing this question, it is useful to note the context of Nephi's listing of the witnesses of Christ. The background is this: (1) Nephi wishes his people to know the words of Isaiah since Isaiah's words can be likened "unto all men" (2 Nephi 11:8); (2) Nephi has already asked Jacob, who also likens Isaiah's words broadly (particularly to "all the house of Israel"; 2 Nephi 6:5) to teach his people specifically from the words of Isaiah (2 Nephi 6:4); (3) Jacob has done so at length, combining it with his own commentary, in the previous five chapters (2 Nephi 6–10); (4) Nephi's inclusion of numerous additional writings of Isaiah in subsequent chapters (2 Nephi 12–24); and (5) Nephi's stated interest specifically in identifying *three* witnesses to "establish [God's] word" (2 Nephi 11:3).

Now it is obvious in this context why, in identifying three witnesses, Nephi would include Isaiah: he is the prophet about whom Jacob has just expounded and whom Nephi himself is now going to quote at length. And it would seem equally apparent why Nephi would include Jacob: Jacob has just delivered a lengthy sermon *on* Isaiah. And it would also seem apparent why Nephi would find it natural to include himself: he is the one writing the book in the first place, he is the one who asked Jacob to teach on Isaiah to begin with, and he is the one who will now quote Isaiah at length and then launch his own prophesying and teaching from that platform.[38] This constellation of facts makes it seem only natural that, in this context — and in identifying three witnesses, specifically — the choices would be Isaiah, Jacob, and Nephi.

In addition, it might also be relevant that both Jacob and Nephi were alive at the time. Perhaps Nephi wished to indicate the reality of living witnesses of the Lord and not just dead ones. That is a powerful

principle of testimony that informs much testimony-bearing in this dispensation, from Joseph Smith forward.[39] It is true, of course, that if Nephi had expanded his list of witnesses to draw on additional dead prophets, it *would* have been significant if he had omitted Lehi — in which case Hardy's wondering would be not only natural but obvious. As it is, Nephi does in fact draw only on living witnesses (in addition to Isaiah, who is being quoted), and it is not obvious who would make more logical choices than Jacob and himself.

This is an example where Hardy seems to operate from an impoverished pool of hypotheses. He thinks of one possibility to explain why Nephi would omit Lehi but seems to expend no energy thinking of other possibilities — even though the ones I have mentioned would seem to be both obvious to consider and more plausible than the single possibility Hardy proposes. It is not the only time Hardy seems to limit the possibilities in this way.[40]

"Irony" in Nephi's Committing the First Act of Killing in the Book of Mormon

As a final example, consider Hardy's reference to Nephi's report in one place regarding Laman and Lemuel. Nephi tells us that Laman and Lemuel "were like unto the Jews who were at Jerusalem, who sought to take away the life of my father" (1 Nephi 2:13). Hardy considers this early report about Laman and Lemuel's attitudes "unwarranted" since Nephi had not yet shared any examples of their aggressive conduct, and he adds parenthetically, "Somewhat ironically, the first death in the story is when Nephi himself dispatches Laban" (35).

Even ignoring the problems with claiming that Nephi's report was unwarranted, it would seem misleading to speak in this context of "irony." To compare Nephi's killing to the killing that people sought for Lehi — to consider this at all ironic — is to presuppose some sort of equivalence between the two cases. But it is hard to imagine anything actually further from the truth. The people of Jerusalem wanted to kill Lehi because, following God's command, Lehi called them to repentance in an effort to help them avoid destruction and also told them of the coming of a Messiah. Resenting Lehi's message, they sought to take his life. Nephi, on the other hand, did *not* want to kill Laban. He did so only after initially resisting and only after being commanded by the Lord to do so.

Thus, while it is true that killing is the issue in both cases, the actions and motivations in the two situations actually represent moral opposites, not moral similarities. There is thus no justification for speaking of "irony" and, by so doing, to subtly demean Nephi. To do so ignores obvious elements of the record and, as a consequence, obscures what actually matters most: the stark moral *difference* between Nephi and the multitudes of Jerusalem.

One Methodological Note

Any comprehensive look at Hardy's volume must explore important aspects of his methodology, but, since I am not attempting to be comprehensive, I will briefly mention only one. It is Hardy's remark that he is interpreting the text and its characters partly in accordance with "general assumptions of human psychology and behavior" (25). Although approaching the text this way is unavoidable in the kind of analysis Hardy pursues, there is a certain slipperiness to it. In psychology, as in at least some other disciplines, one person's generally accepted assumption is often another person's generally repudiated misconception. Although he never tells us, one thus wonders how many principles of psychology Hardy actually examined and how he decided which of them qualified as worthy to be "assumed."

Be that as it may, there is a degree of uncertainty in how to apply any psychological framework, whatever it is, to individuals who qualify as prophets. The record's depiction of Nephi's spiritual manifestations seems significant in this regard. They include his seeing in vision events of the Savior's birth, life, and death (1 Nephi 11:1–33), the future of Nephite, Lamanite, and Gentile peoples on the promised land (1 Nephi 12–14; 2 Nephi 26:2–22), and the numerous matters pertaining both to this earth and to celestial life seen by John the Revelator (1 Nephi 14:18–30; 2 Nephi 4:23, 25). In addition, the Lord appeared to him personally (2 Nephi 11:3); he was taken *bodily* to high mountains more than once, and he was shown things "too great for man" (2 Nephi 4:25); he entertained angels (2 Nephi 4:24); he held conversation with the Father and Son (2 Nephi 31:10–15); and he both prophesied at length and spoke the words of the Lord (2 Nephi 25–26, 28–30). And of course this is only what Nephi tells us — all of which occurred earlier than Nephi's actual recording of the events. It would be reasonable to suppose that Nephi's intimacy with the Lord continued and that he enjoyed additional divine manifestations over his life.

With all this in mind, one wonders what a person must be like to qualify for the kind of divine experiences Nephi enjoyed. Similarly, one wonders how such transcendent manifestations would *affect* a person who experienced them. In both these respects, at least, Nephi is significantly different from the general run of humankind: he would seem to be multiple standard deviations from the mean. And therein lies the uncertainty: how exactly do we apply psychological concepts of one sort or another to a figure like that? They certainly apply somehow or other and to one degree or another, but how do we account for the significant way in which Nephi is unique?

A very particular instance of Nephi's uniqueness is the way he would conceive his audience: he would obviously include God among his anticipated readership. The text depicts Nephi as being on intimate terms with the Lord and indeed as receiving direct instructions from him to write the very account he is writing. Nephi thus knows he is writing by direct command and he knows that God (1) knows what he is writing and (2) knows the truth about what he is writing. (This is the case whether Nephi is considered by readers to be historical *or* fictional: this is what the text presents either way.) One wonders what the odds are that Nephi would write at all stealthily under such circumstances — "deflecting attention," "alienating" readers from his brothers, obscuring matters and "hoping readers won't notice," "playing with the chronology," "disguising" what he has omitted from his account, and so forth. Wouldn't such maneuvers displease God? Nephi knows that to whatever degree he might fool mortal readers, he can't fool divine ones, and thus it is hard to see why he would even try. Or, given what is evident about his character, why he would even want to. It is possible, of course, that Nephi wrote guilefully from time to time as Hardy's prose suggests, but one wonders how plausible it is given the unique character of Nephi's expected audience.

In this connection it is also worth noting that the Lord early on mentions Nephi's diligence and "lowliness of heart" (1 Nephi 2:19). This is *the Lord's* evaluation of Nephi, not Nephi's evaluation of himself, and it tells us a great deal about Nephi's character and the earnest and submissive way he would approach creation of his record. This, too, vitiates the notion that Nephi would be inclined to write in the calculating way that Hardy at times attributes to him.[41] (It is true that Nephi is the one who reports this evaluation by the Lord, but this gives us no reason to think Nephi is manufacturing it. As we have just seen, Nephi knows the Lord knows the truth, and he also knows the Lord knows what he

is writing. Under such circumstances it does not seem likely that Nephi would tell a lie *about* the Lord.)

In short, Hardy interprets the text as if Nephi, as author, were pretty much indistinct from other authors and as if Nephi's audience were pretty much indistinct from other authors' audiences. But this is a mistake, and it makes a serious difference at various places in Hardy's discussion.

Conclusion to Part Two

As mentioned at the beginning, the motivation for this paper is to examine whether serious errors are occurring — and even increasing — in LDS scholarly discussions of prophets and revelation. Hardy's discussion of Nephi contributes to the answer. In all, we have considered twenty separate claims. They range from his attribution of a condemning and exclusionary attitude in Nephi and his misdescription of Nephi's binding in the wilderness, to his description of Nephi as periodically manipulative in his narrative and as at least somewhat comparable to the multitudes of Jerusalem in his conduct. These twenty claims help us answer the two-part question of this paper because each of them is faulty.

Moreover, behind these mistaken claims we have identified more than thirty errors in analysis. These range from overlooking counterevidence (the great majority of the mistakes) and actually ignoring counterevidence, to relying on circular reasoning and limiting the number of hypotheses to explain events. We have seen all this in some detail. And this is only a sample of the larger pool we could have examined and, for that matter, only regarding Nephi.

It is also relevant that the errors we have seen have been neither difficult to identify nor insignificant. It does not seem a small thing to assert that Nephi is exclusionary and condemning in attitude — for instance, that he "worries" the tree might attract those in the great and spacious building. Nor does it seem a small thing to rest such a claim on items of evidence that range from weak to false — particularly when these evidentiary defects are not difficult to discern. It seems even less of a small thing when essential evidence is exempted from consideration in reaching conclusions about the matter.

Although some are more serious than others, the same appears to be true of all the errors we have considered regarding Nephi: they are both significant and easy to identify. I could be missing something, of course, but all the mistakes seem significant enough and apparent enough that it

is hard to see how there can be justification for any of them. They result in a distorted and unfair portrayal of Nephi.

It is easy to appreciate Hardy's desire to follow literary clues in developing insights into Nephi's character and narrative — clues that lead to "more sophisticated interpretations" (32). The problem is that it is hard to see value in interpretations that in the end appear to be completely tenuous, fallaciously reached, or manifestly false — whatever the degree of "sophistication" they might possess.

It does not follow from this that there is anything inherently illegitimate in examining prophets, of course. In doing so, however, it would seem that one must at least (in the case of Nephi, for example): (1) supply the complete context of Nephi's life as depicted in the text — including the full extent of his intimacy with the Lord, his immense spiritual power, his devotion, his sacrifice, his lowliness of heart, and his contribution to God's work; (2) inform one's thinking about Nephi's character and writing by full appreciation of this overall context; and (3) make criticisms that are accurate in the first place. It would seem that Hardy appears to fall short on all three counts.

We are not yet finished, however. Part Three will address a potpourri of further examples that will help address the appearance, and scope, of errors regarding prophets/revelation in contemporary scholarly discourse.

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Endnotes

1. Grant Hardy, *Understanding the Book of Mormon: A Reader's Guide* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

2. A quick example is Hardy's charge that Nephi's treatment of Laman and Lemuel is thin — that he makes them predictable, flat, and two-dimensional in their unrighteousness and rebelliousness (32–33). A charge of this sort would seem to presuppose that Nephi is trying to produce a comprehensive and detailed account of his family when that is not remotely the kind of history he is trying to create. Nephi is writing what might be called a "headline" history, recounting, in retrospect, historical details secondarily in the course of highlighting important matters about God's work and eternal purposes. It does not purport to be a novel or even a family history. It is a short history of one part of God's work — a history that includes mortals and how they relate specifically *to that work*. This is why *no* characters in Nephi's record are fully-drawn from a literary or biographical standpoint, including Lehi, Sariah, and Nephi himself. Because it is a story written largely in headlines, *everyone* is "flat." No doubt Laman and Lemuel were more complex than the way Nephi presents them, but, reduced to producing mere headlines, it is difficult to see how it is Nephi's fault that their headlines are what they are. Presumably, if Laman and Lemuel had embraced God's purposes rather than resisting them, *that's* the thin view Nephi would have provided of them. Hardy recognizes this, but he doesn't always write as if he does. There are numerous additional concerns, but this instance is at least suggestive of the kinds of errors that seem to me to appear frequently in Hardy's volume.

3. In this Part, all in-text citations are to pages in Hardy, *Understanding the Book of Mormon*.

4. This raises a natural question. Since Hardy *doesn't* write differently in the first place, one wonders if he actually sees Nephi in the very way he tells us we shouldn't see him — as biased and self-aggrandizing. It is true that Hardy reports multiple times that Nephi is writing to achieve a certain purpose (36, 45, 46, 55, 82, 83, 84) — most specifically, to demonstrate the Lord's tender mercies in delivering the faithful (32). He also comments that this purpose requires a certain shaping of the narrative: emphasizing some matters over others, for example. But this does not explain some

of the language Hardy actually employs in referring to Nephi. He periodically uses charged expressions ('deflecting," "playing with the chronology," "hoping we won't notice," and the like) that are exactly the language one would use to describe the actions of someone who *was* seen as biased and self-aggrandizing. This makes it difficult to think that Hardy doesn't actually see Nephi that way — at least on the occasions when it sounds like he does — despite his caution to readers. In each case, Hardy had linguistic options that would not have created these connotations.

5. It is easy for modern readers to appreciate water as symbolic of abundant spiritual life since the image appears frequently across the scriptural record. See, for example: Jeremiah 2:13; Zecharaiah 14:8; John 4:10; 7:37; Revelation 7:17; 21:6; D&C 10:66; 63:23; 133:29. Related images are found in Isaiah 12:3; 55:1; and 58:11.

6. Among other matters, Daniel Peterson explores the connections among the tree, the virginal mother of the Savior, and the "sacred tree" of the ancient Near East in his "Nephi and His Asherah," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies,* 9/2 (2000): 16–25, 80–81; http://publications.mi.byu.edu/publications/jbms/9/2/S00003–50be458eb2b313Peterson.pdf. See also Daniel C. Peterson, "Nephi and His Asherah: A Note on 1 Nephi 11:8–23," in *Mormons, Scripture, and the Ancient World: Studies in Honor of John L. Sorenson*, ed. Davis Bitton (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1998), 191–243.

7. We know (from 1 Nephi 10:2–10) that Lehi knew much about the coming of the Savior, but there is no indication that he viewed what Nephi viewed of the Savior's birth and of its relation to the tree specifically.

8. It is reasonable to suppose that all "tree of life" images in scripture (there is also one in Revelation 2:1–7) have at least some general relation to each other, of course, and thus that there is some connection between the Genesis tree, the tree John and Nephi see related to the celestial city, and the tree Lehi and Nephi see. As will become increasingly apparent, the mistake Hardy makes is in restricting his attention to the tree in Genesis and overstating the connection between Nephi's language and that tree in particular.

9. Of course, it is common in the Christian tradition to judge Adam severely, but this does not follow from the Genesis account itself. The traditional Christian view has been primarily due to

a reading of statements by Paul, particularly in Romans 5:12–21 and 1 Corinthians 15:22. The Jewish point of view, which derives from the Genesis account directly, unfiltered by Paul, is not condemning of Adam. Noel Reynolds has indicated that the brass-plates version of Genesis used by Nephi was likely closer to the version found in the Book of Moses than in Genesis itself. On this issue, however, that makes little difference, since the Book of Moses, too, speaks only of God preventing Adam from living forever, not of imposing "justice" on him for his wickedness. See Noel B. Reynolds, "The Brass Plates Version of Genesis," in John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks, eds., *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City and Provo, UT: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1990), 2:136–173; http://publications.mi.byu.edu/fullscreen/?pub=1129&index=6.

10. I am indebted to Allen Wyatt for this observation.

11. It is worth noting that footnotes at various places where Lehi's tree is mentioned (for example, 1 Nephi 8:10; 11:25; 15:22) include cross-references to the "tree of life" that appears in both the Genesis and Moses accounts of the Garden of Eden. This is what one would expect since footnotes help track common phrases across the scriptural record. They do not determine doctrine, however — a matter that I think is generally understood. Indeed, the "tree of life" is a good example of this very point. As mentioned earlier, reference to a "tree of life" also appears in the book of Revelation (for example, Revelation 22:1–17) — a tree that is not symbolically identical to the tree in Genesis — and yet a cross-reference to this passage in Revelation is included in a footnote to 1 Nephi 8:10 (where Lehi first mentions his tree) *along with* a cross-reference to the tree in Genesis. This is thus a good example of the principle. While study-helps assist in navigating the scriptural record, they are not at all intended to determine doctrine. Indeed, Bruce R. McConkie, one of the architects of the new edition of the scriptures, first published in 1981, explicitly disavowed the doctrinal intent of cross-references. See Mark L. McConkie, ed. *Doctrines of the Restoration: Sermons and Writings of Bruce R. McConkie* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 289–90.

12. The current edition of the Book of Mormon has "word" here, but Skousen's work indicates it should actually be "sword."

Royal Skousen, ed. *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 32. Hardy notes this change in an endnote (Note 32) at Kindle location 6174.

13. The angel continued with Nephi throughout the remainder of his vision as well (1 Nephi 12–14).

14. Assuming that he had come to realize various matters he had overlooked (a matter we saw earlier), which the record explicitly tells us he did — and assuming that he had had the interpretation given to him as Nephi had.

15. It is also worth noting that even if Laman and Lemuel are hearing about such matters for the first time regarding Lehi's vision, it is hardly the first time they are hearing talk about condemnation and judgment per se. For example, Lehi had earlier foretold the fate of Jerusalem in stark and condemning terms (1 Nephi 1:13) — an attitude that Laman and Lemuel later complained about (1 Nephi 17:22) — and Laman and Lemuel had also experienced an earlier rebuke from an angel, who spoke explicitly of their "iniquities" (1 Nephi 3:29). (I am indebted to Greg Smith for this observation.)

16. Royal Skousen, ed. *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 44.

17. See Note 33, Kindle location 6177.

18. In one place (32) Hardy notes Nephi's statement that his only intent is to persuade others to come unto God and be saved (1 Nephi 6:4), but he fails to consider that statement in this context. (Moreover, when Hardy does consider this comment, he transforms it from a desire by Nephi that others might be saved in the kingdom of God to a desire that others "adopt his religious beliefs" — a gloss on the text that mutates Nephi's profound desire for others' eternal welfare into a self-interested desire simply to get others to agree with or support him. Hardy's description is a complete misreporting of Nephi's motivation.)

19. See Note 15.

20. Hardy refers to this verse in one place (34), on a different subject, but he overlooks its relevance to the claims we are considering here.

21. Hardy makes passing reference to this passage in a parenthetical note on a different topic (50), but overlooks its significance for what he claims about the difference in attitude between Nephi and Lehi.

22. As Hardy himself notes (54), if the tree represented exaltation in the celestial kingdom, people could not fall away from it — although this is exactly what Lehi observed. Partaking of the fruit of the tree seems to represent, figuratively, Nephi's later expression regarding being "alive in Christ" (2 Nephi 25:25), as well as other scriptural expressions regarding "walking in a newness of life" through the Spirit and being "one" with the Lord. See, for example: John 6:48–58; 14:20; 15:4–5; 17:20–23; Romans 6:4; 8:1, 2, 10; 1 Corinthians 2:16; 2 Corinthians 5:17; Galatians 4:19; Ephesians 3:17; 1 John 3:24; Mosiah 5:7; 3 Nephi 19:23, 29; D&C 35:2; 50:43; Moses 6:57–68.

23. His theophany included visiting with the Spirit of the Lord, being instructed by an angel, seeing Mary (mother of the Savior), viewing the Lord's infancy/life/ministry/death, seeing the land that the Lord promised to Lehi and his family, observing Christ's appearance to the Nephites, watching the ultimate destruction of Nephite civilization, viewing Gentile colonization in the Americas — and, in addition to all this, sharing in the sweeping vision of events that was later experienced by John the Revelator and that occupies an entire book in the New Testament.

24. This observation is due to Greg Smith.

25. Inclusion of commentary on Lehi's vision is also highly valuable to latter-day readers. If Nephi had received no more than a simple re-experiencing of Lehi's vision, there would have been no reason for him to record it: doing so would have been a mere redundancy. And even if he *had* recorded it, we would still understand his vision no better than Laman and Lemuel understood Lehi's, or than Nephi himself understood Lehi's vision before his own meta-vision regarding it. We learn much from what Nephi tells us that we don't learn from Lehi, and Laman and Lemuel — and all of us — are in Nephi's debt for that increased insight.

26. In chapter 1 of the book of Revelation, John hears a voice from one identifying himself as "Alpha and Omega" and "the first and the last," and this voice continues through chapter 4. But then in chapter 5 one of the twenty-four elders surrounding the throne of

God speaks to John (Revelation 5:5), and then in chapter 6 each of the four beasts speaks to him, *seriatim* (Revelation 6:1–7). Then, in chapter 10, John receives instruction from "the voice in heaven" (presumably this is Christ; Revelation 10:8), whereupon John then receives instruction from another angel through the last three verses of this chapter (Revelation 10:9–11), as well as through all of chapter 11. In chapter 17, a new angel addresses John (one of the seven angels he had seen previously in chapters 15 and 16) and shows him events concerning "the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters" (Revelation 17:1). In chapter 19, John is then commanded by an angel to write a specific sentence ("Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb;" v. 9), but it is not obvious if this is the same angel who began instructing him in chapter 17 or another. Shortly afterward, Christ again speaks to John (Revelation 21:5–8), followed once more by one of the seven angels who addresses him and shows him several sacred events, beginning at Revelation 21:9 and continuing through all of chapter 22. Complicating the matter further, this last angel alternates between speaking as the Lord and as a representative *of* the Lord (see especially vv. 8–20).

27. Presumably there are various stewardship responsibilities on the other side of the veil that cannot be explained by what is visible to us on this side.

28. If he had done so, he would have to consider incidents in which the text clearly shows Laman and Lemuel to be repentant and humble well after they are repentant and humble in 1 Nephi 7. [One of these occurs following Nephi's explanation of Lehi's vision to Laman and Lemuel (see 1 Nephi 16:5) and another upon completion of the ship (see 1 Nephi 18:4)]. On one hand, such incidents might seem to show positive development in Laman and Lemuel and thus to contradict Hardy's claim about what Nephi "allows." On the other hand, Hardy seems intent to restrict his interest to the episodes in which family members beseech Laman and Lemuel and in which the brothers either do, or do not, cease their aggression as a result. But since this seems to be Hardy's intent, the problem — as we've already seen — is that this restricts Hardy's scope of analysis to a single incident — which hardly suffices to permit a generalization about what Nephi will "only" allow.

29. Hardy's approach is all the more surprising since he refers to the events in 1 Nephi 7:16 accurately in another place (42).

30. I am indebted to Allen Wyatt for this observation.

31. These are the incidents: (1) when, as we have just seen, Laman and Lemuel bound Nephi in the wilderness to be "devoured by wild beasts" (1 Nephi 7:16–18); (2) immediately after the Lord freed Nephi from this binding and they wanted to slay him again (1 Nephi 7:19); (3) during the rebellion in the aftermath of Ishmael's death — when they also intended to take *Lehi's* life (1 Nephi 16:37); (4) when they attempted to throw Nephi into the depths of the sea (1 Nephi 17:48); and (5) following the death of Lehi after the party had reached the promised land (2 Nephi 5:1–4, 19). It's worth noting, too, that Hardy overstates the case that Laman and Lemuel never wounded Nephi since in one instance they certainly caused him physical injury (1 Nephi 18:15).

32. In one of them, incident (2), Nephi was spared through the pleadings of members of Ishmael's family.

33. I am indebted to Greg Smith for this observation.

34. See, for example: Jacob 3:7; 7:24; Enos 1:14, 20; Jarom 1:6; Mosiah 10:17; Mosiah 1:14; 28:2; Alma 26:9, 3, 13; and 4 Nephi 1:39.

35. See, for example, Mosiah 10:12, Alma 23:3, Alma 60:32, Helaman 5:49–51, and Helaman 15:4.

36. Samuel does not cite the tradition, but the common locution "the tradition of their fathers" suggests that his meaning is consistent with other descriptions and/or reports of this sort. See, for example, the combination of passages cited in Notes 34 and 35. It is difficult to imagine a different explanation, although I am of course open to one.

37. One possibility would be to argue that this is simply the nature of any serious change. When Lamanite figures converted and transferred their loyalties, they naturally jettisoned their former narrative and embraced a new one. That's just what people do when they convert, and thus there is no significance to their change in narrative per se. But another possibility (one that is consistent with the general Book of Mormon view of conversion) is that these figures' religious conversion truly was a cleansing of the soul — a bathing in light that revealed, in retrospect, many past practices, attitudes, and beliefs to be fundamentally forced and false.

38. It may also have been part of Nephi's concern to establish his *bona fides* as the proper authority figure to succeed Lehi — a concern that Noel Reynolds finds prevalent in Nephi's writings. See Noel B. Reynolds, "The Political Dimension in Nephi's Small Plates, *BYU Studies,* 27/4 (1987), 15–37; http://scholarsarchive. byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2465&context=byusq. Reynolds remarks that the writings of Nephi constitute, in part, a "political tract" that was "written to document the legitimacy of Nephi's rule and religious teachings" (15) and describes it as "an account that would explain, document, and justify his ascent to leadership. For Nephi's people, his writings long served both as an extremely sophisticated political tract — something of a founding constitution for the Nephite people — and as an elaborate and compelling witness of Jesus Christ" (37). Hardy mentions Reynolds in another context (32), but Reynolds' point would seem just as relevant here.

39. See, for example, the subsection "Prophets and Apostles on Revelation" in Part One.

40. For example, Hardy seems to do this when he discusses how Nephi uses Sariah at the time the brothers return from Jerusalem with the plates (17–22). Hardy thinks Nephi uses his mother to disguise the fact that he doesn't report Lehi's greeting words. But it is at this point in the record that Sariah is seen to embrace Lehi's actions and to become an additional witness (to Lehi and Nephi) of the Lord's commands and of his role in their affairs. That Nephi wishes to introduce Sariah as an additional witness would seem to be at least as plausible as Hardy's claim that Nephi uses her as a smokescreen. Yet Hardy does not consider this possibility — or any other possible interpretations, for that matter.

41. I am indebted to Greg Smith for this point.

A Lengthening Shadow
Is Quality of Thought Deteriorating in LDS Scholarly Discourse Regarding Prophets and Revelation?

Part Three

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Duane Boyce

Abstract: *Many mistakes that occur in scholarly endeavors are understandable. The truth is often difficult to discover, and this makes errors inevitable and expected. And, of course, some mistakes are so insignificant that to complain of them would be mere pedantry. But this is not true of all errors. Some are both obvious and of such significance to their topics that they are egregious. With respect to the gospel, there is reason to be concerned that this is occurring to some degree on the topic of prophets and the Lord's revelations to them. Erroneous claims and arguments are not difficult to find, including some published under the auspices of reputable and mainstream entities. Is it possible that such errors are becoming common, and commonly accepted, in Latter-day Saint scholarly discourse? Part One considered multiple examples, primarily from Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason, that begin to suggest a positive answer to this question, and Part Two did the same with regard to examples from Grant Hardy. This Part considers several additional instances that can be treated more briefly and then provides a general conclusion to the two-part question that has guided this exploration.*

As discussed in Parts One and Two, the purpose of this paper is to investigate whether there is a general (and growing) deterioration of thought on the topic of prophets and revelation in LDS scholarly discourse. One wonders, in other words, whether errors on this topic

are becoming common, and commonly accepted, in the rhetoric of LDS scholars.

In pursuit of this two-part question, we have discussed the following topics in Parts One and Two.

Part One

Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: "In All Patience and Faith"
Patrick Mason: The Lord's Guidance to the Church
Terryl Givens and Patrick Mason: The Priesthood-Temple
   Restriction
Conclusion to Part One

Part Two (all sections are based on Grant Hardy's work)

Grant Hardy: Introduction
Nephi as Exclusionary and Condemning in Attitude
Nephi's Failure to Eat of the Fruit of the Tree
Nephi's Misleading Narrative Regarding Laman and Lemuel
"Another Side" to the Story Regarding Laman and Lemuel
Nephi's Omission of Lehi as a Witness of the Lord
"Irony" in Nephi's Committing the First Act of Killing in the Book
   of Mormon
One Methodological Note
Conclusion to Part Two

These are the matters we will discuss in this Part:

Part Three

Terryl Givens: Abraham, Moses, and Jonah
Brief Additional Illustrations
General Conclusion: A Lengthening Shadow

As in the earlier Parts, I provide periodic summaries and conclusions along the way, knowing some readers will want only a headline view of the content. For the most impatient, the general conclusion at the end of this Part broadly summarizes the results of the complete paper.

Terryl Givens: Abraham, Moses, and Jonah

To begin, consider the effort by Terryl Givens to demonstrate that we should not expect moral superiority (what he calls "a level of holiness")

from men called as prophets. They are not, he informs us, unfailing "specimens of virtue and perfection."[1] Givens supports this point by attributing failings to men who were prophets or who later came to be prophets. Here are three of his examples:

Abraham

Givens tells us more than once that Abraham lied regarding his relationship to his wife Sarah.[2] The Old Testament records two separate accounts of this sort (Genesis 12:10–20; 20:1–18), and the second explicitly states what is likely also true of the first: in order to prevent corrupt men from killing him in order to obtain Sarah for themselves, Abraham capitalized on the fact that Sarah was his half-sister in addition to being his wife. To avert his death Abraham reported to his inquirers only that Sarah was his sister and omitted the fact of their marital relationship.[3]

This, of course, is deceitful, and Givens finds it morally objectionable, including it as an example of prophets' wrongdoing.

Overlooking the Book of Abraham and Other Relevant Scripture

While it is natural to want to understand prophets, it seems inadequate to assert Abraham's wrongfulness without considering the account of the same circumstance in the Book of Abraham (Abraham 2:21-25). There it is not Abraham but *the Lord* who originates the lie of self-preservation. Givens does not mention this account, much less address the complication it raises for his claim — namely: if it is morally wrong for Abraham to practice deception, then what are we to make of an account in which the Lord tells Abraham to lie?

Related to this question is the account of the king of Egypt's commanding midwives to kill all the male Hebrew children they delivered. The midwives refused to obey the king's order, and they concealed their refusal by straightforwardly lying to him — all of which is presented in the text as completely approved by the Lord. Indeed, God is depicted as explicitly blessing the midwives for their conduct (Exodus 1:7–22).

Givens does not consider these matters or others like them, but in expressing a judgment about lying one would like to see him do so.

Problematic Moral Thinking

It is also interesting that Givens appears to base his condemnation of Abraham on the simple assumption that deception, in itself, is morally wrong. He treats the matter as if it were axiomatic, but this approach

seems too simple. Germans (and others) who hid Jews from the Nazis were effectively lying every day of their lives, and yet it is difficult to see how their doing so was in any way morally objectionable. And suppose, to take a famous (and related) case, that (1) a would-be murderer appears at your door and asks the whereabouts of the person he wants to kill, and (2) that the person he seeks is actually hiding in your home. It is far from obvious that it would be morally wrong to lie to the would-be murderer in this case in order to prevent the murder he clearly intends.[4] Or, to consider a more mundane example, note that when people leave their homes even for a short period, the last thing they typically want to do is advertise that they are not at home. People thus commonly arrange matters to make it appear that they *are* at home even though they are not. That is certainly a lie … but it is hard to imagine that Givens or anyone else would think such a lie is *wrong*.

This is not the place to examine the conditions under which lying is and is not justified. That is a subtle topic, and I address some of the considerations involved in it elsewhere.[5] It is sufficient to note only that Givens is quick to condemn Abraham without even considering the question — despite its obviousness and despite its importance to his claim. And, as mentioned previously, he also condemns Abraham without consideration of the scriptural report in which *the Lord* is the one who directs Abraham to lie.

Moses

Another example occurs in the way Givens thinks about Moses. He says in one place that Moses was "guilty of manslaughter and covered up his crime"[6] and in another that "Moses probably committed murder."[7] Such remarks refer to the account recorded in Exodus of Moses's slaying an Egyptian who was "smiting" one of the Hebrew slaves (Exodus 2:11–15).

Manslaughter/Murder

Again, however, the approach Givens takes in these places seems flawed. While it is understandable to be concerned about any act of killing, it is not obvious that lethally defending someone automatically falls under the category of "manslaughter," much less under the more serious category of "murder." In asserting such claims Givens seems to be imagining a *tout court* prohibition against all killing, just as he seems to imagine a similar prohibition against all lying in the case of Abraham. But it does not seem sufficient to assume this. The view requires demonstration. We can imagine circumstances, for example, in which

a woman might — if she had no alternative — lethally defend herself against rape, and yet it is hard to see how anyone could reasonably apply words like "manslaughter," "murder," or "crime" to her action. We can also imagine circumstances in which parents might lethally defend their family members from assault (an example Eugene England used more than once[8]), but again it is not obvious why conduct of this sort would be called "murder." That is why we must see an *argument* for why all killing — including killing in defense of others — is morally prohibited.

Cover-up

The same difficulty appears in the disapproval Givens exhibits toward Moses's "cover-up" of his act of killing. It is easy to imagine a political culture so corrupt and dangerous that it is not obvious one owes its civic processes any degree of fidelity, much less complete fealty (particularly when the processes unjustly and significantly risk one's life). And it is easy to imagine this was the situation with Moses. Indeed, who would know better than Moses, raised in Pharaoh's daughter's court, what his chances with the law would be? (This is a fact he cannot have been unaware of prior to the death of the Egyptian — which means he knew what the cost of his action was going to be.)[9] Egypt's government was a dictatorship materially supported by — and yet fearful of — a slave class, and its political and criminal-law realities appear to have been anything but just. The record indicates (as Moses would have known) that Moses had no chance for the kind of fair hearing we presuppose in Western jurisprudence of the twenty-first century, for example. Pharaoh appears in the text to *presuppose* that Moses had done wrong and that he was guilty of murder. Moreover, it is equally apparent that Moses's life was considered utterly inconsequential and easily ended by royal edict (Exodus 2:15).

All this is why the thinking Givens brings to Moses appears to be too simple. It is far from obvious that lethally defending someone is never justified, and it is equally far from obvious that "covering up" one's behavior in such a case is never justified.

Jonah

A slightly different kind of error is evident in the instance of Jonah. In speaking of prophets' weaknesses, Givens mentions Jonah's attempt to flee the Lord's command that he visit Nineveh and call its populace to repentance.[10] Patrick Mason draws attention to Jonah in the same condemning spirit.[11]

But it might be wise to restrain our haste to criticize Jonah. Nineveh was a city and sometime capital of ancient Assyria — a country with a ruthless history stretching over centuries. One scholar says the evidence reveals Assyria to be "as gory and bloodcurdling a history as we know."[12] Because it was an expansive and aggressive culture, Assyria's brutality was visited upon others, and its reputation for cruelty therefore was wide. Its kings routinely speak of (and items of art routinely display) their human atrocities: gouging out eyes, cutting off noses and ears, severing arms and hands, impaling adversaries on stakes, hanging severed heads from the walls of conquered cities, driving stakes through multiple heads (as on a totem pole) and displaying them publicly — and so forth.[13]

This is how Assyria treated its adversaries — and this is the culture Jonah was commanded to visit and openly condemn.

Such facts are worth keeping in mind when relying on Jonah to illustrate prophetic imperfections. That point is technically accurate, of course. The problem is, it is hard to imagine anyone in the twenty-first century United States possessing the moral authority to make it.

Summary

There is nothing faulty per se in acknowledging the human character and mortal imperfection of prophets, of course. When considered in the full context of a prophet's devotion, sacrifice, spiritual power, and eternal contribution to the human family, recognition of human qualities can have an endearing — and even inspiring — effect. What *is* faulty in acknowledging prophets' weaknesses is doing so without any treatment of these essential matters of context as well as being cavalier in referencing such "imperfections" in the first place. That's how these particular examples strike me — they don't actually help us draw any conclusions about prophetic "imperfections."

Brief Additional Illustrations

To round out our sample regarding prophets and revelation in LDS scholarly discourse, it is worth addressing a handful of final examples that lend themselves to brief treatment.

Nephi as Liar and Murderer

One author, building on prior work by others, applies a "narrative" approach to Nephi and as a consequence comes to see Nephi's slaying

of Laban as an act of murder and his account of the episode as an act of mendacity.[14]

Central to this interpretation is a reliance on René Girard's work on cultural scapegoating. As applied to the Book of Mormon generally, the core idea of this view is that cultures perpetuate and escalate violence until they either face and heal that violence in themselves or (subconsciously) find a scapegoat on which to release it. Scapegoating in this way is only a temporary solution, however, since it merely conceals the violence rather than healing it. To scapegoat is to flee the truth rather than to confront and correct it — which means the violence is certain to erupt again.[15]

The standard form such scapegoating takes is in an act of violence that justifies itself in the name of redemption or necessity — an act of killing, for example, that is committed in the name of saving an entire nation. In this case the violence is actually sacrificial in nature because it trades the demise of the few in order to preserve the many.

This is meaningful because this particular author supposes that Nephi's slaying of Laban is a clear example of just such scapegoating. And as an act of such scapegoating violence, the slaying of Laban was obviously wrong — which means that Nephi's explanation of the event in terms of the Lord's direction has to be false: a cover-up.

A Central Problem with the Scapegoating Explanation

There is a logical problem with this way of thinking about the matter, however. The argument's reasoning jumps from the observation that the slaying of Laban was an act of violence that justified itself, to the conclusion that the slaying of Laban was therefore an act of scapegoating (an act that seeks to hide rather than to heal the violence in oneself) because it implicitly assumes all acts of violence that justify themselves (at least in terms of "necessity") are necessarily acts of scapegoating.

But it would seem that we cannot simply assume this. The claim calls for demonstration. After all, even if we stipulate that scapegoating occurs through an act of violence that justifies itself, it does not follow that every act of violence that justifies itself is therefore an act of scapegoating. That is a logical truism. (All oranges are round, but not all round things are oranges.) Proponents of the scapegoating view must therefore grant at least the possibility of an act of violence that is justified on *legitimate* grounds of necessity and that is not, therefore, an act of mere scapegoating. To refuse to grant this would be, in effect, to assert the truth of the claim by simple fiat: all acts of violence that justify

themselves by appeal to necessity are scapegoating acts *by definition* — a mental maneuver that, in application to individual cases like Nephi's, does nothing more than assume what it is appearing to prove.[16]

The only acceptable way to apply Girard's theory to Nephi is to demonstrate separately, on independent grounds, that Nephi was wrong to kill Laban — i.e., that his justification for doing so was illegitimate. To treat Girard's theory as if *it* proves that Nephi's justification was illegitimate (because, for example, it appealed to "necessity") and as if *it* gives grounds to think that Nephi lied about the episode is to rely on reasoning that is logically vacuous.[17]

The Lord's Conduct and Scapegoating Violence

We can appreciate this problem further from another angle. Note, for example, the Lord's own statement to the Nephites, reported by Mormon, that "ye shall defend your families even unto bloodshed" (Alma 43:47). Here we have both violence and its justification: the violence of defense is justified explicitly in the name of necessity — the Nephites' need to defend their families. This would seem to conform to the general parameters of Girard's theory, and yet it would seem obvious that it is not an example of scapegoating. After all, if the Book of Mormon is to be trusted, Jesus Christ himself is the one who is both framing the matter and advocating the violence ("ye shall") — and actually helping the Nephites execute it, for that matter.[18] To see this as an example of scapegoating, therefore — which, again, is an act performed in order to conceal the violence in oneself rather than to confront and heal it — is to see the Lord himself as both needing to confront and heal the violence in himself and failing to do so. Although ludicrous, this is the conclusion that follows if we both trust the Book of Mormon and bluntly apply Girard's theory to it. If Nephi is guilty of scapegoating violence, then, so it would seem, the Lord, too, is guilty of scapegoating violence.

This application of Girard's theory, then, would seem to be mistaken and, not surprisingly, to lead to an absurd conclusion as well. In the end, the scapegoating view supplies no reason to accept the idea that Nephi was wrong to slay Laban and that doing so constituted murder, nor that he practiced deceit in his reporting of the episode. Appealing to Girard in this instance, in this way, is a mistake. And it is not a small one, since charging Nephi with murder and mendacity are not, by anyone's standards, small accusations.[19]

Abraham's Moral Failure, God's Injustice, and God's Change-of-Mind

Another LDS author warmly reports Judy Klitsner's approach to the story of Abraham's near-sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis 22:1–18).[20] Klitsner, writing from the standpoint of Jewish literary analysis, describes God's command to Abraham in this episode as unethical and unjust. Indeed, she reads the book of Job as literature fashioned by later authors specifically to subvert this Abraham story. The account of Job does this mainly by raising questions the Abraham story does not raise — for example: What does a righteous servant do if children actually die (as in the case of Job) rather than being spared at the last minute (as in the case of Abraham)? The book also subverts the Abraham episode by having Job protest God's injustice in a way Abraham does not. Abraham's voiceless acceptance of God's unethical command is thus corrected by the story's sequel in Job, where, according to Klitsner, Job actually challenges God's injustice and is approved by God for doing so.

All this is accepted without objection by this LDS author, who concludes that God's initial approval of Abraham and later of Job demonstrates a dramatic alteration in God's thinking over time. It thus shows, he says, that the Divine Mind is open and willing to change.

Although all this is interesting from the standpoint of Jewish literary tradition (again, the point of view from which Klitsner writes), one would expect an LDS author to address and account for at least three serious obstacles to this thinking in Latter-day Saint scripture. The first of these is the appearance of multiple prophetic expressions that emphasize the justice of God (e.g., Mosiah 29:12; D&C 109:77), including passages declaring that if justice were denied, God would cease to be God (Alma 42:13, 25).[21] The second is the appearance of multiple prophetic expressions that emphatically describe God as unchanging in character (e.g., Moroni 8:18; D&C 20:17; 88:33), including a passage claiming that if God changed, he would — in this case, too — cease to be God (Mormon 9:19).[22] And the third, though less significant, is the Lord's explicit statement of approval in this dispensation of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac (D&C 132:50–51), while there is no similar latter-day expression of approval regarding (as Klitsner describes it) Job's challenging conduct toward the Lord — a matter at least worth noting along the way in any effort to compare the Lord's attitude toward these two scriptural figures.[23]

It would seem that textual elements of this sort — particularly the first two, regarding God's justice and God's unchanging nature — need

to be addressed and accounted for in reaching conclusions that assert the *opposite* of what these passages indicate. Unfortunately, the author does not attend to such scriptural matters, much less demonstrate how they are to be reconciled with (1) what he tacitly accepts from Klitsner about God's injustice towards Abraham and (2) what he explicitly states as his own conclusions about God's change of mind.

"In All Patience and Faith"

Consider also the first topic addressed in this paper, "In All Patience and Faith," which appeared in Part One. Givens and Mason, as we saw, address this topic, and both do so specifically in the context of what they consider to be problems. Givens speaks of the moral deficiencies he sees in various prophetic leaders, for instance — including Abraham, Moses, and Jonah, whom we considered above — and also of "practices that challenge and try one's faith; teachings whose status as eternal truth is either disconcerting, questionable, or now denied."[24] He refers to polygamy, the Adam-God theory, and the priesthood-temple restriction. In this context he speaks of "teachings that seem to have the stamp of divine authority that are later declared to be in error."[25] He later adds: "Eternal principles are just that — eternal and immutable. However, hindsight shows some policies and practices to have been less than immutable."[26]

From this overall context Givens frames the matter of heeding prophets "in all patience and faith" in terms of God's delegation to his mortal servants. He notes that mortals regularly delegate authority to one another and, building on the work of Austin Farrer (a twentieth-century Anglican scholar), emphasizes that this is what the Lord does as well. Authorized by God, such a servant possesses a certain "power of attorney" — which means that "the person's acts, *within circumscribed limits*, carry the weight and efficacy of God's own acts."[27]

As Givens points out, however, to delegate such authority and responsibility to mortal servants is to guarantee mortal mistakes. He refers to human weaknesses regarding Joseph Smith, for instance, and also speaks of mistaken actions by leaders (all of which, again, is the general context of his discussion). Givens quotes Farrer that "God 'does not promise [Peter, or Joseph] infallible correctness in reproducing on earth the eternal decrees of heaven.'"[28] Givens adds: "Farrer warned against the mistake of assuming 'a perfect conformity of Peter's [the prophet's] decision with a foreordaining will of God, conceived as a

creative blueprint, or Platonic idea, which Peter [or the prophet] faithfully copies.'"[29]

As modern-day instances of such mismatch between human judgment and "the eternal decrees of heaven" (or the divine "blueprint"), Givens shares the example of an imperfect decision that might be made by a bishop and the mistake that might be made by a General Authority in calling a stake president.[30] He also quotes the statement by B. H. Roberts that men of God are "not inspired at all times and in all things."[31] Such examples support the view that, as Givens quotes Farrer to say, God does not promise "infallible correctness" on the part of his authorized servants; all he promises is "*that the decisions he* [Peter, or Joseph] *makes below will be sanctioned from above*."[32] In other words, God authorizes what his servants do, even though they may often be wrong, because he has officially delegated his authority to them. The Lord is in this position because if he authorized only actions that were perfect, his delegation to others wouldn't be genuine and doing so would require perfect servants.[33]

Such propositions lead Givens to say that "surely no human can act with the wisdom, the perfect judgment, the infallibility of God. Precisely so. And if delegation is a real principle — if God really does endow mortals with the authority to act in *His place and with His authority*, even while He knows *they will not act with infallible judgment* — then it becomes clearer why God is asking us to receive the words of the prophet 'as if from mine own mouth, *in all patience and faith*.'"[34]

Employing the framework suggested by the well-known Farrer, Givens emphasizes both the authority and the weaknesses of God's servants, the combination of which explains the Lord's call for "all patience and faith" in sustaining and following them. It follows from this that delegated authority is paramount. As Givens remarks, "the mantle represents priesthood keys, not a level of holiness or infallibility."[35]

Considerations in Thinking about Givens' Approach

Although this account has a definite surface appeal, it is problematic for a number of reasons. All of these were discussed in the section on "The Lord's Guidance to the Church" in Part One — and, therefore, followed the initial discussion in Part One of the "in all patience and faith" scriptural passage. Thus, while these considerations couldn't assist our initial treatment of the matter, we are in a position for them to assist us here. Here are the most significant of these considerations.

First, Givens' narrative does not account for the distinction between instructions and explanations and the reality that the Lord gives far

more of the former than the latter (indeed, as indicated in Part One, Elder Oaks estimates the ratio to be more than a hundred to one). Thus, while it is true, as Givens says, that the priesthood-temple restriction remains incompletely explained, it is also true that this is the case with most things related to the gospel. The Savior's atonement lies at the core of the gospel plan, for example, and yet no one claims to understand all of its dimensions. Such lack of understanding hardly prevents us from speaking about it, relying wholeheartedly upon it, and expressing unending gratitude for it, however. Just so with an endless number of additional gospel matters. Other than our understanding of God's eternal and just perspective in general, we don't understand why parents of young children die, nor do we understand, really, why God needed to permit the death by fire of the women and children in Alma 14 — despite the explanation offered in the passage. Nor do we understand, really, why God — who is no respecter of persons — establishes a specific sequence (two times) in which Israel and gentiles are offered the gospel. Such examples only scratch the surface of all that we fail to understand. To find something that is explained incompletely is not an anomaly in the fabric of God's actions and revelations to mortals; it is the norm. In itself, therefore, there is nothing unique about absence of understanding on one topic or another, and thus there is nothing inherently problematic when it occurs.

Second, and related to this, Givens' approach does not consider the distinction we saw in Part One between actions and explanations. Since the Lord gives far more instructions than explanations, leaders and others who *try* to give explanations are typically "on their own" in doing so. It always pays, therefore, to emphasize that a mistaken explanation for a given practice does not entail the mistakenness of the practice itself. Without clear acknowledgment of this, it is easy to be beguiled into assuming otherwise.

Third, Givens' approach does not consider the distinction between statements made by individuals and statements made by authorized councils — a matter also discussed in Part One. Givens speaks of "teachings that seem to have the stamp of divine authority and are later declared to be in error."[36] He mentions the Adam-God theory, but he could have referred just as easily to various explanations offered by different leaders for the priesthood-temple restriction. In both cases, the events simply illustrate what the Lord emphasized in the Doctrine and Covenants: the highest authority in the Church is not an individual, but a council (D&C 107:27–29).[37] In the words of one apostle: "The doctrine

is taught by all 15 members of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve. … True principles are taught frequently and by many."[38] Brigham Young, as an individual, taught things about Adam that were not authoritative and that were officially disavowed by a later presiding council. The same is true of individuals' teachings regarding the priesthood-temple restriction: they are not authoritative and they never have been. Thus, although it is understandable why Givens is worried by teachings that appeared to have the stamp of divine authority and were later overturned, the reality is that they never *had* the stamp of divine authority.

Fourth, Givens begins his discussion of problematic issues with the mention of polygamy, the Adam-God theory, and the priesthood-temple ban, but then, when he talks specifically about imperfections and how mistakes can occur, his examples are: (1) a general nod to how a bishop might make mistakes in leading his ward and (2) a second-hand anecdote about how a General Authority can make a mistake in calling a stake president. Such common matters seem to Givens relevant in thinking about the much larger issues he has in mind, but for two reasons they are only remotely analogous. For one thing, the instances Givens mentions are of much smaller scope than the types of large social and ecclesiastical matters that are addressed by the presiding councils of the Church. For another, decisions at the ward level, as well as in finding a stake president, don't involve joint and sustained discussions by fifteen men who are called as prophets, seers, and revelators and who possess all the keys given by God to men on earth. These differences are significant and give us little if any reason to think we can generalize from the local-level cases Givens mentions to the type of large general cases he is trying to explain. As discussed in Part One, there would seem to be a natural correlation (a "sliding scale," so to speak) between the importance of a given matter and the extent to which the Lord governs decisions about it. Givens' account does not incorporate this likelihood — nor explain why it would be mistaken to do so — and thus generalizes from one kind of circumstance to a circumstance of a significantly different kind. This does not seem justified.

Fifth, Givens' account does not consider the distinction between doctrines and practices. He says: "Eternal principles are just that — eternal and immutable. However, hindsight shows some policies and practices to have been less than immutable."[39] But here Givens conflates the concepts in his statement. He acknowledges the immutability of eternal principles, and then speaks of practices that are not immutable,

and acts as if this difference constitutes a contradiction. But it can't constitute a contradiction since, in common usage, the difference in immutability is what constitutes the difference between principles and practices in the first place. Moreover, *much* of what the Lord does falls in the category of non-immutable practice. He has shifted from directing his work on earth through patriarchs to directing it through apostolic quorums and he has changed from a priesthood system which included only the tribe of Levi to one that includes all males. Such examples, among many others, would appear to instantiate the Lord's statement that "I, the Lord, command and revoke, as it seemeth me good" (D&C 56:4). A statement of this sort would seem to guarantee the non-immutability of many policies and practices and thus to create the *expectation* that changes will occur in the Lord's operation of his kingdom. It follows from this that change is not equivalent to correction or that it is an acknowledgment that past practice was mistaken. (It wasn't wrong to operate through patriarchs just because a change was eventually made toward apostolic quorums.) Nothing about change *per se* is unique or problematic.

These are only a few observations. Nevertheless, they permit us to identify a general difficulty in Givens' approach. He begins with the idea that there are problems that require explaining — specifically, the apparent flip-flop on the Adam-God theory and the (at a minimum) incomplete explanation of the priesthood-temple restriction — but what we have seen is that these are not actually problems. Both are fully explainable by principles that apply to gospel topics generally. Givens' effort to fashion an approach to help members think about such Church "problems" is laudable, but it would appear unnecessary, since the problems he identifies don't actually exist.

Revelation

There is another matter to raise regarding Givens' approach, however. It is the general issue of revelation. Givens' discussion emphasizes the imprecision and fallibility involved in divine communication to mortals and relies on Farrer to help express this imprecision. Farrer's remarks indicate that he thinks *no* understanding of the divine can be completely accurate — thus the rejection of "perfect conformity" and "infallible correctness" to the divine blueprint regarding the example he addresses. Since Givens quotes and relies on Farrer, this would seem to be Givens' view as well. Moreover, Givens quotes B. H. Roberts' statement that inspiration is not received "at all times and in all things," suggesting,

apparently, that revelation is not only imprecise but also less than frequent.

In emphasizing such a point of view it would seem necessary to consider, and account for, numerous evidences that suggest something different. There is reason to believe that the Father and Son were able to communicate clearly with Joseph Smith in the First Vision, for example, and that Moroni was similarly able to do so during multiple lengthy visits with the Prophet. Numerous other divine visitors seem to have been able to do so as well. We have, in addition, an entire book of scripture comprised of revelations to Joseph Smith, as well as the Book of Mormon — which records more than 250,000 words of revelation to the Prophet. Moreover, we have record of Alma obtaining detailed communication from the Lord regarding enemy troop movements and of Nephi, Mormon, and Moroni all revealing detailed sentiments and words of the Lord in their writings. The list goes on — and it suggests a degree of revelation, and a degree of clarity in revelation, that are different from what Givens and Farrer seem to be proposing.

In this connection, it is interesting to note a remark by a modern member of the Twelve, particularly regarding clarity: "The Lord has a way of pouring pure intelligence into our minds to prompt us, to guide us, to teach us, to warn us. You can know the things you need to know instantly!"[40] He also said:

> Should an angel appear and converse with you, neither you nor he would be confined to corporeal sight or sound in order to communicate. For there is that spiritual process, described by the Prophet Joseph Smith, by which pure intelligence can flow into our minds and we can know what we need to know without either the drudgery of study or the passage of time, for it is revelation.[41]

These declarations from a modern apostle do not emphasize the difficulty of communication between divine and mortal beings when it happens. Instead, the statements emphasize the utter clarity of such communication through "pure intelligence." One is reminded of President George Q. Cannon's report that the presiding Brethren do not necessarily know the outcomes of all their actions, but that they can nevertheless know "with perfect surety" the steps they are to take.[42] This sentiment was echoed by President Russell M. Nelson in his own report of divine communication to the presiding Brethren on a matter of importance.[43]

Such considerations are useful to keep in mind when reading Farrer's comments about revelatory experience. It is true that mortals are incapable of comprehending God's eternal perspective — the fullness of the "Platonic idea" or divine "blueprint" — but it does not follow from this that divine communication on specific matters is guaranteed to be fuzzy or uncertain. Even though he did not possess God's eternal perspective, for example, Russell M. Nelson was still able to receive a vision showing him exactly how to perform a surgical procedure that had not yet been discovered and that saved his patient's life. Dallin H. Oaks was similarly able to receive clear direction from the Lord that he should submit an application for the Utah Supreme Court, Bruce R. McConkie was able to see in vision persons from the spirit world in attendance at a funeral, Hugh B. Brown was able to visit with the deceased Harold B. Lee from the spirit world,[44] prophets are able to receive detailed direction about whom to call to the Twelve — and on and on and on. The accounts are numerous and far too many to detail. Such accounts, along with numerous important statements regarding daily revelation to the presiding Brethren of the Church (covered in some detail in Part One) also appear to contradict any thought that revelation is more or less infrequent.

It does not follow from any of this that receiving revelation is easy or that everyone is equally capable of it, of course. Nevertheless, a very large literature exists that either purports to be — or to report — the Lord's revelations to prophetic leaders (and of course to members generally), from Joseph Smith to the present. It is a literature that bespeaks a large volume of revelation, and the possibility of clarity in divine communication, that far exceeds what Farrer could be expected to fathom. Although Givens does not appear to address this literature (some of which appears in Part One), it would seem necessary to do so in discussing revelation — and particularly if one wants to emphasize the imprecision and (apparently) the infrequency of God's communication to his servants. It is certainly appropriate to consider the views of a thoughtful and learned Anglican scholar, but it would seem even more instructive to consider and weigh the numerous statements of prophets and apostles themselves regarding the Lord's revelations to them.

Summary

Givens sees problems residing in certain matters of Church doctrine and practice and he attempts to reach a view of revelation, delegation, and human weakness that can help members process these problems.

His thinking leads to a particular interpretation of the Lord's command to receive prophets' word "as if from mine own mouth, in all patience and faith." The interpretation seems to include these central elements: (1) because of their human weaknesses God's servants can never be perfectly correct — and they can even be importantly *in*correct; (2) God's servants nevertheless possess God's authorization; and (3) because of this combination, to sustain and follow those servants "in all patience and faith" means to be patient in following them in the face of their weaknesses and mistakes — including very important ones.

Though Givens' attempt to help members is laudable, this approach actually seems misdirected. When we understand various distinctions and principles that apply to gospel topics generally, we see that Givens is motivated to account for problems that don't actually exist: there are really no "problems" to explain (at least not among those he lists). If these problems don't actually exist, however, then there is no need to account for them — and thus no need to emphasize the weaknesses of mortal leaders and the imprecision of revelation to them. We can thus take a more nuanced view of spiritual matters, informed by a wider consideration of evidence regarding the extent and clarity of God's communication to his servants.

Let's put this another way: the place from which Givens begins appears to destine him to what seems an exaggerated view of prophetic weakness and fallibility — including on important issues — and thus to an unwarranted emphasis on divine authorization over divine revelation.

This way of looking at the matter is unnecessary, though. When we understand the distinctions briefly covered above (and more fully in Part One), and when we consider seriously the evidence that the Lord provides significant (though not total) spiritual guidance to his mortal representatives (also covered in Part One), there is little reason to focus on the mortal weaknesses and imperfections of prophetic leaders — although it is important, of course, to acknowledge them — and similarly little reason to be pessimistic about the degree of revelation they receive. The weaknesses are less extensive, and the revelation more extensive, than Givens appears to suppose.

All this is why it seems completely untenable that the Lord is saying in this passage what Givens thinks he is saying. It takes little patience and faith to live with the actual mortal weaknesses of prophets. It takes far more, it seems to me, to construct an ark, face death by lion or fire, leave Jerusalem, move to Missouri, migrate to the Rocky Mountains, and face scorn — and even disgust — for supporting prophets' stands on the

hot-button social issues of one's day. The instruction to follow prophets wholeheartedly through enduring matters like these would, as I said in Part One, be the more natural interpretation of the Lord's command to receive prophets' words as if from his own mouth and to do so "in all patience and faith."

Prejudice and Lack of Diligence in a Record-Keeping Error

Another example — that can be handled more briefly — is found in Joseph Spencer's suggestion about the failure of Nephite record-keepers in one instance. It is the case in which the Nephites failed to record the fulfillment of one of the prophecies uttered by Samuel the Lamanite, namely, that "many saints" would "arise from the dead" and appear to others following the resurrection of the Savior (3 Nephi 23:6–9). Spencer offhandedly reports that the Lord "reprimanded" the record-keepers for their oversight in failing to record this fulfillment, and expresses his suspicion that their being "less than fully diligent" was due to prejudice — i.e., to Samuel's status as a Lamanite.[45]

Spencer seems, to me, to exaggerate the Lord's reaction to the error,[46] and he also speaks of less-than-full diligence without giving appropriate consideration to the character of Nephi — the record-keeper at the time of the prophecy's fulfillment. This was a man, we are told, who was "cleansed every whit from his iniquity" (3 Nephi 8:1), who performed numerous significant miracles, including raising the dead (3 Nephi 7:17, 19–20; 18:1), and who enjoyed the ministering of angels *daily* (3 Nephi 7:18). It seems unlikely that errors made by *this* man can be attributed to lack of diligence.

In addition, Spencer floats the prejudice claim without providing any argument for it, which leaves us wondering what evidence he has for the suggestion. It goes without saying, of course, that Nephi was not morally perfect, despite the report that he was cleansed "every whit" from iniquity: moral imperfection is true of everyone, even the most saintly. But this does not seem sufficient reason to be cavalier in casting aspersions on Nephi for a *specific* weakness. A specific charge would seem to require a specific argument — a discussion of the degrees of evidence both for and against the proposition and a thoughtful judgment about its plausibility, all things considered.

Unfortunately, Spencer does not do this. He suggests Nephi's prejudice without argument and without any consideration of what the record actually tells us about him. The effect is a casual disparagement of Nephi rather than a responsible consideration of him.

Jacob as Un-Christlike and Sherem as Sincere

Another example that can be handled briefly is Adam Miller's analysis of the episode between Jacob and Sherem recorded in Jacob 7.[47] Against all convention, Miller sees Sherem as "apparently sincere" in his assault on the doctrine of Christ: Sherem seems to Miller to be genuine in his desire simply to defend the law of Moses from the kind of alien influences represented by Jacob's Christian teachings. Conversely, Miller sees Jacob as "unfair" and un-Christlike in his treatment of Sherem: according to Miller, although Jacob speaks of Christian love in the form of Christ and his atonement, he fails to actually "enact" any Christian love toward Sherem. Such conclusions about Jacob and Sherem are surprising, of course, and the evidence Miller offers for them seems persuasive to some. Unfortunately, as I have shown elsewhere, the evidence for Miller's claims is actually inadequate and constitutes an unfair treatment of Jacob. There is actually no basis for revising our understanding of either Jacob or Sherem in the way Miller desires.[48]

Summary

The examples we have just considered, though intriguing on the surface, turn out to seem inadequate. The view that Nephi was murderous and mendacious in his conduct regarding Laban, that God is unjust and that he changes, that Nephi demonstrated lack of dedication as well as prejudice toward Samuel the Lamanite, and so forth — all would seem to be mistaken in fundamental ways. Moreover, all these faulty contentions pertain to the important topic of prophets and revelation *and* all of them appear in reputable venues.

General Conclusion: A Lengthening Shadow

As a conclusion to this long paper, it seems right to speak from a more personal and reflective point of view. It's a peculiar business, after all — to embark on a project of cataloguing and writing about errors. On one hand, it's not really a pleasant way to spend time, and on the other, you never really shake the feeling that you commit errors and oversights of your own (in retrospect I notice things here and there that I wish I had done differently in everything I have written over the years). So what's the point in thinking about mistakes by others?

The only reason in my case is that the topic strikes me as vitally important. And that makes it worth the risk (glass houses and all). I do not see how to disregard or even to minimize a statement like this:

"Whosoever receiveth my word receiveth me, and whosoever receiveth me, receiveth those, the First Presidency, whom I have sent" (D&C 112:20). And when Aaron and Miriam thought to criticize Moses, the Lord responded very simply. He rehearsed his intimate association with that great prophet and then, based on that association, asked: "Wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?" (Numbers 12:8).

Prophets and revelation — there is reason to take the matter seriously.

The motivation for this paper, therefore, has been to ask if current scholarly discourse on this topic is slipping. Are too many mistakes occurring and thus affecting the general intellectual landscape on this important subject? The question has had two parts: one, do important errors occur, and two, are such errors becoming common, and commonly accepted, in the rhetoric of LDS scholars?

As I said at the start, in Part One, in pursuing these questions the issue is never about individual scholars themselves. It is only about claims. Claims are inextricably connected to the authors who make them, of course, and that's why authors' names, particularly when they are well-known, typically have to be used just in order to ease communication. But that is always entirely incidental. Regardless of who makes it, the only question is whether a given assertion stands up to scrutiny. To critique a claim, therefore, is not remotely to suggest that its author is unfaithful or unworthy, or that anything else in their scholarship (on other topics, for example) is flawed. Those are completely separate questions — and the first two are of course none of my business (I assume that every person whose name appears is devoted to the gospel and to helping the kingdom), while the third is thoroughly outside my scope in this paper. My focus has been very narrow: to examine various assertions on a specific (though important) topic, one at a time, and to identify where and why they seem to be unjustified. To critique a claim, even emphatically, is to do nothing more than critique that claim.

It is worth noting, also, that in a project focused specifically on identifying mistakes it can be hard to manage the tone just right, particularly since there is a certain cumulative effect (not only in reading, but also in writing) that attends examining one claim after another, page after page. To those who find themselves reading this paper and who think I failed in tone, I offer my apologies. No excuses. And, of course, I do not exempt myself from intellectual criticism. I imagine oversights of my own will be evident to others before they are evident to me, and I will wholly accept correction of these wherever they are found.

Now, however, as to the first of my questions — "Do important errors occur?" — my answer is that I believe they do. I won't bother to review, or even to summarize, all the matters I have considered over the three Parts of this paper. They are there and can be visited any time by anyone who is interested. I do not expect everyone to agree with all of my conclusions, but I think the volume is significant enough that it is hard to simply disregard them.

The second question — "Are errors becoming common, and commonly accepted?" — is more difficult to answer. What constitutes becoming "common, and commonly accepted?" I don't have concrete answers, but three data points are at least relevant in thinking about the matter.

The first is something I just mentioned: the volume of claims we have had occasion to examine. The second is related to this: the volume of apparent mistakes that seem to me to lie behind these mistaken claims. (A faulty assertion by itself is one thing; errors in analysis that lie behind it are something in addition, and I have tried to identify these in every case I have taken up.) And the third data point is that every claim that I think is faulty — and thus every analytical error that I think lies behind these claims — all appear under the auspices of respectable and trusted publishing entities. They didn't catch the errors I noticed — which means, of course, that they didn't think they were errors. If they had they would have corrected them. But notice: if I am right that a given claim is an error, and if a publishing entity fails to catch it because it doesn't believe that claim is an error, then this, in itself, is evidence that a lengthening shadow has, indeed, started to darken the intellectual landscape (remember: we are assuming that I am right). Error has at least begun to achieve status as non-error.

You might not think this happens where I think it happens. But I'll bet you believe it happens somewhere. And that means you have your own worries about intellectual landscapes.

The problem is exacerbated by the way source-quoting occurs over the course of time. If a claim, however mistaken, at least appears sound on the surface, it is easy to imagine other authors repeating the claim and citing the original author as the authority for it — and later a third party citing the second, and so on. To the degree this occurs and the pattern replicates itself, eventually the unjustified assertion can become simply a new shared assumption — simply passed down through multiple generations of secondary source-quoting on the assumption that someone, somewhere in the past, must have established it. Thus can

a completely mistaken view on a topic become the received view on that topic.

This is one manner in which errors can infiltrate scholarly thought and proliferate not only widely but across generations. It is something to be resisted, and resisted particularly on topics of genuine importance.

In any case, this constellation of data — the faulty claims I see, the errors in analysis I see that lie behind the faulty claims, and the appearance of all of them in reputable venues — seems noteworthy to me. If I am at least substantially right about all this, it is hard to see how there could not be a general loosening of thought on this topic — a contamination, to some degree, of the very intellectual landscape that LDS scholars accept and share. It seems possible, in other words, that at least some false conclusions are indeed becoming new shared assumptions. The evidence for this is at least suggestive. To me, based on all I have seen, a shadow is apparent. And to me, based on all I have seen, there is reason to believe it is lengthening.

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Endnotes

1. See Terryl Givens, "Letter to a Doubter," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture*, 4 (2013): 135; http://www.mormoninterpreter. com/letter-to-a-doubter/#more-2521. See also Terryl Givens and Fiona Givens, *Crucible of Doubt: Reflections on the Quest for Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2014), Kindle location 1205.

2. See, for example, Terryl Givens and Fiona Givens, *Crucible of Doubt: Reflections on the Quest for Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2014), Kindle location 1150; Terryl Givens, "Letter to a Doubter," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 4 (2013): 131–146, http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/letter-to-a-doubter/#more-2521; and the transcription of a Q&A with Givens found in "Faithful LDS Scholars Address Faith Crisis," available at https://www.dropbox.com/s/b1j6uzrsm5zeptc/Faithful%20LDS%20Scholars%20Address%20Faith%20Crisis.pdf?dl=0.

3. The account in Genesis 12 occurs before the Lord changed Abram and Sarai's names to "Abraham" and "Sarah"; the account in Genesis 20 occurs afterward. For simplicity's sake I use their later names.

4. This famous case is due to Benjamin Constant, and is found in many places. One source is Lenval A. Callender, "In Defence of Kant's 'Infamous' Reply to Constant: 'On a Supposed Right to Lie from Benevolent Motives,'" 2008; https://www.scribd.com/document/22273589/In-Defence-of-Kant-s-Reply-to-Constant. Constant developed this case specifically in order to challenge Kant's view of lying, and a sizeable literature has grown up around the matter. I give an overview in my *Even unto Bloodshed: An LDS Perspective on War* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2015), 27–29, esp. Note 20.

5. I outline a general framework for thinking about right and wrong, including lying (and violence, for that matter), in *Even unto Bloodshed*, particularly Chapter 2.

6. Terryl Givens, "Letter to a Doubter," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 4 (2013): 134–135, http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/letter-to-a-doubter/#more-2521. See also Terryl Givens and Fiona Givens, *Crucible of Doubt: Reflections on the Quest for Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2014), Kindle location 1150.

7. See "Faithful LDS Scholars Address Faith Crisis," available at https://www.dropbox.com/s/b1j6uzrsm5zeptc/Faithful%20LDS%20Scholars%20Address%20Faith%20Crisis.pdf?dl=0.

8. See Eugene England, "A Case for Mormon Christian Pacifism," in Valerie M. Hudson and Kerry M. Kartchner, *Moral Perspectives on U.S. Security Policy: Views from the LDS Community* (Provo,

UT: David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, Brigham Young University, 1995), 100–101. See also his "'Thou Shalt Not Kill': An Ethics of Non-Violence," in Eugene England, *Making Peace: Personal Essays* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 173.

9. I am indebted to Greg Smith for this observation.

10. See Terryl Givens, "Letter to a Doubter," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture*, 4 (2013): 131–146, http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/letter-to-a-doubter/#more-2521, and Terryl Givens and Fiona Givens, *Crucible of Doubt: Reflections on the Quest for Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2014), Kindle location 1150.

11. Patrick Q. Mason, *Planted: Belief and Belonging in an Age of Doubt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2015), Kindle 2225–2240.

12. Erika Bleibtreu, "Grisly Assyrian Record of Torture and Death," *Biblical Archaeology Society*, 17/1, 1991; http://faculty.uml.edu/ethan_Spanier/Teaching/documents/CP6.0AssyrianTorture pdf.

13. Ibid. Bleibtreu, "Grisly Assyrian Record." There are additional sources on Assyrian ruthlessness, but this article is among the most accessible.

14. See Joshua Madson, "A Non-Violent Reading of the Book of Mormon," in Patrick Q. Mason, J. David Pulsipher, and Richard L. Bushman, eds., *War and Peace in Our Time: Mormon Perspectives* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2012), 13–28. My treatment here is a highly abbreviated form of the comprehensive discussion of the narrative view I have presented elsewhere. See Duane Boyce, *Even unto Bloodshed: An LDS Perspective on War* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2015), Chapters 8 and 9. The treatment here is revised from one section of that discussion (pp. 142–47).

15. Since the way LDS authors use Girard's work is what matters for my purposes, my brief characterization and treatment of Girard focuses on the use that Madson, and Eugene England for that matter, make of him. Madson refers regularly to sources that rely on Girard as well as to Girard directly. England's reliance on Girard is explicit in his *Making Peace: Personal Essays* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books Library, 1995), 1–22, and 131–55. At its most basic level, Girard's theory of scapegoating violence is descriptive in character: it is a theory that seeks to explain the founding, preserving, and unifying of cultures. Though descriptive in

character as an explanation of violence and of its dispersion (and of how this relates to important cultural phenomena), Girard's concepts lead him to a Christian pacifism that condemns violence as well. Madson and England seem to employ Girard's explanation of violence in a similar spirit, presupposing that the violence being explained is morally wrong. As an effort to vent violence rather than to heal it, this is an effort to flee the truth rather than to face it — all at the expense of a victim who happens to be convenient for these purposes and thus can be (subconsciously) exploited. Seeing Nephi's conduct as an instantiation of such sacrificial violence thus makes it natural to condemn him and to reject the accuracy of his account. Whether Nephi's conduct actually meets all the criteria identified by Girard — and not just LDS authors' versions of his theory — is another question but one I leave aside. It is LDS authors' use of Girard that matters for my purposes, and both Madson and England treat Girard's theory as if it applies seamlessly to Nephi. My focus in this section is specifically on Madson because England does not draw from Girard the same conclusions about Nephi that Madson draws.

16. This raises the question of whether Girard's approach, as applied, is an actual theory or, instead, simply a system of elastic ideas that subsumes every instance of justified violence under "scapegoating" simply as a matter of definition. If the latter, then the approach is empirically empty. This was essentially Popper's objection to Freudian theory long ago: the theory resisted meaningful testing because it was regularly used to explain anything and everything — which meant that any occurrence *whatever* could be taken as an example (and thus as evidence) of the theory. If an event occurred that contradicted what had been expected in terms of a particular wish fulfillment, for example, it was easy to reply that the occurrence simply fulfilled a *different* wish — and thus that this contradiction itself served as an example of the reality of wish fulfillment. The problem is that reasoning in this way precludes the concept of wish fulfillment from any kind of *test*; the idea cannot really be tested if it is treated to begin with as a truth that explains *whatever* happens. If that is our view (even unwittingly), no outcome can fail to be explained by it, and thus no outcome can conceivably contradict it. It is empirically empty and thus, ultimately, explanatorily empty as well. (To some degree all complex theories possess this feature, but at least in the most

empirical disciplines these theories are robustly tested against their capacity to predict new observations.) A blanket application of Girard's theory runs the same kind of risk. If we simply assume all acts of violence that justify themselves are instances of scapegoating, then we are treating this relationship as an analytic truth — as something true by definition and therefore something to which there cannot be an exception. But in that case we make *it*, too, empirically empty. After all, by that standard I could claim that all round objects are oranges because everything we see that is round is simply what I *mean* by an "orange." I could say that, but to do so would be to abandon all effort to say anything meaningful. In no sense would it be a *theory*, and no one would take it seriously as a way to conclude the truth about round objects. If we are going to appeal to Girard's work, we want to appeal to it in a way that does not render it empty of meaning. But that's what we do if (even unwittingly) we treat it as if it were analytically true and thus as if it automatically subsumed all cases of violence that justify themselves.

17. It is also relevant that Laman and Lemuel never invoke the death of Laban as a point against Nephi. As we saw in the section "'Another Side' to the Story Regarding Laman and Lemuel" in Part Two, subsequent generations of Lamanites call Nephi a robber and a liar, but never a murderer. I am indebted to Greg Smith for this point.

18. On scriptural depictions of the Lord's involvement in war, see my *Even unto Bloodshed*, especially Chapter 7.

19. It is important to point out that the narrative approach — at least of the type I am considering here — in fact does *not* trust the Book of Mormon. Specifically, it is prepared to reject any element of the text that does not support a pacifist view of war. In its most basic form, the reasoning goes something like this: *Pacifism is the overarching message of the Book of Mormon. This ultimate message therefore supersedes and corrects any other message that might appear in the text. Thus, no contrary message is authoritative for us, even if uttered by a prophet or reported about the Lord by a prophet (this is because prophets can be mistaken, both in what they say and in what they report). Thus, the only real test of a given utterance and its application to us — regardless of who makes it — is whether or not it instantiates the overarching message of the entire book — namely, pacifism.* This argument seems to avoid the

appearance of absurdity — as in the Lord's seeming to commit an act of scapegoating by commanding violence and justifying it — because it denies that the Lord actually commanded the violence. That report in the text is an error. Indeed, none of the teachings, episodes, reports, or utterances that are non-pacifist in character are applicable to us, since all of them are in error — either because they are faulty reports in the first place or because, at a minimum, they contradict the message of the book as a whole and thus are superseded by it. It is time-consuming, but not conceptually difficult, to demonstrate the mistakenness of this argument, starting with the initial premise that pacifism is the overarching message of the Book of Mormon. The author's arguments for this contention fail, which means they provide no support for mistrusting the Book of Mormon text — including prophets' reports of the Lord's communications to them — and specifically, that they provide no support for dismissing non-pacifist elements in particular. And this, of course, includes Mormon's report that the Lord commanded the Nephites to defend their families "even unto bloodshed." There is no basis whatever in the narrative argument for doubting the truth of this report, and thus there is no way to avoid the absurdity that results from applying Girard's theory of scapegoating to it. The point thus remains: if Nephi is guilty of scapegoating violence, then the Lord, too, is guilty of scapegoating violence. Though absurd, this is one logical outcome of the way the scapegoating view is applied to the Book of Mormon. (The pacifist narrative view, along with its debilities, is treated in some detail in my *Even unto Bloodshed: An LDS Perspective on War* [Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2015], Chapters 8 and 9.)

20. Judy Klitsner, *Subversive Sequels in the Bible: How Biblical Stories Mine and Undermine Each Other* (Jerusalem: Maggid Books, 2011). Austin's discussion, "Abraham and Job: Suffering," is found in Julie M. Smith, *As Iron Sharpens Iron: Listening to the Various Voices of Scripture* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2016), 7–14.

21. Although it is a subject for another occasion, such statements seem to be *reductio*-type arguments rather than literal pronouncements. Alma seems to be saying something like: "Obviously, justice cannot be destroyed because, if it were, it would mean that God — who is just — would then not be God." Or, in looser form: "Thinking that justice can be denied is as absurd as imagining that God can cease to be God." Alma seems to be emphasizing

the importance of justice by stating the absurdity that would follow if justice were denied. It is also possible to understand Alma's statements as *per impossibile* arguments. Basically, this is a form of reasoning in which we grant the impossible in order to emphasize the relationship between two ideas. Thus, Alma could be saying: "If justice were denied (even though that is impossible), God would then no longer be God. That's how central justice is to God's nature." In this way of understanding Alma, he is granting something impossible (i.e., that justice can be denied) simply for the sake of argument: in order to emphasize the connection between God and justice. He is not saying that justice can actually be denied or that God can actually cease to be God. He assumes the impossible simply to emphasize how central justice *is* to God. (Additional important passages regarding God's justice include: 2 Nephi 2:12; 9:17, 26; Jacob 6:10; Alma 12:32; 41:2–3; 42:13–15, 22–25, 30; 3 Nephi 28:35; Ether 8:23; D&C 10:28; 84:102; and 107:84.)

22. Like Alma, Moroni also seems to be advancing a *reductio*- or *per impossibile*-type argument.

23. In providing solace to the Prophet, the Lord does refer to Job's suffering, of course (D&C 121:10). But he does not express approval for whatever "challenge" Job presented to him in protesting the Lord's "unjust" conduct.

24. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1391.

25. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1391.

26. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1483.

27. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1407; italics in original.

28. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1426.

29. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1444.

30. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1410.

31. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1447.

32. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1426; italics in the original.

33. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1415.

34. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1407; italics in the original.

35. See Givens, "Letter to a Doubter."

36. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1391.

37. On this topic generally, see Boyd K. Packer, "I Say Unto You, Be One," *BYU Devotional and Fireside Speeches, 1990-1991* (Provo, Utah: University Publications, 1991), 83–84.

38. Neil L. Andersen, "Trial of Your Faith," General Conference, October 2012; https://www.lds.org/general-conference/2012/10/trial-of-your-faith?lang=eng&_r=1.

39. Givens and Givens, *Crucible*, Kindle location 1492.

40. Boyd K. Packer, "Prayers and Answers," General Conference, October 2010; https://www.lds.org/general-conference/1979/10/prayers-and-answers?lang=eng.

41. Boyd K. Packer, "The Candle of the Lord," *Ensign*, January 1983, https://www.lds.org/ensign/1983/01/the-candle-of-the-lord?lang=eng.

42. George Q. Cannon, in Jerreld L. Newquist, ed., *Gospel Truth: Discourses and Writings of President George Q. Cannon*, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Zion's Book Store, 1957), 346.

43. Russell M. Nelson, "Becoming True Millennials," January 10, 2016, Young Adult Broadcast; https://www.lds.org/broadcasts/article/worldwide-devotionals/2016/01/becoming-true-millennials?lang=eng.

44. These accounts all appear in Part One.

45. Joseph M. Spencer, "The Time of Sin," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 9 (2014), 88; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/the-time-of-sin/#more-4805.

46. The Lord said to the Disciples simply that "other scriptures I would that ye should write, that ye have not" (3 Nephi 23:6). Then, after drawing attention to Samuel's prophecy of the resurrection and its fulfillment, he asked: "How be it that ye have not written this thing?" (3 Nephi 23:11), whereupon Nephi corrected the oversight. None of this sounds like what we would normally consider a "reprimand." That term implies a degree of condemnation not actually present in the account.

47. Adam S. Miller, *Future Mormon: Essays in Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2016), 25–33.

48. See my "Reclaiming Jacob," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture*, 22 (2016): 107–129, http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/reclaiming-jacob/.

Consecration Brings Forth Zion, Not Just Disaster Relief: An Examination of Scholarly and Prophetic Statements on the Law of Consecration

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Abstract: *Active members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints covenant to obey the law of consecration, and although I have long felt we discuss it too little, more Saints seem to be taking notice. Various historical and doctrinal opinions have been expressed on the law and on the "united order," including some insightful and some unusual opinions by Kent W. Huff in his book* Joseph Smith's United Order.[1] *Using this book along with the contributions of several other scholars and Church leaders as a basis for discussion, I explore the history, meaning, and future of the "united order" as part of the larger law of consecration. Starting as an eleven-man organization in charge of Church business and operating under consecration principles, the united order — actually called* the united firm *— transformed into the Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. According to historians, most Church members did not even know of its existence, let alone participate in it. Traditional understanding is that the firm's consecration model provided the pattern for the Saints to follow. An alternative interpretation, described by Kent Huff, is that the Saints' only real attempt at a formal consecration effort was for disaster relief. In fact, according to Huff, the Saints in general did not deed their property to the Church as we've learned in Church history classes. He further argues that even the former-day Saints in the City of Enoch, the early Christians in Jerusalem, and the Nephites right after Christ's visit didn't really have all things in common in the way most of us have imagined. I disagree with this interpretation and provide evidence against it, but I*

appreciate the historical information and several philosophical insights that Huff provides. Other scholars and historians challenge the widely-held notions that 1) tithing is a lower law, given because the Saints failed to live the full law of consecration, and that 2) a formal form of consecration (the united order*) will eventually return. I advocate instead for the traditional understanding of the law of consecration and stewardship as taught by Church leaders, believing it is the path toward both freedom and equality the world is looking for, and I explain why I believe it — or a similar program — will eventually be reinstated.*

Good people around the world want to create a better society, achieve brotherhood, and eliminate poverty. To some, the answer lies in political programs and paradigms. Those on the political right believe capitalism (in spite of its shortcomings) has brought more good to more people than any other economic system. Those on the left feel that government distribution of wealth is at least partially the answer.

Neither the political left nor the political right offers what so many are seeking. Instead, I feel that God's law of consecration offers our best hope. It will not answer the world's problems but uplifts only those who embrace it under godly covenant, for it cannot be enforced. The united order — the organized method of consecration carried out under Joseph Smith — preserves freedom and private ownership but also encourages a more equal society, and its goal is to achieve Zion. While this did not happen in Joseph Smith's time, it has happened in past dispensations.

What is the united order, and how is it related to the law of consecration or to the law of tithing? Some envision communal societies like those in pioneer Utah; indeed, these were called "united orders," but they differed markedly from the system Joseph Smith envisioned. Others believe that Joseph Smith's united order was simply a temporary solution or merely one of many equivalent ways of fulfilling the law of consecration.

In this paper I analyze Kent W. Huff's writings in his book, *Joseph Smith's United Order: A Non-Communalistic Interpretation*, along with writings and teachings of other historians and past and present Church leaders in order to form evidence-based conclusions consistent with teachings of Church leaders. We ought to acknowledge apparent disagreements and semantic misunderstandings between some scholars and Church leaders, but we can find common ground. Anyone can be wrong, even Church leaders, but I feel the safest route is to trust them

first, especially when there is a consensus. The ancient Jews ended up subordinating their priesthood leaders to the scribes; while thankfully there is not such tension today, it is wise to remember that in our theology, prophets and apostles come first.

The goal of *Joseph Smith's United Order* was to detail the history of the united firm, which was also nicknamed the united order, during Joseph Smith's time, using primarily the *History of the Church* in order to show that 1) neither it nor any of Joseph Smith's economic programs were socialistic (and in fact, having "all things common" as described in Acts and 3 Nephi was either foolish or just a temporary emergency measure) and that 2) it was mainly used to help migrating Saints get to Kirtland and then to Zion (Missouri), so it solved a temporary challenge, and that 3) it was not a widespread social movement but instead a "firm" composed of eleven individuals whom most Church members had not heard of. The united firm/order was, according to Huff, the precursor of today's Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and both organizations were formed primarily to conduct the business of the Church. In fact, Huff denies there existed any widespread movement or even real ideal of consecration and stewardship among the Saints generally. Furthermore, 4) tithing represents a "higher law" rather than a lower law when compared to the law of consecration. Finally, 5) "Consecration" ranges from an informal system of donations to the payment of tithes and offerings, but when we pay tithes and offerings, we have fully complied with consecration's requirements.

While there is some truth to some of these statements, I will argue for a "traditional" understanding of the program of formal consecration of property, colloquially known as the "united order," and for a "traditional" understanding of tithing as a "lesser law," although I'll have to explain what this means in order to avoid semantic misunderstandings. After this introduction, I will discuss each of these five theses — and related ideas — in turn. I believe Huff's ideas (at least some of which I believe are shared by others) deserve detailed responses, as well as those of others I will quote or cite.

Before we continue, I need to clarify the terms *united firm* and *united order*. As we'll discuss later, individuals involved in the united firm were given code names when the revelations were first printed in the Doctrine and Covenants, which were finally replaced with their real names in the 1981 edition. But the term *united order* is actually a code name for *united firm*, and it persists in our scriptures to this day, although *united order* was not part of the original text.[2] The united firm

was a business operation formed by revelation and run by a few men, and they were to conduct their business on the principles of consecration and stewardship, and, as we'll see, to be an example to the Saints who were also to consecrate their properties and receive stewardships; this system has been and still is colloquially referred to as the "united order." So the united firm and "united order" share common principles but are not identical. To complicate things further, various more or less communal organizations established in pioneer Utah under Brigham Young were also called "united orders."

Although we will discuss the business firm — the united firm, I'll be commenting heavily on the system of consecration and stewardship said to involve the Saints in general, which most Latter-day Saints and leaders call the "united order," as well as philosophical concepts of equality and having all things common. Because Huff doesn't believe it ever was the intention for the Saints in general to consecrate property and receive stewardships outside of emergency situations, his use of the term *united order* usually means *united firm,* unless he is using *united order* to criticize the common LDS belief in the consecration/stewardship system.

In this article, most often I will use the term *united firm* where appropriate to describe the business operation and terms such as *formal consecration of property* to describe the system the Saints were to follow; this system is referred to in many statements I'll quote as the "united order," and sometimes for convenience I'll also refer to it that way with the quotation marks. Leaders of the Church often use the term *united order* to describe the consecration and stewardship system under Joseph Smith, but sometimes the term is used more loosely to describe any system of economics designed to help the poor and equalize the standard of living, such as those programs in Brigham Young's Utah.

The word *consecration* can have multiple meanings, from small informal donations to tithing, to donating all of one's property, time, or talents (often with the reception of a stewardship). As Stephen C. Harper (a Church historian, former BYU professor of church history and doctrine, and an editor of the Joseph Smith papers) explains, donation is not always implied; the word really means "to make sacred."[3] Nevertheless, when the word was first introduced in this dispensation (in Doctrine and &Covenants 42),[4] it was in the context of a consecration/stewardship system and was often called the Law of Consecration. (However, that phrase is not scriptural; the closest is D&C 105:29 "laws of consecration.") We know today this law encompasses all sorts of consecration, and to avoid misunderstandings it is best to specify how we use the term;

yet, in our temple covenant, we are pointedly reminded of how it was specifically used in the D&C. (Many, if not most D&C scriptures about consecration do involve donating one's money and means.)[5] We'll return to this idea in Sections III and VI.

Huff's interpretations of the law of consecration and the "united order" turn conventional understanding on its head. The practice of all the Saints' consecrating their property and receiving private-property stewardships with the ability to draw from a storehouse — what I call the "traditional" or "conventional" understanding[6] — seems foreign to Huff's interpretation. (I contrast this "traditional" understanding with both Huff's understanding, and with communal united orders like Orderville, in pioneer Utah.) In fact, he disavows any notion that the Saints of former dispensations had all common — including the Nephites after Christ's resurrection, the early New Testament Saints described in the book of Acts, or the residents of the City of Enoch. Instead, to Huff, tithing — which Church members commonly consider to be a lesser law given because the Saints could not live the whole law of consecration — is actually a higher law and represents the highest form of consecration.

Huff seems to go out of his way to hammer home the point that the Church is not socialistic, or at least it was not in Joseph Smith's day. Perhaps we could be forgiven for thinking that Brigham Young's version of the united order (or versions, as he allowed different Utah settlements the freedom to experiment on various united order formats) was socialistic, but Huff is emphatic that we must not think anything of the sort about Joseph Smith's society. Now, most of us who have studied Joseph Smith's limited united firm and his larger system of consecration and stewardship would already claim that private property was their chief feature, and we already know that Joseph condemned the lifestyle of a commune called "The Family," who were already living in Kirtland when the Saints arrived and which some Saints joined. In The Family, everything was literally held in common, including, apparently, clothes.[7] Huff also repeats that any donations to the Church in Joseph's day were voluntary, as if to distinguish this system from the powerful control of the state under socialistic or communistic governments. But of course these donations were voluntary; was Joseph Smith going to execute or imprison non-complying Saints? Of course not, and I don't know any Church members who would even consider the possibility. Likewise, in today's Church, tithe payments and coffee abstinence are commanded but voluntary, in the sense that no one get excommunicated for violations, nor do homes get inspected for contraband coffee or bank

accounts for secret untithed income. So it seems to me that when Huff goes out of his way to distance Joseph Smith's society from such forced socialism, he is really beating down a straw man; "he protests too much."

In spite of what I believe are some interesting but strained interpretations of scriptures and this continual setting up and blasting of straw men, Huff gives us much interesting historical information and helps us envision the early days of this dispensation. He traces the formation of the eleven-man (all Church leaders) united firm as a business partnership tasked with carrying out transactions of the church and the gathering of the Saints, its eventual splitting to form different orders in Kirtland and Missouri, and its demise — at least the demise of its original form. By June 1838, only four of the original eleven men in the united firm were still alive or active Church members — if members at all — and Joseph had had to flee Kirtland for his own safety. With the demise of the firm, and with the growth of the Church, a more advanced business model was needed. Huff therefore describes the original eleven-man united firm partnership's transition to the corporate form. The firm's duties were taken over by the Quorum of the Twelve and the Corporation of the President of the Church. This helped the Quorum of the Twelve rise from its original position of lower authority than the stake high councils to its scriptural position right below the First Presidency. The new corporation (The Corporation of the President of the Church) had none of the debts of the previous organization, although some individuals were still liable for them.[8] On the transition, Huff concludes

> To say that the united order ended with the phasing out of the partnership form would probably be inaccurate. The original intention that it be an "everlasting order," D&C 82:20, should lead us to conclude that the order has never ceased since its inception, although the outward legal forms have been adjusted as conditions required.[9]

To say that the united firm is everlasting because it survived the change to the Corporation of the President seems to me a bit of a stretch. "Everlasting" could also mean that it is an eternal method or incorporates eternal principles, although not always directly applied but one the Lord would like to apply when the Saints are ready. In fact, we don't always know just what is meant by "everlasting." Tithing, too, was to be "a standing law unto them [us] forever," as quoted by historian Harper in teaching us that tithing was not meant to temporarily "replace" consecration.[10] The Lord also commanded the ancient Israelites to "keep [the Passover] a feast by an ordinance for ever (Exodus 12:14)." And, the

Day of Atonement was to be "an everlasting statute unto you (Leviticus 16:34)." Circumcision was also to be an "everlasting covenant (Genesis 17:13)." Yet none of these things is now required of us.[11]

Huff and other historians present worthwhile historical information on the economic practices in Joseph Smith's time, which helps us better understand the conditions and challenges of the early church in this dispensation as well as how the organizational structure of the Church addressed these issues.

Ultimately, however, I believe most Saints would question Huff's unique interpretation of the system of formal consecration of property and reception of stewardships as described in the Doctrine and Covenants; while he definitely makes good points, contributes new ideas, and has clearly done much research and thinking, several of his overall conclusions are historically controversial and do not seem to match those of numerous general authorities of the Church. This by itself doesn't mean he is always wrong, but I would advise caution. I agree wholeheartedly with Huff that socialism is a poor economic system, and that neither the united firm nor any other economic program established by Joseph Smith were socialistic, but I think in his effort to eschew socialism, Huff goes too far in disparaging any system that promotes economic equality. I believe, contrary to Huff, that the united firm coupled with a consecration and stewardship program among the Saints generally aimed to produce equality and that it was an economic system that did and will yet affect the lives of the Saints.

The next five sections address Huff's five theses — along with related ideas — that I mentioned in my fifth paragraph. Each section heading gives one of Huff's conclusions as well as a bracketed addition of mine, meant to convey my different understanding of the Lord's ultimate economic and spiritual plan for His Saints. I will also discuss others' thoughts on these issues.

I. First Thesis: Neither The United Firm nor any Church Program is Socialistic [but the Gospel Does Aim to Produce Equality]

Before discussing the united firm as such, we'll first address Huff's goal of emphasizing that nothing in Joseph Smith's practices or in ancient scripture was socialistic or equality-seeking. We'll be considering ideas more than history in this section.

Huff cites[12] President J. Reuben Clark's October 1942 general conference talk, in which he disabused Church members of the notions

that the "united order" was a type of communism and that the worldwide communistic movement was preparing the world to accept the united order.[13] Nowadays, those of us who have not ignored history know the communists in the 1940s-50s (especially Stalin and Mao) caused the deaths of perhaps 70+ million people, and their communism took away freedom, mandated atheism, and did not promote equality (except equality of the form described in George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, where all animals are equal, but some are more equal than others). Huff states:

> Contrary to traditions stemming from the Brigham Young era, any form of socialism, defined here as centralized or common ownership and/or control of property, was not a part of the teachings or practice of the Joseph Smith era; Joseph Smith and other leaders of that time made strong efforts to counter such teachings and practices.[14]

> During the Joseph Smith era, the term consecration did not imply any socialistic mechanism or behavior, but referred only to contributions of the sort commonly made within the church today …. There were also some cooperative business efforts, but they were based on principles of common sense economics, not some intervening religious doctrine.[15]

These statements are true, of course; as we have seen, Joseph Smith did not espouse socialism and in my experience, this is not widely disputed, although Huff takes such pains to refute the socialistic hypothesis that one might think most Latter-day Saints believed it.

Here is a sampling of sources existing before Huff's book was published that clearly show the Church/"united order" isn't socialistic. I did not take the time to locate all the old priesthood or Relief Society manuals that might have addressed the subject.

- J. Reuben Clark's conference talk, quoted above, and also his 1942 *Church News* series; this was reprinted in the appendix of the 1981 *Doctrine and Covenants Institute Instructor's Manual*.[16]
- The 1981 *Doctrine and Covenants Institute Student Manual*.[17]
- An April 1942 First Presidency message, which is also cited in Elder Victor L. Brown's 1976 BYU speech.[18]
- Elder Marion G. Romney's April 1966 conference address.[19]
- William O. Nelson's 1977 *Ensign* article "To Prepare a People" that also cited Clark's October 1942 conference

address as well as an anti-socialism statement of Elder Harold B. Lee in his October 1941 conference address and Joseph Smith's anti-socialism statement Huff cites in his book.[20]

- "Communism," in Elder McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine*.[21]
- Elder Ezra T. Benson's 1977 BYU speech.[22]
- Marion G. Romney's April 1977 conference talk.[23]

In light of all this and more, I'm not sure why Huff believes people would think Joseph Smith's united firm and/or his consecration/stewardship system were socialist, but Huff does a very thorough job debunking that idea. I believe that most Latter-day Saints who have studied the issue realize that communism is Satan's evil counterpart to the "united order," which is based on free will, charitable/gospel-motivated treatment of others, private property, and certainly denies atheism. So far, so good. The "united order" is not communism or socialism.

President Clark did say something in the same speech that Huff doesn't discuss, that might destroy Huff's narrative. It is that Joseph Smith's "united order" sought to produce equality. Now, this may sound socialistic but need not, as long as it was voluntary. Clark said,

> There is continuous reference in the revelations to equality among the brethren, but I think you will find only one place where that equality is really described, though it is referred to in other revelations. That revelation (D&C 51:3) affirms that every man is to be 'equal according to his family, according to his circumstances and his wants and needs.' (See also D&C 82:17; 78:5–6 .) Obviously, this is not a case of 'dead level' equality. It is 'equality' that will vary as much as the man's circumstances, his family, his wants and needs, may vary.[24]

Although Huff does mention this scripture (D&C 51) elsewhere, he doesn't really confront it head-on. To me, one of the purposes of a formal consecration system is to make the participants' standards of living about equal but not to specify the type of car each person must drive.[25]

Evidently, Huff is against socialistic governments. I am too. I believe that capitalism, rather than socialism, brings more good to more people and is more likely to raise not only everyone's standard of living but also their freedom and happiness. But the Lord has made clear that equality is also important. I think Huff is so adamant to disavow socialism (and he's right for doing so) that he throws the baby out with the bathwater. Government-forced socialism is bad, but equality on a voluntary nature

is good. The authors of one of my new favorite books, *Working Towards Zion* also make this point.[26]

Here are some examples of Huff's efforts to disavow anything that smacks of socialism:

- In quoting D&C 42, Huff italicizes all those parts he thinks show a non-socialist approach.[27] But those of us who believe in the traditional understanding of the united order agree. He doth protest too much, methinks.

    32. A steward over his *own property*.

    35. For the purpose of *purchasing lands*. (not living in socialism)

    54. *Thou shalt pay for that which thou shalt receive of thy brother*.

- Huff compares the D&C 78 section heading in 1968 to that of the 1981 edition. In 1968, the heading has *Order* capitalized and says it is "for the purpose of establishing the poor." (Recall that the term *order* was not found in the original text of the revelations, but of course the section headings are not part of the original scripture.) But in 1981, *order* is not capitalized, and it is "for the purpose of establishing a storehouse for the poor." I don't see much difference here, but Huff finds it significant: the noncapital "order" indicates "a less formal interpretation of the word" and "'Establishing the poor' sounds more like a broad social experiment was in the wind, while 'establishing a storehouse for the poor' sounds like the simpler step of giving aid to the poor was intended. These two differences both imply that a simple solution for a simple problem was all that was to be implemented, rather than *some sweeping doctrinal and sociological revolution*."[28]

- "The Lord's storehouse represents the welfare program of the church. It does not represent *some all-inclusive communal economic system*. It is for exceptions only, not the main-stream economic activity."[29] I don't read the scriptures that way. Surely, the storehouse is for the poor, but anyone looking to expand his or her stewardship might use materials (or money) from the storehouse.

- Referring to a letter by Joseph Smith,[30] "Here we can see that the 'law of the church' or 'law of the Lord' had a welfare clause but not a socialism clause. The poor are to be cared

for, but no other economic requirements are laid down for the bishops to administer."[31] However, the letter cited didn't exactly preclude "other economic requirements."

- "There were a few cooperative business ventures organized by the saints, but they were instigated only for the reason they promised practical economic benefits, not because there were any doctrinal requirements; one could join in the venture or not as his own interest or preferences dictated. Similarly, Joseph Smith's history mentions no 'Ordervilles,' or the communal kitchens, uniformity of clothing, etc., often characteristic of such societies, except to disapprove them."[32] Of course, nothing is ever forced in the Church anyway. Another straw man.

- Men were contracted to work on the Kirtland temple in the way of doing normal business. But then Huff admits a lot of the work was volunteered.[33]

- Huff relates the story of Orson Hyde's financial problems. Fellow apostle William Smith had money, but Joseph Smith didn't intervene, except to tell the store to be laxer about giving Hyde credit. "There was no storehouse to support the able. If a storehouse did exist, it was only for the poor who were without the means to care for themselves."[34]

- The brethren held a 24-hour meeting in the Kirtland temple and needed food. Instead of using a communal fund, they took up a collection and sent someone for food. The point is that if they were living communally, they would have had a communal fund.[35]

- Joseph Smith condemned the financial speculation occurring in Kirtland. Huff's point is that in a socialistic society, there could have been no speculation in the first place.[36]

- Joseph Smith was tired of people sending him mail without paying postage, forcing him to pay postage upon delivery. Finally he just stopped accepting such mail. Huff's point is that people must be responsible instead of being socialistic.[37]

- Huff cites the scripture that "Thou shalt not take thy brother's garment; thou shalt pay for that which thou shalt receive of thy brother" (D&C 42:54). This obviously contradicts the communal idea of Kirtland's "Family"

> prior to Joseph Smith's arrival but does not contradict the "united order" — a formal consecration/stewardship system — as I know it.[38]

- Huff relates several more events designed to show that Joseph Smith's Church was not socialistic.[39]

In spite of my disagreement with Huff over many issues, here is something Huff and I agree on:

> It is important to understand the relationship between the poor and the rich. The principle of justice does not give the poor any enforceable claim on the property of the rich. However, mercy operates such that if the rich do not recognize the needs of the poor and attempt to fulfill them, the rich, in turn, can expect no mercy and help in their own case when the Lord judges them. They may be denied exaltation. But of course, if they did not desire to help others during their mortal life, they would be out of place and would make serious mistakes in a state of exaltation, because helping others is what exaltation is all about.[40]

Indeed, the Lord has commanded that "every man esteem his brother as himself" and to "be one," for "if ye are not one ye are not mine." (D&C 38: 25, 27). So I commend Huff for making this point. On the other hand, he quotes a line from *History of the Church*[41] that says, "all members of the united firm are considered one," and infers that this and all D&C exhortations of oneness pertain to a business relationship only.[42] I would be cautious about limiting "oneness" to business.

Socialism destroys freedom, which is one reason I oppose it and a reason I suspect Huff does too. But a formal consecration system, as advocated by Joseph Smith or even as advocated by Brigham Young, does not destroy freedom, as attested by then-apostles John Taylor and Erastus Snow:

> We like freedom, God has put it in out bosoms; and as I said to President George A., the other day, in talking about this matter, in organizing the Order of Enoch, as it may be called, we want on the one hand the most perfect union; and on the other hand the most extended personal liberty that it is possible for men to enjoy consonant with carrying out the principles of unity. Not the liberty to trample on other people's rights; not the liberty to take from people that which belongs to them; not the liberty to infringe upon public interests or

the public benefit, but personal liberty so far as we can enjoy it. These are my ideas and feelings in relation to these matters, based upon the principles of truth and, as it is said, — "If the truth shall make you free, then shall you be free indeed, sons of God without rebuke in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation."[43]

Objections arise in the minds of some. "Shall we not by entering into this order, surrender our manhood, our personal liberty, and those rights so dear to every human being?" I answer, no, not in the least. We do no more than what all people do in the formation of government, of every kind, or associations for any purpose, whether charitable, religious or social. All organizations, corporations, and business firms agree to surrender certain personal privileges in order to secure mutual advantages. All governments, societies, corporations and firms are founded upon the principle of mutual concessions to secure mutual advantages. Without this there would be no government, no power to arrest and punish criminals and protect the rights of the citizen and the sanctity of home.[44]

So a consecration/stewardship system aims to combine freedom and equality. Is the aim achievable? Or is this a pipe dream? These apostles, and many others, claimed the former.

What does it Mean to have "All Things Common?"

Were the New Testament or Book of Mormon Saints who had "all things common" socialists? Not necessarily. We need to define socialism. Often, it is used to mean a socialistic structure enforced by the state, in which individual liberty is curtailed. But neither of these scriptural situations describes state control. I believe there are varying ways to interpret the phrase "all things common." One interpretation would certainly be that they shared their clothes and toothbrushes; this is the way Huff evidently thinks about the phrase. Joseph Smith did too, at least when he was asked: "Do the Mormons believe in having all things common?" Joseph's answer: "No."[45]

"Notice here that [Joseph Smith] was refuting the idea expressed in Acts 2:44–45. To him, 'all things common' (Acts 2:44–45), 'common stock,' (HC 6:37) the Kirtland common stock 'family,' (HC 1:124, 146–147), and socialism, and were all the same thing and they are all

wrong or folly no matter where they appear, whether in the scriptures or elsewhere."[46] At other times, Joseph Smith denied believing socialism, as when socialist John Finch visited Nauvoo (cited by Huff,[47] an event commonly discussed in LDS history books.) Furthermore, as other historians attest, the members of the united firm did not hold "property in common," but when the firm was disbanded, they were to be treated equally.[48] But one might also suppose that "all things common" could mean that each family donated their excess and tried to have a common standard of living in their community, so they didn't literally have their clothes in common but were willing to share their means. This is my interpretation (and after I wrote this, I found that the *New Testament Institute Manual* agrees[49]), and I favor it because it doesn't have Joseph Smith thinking the New Testament Saints were in error, but Huff doesn't hint that this interpretation could exist.

Is it Unwise to Have "All Things Common?"

Regarding the New Testament Saints (Acts 4) who sold their possessions and laid them at the apostles' feet for the benefit of the poor and who subsequently had all things in common, Huff explains:

> Again, it should be obvious to anyone that the sale of property and the distribution and consumption of the proceeds, if continued for any length of time, would quickly reduce a people to beggary and would lead to the economic self-destruction of the group. The church would become the "have-nots" of their society, and would lose the power to help others. In Joseph Smith's eyes, such behavior would stop the gathering process and defeat the Lord's plans for the Church's growth in this dispensation.[50]

At face value, this is probably correct, but I don't think it necessary to adopt Huff's conclusion. People can sell their property but continue to earn money, and if they earn enough, they may have enough left over to continue to help the poor. This criticism of the New Testament Saints closely echoes several statements made by Brigham Young, who is the likely source of Huff's statement. Brigham Young said:

> In the days of the Apostles it was written, "And all that believed were together and had all things in common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need. And they continued daily with one accord in the temple and breaking bread from house to house, did eat

their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, &c." This was all right in the Apostles, to show a certain principle that was hereafter to be acted upon. *It does not require more than common enlightenment to discover that such an order of things, if persisted in, would result in poverty, hunger, nakedness and destitution.* I say to my brethren and sisters, come let us learn how to gather around us from the elements an abundance of every comfort of life, and convert them to our wants and happiness, filling our storehouses with wheat, wine, and oil, filling our wardrobes with woollen cloth and fine linen, with silks and satins of the finest quality and patterns from the looms of Deseret, going onward and upward until the whole earth is filled with the glory of God. *Let us not remain ignorant with the ignorant, but let us show the ignorant how to be wise.*[51]

Brigham Young was right; if not done wisely, good intentions go awry. The context of his statement shows that he did want everyone to prosper. It looks as if Brigham Young also failed to consider what "all things in common" could mean. In fact, commenting on someone else's 2004 blog post about this Brigham Young quote, Huff (unless someone is impersonating him) also provides a few references of similar quotes by Brigham Young.[52] I am including them all here because I don't wish to be accused of hiding any potentially contrary evidence to my own theses, which are, for the most part, that the traditional understanding of Joseph's "united order" is correct in that it was indeed the plan for the Saints to consecrate their goods, receive stewardships, and donate their excess to the storehouse; that the Lord wants equality among the Saints in many ways including temporal; and that the early Saints were not fools by giving their substance to the apostles.

Although Huff's book is mainly about practices in Joseph Smith's day and not about Brigham Young's practices or ideas, Huff's argument about the New Testament Saints has strong roots in the Brigham Young statements he cited in the blog post, so they become relevant to our discussion on Huff's view of "all things common." Here are the first two:

Those who are in favor of an equality in property say that that is the doctrine taught in the New Testament. True, the Savior said to the young man, "Go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow me," in order to try him and prove whether he had faith or not.

In the days of the Apostles, the brethren sold their possessions and laid them at the Apostles' feet. And where did many of those brethren go to? To naught, to confusion and destruction. Could those Apostles keep the Church together, on those principles? No. Could they build up the kingdom on those principles? No, they never could. Many of those persons were good men, but they were filled with enthusiasm, insomuch that if they owned a little possession they would place it at the feet of the Apostles.

Will such a course sustain the kingdom? No. Did it, in the days of the Apostles? No. Such a policy would be the ruin of this people, and scatter them to the four winds. We are to be guided by superior knowledge, by a higher influence and power.

The superior is not to be directed by the inferior, consequently you need not ask me to throw that which the Lord has put into my hands to the four winds. If, by industrious habits and honorable dealings, you obtain thousands or millions, little or much, it is your duty to use all that is put in your possession, as judiciously as you have knowledge, to build up the kingdom of God on the earth. Let this people equalize their means, and it would he one of the greatest injuries that could be done to them. During the past season, those who lived their religion acted upon the principles thereof by extending the hand of charity and benevolence to the poor, freely distributing their flour and other provisions, yet I am fearful that that mode was an injury instead of a real good, although it was designed for good.[53]

You take some of those characters to whom I have referred to-day, *who want us all to be of one heart and of one mind, and they think we cannot be so unless we all have the same number of houses, farms, carriages, and horses, and the same amount in greenbacks.* There are plenty in this Church who entertain such a notion, and I do not say but there are good men who, if they had the power, would dictate in this manner, and in doing so they would exercise all the judgment they are masters of, but let such characters guide and dictate, and they would soon accomplish the overthrow of this Church and people. *This is not what the Lord meant when He said: "Be ye of one heart and of one mind."* He meant that we must be one in

observing His word and in carrying out His counsel, *and not to divide our worldly substance so that a temporary equality might be made among the rich and the poor.*

But Brigham Young was not against temporal equality, according to some additional Young statements below. See also (below) Orson Pratt explaining how temporal equality could not only be established, but maintained. Continuing this Brigham Young speech:

> You take these very characters who are so anxious for the poor, and what would they tell us? Just what they told us back yonder — "Sell your feather beds, your gold rings, ear rings, breast pins, necklaces, your silver tea spoons or table spoons, or anything valuable that you have in the world, to help the poor." I recollect once the people wanted to sell their jewelry to help the poor; I told them that would not help them. The people wanted to sell such things so that they might be able to bring into camp three, ten, or a hundred bushels of corn meal. Then they would sit down and eat it up, and they would have nothing with which to buy another hundred bushels of meal, and would be just where they started. My advice was for them to keep their jewelry and valuables, and to set the poor to work — setting out orchards, splitting rails, digging ditches, making fences, or anything useful, and so enable them to buy meal and flour and the necessaries of life.

Next, Brigham Young decries socialism, contrasting the successful Nauvoo Latter-day Saints with a failed French socialist experiment also in Nauvoo after the Saints left:

> There was a certain class of men called Socialists, or Communists, organized, I believe, in France. I remember there was a very smart man, by the name of M. Cabot, came over with a company of several hundreds. When they came to America they found the City of Nauvoo deserted and forsaken by the "Mormons," who had been driven away. They set themselves down there where we had built our fine houses, and made our farms and gardens, and made ourselves rich by the labor of our own hands, and *they had to send back year by year to France for money to assist them to sustain themselves.* We went there naked and barefoot, and had wisdom enough, under the dictation of the Prophet, to build up a beautiful city

and temple by our own economy and industry without owing a cent for it.[54]

There is a certain wisdom here. People must learn how to be self-sufficient and produce wealth, and this is what a formal consecration/stewardship system aims to teach — it isn't just a handout program. The Lord said, "Thou shalt not be idle; for he that is idle shall not eat the bread nor wear the garments of the laborer …. Thou shalt stand in the place of thy stewardship" (D&C 42:42,53). Take home message: socialism doesn't work. I have been against socialism for years but have also advocated the traditionally understood "united order." They are not incompatible. The next Brigham Young speech:

> If the poor had all the surplus property of the rich many of them would waste it on the lusts of the flesh, and destroy themselves in using it. For this reason the Lord does not require the rich to give all their substance to the poor. It is true that when the young man came to Jesus to know what he must do to be saved, he told him, finally, "sell all that thou hast and distribute unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come, follow me;" and a great many think that he told the young man to give away all that he had, but Jesus did not require any such thing, neither did he say so, but simply, "distribute to the poor." If the poor knew what to do with what they have many, yea very many, in this land would have all that is necessary to make them comfortable. But it is different with the great majority of our friends over the water — they are fettered and bound, and in the prison of poverty, and have not power to extricate themselves from the thraldom and wretchedness they are in, and hence it becomes our duty to lend a helping hand and send for them.
>
> *Many of us may think that we have nothing we can spare; but the providences of God might speedily make us think otherwise.*[55]

One of Brigham Young's themes, permeating the *Journal of Discourses* and exemplified by this italicized statement above, is that we ought to share more with others and become less materialistic. I mention this to balance Young's statements that we ought not to mindlessly redistribute wealth, such as this one:

> There is a great deal being said and rumored about what we are teaching the people at the present time with regard to being one in our temporal affairs as we are one in the doctrine

that we have embraced for our salvation. I will say to you that, erroneous traditions at once begin to present themselves. Why we have received these traditions, those who reflect, read and understand can pass their own decision. You cannot find a sect anywhere that strictly believes in the New Testament. Read over the sayings of the Savior to his disciples, those of the disciples one to another, and of the people, with regard to being one; and then bring up the fact that they believed in this doctrine, and that they taught and practiced it so far that the believers sold their possessions and laid the proceeds at the Apostles' feet. Now, what is the tradition on this point? To sell your houses, your farms, your stores, your cattle, and bring the means and lay it down at the feet of the Apostles, and then live, eat, drink and wear until it is all gone, and then what? Do without? Yes, or be beggars .… To the Latter-day Saints, I say, all this is a mistake; these are false ideas, false conclusions .… *To begin with, we will unitedly labor* to sustain the kingdom of God upon the earth. Shall we sell our possessions, have all things in common, live upon the means until it is gone, and then beg through the country? No, no. Sell nothing of our possessions.[56]

So while Brigham Young is against bad economic policy, the phrase I italicized shows he is still for united labor. And continuing this speech, Brigham Young encourages support of cooperative enterprises. So it is not sharing that he didn't believe in but sharing in unwise ways. Note the parts I have italicized:

The question was asked, "What are you going to do with the co-operative stores?"

"Why, use them up," and some of the brethren got the idea that the destruction of these stores was intended, because, to many, the idea of using a thing up, is to destroy it; but this was not the meaning I wished to convey. But I say swallow them up, or circumscribe them or incorporate them, from time to time, in more extensive co-operative plans …. This is a comparison with regard to our co-operative stores and every co-operative institution we have; *we expect that the whole people will support them and give them their influence; that the whole people will work for the whole, and that all will be for the kingdom of God on the earth.* All that I have is in

that kingdom. I have nothing, only what the Lord has put in my possession. It is his; I am his, and all I ask is for him to tell me what to do with my time, my talents and the means that he puts in my possession. It is to be devoted to his kingdom. Let every other man and woman do the same, and all the surplus we make is in one great amount for accomplishing the purposes of the Lord. He says, "I will make you the richest people on the earth." Now, go to work, Latter-day Saints, and *make yourselves one*, and all needed blessings will follow.[57]

So Brigham Young wants to obey the Lord's command to be one, as he reiterates in this next speech cited in Huff's blog post comment, after advising against a mere division of property:

Supposing that the property of the whole community were divided to-day equally amongst all, what might we expect? Why a year from today we should need another division, for some would waste and squander it away, while others would add, to their portion. The skill of building up and establishing the Zion of our God on the earth is to take the people and teach them how to take care of themselves and that which the Lord has entrusted to their care, and to use all that we command to glorify his holy name. This is the work of regenerating, of elevating mankind to the higher plane of the Gospel; in other words, of simply teaching them their duty. …

Now, if we could take this people, in their present condition, and teach them how to sustain and maintain themselves and a little more, we would add to that which we already have; but to take what we have and divide amongst or give to people, without teaching them how to earn and produce, would be no more nor less than to introduce the means of reducing them to a state of poverty.

I do not wish for one moment to recognize the idea that in order to establish the United Order our property has to be divided equally among the people, to let them do what they please with it. But the idea is to get the people into the same state of unity in all things temporal, that we find ourselves in with regard to things spiritual. Then let those who possess the ability and wisdom direct the labors of those not so endowed, until they too develop the talents within them and in time acquire the same degree of ability.

What would be the first lesson necessary to teach the people, were we to commence to direct their labors to the great end of becoming of one heart and one mind in the Lord, of establishing Zion and being filled with the power of God? It would be to stop expending and lavishing upon our dear selves all needless adornments and to stop purchasing the importations of Babylon.

So Young desires a "state of unity in all things temporal" (in spite of the statement I quoted earlier in which he says that being of one heart and mind does not mean forming a "temporary equality" between rich and poor), which to me means a basically equal standard of living. This is also what the Lord revealed through Joseph Smith! (see for example D&C 38: 25–27; 49:20; 51:3; 70:10,14; 78:5–7) Notice in the next quotation that Brigham Young who has just opposed the idea of simply dividing up assets, next advocates establishing Zion just as the City of Enoch did. This vision of Enoch's Zion is radically different than Huff's, as we'll see later on. Young also clarifies that material things are not evil, if we use them to build God's kingdom:

We have no business here other than to build up and establish the Zion of God. It must be done according to the will and law of God after that pattern and *order by which Enoch built up and perfected the former-day Zion, which was taken away to heaven, hence the saying went abroad that Zion had fled.* By and by it will come back again, and as Enoch prepared his people to be worthy of translation, so we through our faithfulness must prepare ourselves to meet Zion from above when it shall return to earth, and to abide the brightness and glory of its coming.

When brother George Q. tells us we should not labor for the earth and the things of this world, he means we should not labor with sinful motives, and to gratify the lusts of the flesh. But if we possessed the treasure of the Gentile world, could we not send our Elders to the ends of the earth, bearing the precious Gospel to all living? Could we not sustain their families during their absence? Could we not build Temple after Temple and otherwise hasten on the work of redemption? Yes. But keep the people in poverty and how are we to accomplish this great work? I say, *let us gather and accumulate the things*

of the earth in the manner indicated by the Lord, and then devote it to God and the building up of his kingdom.[58]

The final discourse Huff references in the blog comment is *Journal of Discourses* 19:46–47, which does not support his implied thesis that anything that *seems* like socialism is wrong. Instead, Young bemoans the lack of equality in the earth and warns that it must end. Here is what Brigham Young says on page 46:

> Now the object is to improve the minds of the inhabitants of the earth, until we learn what we are here for, and become one before the Lord, that we may rejoice together and be equal. Not to make all poor. No. The whole world is before us. The earth is here, and the fullness thereof is here. It was made for man; *and one man was not made to trample his fellow-man under his feet, and enjoy all his heart desires, while the thousands suffer.* We will take a moral view, a political view, and we see the inequality that exists in the human family. We take the inhabitants of the civilized world, and how many laboring men are there in proportion to the inhabitants? About one to every five that are producers, and the supposition is that ten hours work by the one to three persons in the twenty-four hours will support the five. It is an unequal condition of mankind. We see servants that labor early and late, and that have not the opportunity of measuring their hours ten in twenty-four. They cannot go to school, nor hardly get clothing to go to meeting in on the Sabbath. I have seen many cases of this kind in Europe, when the young lady would have to take her clothing on a Saturday night and wash it, in order that she might go to meeting on the Sunday with a clean dress on. Who is she laboring for? For those who, many of them, are living in luxury. And, to serve the classes that are living on them, the poor, laboring men and women are toiling, working their lives out to earn that which will keep a little life within them. *Is this equality? No! What is going to be done? The Latter-day Saints will never accomplish their mission until this inequality shall cease on the earth.*[59]

As I'm sure Huff — who completed a massive work on the united orders under Brigham Young (which orders actually took on several formats, some quite different from what Joseph Smith established) which

I won't comment on — knows, Brigham Young also said this, in *support* of the New Testament Saints' selling their possessions:

> The Apostles … thought they had power to make the people of one heart and one mind with regard to temporal things, and that they could amalgamate the feelings of the people sufficiently to organize them as one family. *And the people sold their possessions and laid the price at the Apostles' feet, and they had all things in common. There is no doubt that this is a correct doctrine, and can be practiced to the benefit of a community at large, if believed and understood.* But who has got the doctrine; who has eyes to see, ears to hear, and a heart to believe? Who has the authority and the capability to organize such a society? The Apostles thought they had, but when Ananias and Sapphira fell dead because they had lied, not only to man but to the Holy Ghost, in saying they had laid their all at the feet of the Apostles when they had only laid part there, a great fear fell upon the people, and they dispersed. Have we any history that the people ever assembled in a like capacity afterwards? I think you cannot find it.[60]

Also, Brigham Young compared the ancient practice of consecrating all via the apostles to Joseph Smith's practice of consecrating all via the bishop of the Church and did not find fault with Joseph's system, but instead ascribed it to revelation:

> Before this the Lord revealed to Joseph, that the people would gather out from Babylon, and establish the kingdom of God upon the principles of heaven. They went up to Jackson County, Mo., with this in their faith, and with the express understanding that when they go there, everything was to be laid at the feet of the Bishop, not at the feet of the Apostles, as they did anciently. *Then, you know, they sold all they had, and brought their substance and laid it at the feet of the Apostles. The revelation given through Joseph was to lay all at the feet of the Bishop,* who was to distribute it among the people, according to the revelation given for that purpose, for their benefit. But they could not bear this, consequently they were driven from Jackson County, and assembled again, some in Caldwell, and some in Davies County, and finally they were driven from the State. This was in the fall of 1838.[61]

John Taylor didn't seem to believe it was wrong of the early Saints to sell what they had, citing *Joseph Smith's* revelations:

> The President has said that there are many men in this city and elsewhere who want to know whom they shall place over their affairs; they can not tell. Well, what then? Why those who cannot do that, let them unite together in a united order similar to that which is spoken of, as the Book of Doctrine and Covenants expresses it — though it varies a little from that form here — *and lay it at the Apostles' feet*, and let the Bishop give them their inheritances.[62]

Nor did Lorenzo Snow:

> But just so far as this willingness exists in our hearts to appropriate our means that we have accumulated for the upbuilding of the kingdom of God on the earth, and that too without grudging, *even as the former–day Saints laid down theirs at the feet of the Apostles,* so far are we approved and accepted of God. Who, among the Latter-day Saints within the hearing of my voice this day could fail to comprehend this?[63]

Nevertheless, echoing Brigham Young's plea to build Zion wisely, Lorenzo Snow said,

> Now, perhaps I do not believe as some do in regard to the United Order — that everybody is to come together and throw all their substance into a heap, and then come and take of it as they please, or that one man who does not understand temporal affairs at all should be placed as a steward over extensive concerns. I believe that there is an order in these things — a pleasing and an agreeable order — and that these things are arranged by the Lord in such a way that when people properly understand them they will be satisfied and admire them. It is because we do not get to understand the requirements of God that we are dissatisfied. God fixes these matters up and arranges them in such a way as will tend to the exaltation of every Latter-day Saint who is disposed to honor them. It is because of our ignorance that we are displeased with the requirements of the Lord.[64]

In other words, when Zion is done right, it works! To calm the fears of those who worry if a traditionally understood "united order" (in which

all members consecrate all, and receive a stewardship that is their private property) would work, or if it would have nightmarish results (just like today's communist nations!) George Q. Cannon said:

> It takes the product of my property managed with care and economy, in addition to my own labor, to enable me to live, and if I put all my property into this Order, how am I to live?" This has been the inquiry more frequently made than another. *It is not the intention, in establishing the United Order, to destroy the productiveness of property; it is not the intention to take property from men who have it and give it to those who have none.* There are two extremes to be avoided, one is the disposition of the rich to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the poor. That is what we are trying, in this United Order, to put a stop to, so that we may prevent the growth of class distinctions, the increase of wealth in a certain class, and that class have interests diverse from and frequently adverse to the rest of the community. That is one extreme. The other is this idea to which I have referred, the anxiety of poor people to get possession of the accumulations of the rich, and to have them divided among them, and a general leveling take place. *There is no such idea connected with this order, such a thing could not stand very long; and let me say to you who find fault with this United Order, ask yourselves when you ever saw anything connected with this Church or its doctrines that was unnatural, that was not consistent with good common sense? Do you think that we can teach and practice anything that will repress people, that will destroy individual effort, that will take away from enterprise its incentive?* No, there is nothing connected with this system of this character, and it is upon this point that men and women are so much deluded by the false and slanderous reports which are circulated. There never was a day since our organization as a people, according to my ideas and my reading of our early history and my subsequent experience, when there were so many falsehoods in circulation about any principle as there have been about this United Order. There is far too much ignorance among us, and men take advantage of this to deceive the people by their falsehoods. It is the intention to preserve that which we have. *If a man is a man of business let him have a chance to show his business capacity, not stop him, not take his property*

> *from him and give it to somebody who never had anything.* The intention is to use the skill of the businessman in elevating those who are not business men, to bring up the poor from their level to the broad upper level, not to pull down the upper level to the plane of the lower. That is not the design, but it is that we shall work for each other's good; and where men have property let them take means to preserve it, not to destroy it. It is not the intention for boards of directors to use over men and property.[65]

These italicized portions speak exactly to Huff's legitimate concern: "It often happens that what is of great value in the hands of one person is useless in the hands of another because of a lack of training or concern. For many types of property, a sharing of ownership or control means no one uses it well, and a loss to the individual and to society results."[66] But when people consecrate their wealth and receive a stewardship, under the "united order's" traditional understanding, these problems are avoided.[67]

Orson Pratt explains how equality can be maintained under the traditional "united order," even though as Brigham Young rightly explained above, a mere division of property might equalize things for the moment, but the equality would not last:

> What provisions did the Lord make in order to *maintain this equality* among his Saints permanently? He made this arrangement by law — that every man should be considered a steward first, and prove himself a wise steward before he could be entitled to an everlasting inheritance.…
>
> *Are they not equal? Yes, and this maintains a permanent equality;* for the man who has gained a hundred thousand in his stewardship consecrates all that he has not used; and the man with a smaller stewardship who in the whole year, has only gained fifty dollars over and above what he has used, consecrates that fifty. *The man who has gained most consecrates most, the man who has gained least consecrates the least. This reduces them yearly to the same position and condition as they were in when they commenced this heavenly order.*[68]
>
> The Lord wishes to put it out of the power of every man to be lifted up above his brother or his sister, so far as wealth or property is concerned, *by making his people equal, keeping them equal; not by a division of property, but upon the principle*

of stewardships. That keeps them equal. There is no chance of their becoming unequal. It is out of their power to be unequal. If a man loses all that he has by fire, and all his stock should die, the fact is, he is just as rich as all the others, because he is a steward. He owns nothing, neither do they.[69]

So a formal consecration/stewardship/storehouse system is no socialist spread-the-wealth plan but a divinely inspired method of unity, whereby every able person works but voluntarily adopts a similar standard of living. Below, I'll show that this was Joseph Smith's ideal and not just Brigham Young's.

"All Things Common" Among the New Testament Saints, Nephites, and in the City of Enoch

How does Huff explain the Saints' having all things common in Acts 4 if this is such a bad idea? Were the ancient apostles really wrong?

Acts 8:1 [this is four chapters later in Acts, after the "all things common" phrase of Acts 4] tells us that because of persecution, all the saints except the apostles left Jerusalem. First they fled to other Judean and Samarian cities, and then on to Cyprus, Antioch, Damascus, and Alexandria. [Huff cites the New Testament Media Kit, Life of Paul Series Kit, PISI0629, March 1980, Filmstrip #3 "Commitment to Christ" frame #10].…

The persecutions would mean that people would have to flee their homes and lands to avoid imprisonment or death. Selling those possessions where possible would be the most sensible thing to do. The money received could be used to help finance a trip to a new location and the establishment of a new home and occupation. Part of those funds could go to assist those who had no means, perhaps because their belongings had been confiscated or destroyed.

In these circumstances it would probably be important to establish some kind of welfare system. If a person were to turn over all his property to the church, he would then have no property and could logically be classified as "poor." By being a poor person, he could qualify for sharing in the proceeds from other similar donations. Someone such as Joses (Acts 4:36–37) may have set the pattern by donating all his property and then becoming eligible for sharing in the proceeds of other donations.

> *Apparently* Annanias and Sophira decided to take advantage
> of the system by pretending to give all their property and thus
> become eligible to be maintained by the church. By secretly
> keeping back a part of the original sales price, they could have
> two sources of wealth.[70]

This is an interesting interpretation, but it obviously includes a lot of speculation. Note Huff's use of the word *apparently*, for elsewhere, he accuses B.H. Roberts, the editor of the *History of the Church*, of over-speculating and using the word *apparently*.[71] Huff interprets the Nephite Zion and Enoch's Zion similarly (see below).

Apparently, according to Huff (see, I use the word *apparently* too!) even Joseph Smith didn't believe the Saints described in Acts were living correctly because

> During his work on a new translation of the Bible, Joseph
> Smith made a few changes to the New Testament account
> of the "all things common" experience of the saints.… This
> indicates that he was quite aware of the existence of the
> passage, but, as illustrated in chapter 2, that he interpreted it
> differently than many do today.[72]

I'm not sure what Huff means here. There is certainly no JST change to this scripture (I even checked the Inspired Version of the Community of Christ [formerly RLDS][73]). Maybe he means that Joseph Smith implemented a different version of Zion than is described in Acts. Then again, I don't believe that *all things common* has to be taken literally, and I think it could very well describe Joseph Smith's "united order."

What about the Nephites after Christ's visit?

> Two other scriptural references to communal situations can
> be explained in a similar way. The reference in the Book of
> Mormon to a people with "all things common among them,"
> 4 Nephi 1:3, occurred just after the wholesale destruction of
> cities in the New World. With supplies and facilities gone,
> people might well have to band together in a tribal subsistence
> kind of organization in order to survive. As economic
> conditions improved through hard work and accumulation
> of supplies and tools, organization ties could become more
> casual.

Well, yes, there was destruction, but Christ's visit occurred perhaps a year later,[74] and in any case, I'm sure this emergency housing situation did not last for nearly 200 years, but the scriptures strongly imply the

Nephites had "all things common" for nearly 200 years. So this also strikes me as a strained interpretation. Continuing:

> About two hundred years after the gospel-based society originated, the majority of the people rejected the gospel (4 Nephi 1:24, 38, 40), and as a consequence, most of the cooperation they had enjoyed was replaced with contention (4 Nephi 1:25–49). With only a catch-phrase, "all things common," and a few remarks about the setting to go on, there is little that can be determined about the nature of the society, and we are left almost wholly to speculation. However, it seems clear enough that the peoples' acceptance of the gospel (4 Nephi 1:15, "no contention … because of the love of God") was the factor that made possible whatever cooperation there was, rather than the reverse: *an economic mechanism does not the gospel bring*. In other words, it seems unlikely that the apostasy was a consequence of a change in social structure. It is more likely that the apostasy damaged the social fabric.[75]

I agree that the gospel motivated cooperation, rather than vice versa, and that the apostasy caused the social damage rather than vice versa. This is an important idea, which I'm glad Huff brought up. And now for the City of Enoch:

> The phrase "no poor among them," Moses 7:18, is often assumed to indicate some kind of communal organization. It comes from a time when the armies of the world were attacking the people of Enoch. The Lord protected the people of Enoch through power given to their leader, but they probably found it necessary to help themselves as well by organizing along military lines for defense. This process would include centralized control of many aspects of life, including the army quartermaster functions of acquisition and sharing of supplies, facilities, and equipment.[76]

The military emergency idea might be true, but I read in Moses that when Enoch battled his enemies, mountains were moved, and the enemies feared and were cursed. Zion was feared by its enemies (Moses 7:14–17) and was not attacked. While God often helps those who fight to protect their freedoms, I think in this case that God actually fought their battles.[77] But beyond that, Zion's people were of one heart and mind (verse 18). Is it that much of a stretch to say they were economically equal and that this is the reason there were "no poor among them"? They were

translated to heaven after all; as Brigham Young asks, do we imagine the angels of heaven speculating?

> The doctrine of uniting together in our temporal labors, and all working for the good of all is from the beginning, from everlasting, and it will be for ever and ever. No one supposes for one moment that in heaven the angels are speculating, that they are building railroads and factories, taking advantage one of another, gathering up the substance there is in heaven to aggrandize themselves, and that they live on the same principle that we are in the habit of doing ….No sectarian Christian in the world believes this; they believe that the inhabitants of heaven live as a family, that their faith, interests and pursuits have one end in view — the glory of God and their own salvation, that they may receive more and more … We all believe this, and suppose we go to work and imitate them as far as we can.[78]

It has been pointed out, quite correctly, by many thoughtful Saints that "no poor among them" doesn't refer only to money; there are many types of poverty. But this is not an excuse to ignore the financial aspects of "no poor."

Huff concludes that all three noted scriptural cases of equality are not really what they appear to be at first:

> The common thread running through the New Testament, Book of Mormon, and Pearl of Great Price references to communalism is the hostile, primitive, migratory conditions in which the organizations developed and the survival purpose they served.[79]

This certainly is a creative interpretation, but it goes against the teachings of most or all past and present Church leaders who have endeavored to give the Saints a hopeful vision of these ancient Zions.[80] (It also goes against the ideas of many other historians;[81] although I admit that history, like science, is not decided by consensus. Still, radical interpretations ought to be treated cautiously.) Although that by itself doesn't necessarily make Huff wrong, I don't buy his conclusion, and I think the evidence behind it is weak — really, just speculation — and frankly, quite a stretch. Instead, the prophetic message is that the Zion society we build on earth is preparation for a similar society in heaven, as I'll discuss in the next section. The City of Enoch was not taken into heaven just because it had a great disaster-relief program.

In conclusion, the "united order" — a formal system of consecration, stewardship, and storehouses — produces freedom, prosperity, and even equality, while not being socialist.

II. Second Thesis: Economic Cooperation Under Joseph Smith was Set Up for Temporary Situations [but Also Fulfills Eternal Goals]

Not only does Huff correctly refute that Joseph Smith's economic programs were socialistic, but he endeavors to show that Joseph Smith's main motivation for implementing mutual welfare assistance was the migration of the Saints, especially trying to get the poor Saints moved to Zion (Missouri).

> In short, the evidence of economic cooperation in the Joseph Smith period is all directly associated with the actual migration operations of the saints …. There never was any general involvement of a large number of saints in a structured communalistic society.[82]

By emphasizing the transitory nature of Kirtland, Huff tries to show that all the consecration programs were just to help move Saints west.

> It is important to realize that the Kirtland settlement was to be a temporary one, that people were expected to move through it quickly, and that after a limited time, the city was to be abandoned altogether. It makes a great deal of difference in interpreting the revelations whether the society to which they apply is assumed to be static or in turmoil. By becoming aware of the turmoil, we can better appreciate the short-term, limited, and practical purposes of the instructions given.[83]

The scriptures do hint that the Saints will generally end up in Missouri but do not ever say that Kirtland was to be abandoned. If this were the plan, why then would the Saints build the Kirtland temple? Were it not for the Kirtland bank failure and subsequent apostasy, evidence suggests that the Saints would have remained much longer.[84] I don't know for sure, but neither does Huff. This is one of many examples where Huff goes beyond the evidence in his interpretation. But this interpretation is vital for his thesis.

Speaking of the Kirtland Bank ("Kirtland Safety Society"), historian Mark Staker posits that this bank, which he shows was established on very egalitarian principles and through Joseph Smith's (unpublished) revelations, was part of the Kirtland consecration effort, meant to help

establish Zion, even after the stewardship system had been suspended. Joseph Smith encouraged all who were able to purchase bank stock (but forced no one). Before its failure, it actually did improve the economy, created jobs, and raised standards of living. Evidence suggests that Joseph Smith prophesied of a great destiny for the bank as long as the people were righteous. Staker states:

> It also reflected the interests of the Latter-day Saints in bringing about a millennium through restructuring their economic relationships with one another to help create a Zion people as described in the New Testament (Acts 2; Acts 4:31–33), Book of Mormon (4 Nephi 1:1–5), and revelations of Joseph Smith (Moses 7:17–19; Community of Christ D&C 36:2g–i).[85]

This bank even played a role in establishing equality, as noted by Willard Richards in a letter to his sister at the time: "There is an equality here which exists among no other people; not that they have all things common, but one is not made a king because he is worth more than his neighbor. Is he a righteous man? is the question."[86] In short, the program of the Church in Joseph Smith's time really was involved in economics and not just for short-term gathering purposes — but no one was forced to participate.

Huff explains that D&C section 51 — conventionally understood to encourage equality among the Saints — concerns only one branch of the Church moving from New York to Kirtland and how they are to keep their money and possessions within the branch (vs. 6–11). Huff notes that verse 3 on their "wants and needs" applies only to this branch, whereas most Church members have applied it more generally.[87] Then, "There is nothing *mystical or complex* about the suggestion that the members of the traveling branch be made equal according to wants, needs, and circumstances."[88] In any case, a cooperative movement as part of a system of formal consecration and stewardship could be and usually would be local; it doesn't have to involve the whole church. The Church could have several local "orders," just like in pioneer Utah.

Citing D&C 78, where the united firm is first commanded, if not quite established, Huff explains

> The new organization was to regulate "the storehouse for the poor of my people" (v. 78:3), both in Kirtland and Zion, and "advance the cause" (v 78:4), that cause being the gathering process. Notice that the poor were to be helped in the context

of the gathering. There is no intimation of any socialistic economic entanglements.[89]

Yes, I'd say the cause *included* the gathering process, but Huff wants to limit it to gathering only — which the scripture itself doesn't say, and neither does the relevant portion of the *History of the Church* (1:255-257) — to support his thesis that Joseph Smith's economic program was formed just to gather Saints but had no permanent function except as the united firm morphed into the Corporation of the President. Huff says more on gathering:

> The purpose of the sharing that was suggested was to allow those with more to help those with less complete the move. It was not to create a series of small, *static, inward-turning communities* such as the Hutterites, Mennonites, or other such groups, but rather to get the big job done of moving thousands of people to a frontier location with the minimum of trouble and suffering. [90]

By limiting the function of sharing to enabling the migration effort, Huff has again gone beyond what the scriptures or history actually say, although I'm sure the gathering was a major purpose. Huff goes out of his way to point out the obvious, that the Saints aren't like the Hutterites or Mennonites. At no time did anyone, even Brigham Young with his Utah united orders, suggest setting up "static" and "inward-turning" communities. The Utah Church leaders did encourage economic independence and the ability to supply needs without importing from the East, but they also wanted to export to the East. So this is not, in my opinion, "inward-turning."

Huff has clearly shown that there were poor, migrating Saints who needed special assistance. But I don't think we can conclude that this was the only reason they were to share, cooperate, and consecrate. Goals to ameliorate temporary situations and goals to establish a Zion society do not have to be mutually exclusive. I argue that there are permanent, eternal goals of the consecration and stewardship system. Two of these are equality and stewardship leading to heirship. Our discussion will include some Doctrine and Covenants scriptures, some of which Huff discusses and some of which he does not. We'll focus first on equality, then on stewardship.

Equality

The Orson Pratt quotation in the previous section reminded us of the Lord's desire for equality among us. Let's look at the traditional understanding of consecration and stewardship with its goal of equality but not by force, as explained by historian Milton V. Backman:

> This system not only preserved the essential values of the capitalistic system, such as personal initiative, private ownership, and reward for effort, but it was also designed to eliminate some of the negative aspects of that economic system, including poverty amid plenty, inequalities of wealth, and wasteful competition. The law of consecration promoted economic equality without compromising free agency or excellence. The redistribution of wealth placed all families on essentially the same economic plane and eliminated the need for certain kinds of welfare programs by giving to everyone, including the poor, sufficient property to care for their needs. It was not aimed at establishing complete equality, for members received different kinds and types of inheritances, but it was designed to implement a principle given in such a revelation recorded in Kirtland in March 1831: "It is not given that man should possess that which is above another, wherefore the world lieth in sin." (D&C 49:20)[91]

I want to bring special attention to this last scripture that Backman quoted (D&C 49:20), which Huff does not mention in his book — perhaps because it seems too socialistic? The Lord spoke here with especial plainness, which is hard to rationalize, although many try. Nor, speaking of equality, does Huff discuss any of D&C section 70, which includes this verse:

> Nevertheless, *in your temporal things you shall be equal*, and this not grudgingly, otherwise the abundance of the manifestations of the Spirit shall be withheld. (D&C 70:14)

Huff does, however, discuss D&C 51:3 and 78:5–6.

> Wherefore, let my servant Edward Partridge, and those whom he has chosen, in whom I am well pleased, appoint unto this people their portions, every man equal according to his family, according to his circumstances and his wants and needs. (D&C 51:3)

> That you may be equal in the bonds of heavenly things, yea, and earthly things also, for the obtaining of heavenly things. For if ye are not equal in earthly things ye cannot be equal in obtaining heavenly things. (D&C 78:5–6)

We've recently seen some of Huff's comments on section 51 regarding how the scripture applies to just one branch; next he explains that D&C 51:3 only means to help the poor settle along with the rich. While I accept that there were poor migrating Saints who needed help, I don't limit my understanding of the scripture to that situation. Similarly, speaking of D&C 78:5–6, Huff tells us:

> Verses 5 and 6 speak of being equal. In theory and in practical application, this meant only that those who were very poor should be assisted so that they could live much like others who were more fortunate. In this particular setting, it meant mostly that those who did not have means to acquire land should be helped by those who did have funds. Any equalization was to be done through the gifts or alms of the rich to the poor. No forced leveling process is implied here.[92]

Once again, Huff protests too much. Of course there was no force. In the Church, there is never force. It seems that Huff is worried someone will accuse the church of being like communist China or Russia.

But my main point here is that all these scriptures give eternal truths. Huff sort of brushes them off, but I think they have far more significance than he gives them. Re-read them; they speak for themselves. As Ezra Taft Benson said,

> Much has been written about this law and its attempted implementations in the early history of the Church; and much deception has taken root, even among some of our members, because of misinformed opinion or misguided interpretations. Some view it as merely an economic alternative to capitalism or the free enterprise system, others as an outgrowth of early communal experiments in America. Such a view is not only shortsighted but tends to diminish in importance a binding requirement for entrance into the celestial kingdom. *The law of consecration is a celestial law, not an economic experiment.*[93]

Stewardship

Now let's move from equality to stewardship. Huff skips these verses when discussing sections 51 and 78:

> And whoso is found a faithful, a just, and a wise steward shall enter into the joy of his Lord, and shall inherit eternal life. (D&C 51:19)

> And he that is a faithful and wise steward shall inherit all things. Amen. (D&C 78:22)

The Lord gives us several types of stewardships, including our church callings and even our own children, but these do not prohibit the Lord from also assigning "temporal" stewardships. These are not quite as temporal as they sound, however, since "All things unto me are spiritual, and not at any time have I given unto you a law which was temporal; neither any man, nor the children of men; neither Adam, your father, whom I created" (D&C 29:34). What we do in this life prepares us for what comes in the next.

Orson Pratt, from a speech quoted earlier in relation to how the united order not only establishes but maintains equality, next discusses how stewardship leads to eternal inheritance:

> If a man loses all that he has by fire, and all his stock should die, the fact is, he is just as rich as all the others, because he is a steward. He owns nothing, neither do they. "But," inquires one, "shall we never become bona fide possessors?" Yes. As we now see, children may be acting for their father, but still they are considered in the mind of the father as being the inheritors of his property at certain time; so with the Latter-day Saints. *They may be made stewards, but the time will come when they shall be bona fide inheritors.* The revelation tells us when that time shall come. That when the seventh angel sounds his trumpet, and after the people have proved themselves in the stewardships, and when Jesus comes in his glory, they shall be made possessors, and be made equal with him.[94]

This italicized sentence is really a profound thought, showing how, in order to be heirs of God, and co-heirs with Christ, we must first be stewards over God's property. It explains the temple pairing of consecration and exaltation. If we are faithful and wise stewards, we then can receive our own celestial inheritances. In fact, this idea of consecration and stewardship really is the "law of the celestial kingdom"

(D&C 105:4–5). The late LDS theologian Hyrum Andrus explained that Jesus consecrated everything to the Father, and therefore inherited all that the Father has. This is what all celestial beings do throughout the eternities, and thus, what appears to be a temporal commandment really has eternal consequences.[95] Now, under Joseph Smith's system, it is technically true that each steward owned his stewardship; it was private property according to the laws of the land. If he left the Church, he kept his stewardship. But stewards are supposed to act as if all really belongs to God, for it really does belong to Him.

In conclusion, although Huff limits Joseph Smith's economic system to short term needs and neglects the eternal import of the consecration/ stewardship system, the "united order" may unite a people to satisfy both short-term needs, AND eternal goals.

III. Third Thesis: The United Firm was Composed of Eleven People and Conducted Church Business [but Provided an Example for the Rest of the Saints to Follow]

The historical information Huff gives us is valuable. Huff's thesis is that:

> the united order was a business unit created by revelation and charged with conducting many of the affairs associated with the gathering of the saints.[96]

This is useful because it reminds us that the Church is not anti-business and that temporal issues must be addressed. The gathering really was a central concern. The order started with nine men in 1832 as a business partnership to conduct church affairs, such as printing or securing land for migrating Saints. Later, its functions were absorbed into the First Presidency, Presiding Bishopric, and Quorum of the Twelve. Huff understands the united firm (he uses the anachronistic term *order*) to have nothing to do with any social or economic organization of the Saints in general, except for their gathering:

> The united order organizations of the Joseph Smith era had no elements of socialism, but were simply the administrative forerunners of today's Corporation of the President, with a special function of facilitating the gathering process.[97]

> The united order was a small business organization created to assist the gathering of the saints. The unit involved no communalism except to the limited extent common ownership is involved in a partnership. Communalism is here defined as central or common ownership or control of property, especially

when that centralization is doctrinally required. The term socialism is used here as a synonym for communalism.[98]

Once again, we see the desire to avoid the very appearance of socialism.

Code Names and Confusing References to Enoch

For this firm to function, it was necessary that it be secret, otherwise people would take advantage. For example, the Church bought land for settlement. If everyone knew the Church's plans, the price of land would skyrocket. Or if people knew that various businesses were actually all owned by the Church, they would more easily hound one business if the other were unable to pay its debts. Because once a secret is out, it is too late to put it back into the bottle; the organization must remain secret from most Church members as well as from the world. Hence, the strange code names that existed in editions of the D&C prior to the 1981 edition.

Orson Pratt discusses this nine-man order and its code names and calls it the order of Enoch, in that one of Joseph Smith's code names was Enoch (the other being Gazelum). Pratt calls it a lesser part of the law. (This is important, and later, under the tithing subheading in Section IV, I'll provide more of this discourse, in which Pratt calls tithing another lesser law.) Pratt's quotation below is my input, but backs up Huff's discussion of the code names:

> Instead of entirely casting them away, and denouncing them and rejecting them as his people, he still gave ancient Israel a law. *Instead of entirely rejecting us, he gave us another law. One inferior to the celestial law, called the law of Enoch.* The law of Enoch is so named in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, but in other words, it is the law given by Joseph Smith, Jr. The word Enoch did not exist in the original copy; neither did some other names. The names that were incorporated when it was printed, did not exist there when the manuscript revelations were given, for I saw them myself. Some of them I copied. And when the Lord was about to have the Book of Covenants given to the world, it was thought wisdom, in consequence of the persecutions of our enemies in Kirtland and some of the regions around, that some of the names should be changed, and Joseph was called Baurak Ale, which was a Hebrew word; meaning God bless you. He was also called Gazelum, being a person to whom the Lord had given the Urim and Thummim.

He was also called Enoch. Sidney Rigdon was called Baneemy. And the revelation where it read so many dollars into the treasury was changed to talents. And the City of New York was changed to Cainhannoch. *Therefore when I speak of the Order of Enoch, I do not mean the order of ancient Enoch, I mean the Order that was given to Joseph Smith* in 1832-34, which is *a law inferior to the celestial law, because the celestial law required the consecration of all that a man had. The law of Enoch only required a part. The law of consecration in full required that all the people should consecrate everything that they had*; and none were exempt. *The law of Enoch called upon certain men only to consecrate.*

Now did the people keep this second law — inferior to the first? The Lord picked out some of the best men in the Church, and tried them if they would keep it. "Now I will," says he, "try the best men I have in the Church, not with the celestial law, but they shall consecrate in part, and have a common stock property among them." And in order to stir them up to diligence, he fixed certain penalties to this law, such as, He shall be delivered up to the buffeting of Satan; sins that have been remitted shall return to him and be answered upon his head. How did they get along then? The Lord tells us that the covenant had been broken. And consequently it remained with him to do with them as seemed to him good. Many have apostatized since that day. Sidney Rigdon for one, Oliver Cowdery for another, and John Johnson for another. Why have they apostatized? They did not comply with the *covenant that they made in regard to the law given to Joseph Smith, that was afterwards called the law of Enoch.*[99]

Note how Pratt here explained what he means by the order of Enoch and why it was a lesser law — lesser because it involved a few men (the united firm) consecrating some, rather than all Saints consecrating all. Perhaps this reference to Joseph as Enoch explains this observation of Huff:

As with the headnotes of section 78, the differences between the headnote of Section 82 in the 1968 edition of the D&C and the headnote in the new 1981 edition are of interest here. In the older edition it is asserted that the revelation shows: "the order given to Enoch, and the Church in his day." The later edition drops that statement and says nothing about events

in Enoch's day. A likely reason is that on a review of pertinent documents from the Joseph Smith period, the scholars preparing the 1981 edition found no evidence to support the statement. According to the title page of the 1968 edition, the headnotes to chapters or sections were added in the 1921 edition, and may have been influenced by the definitions coming from the Brigham Young period …

The appearance of the word Enoch in the early editions without the clarifying note that this referred to Joseph Smith, may have caused some ambiguity and confusion which was not corrected until later."[100]

I agree that Joseph Smith/Enoch's united order became mixed up somewhere with the ancient Enoch, and I thank Huff for enlightening me on this. (For further enlightenment, see Max H Parkin's *BYU Studies* article on the United Firm.[101]) This is one of several cases in which Huff thinks B.H. Roberts was over-influenced in his thinking by the social structure and united orders of the Brigham Young period, some of which tended toward communalism. On the other hand, this "order of Enoch" could have a double meaning, like some of Isaiah's statements had. The two uses don't have to be mutually exclusive.

The Eleven-Man United Firm

The nine united firm members are identified in D&C 82:11 (1981 edition, the first edition of the D&C to replace the code names with real names as far as known) as Alam (the endnote says this was probably Edward Partridge), Newel K. Whitney, Sidney Rigdon, Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, and three others whose identities were still uncertain, called by code names in the scripture, Mahalaleel, Horah, and Shalemanasseh. In his 1988 book, Huff identifies these as Sidney Gilbert, John Whitmer, and W.W. Phelps, respectively, citing a 1983 *BYU Studies* article.[102] Today's Doctrine and Covenants no longer uses code names in this verse; it confirms Huff's identification of the other three men. Frederick G. Williams and John Johnson were added later, to make a total of eleven (see D&C 92:1 and 96:6–8, respectively). (Huff doesn't mention this, but historians Max H Parkin and Mark L. Staker both inform us that Jesse Gause was listed on the original revelation as a member, but he apostatized, so when the revelation was published, his name didn't appear. Also Martin Harris's name was added to section 82, even though it did not initially appear on the meeting minutes.)[103]

Students of LDS history agree the united firm was in fact a business operation. But it was not a normal business operation; it operated on consecration/stewardship principles.[104] Huff limits those living in this formal consecration/stewardship system to these nine (later eleven) men:

> The nine men in attendance at the meeting [described in D&C 82] were already deeply involved in the business of gathering the saints to Kirtland and Missouri …. These nine men were the only members of the order. *There is no indication that any other church members were also to be order member*[s.105]

Huff argues that if this "order" meaning those practicing the formal consecration/stewardship/storehouse system — had involved more people, at lower levels of church organization, it would not have received so much attention in the Doctrine and Covenants:

> The united order's purpose was specific and limited only to gathering the saints and other central church matters.…
>
> In order to fulfill its mission during this long period, the church requires a central administrative body. A single small-scale, ward-level economic unit of a few men, subject to splits and recombinations based on demographic changes in local church population, would not likely receive the level of concern shown in the scriptures for the unit known as the united order.[106]
>
> The circumstances of the organization of the united order and its first transactions should give us many clues concerning the real nature of the new administrative body. First of all, one might guess that they were primarily a business organization for dealing with central church matters because that is all they discussed for the four days they were meeting in council. Even the fact that they met in council for that length of time and conducted much business shows that they really were a small group, consisting of only nine men, and primarily concerned with specific business matters. If an entire community of saints were involved, no such proceedings would have been possible.[107]

As Max H Parkin points out, the business conducted by the united firm was eventually taken over by the high councils in Kirtland and Missouri;[108] Huff similarly argues that later, the business of the united

firm was taken over by the Corporation of the President of the Church, and in fact, this corporation is really the modern form of the united firm:

> It should be noted that today's church business structure is probably much like that of Joseph Smith's united order in that there is a parent organization (Corporation of the President) with many subsidiaries and "doing business as" manifestations to the world. Joseph Smith's united order was concerned with such things as publishing, real estate, and retail operations, and the same is true today. Bonneville International, ZCMI, *Deseret News*, Beneficial Life, Zion's Bank, Deseret Industries, Beehive Clothing Mills, Deseret Book, and Brigham Young University are a few of the "doing business as" names for past or present church associated business units.[109]

I agree it is probably accurate and fair to compare the united firm (the small group) with today's Corporation of the President. However, I would argue that this firm was not the full extent of the Lord's plans for a formal system of consecration and stewardship but rather just a start to it. William O. Nelson (former assistant executive secretary to the Council of the Twelve) describes the nine/eleven-man united order as a "board of directors" to run a larger system (which he is calling the "united order"):

> The Prophet convened a general council of the Church in Missouri on 26 April 1832 …. Joseph Smith, Newel K. Whitney, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery, and Martin Harris were directed 'to manage the affairs of the poor, and all things pertaining to the bishopric both in the land of Zion and in the land of [Kirtland].' (D&C 82) Accordingly, a central council was created (a *board of directors*), which in turn established the united order.[110]

Yes, for this particular small group, Huff's interpretation makes sense, and I enjoyed learning more about this eleven-man body, but this evidence does not show that others were not consecrating their properties, and in fact, we know they were, as we'll discuss shortly. Furthermore, it was the revealed plan for all the Saints, *even if, due to attitudes or circumstances, not all of them actually participated.*

Is There No Evidence of Widespread Consecration of Property and Reception of Stewardships?

Huff claims there is simply an absence of evidence in the *History of the Church* for the type of "united order" most of us have learned about in Church history courses — in which each family consecrates all they have via the bishop and receives a stewardship — and he can't prove such an absence unless his readers read the whole *History of the Church*.[111] And, to be fair, I have not read the whole *History of the Church*. On the other hand, the *History of the Church* was not written by today's historical standards[112] (it isn't wrong but perhaps is incomplete), and I think certain scriptures — most of which Huff cites — show that such consecration indeed was the plan, however well it turned out in practice. However, Huff argues that scriptures have varying interpretations, and it is only by reading the *History of the Church* that we can get the proper context,[113] although sometimes I find his context a bit embellished. We'll discuss some of these scriptures below. But rather than citing only negative evidence, Huff asks us to look at his positive evidence. Huff points to Nauvoo. There the Saints had substantial control over the formation of their community; for example, they had a militia and their own city charter, and Joseph Smith was mayor. He says of all places, if there were to be communalism in the Church, it would be here. However, it is my understanding that the Lord suspended the formal consecration system before the Nauvoo period, as we'll discuss at the end of this section, so that we shouldn't expect to see it in Nauvoo.[114] Nevertheless, Huff presents evidence that Joseph Smith encouraged private enterprise and low tax in Nauvoo to encourage capitalism and bring prosperity. But free enterprise doesn't preclude consecration of property, reception of stewardships, or bishops' storehouses. In one instance Joseph Smith discussed price controls in a marketplace the city might build,[115] perhaps a farmer's market, in which the city would provide only the infrastructure, and the farmers would bring their crops to sell. (This wouldn't be a blanket price control for the whole city, but the vendors in the market would have to agree to charge no more than a given amount, and I'd be willing to bet that amount would be flexible depending on economic circumstances). Huff is "startl[ed]" that the free-market Joseph Smith would propose regulating prices to help the poor.[116]

Could there really be no evidence that the Saints actually consecrated their belongings and then received some back as a stewardship?

Evidence from the Doctrine and Covenants that Consecration of Property and Reception of Stewardships was the Lord's Plan for His Saints.

In pioneer Utah, Huff notes,

> "Consecration" … was used to describe an act involving the transfer of property as part of joining a communal order. That meaning did not exist at Joseph Smith's time, and the attempts to give that definition a practical implementation during Brigham Young's time were often abortive. *Perhaps there has been a tendency to take that definition and apply it retroactively to the time of Joseph Smith to the exclusion of all other meanings.*[117]

This point is also made by other historians; Utah's united orders color our thinking about what happened during Joseph Smith's time.[118] But perhaps there is also a tendency to use the word in a historically correct way to describe consecrating property and then receiving a stewardship as private property (not in a communal order, like Kirtland's Family, or Utah's Orderville), and then consecrating the excess annually to the storehouse, as described in the Doctrine and Covenants and not to the exclusion of all other meanings. For example, D&C 42:31–33:

> 31 And inasmuch as ye impart of your substance unto the poor, ye will do it unto me; and they shall be laid before the bishop of my church and his counselors, two of the elders, or high priests, such as he shall appoint or has appointed and set apart for that purpose.

> 32 And it shall come to pass, that after they are laid before the bishop of my church, and after that he has received these testimonies concerning the consecration of the properties of my church, that they cannot be taken from the church, agreeable to my commandments, *every man shall be made accountable unto me, a steward over his own property, or that which he has received by consecration, as much as is sufficient for himself and family.*

> 33 And again, if there shall be properties in the hands of the church, or any individuals of it, more than is necessary for their support after this first consecration, which is a residue to be consecrated unto the bishop, it shall be kept to administer to

> those who have not, from time to time, that every man who has
> need may be amply supplied and receive according to his wants.

This scripture seems quite clear, but look closely at how Huff interprets verse 32 (noting the portion I've italicized), and this time, it is not so easy to decide if he is right or wrong. Interpretation method #1, the standard approach: Every man is a steward over his own property, or in other words, the property he received by consecration. Interpretation method #2, Huff's approach: Every man is a steward over his own property, the property he already owns, if he were rich enough to own property; OR, he is a steward over property he received by consecration. The first interpretation leads us to believe everyone donated all his property and received some back, but the second leads us to believe that only the poor received an inheritance. Because Huff accepts the second interpretation, he states "*at least as far as section 42 is concerned*, there is no mention of a need to have the two-way deeding of all property which has come to be associated in the public mind with the term 'consecration.' Only the 'residue' is consecrated in a one-way transaction."[119] However, I can see some overlap between these interpretations. If one consecrated his property and received it all back as a stewardship, he could be said to be a steward over it. In any case, consecration is happening and continuing to happen (vs. 33). I do wish this scripture and others were more explicit. Let's look at a couple of other scriptures, however, because we are certainly not limited to section 42. First, D&C 58:

> 35 It is wisdom in me that my servant Martin Harris should
> be an *example unto the church*, in laying his moneys before
> the bishop of the church.

> 36 And also, this is a law unto every man that cometh unto
> this land to receive an inheritance; and he shall do with his
> moneys according as the law directs.

This command is not just to Martin Harris but to all. However, this scripture is not explicit about the amount to be donated — all or part. The "inheritance" would be the stewardship. Next, D&C 72:

> 15 Thus it cometh out of the church, for according to the law
> *every man that cometh up to Zion must lay all things before the
> bishop in Zion.*

> 16 And now, verily I say unto you, that as every elder in this
> part of the vineyard must give an account of his stewardship
> unto the bishop in this part of the vineyard —

17 A certificate from the judge or bishop in this part of the vineyard, unto the bishop in Zion, rendereth every man acceptable, and answereth all things, for an inheritance, and to be received as a wise steward and as a faithful laborer;

This scripture is more explicit. It involves "every man." "Lay all things before the bishop" sounds like consecrating all of one's things, including a willingness to part with them. But to Huff, a historical list of Wilford Woodruff's possessions that he laid before the bishop, as described in his journal, is "merely an inventory."[120] The journal entry reads

Believing it to be the duty of the Latter-day Saints to consecrate and dedicate all their properties with themselves unto God in order to become lawful heirs to the celestial kingdom of God, it was under such a view of the subject that I consecrated before the Bishop of the church of the latter day saints in Clay county Dec 31st 1834 … [then Wilford Woodruff lists his possessions].[121]

Huff comments, "As evidenced by Wilford Woodruff's Journal, volume 1, p. 16, this scripture does not mean that all was given to the bishop … but rather that an inventory of both character and property was to be taken …."[122] Indeed, Huff may have a point in that the Saints would consecrate all their goods but sometimes would receive them all back again as their stewardship. Thus, "this consecration transaction appears to have had no more temporal effect than the symbolic ordinance of baptism."[123] I disagree. Woodruff may not have given all to the bishop, but had the bishop needed the possessions, he would have taken them. Therefore, to me and to at least one historian — Steven Harper, who here is discussing Levi Jackman's consecrations — the willingness to consecrate and perhaps receive less back is highly significant:

Though the personal property Jackman received from the bishop was exactly what he consecrated, the exchange represents more than a technicality. By consecrating his possessions to the Lord, Jackman had placed himself in the capacity of a steward rather than an owner. [124]

Next, D&C 83:2–3

2 Women have claim on their husbands for their maintenance, until their husbands are taken; and if they are not found transgressors they shall have fellowship in the church.

3 And if they are not faithful they shall not have fellowship in the church; yet they may remain upon their inheritances according to the laws of the land.

Huff applies this scripture only to the poor and widows.[125] Indeed, verse 2 speaks of widowhood. But many widows were not widows at the time they would have made their consecration and received an inheritance. In other words, inheritances were for everyone, not just widows.

I'm not sure how Huff could say people were not to consecrate all and receive stewardships because he also cites[126] section 85, including verse 1:

It is the duty of the Lord's clerk, whom he has appointed, to keep a history, and a general church record of all things that transpire in Zion, and of all those who consecrate properties, and receive inheritances legally from the bishop.

All this is consistent with the idea that the original, nine- (or eleven-) man order is but an example to the rest of the Church, as described by Lorenzo Snow[127] who quoted D&C 70:

1 Behold, and hearken, O ye inhabitants of Zion, *and all ye people of my church* who are afar off, and hear the word of the Lord which I give unto my servant Joseph Smith, Jun., and also unto my servant Martin Harris, and also unto my servant Oliver Cowdery, and also unto my servant John Whitmer, and also unto my servant Sidney Rigdon, and also unto my servant William W. Phelps, by the way of commandment unto them.

2 For I give unto them a commandment; wherefore hearken and hear, for thus saith the Lord unto them —

3 I, the Lord, have appointed them, and ordained them to be *stewards* over the revelations and commandments which I have given unto them, and which I shall hereafter give unto them;

4 And an account of this stewardship will I require of them in the day of judgment.

5 Wherefore, I have appointed unto them, and this is their business in the church of God, to manage them and the concerns thereof, yea, the benefits thereof.

6 Wherefore, a commandment I give unto them, that they shall not give these things unto the church, neither unto the world;

7 Nevertheless, *inasmuch as they receive more than is needful for their necessities and their wants, it shall be given into my storehouse*;

8 *And the benefits shall be consecrated unto the inhabitants of Zion*, and unto their generations, inasmuch as they become heirs according to the laws of the kingdom.

This seems to be the beginning of the nine-man united order, here consisting of only six men.[128] But they are to form an organization for printing and to put their excess into the storehouse. This revelation, however, is not limited to these six. Look again at verse 1. It was actually addressed to "all ye people of my church." Now, let's continue with verse 9:

9 Behold, this is what the Lord requires of *every man in his stewardship*, even as I, the Lord, have appointed or shall hereafter appoint unto any man.

10 And behold, *none are exempt* from this law who belong to the church of the living God.

So what the Lord told the six men to do was really just what all of us are to do; they were just the example.

I found it interesting that Huff, who quotes many Doctrine and Covenants sections in his book, does not quote D&C 70. This scripture would seem to undermine his claim that the "united order" is just for a few select individuals. True, D&C 70 was given before the "official" start of the united firm in D&C 82, but it seems to capture the spirit. As Elder Snow says about D&C 70 in this same discourse I have referenced,

In giving his revelations to us in regard to these matters the Lord took certain individuals and made them examples to the Saints, and he wished the Saints to look upon these individuals and follow their examples.[129]

Also by neglecting section 70, Huff avoids discussing verse 14 about equality (discussed in Section II), which could be viewed as socialistic, but I argue it need not.

So even if not practiced by every Saint, this system was the Lord's plan for all.

Common Historical Evidence of Significant Consecration of Property and Reception of Stewardships

Now, let's look at some historical evidence regarding how consecration was practiced in the 1830s. Huff considers any such non-*History of the Church* evidence suspect,[130] especially if it consists of anything written during the Brigham Young era, when it would have been tainted by Brigham Young's ideas. (To be sure, Huff and all mortal human beings, including scientists and historians, see through the lens of our own ideologies and experiences; we're all tainted.) I cited Orson Pratt earlier in this section, on his memories of the code names and the order of Enoch. But here is what else Orson Pratt recalls — he was there, after all — showing that Joseph's formal system of consecration/stewardships extended way beyond nine individuals (although this was spoken during the Brigham Young era, so Huff might suggest that Pratt's memories were tainted):

> *Has God ever revealed to the Latter-day Saints the necessity of entering into this heavenly order in regard to their wealth? He has. When? When we gathered up to Jackson County in the State of Missouri. In the year 1831*, the land was consecrated and set apart by revelation for the erection thereon of a great and heavenly city unto the Most High God. Not the old Jerusalem, but a new Jerusalem, a city of Zion. God, by the mouth of his servant Joseph, who for a short space of time dwelt in the midst of the people there, *revealed the law of consecration, not the law of tithing, but the law of consecration.* Let me repeat that law, Latter-day Saints, *for as it is a law which will come in force at some future period of our history*, it will not be amiss for us to understand its nature and to prepare to approximate to its requirements, so that when it is introduced amongst us we may take hold of it with all our hearts. *When we went up to that country in 1831, the commandment of the Most High to the Saints was that they should consecrate all that they had.* Not one-tenth merely, not the surplus of their property, but all that they had, whether it was gold, silver, household furniture, wearing apparel, jewelry, horses, cattle, wagons, mechanical tools, machinery, or whatever wealth or property they possessed, *they were to consecrate the whole and deliver it unto the Lord's judge in the midst of Zion. Who was he? The Bishop.… This made them all equal,* every person stood upon

the same platform, possessing nothing to begin with. All was consecrated and became the common property of the Church.

Now how was this common property to be used? First, the Saints needed land, they needed means to build habitations; they needed farming utensils; they needed flocks and herds; they needed manufacturing establishments; they needed mercantile and all kinds of mechanical business to be introduced into their midst, just as fast as they procured means sufficient. By whom were the stewardship of the Saints laid off? The Lord's judge or bishop in Zion purchased land from the United States, and then laid off to each man his stewardship according to the number of his family. Those who were mechanics received the tools necessary to work with; those who were called upon to engage in some business wherein a greater amount of capital was needed had a capital accordingly. That is, that was the intention as the common property of the Church should increase.

Perhaps the question may be asked could this equality be maintained from that time, henceforth and forever? If there had been no law given instructing us how this equality could be maintained the people, before twelve month had passed away, would have been unequal again. Why? Because a man, perhaps of small talent of ability, might mismanage his stewardship or inheritance, and instead of gaining anything he would lose. Another man, having a little more talent and industry, and perhaps a little more wisdom, would gain a little. Another man's business tact and knowledge were perhaps such that he could carry on a large manufacturing establishment, and in a short time he would gain his thousands, and thus in the course of a year we would again have had rich and poor if God had not provided against it.[131]

So Pratt confirms the traditional interpretation of Joseph Smith's system of consecration and stewardship. George A. Smith (member of the First Presidency, namesake of St. George, Utah, and grandfather of our eighth church president with the same name) agreed, and confirms that the formal consecration system under Joseph Smith was more extensive than nine men:

The settlements in Jackson county were commenced on the principle of the law of consecration. If you read the revelations

that were given, and the manner in which they were acted upon, you will find that the brethren brought, before the Bishop and his counselors, their property and consecrated it, and with the money and means thus consecrated lands were purchased, and inheritances and stewardships distributed among the people, all of whom regarded their property as the property of the Lord.[132]

Did Joseph Smith himself have anything to say outside the canon? In an 1832 letter to W.W. Phelps, Joseph Smith wrote,

Brother Wm W Phelps I say brother because I feel so from the heart and altho it is not long since I wrote a letter unto you yet I feel as though you would excuse me for writing this as I have many things which I wish to communicate some things which I will mention in this letter which are laying great with weight upon my mind I inform you I am well and family God grant that you may enjoy the same and yours and all the brethren and sisters who remember to enquire after the commandments of the Lord and the welfare of Zion and such a being as me and *while I dictate this letter I fancy to myself that you are saying or thinking something simmiler to these words my God great and mighty art thou therefore shew unto thy servant what shall becom of all these who are assaying to come up unto Zion in order to keep the commandments of God and yet receive not there inhertance by consecration by order or deed from the bishop the man that God has appointed in a legal way agreeable to the law given to organize and regulate the church and all the affairs of the same*; Bro Wmin the love of God having the most implicit confidence in you as a man of God having obtained this confidence by a vision of heavn therefore I will procede to unfold to you some of the feelings of my heart and procede to answer the question. *firstly, it is the duty of the lord's clerk whom he has appointed to keep a hystory and a general church reccord of all things that transpire in Zion and of all those who consecrate properties and receive inhertances legally from the bishop and also there manner of life and the faith and works and also of all the apostates who apostatize after receiving ther inhertances.*

seccondly it is conterary to the will and commandment of God that those who receive not the inheritance by consecration

agreeable to his law which he has given that he may tithe his people to prepare them against the day of vengence and burning should have there names enrolled with the people of God, neither is the geneology to be kept or to be had where it may be found on any of the reccords or hystory of the church there names shall not be found neither the names of ther fathers or the names of the children writen in the book of the Law of God saith.[133]

While not detailed, this statement of the Prophet supports the historical interpretation that general consecration and reception of stewardships was at least the goal.

Huff does cite[134] Joseph's well-known letter to Bishop Edward Partridge about how the bishop and member must mutually agree about how much gets consecrated:

> First, it is not right to condescend to very great particulars in taking inventories. The fact is this, a man is bound by the law of the Church, to consecrate to the Bishop, before he can be considered a legal heir to the kingdom of Zion; and this, too, without constraint; and unless he does this, he cannot be acknowledged before the Lord on the Church books: therefore, to condescend to particulars, I will tell you that every man must be his own judge how much he should receive and how much he should suffer to remain in the hands of the Bishop. I speak of those who consecrate more than they need for the support of themselves and their families.
>
> The matter of consecration must be done by the mutual consent of both parties; for to give the Bishop power to say how much every man shall have, and he be obliged to comply with the Bishop's judgment, is giving to the Bishop more power than a king has; and upon the other hand, to let every man say how much he needs, and the Bishop be obliged to comply with his judgment, is to throw Zion into confusion, and make a slave of the Bishop. The fact is, there must be a balance or equilibrium of power, between the Bishop and the people, and thus harmony and goodwill may be preserved among you.[135]

Huff uses this letter to show that the Church cannot take people's property by force like the communists do, but if Huff knows about this letter, how can he say that it was not the policy of the Church for

members (in addition to the eleven leaders) to consecrate their substance via the bishop?

Now, Huff also cites[136] the well-known Titus Billing deed (an example of such a consecration through the bishop) but says that first, if this really happened, why don't more of these deeds survive? He claims the only surviving deeds (late 1980s) are those that bought property in the "normal" (*i.e.*, capitalist) way.[137] And second, this deed was all wrong anyway, in that Bishop Partridge was leasing the land, not giving it as stewardship involving legal private ownership. (Partridge's error is cited in J. Reuben Clark's 1942 conference talk mentioned in the beginning of this article.) Well, just because Bishop Partridge did it wrong does not negate the principle, and just because few consecration deeds have been found does not mean more did not exist, or that this wasn't the plan even if it did not come to fruition, else where did Joseph Smith's statement about cooperation with the bishop come from? Nevertheless, Huff does raise a good point: where are all these deeds? I'll provide evidence for the existence of a few of these deeds shortly.

We've already discussed that Huff acknowledges Wilford Woodruff's consecrations through the bishop but downplays their significance. Since I'm admittedly a biologist, not a historian, I'll mention that esteemed LDS historian Richard L. Bushman accepts the "traditional" understanding, even though "the system never worked properly" but also confirms the basic nine-man structure of the united firm.[138] Accomplished LDS historians Milton V. Backman, Max H Parkin, Steven C. Harper, and Mark Lyman Staker, among others, confirm the consecration effort through Bishop Partridge.[139]

More Historical Evidence of Significant Consecration of Property and Reception of Stewardships

Since 1988, when Huff asked where all the deeds were — except for the Titus Billing deed, which was apparently the only known extant deed[140] — the World Wide Web was born, and the Church History Library and Joseph Smith Papers project have made more information not only available but accessible on the web, although Huff's point about limited historical evidence on consecration practices remains valid. Here are a few additional pieces of evidence that might have been harder to find in the late 1980s.

The Edward Partridge papers, 1818–1839, include a letter to his family members relating church history, but according to the Church History website, the draft of the letter was written on the backs of consecration/

stewardship deeds of Titus Billing (already discussed), George Pitkin, Stephen Chase, Benjamin Eames, James Lee, and Sanford Porter.[141] Unfortunately, I cannot find the deeds themselves online.

There is also a scanned deed, by which Bishop Partridge leased land to Joseph Knight Junior (true, this was an incorrect practice, but at least it was an attempt at consecration):

> Be it known that I, Edward Partridge, Of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, bishop of the church of Christ, organized according to law, and established by the revelations of the Lord, on the 6th day of April, 1830, have leased, and by these presents to lease unto Joseph Knight Jun of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, a member of said church, the following described piece or parcel of land … [142]

And the Church History Library personnel were recently kind enough to digitize, at my request, a similar deed of consecration and stewardship by one Levi Jackman (which was described above by Steven Harper as being "more than a technicality") and Bishop Partridge. It is now available to the public to read online. The first page reads like the Joseph Knight deed above, but subsequent pages also show Brother Jackman's list of consecrated items. It is evident, as in other cases we've discussed, that Brother Jackman "leased back" the same items he consecrated — furniture, two beds, bedding, and tools.[143] Huff would have said that this had no temporal effect (based on his statement on Wilford Woodruff's consecrations mentioned earlier) — and I agree that it might not have — but it could also be deeply meaningful and have real effect.

In a book chapter published in 2008, Harper puts the number of extant consecration/stewardship deeds from the 1830s at "less than a dozen," including Levi Jackman's.[144]

John Corrill, later excommunicated, wrote *A Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, in 1839. I wish it were more detailed, but it contains these statements:

> In a short time after this, Smith received the Revelation called the Law, which contained several good moral precepts; it also required a consecration of property, and commanded the elders to go west and preach, two by two. …

> Some time in May following a Church was organized in Thompson, a township a few miles from Kirtland, at which time Isaac Morley and myself were chosen counsellors

to the Bishop to assist him in his business, which was to receive consecrations of property, and attend to the temporal concerns of the Church.[145]

It is believed by them that the Church ought to act in concert, and feel one general interest in building up the "great cause;" and that every man ought to consider his property as consecrated to the Lord for that purpose; yet their law gives every man the privilege of managing his own concerns, and provides against taking each other's property without paying for it; and if a man gives for the benefit of the Church, it is considered a voluntary offering. Yet the law requires or enjoins a consecration of the overplus, after reserving for himself and family, and to carry on his business. …

Much has been said, and great exertions used, at times, to inspire the members of the Church with a spirit of consecration and voluntary offering. Some have thus been led to give up all, while others have been backward, which has caused the leaders, at times, to resort to other means of obtaining money to carry on their operations. …

Shortly after the Danites became organized, they set out to enforce the law of consecration; but this did not amount to much. Then they undertook another plan, in which Doctor Arverd Sampson Avard was very officious and forward, viz.: to constitute large firms, so that every male member of the Church could become a member of the firm. Every man was to put in all his property by leasing it to the firm for a term of years; overseers or managers were to be chosen from time to time, by the members of the firm, to manage the concerns of the same, and the rest were to labor under their direction. In the division of the profits, more regard was to be paid towards the needs and wants of the members, than to the amount of stock put in. Many joined these firms, while many others were much dissatisfied with them, which caused considerable feeling and excitement in the Church. Smith said every man must act his own feelings, whether to join or not, yet great exertions were used, and especially by Doctor Arverd, to persuade all to join.[146]

This history tends to support the idea that consecration of property was the goal for all and in fact was actually practiced, even if not by all.

From the "Minutes of a general Conference held at the dwelling of Brother Serenes Burnett in the Town of Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, October 25, 1831" we get reports of several brethren who are willing to consecrate all:

> Br. Orson Hyde said that he covenanted to give all to the Lord and be for his glory and as to all his works his heart responded a hearty. Amen.

> Br. Hyrum Smith said that all he had was the Lord's and he was ready to do his will continually

> Br. Frederick G. Williams said that he renewed again the covenant before the Lord to give all to him.

> Br. Wm. E. Mc.lellin said that he had the greatest reason to rejoice of any present and that he also would be subject to the will of God even unto death.

> Br. Silvester Smith said that he had the testimony that it was the will of the Lord to seal his Saints, and also covenanted to give all to the Lord. …

> Br. Martin Harris said that he was anxious that all should be saved &c. also read two verses in the book of Revelations, also covenanted to give all for Christ's sake.

> Br. John Smith said that he felt through grace to do the will of the Lord notwithstanding his extreme old age, also felt to covenant to give all to the Lord.

> Br. Daniel Stanton said that he had a long time since covenanted to do the will of God in all things, and also said that it was his desire to be sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise.

> Br. David Whitmer said that he felt to declare to this conference that he had consecrated all that was his to the Lord, and also was desirous to do all for the glory of God. …

> Br. Joseph Brackenberry said that he blessed the name of the Lord that he could bear testimony of the truth of the Book of Mormon, and also consecrated all to God before he was baptized, he was also determined to go on to the end of his life

> Br. Levi Jackman said he gave all his ability to do the work of the Lord. …

> Br. Joel Johnson said that he had professed religion for a
> number of years, also felt to bear testimony of the goodness of
> God, and to consecrate all to the Lord.

These covenants of consecration do not spell out temporal consecrations in detail, but they do show that many Saints besides the eleven men were consecrating.[147] So while not all Saints entered the consecration/stewardship system, and no one was forced, more of this happened than Huff acknowledged; and it was still the hope/plan for all.

D&C 105 and The End of the General System of Formal Consecration and Stewardship

In 1834 the united firm dissolved into its Kirtland and Missouri parts, as described in D&C 104, but what concerns me in this section is what is described in D&C 105. Conventional LDS understanding is that the Lord allowed the Saints to be persecuted in Missouri because of their failure to live His law, in particular their failure to have charity for each other. I am no judge of the Saints' failures; here is Huff's take on the issue:

> Joseph also said that although the Lord did express displeasure
> with some behavior of the Saints, the Lord refused to say why
> the Saints were ejected from Missouri or when they would
> be able to return. There was no hint that a failure to observe
> some communal mechanism was any part of the reason for
> the saints being forced to leave ….

> A legacy from the Brigham Young period is the tendency to
> assign the cause of the expulsion from Missouri to a failure to
> "live the united order." It assumes a definition of the united
> order and its history from the Brigham Young period which
> bears little relation to the practices or beliefs of Joseph Smith's
> day. There is a possibility that a general lack of righteousness
> kept the Lord from unsheathing his sword on behalf of the
> Saints, but that is a far different thing than punishing them
> for failure to live a specific commandment.[148]

Joseph Smith explained in a letter[149] that he could not understand why the Missouri Saints must suffer so and implied that perhaps the Lord wasn't punishing the Saints but allowed the persecution because they had forfeited God's protection. Joseph Smith and I agree that the Saints certainly didn't deserve that type of treatment from their enemies. Here is what the Lord says, in D&C 105:

2 Behold, I say unto you, were it not for the transgressions of my people, speaking concerning the church and not individuals, they might have been redeemed even now.

3 But behold, they have not learned to be obedient to the things which I required at their hands, but are full of all manner of evil, and do not impart of their substance, as becometh saints, to the poor and afflicted among them;

4 And are not united according to the union required by the law of the celestial kingdom;

5 And Zion cannot be built up unless it is by the principles of the law of the celestial kingdom; otherwise I cannot receive her unto myself.

So they did not share with the poor and were not united according the "law of the celestial kingdom" — the same law that establishes Zion (v.5), and we know that in Zion, there "were no poor among them," (see Moses 7:18, which specifically describes the City of Enoch) unless you accept Huff's alternative explanation that "no poor among them" was only a temporary fix while Zion was under siege. While this doesn't prove the Lord allowed the Saints' persecution for failing, in Huff's words above, "to live the united order," — in other words, living the law of consecration, particularly in a formal sense — it certainly seems plausible to me (inasmuch as I believe that only through an economic organization can we truly achieve no poor among us) — much more plausible than it seems to Huff, who says "D&C 105:3–5 mentions the need for obedience, righteousness, charity, and unity, but says nothing about the necessity of an economic organization."[150] In any case, I find it odd that this is all Huff's book says about D&C 105, even though traditional understanding is that this section (see verse 34) marked the suspension of the formal consecration/stewardship system — not the law of consecration *per se!* — as generally applied to the Saints.[151] As I pointed out in the introduction, verse 29 comes as close as any in scripture to the phrase *law of consecration:*

For it is my will that these lands should be purchased; and after they are purchased that my saints should possess them according to the *laws of consecration* which I have given. (D&C 105:29)

Coupled with verse 34, on the redemption of Zion, this implies that once that happens, we can expect a return to the formal consecration system as outlined in the Doctrine and Covenants.

Is it odd that God withdrew the formal application of the law based on the disobedience of the Saints? Does God give commandments according to the likelihood of our obeying them? He might not revoke basic laws such as, say, chastity, based on our likelihood of obedience, but He did take away the full gospel and leave the Israelites with a lower law in Moses's day, based on their disobedience (jst Exodus 33:20 and 34:1–2 ; Galatians 3:19, 24; Mosiah 13:29–30; and D&C 84: 23–27). (And with the restoration of the higher law, even the law of chastity was upgraded from "Thou shalt not commit adultery" to "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.") Similarly, God did not "revoke" the law of consecration but did take away for a time its "higher" form (see references in endnote 151 and statements in sections IV and VI), although there are alternative opinions.[152]

In summary, the history Huff gives us is correct and enlightening but incomplete. The eleven-man united order was only an example to the rest of the Church.

IV. Fourth Thesis: Tithing Represents A "Higher Law" [Not!]

Huff presents[153] several interesting points on tithing, giving us a more overarching view of possible variations to the tithing program. First, people have paid tithing in many different ways, compared to the standard way most of us pay it now. Huff quite reasonably speculates that sometimes the word *tithing* meant a one-time offering, such as when Abraham paid tithes to Melchizedek; Abraham couldn't always be sending animals to Melchizedek. (Although I agree with this speculation, Huff sometimes shows what I would call overconfidence in his assumptions.) Not only was tithing paid in kind, but it wasn't always sent to "church headquarters" in former dispensations, since the in-kind tithing was often perishable and not transportable. In this dispensation — within the last century, in fact — Harold B. Lee as a stake president during the depression got permission to keep tithing in his stake for relief of the stake's poor. And even in the Church today, in places without access to banks or mail systems, tithing might be paid in kind and kept within the country. In the beginning of our dispensation, tithing was collected by any traveling missionary, but in the Nauvoo period, that function was assigned exclusively to the Twelve. In early LDS history, many members' contributions were earmarked for certain purposes, unlike today, when

the leaders of the church decide how to spend tithing (however, some of our contributions today are also earmarked, in various other funds). In Orderville, Utah, the tithing was paid not by the individuals but by the community as a whole, since they had pooled their resources.

Second, tithing existed since the start of this dispensation, even before D&C 119 — the main revelation on tithing — was given. Of course, Joseph Smith knew about the Malachi chapter 3 tithing scripture, from both the Bible and Book of Mormon. The word *tithing,* however*,* was used in different ways. Sometimes it meant any donation — not necessarily one-tenth — and could include one-time gifts, but in other uses, it specifically meant one-tenth, given in an ongoing basis. The word *tithing* was often used interchangeably with the word *consecration* (see, for example, D&C 85:3). Indeed, Huff and Harper[154] argue that tithing is a form of consecration. I agree.

Third, it took several years after D&C sections 119 (the "tithing" section) and 120 (on the council of the disposition of tithes) to get the system up and running; the Church was operating in the early 1800s without national currency, reliable mail, or banks, etc. Section 119 was addressed to the Missouri Saints (first verse), but the last verse says that this is an ensample, or example, for all stakes too. Before this revelation, the Saints offered contributions, called tithing, but it was not a standardized system. Huff restates D&C 119:3 like this: "And this shall be the beginning of the tithing of my people as it relates to using the new more centralized and regularized plan, and it will begin with the people in Far West, and be spread as conditions permit."[155] Later in Nauvoo, Joseph Smith asked that all funds come through the First Presidency before being dispersed to, for example, the temple construction committee.

The historical information Huff presents is enlightening, and I've only hit the main points. But Huff's goal is to convince us that tithing is the higher law and "consecration" the lower.

Here are some of his take-away points designed to disabuse us of the notion that obeying the law of consecration today involves more than paying tithing:

> The topics of 'united order' and 'consecration' are sometimes said to be 'higher law' alternatives to the 'lesser' law of tithing. The goal … is to overcome and dissolve this false dichotomy by providing a better understanding of the history of tithing.[156]

Huff presents this statement of Joseph F. Smith, with which he disagrees (but at least, he acknowledges his disagreement):

The Lord revealed to his people in the incipiency of his work a law which was more perfect than the law of tithing. It comprehended larger things, greater power, and a more speedy accomplishment of the purposes of the Lord. But the people were unprepared to live by it, and the Lord, out of mercy to the people, suspended the more perfect law, and gave the law of tithing, in order that there might be means in the storehouse of the lord for the carrying out of the purposes he had in view; for the gathering of the poor, for the spreading of the gospel to the nations of the earth, for the maintenance of those who were required to give their constant attention, day in and day out, to the work of the Lord, and for whom it was necessary to make some provision. Without this law these things could not be done, neither could temples be built and maintained, nor the poor fed and clothed. Therefore the law of tithing is necessary for the church, so much so that the Lord has laid great stress upon it.[157]

To this, Huff asks why have the "higher law" of consecration (that he doesn't believe really exists in a formal way) when tithing so well accomplishes all these purposes that Joseph F. Smith outlined. But Huff does not address what tithing is not accomplishing: the equality spelled out in the Doctrine and Covenants. True, the poor are cared for through the welfare system/fast offering funds, and the Perpetual Education Fund (which of course did not exist in the late 1980s) is an inspired program that together with Church employment specialists helps Saints get better jobs. Still, many beneficiaries are only helped at a basic level. We care for the poor, and that is the first level, but the ultimate goal is to ensure "no poor among [us]." The ideas provided by James W. Lucas and Warner P. Woodworth in *Working Toward Zion*[158] of setting up cooperative enterprises show that a modern "united order" system or its equivalent could employ many more.

As further evidence that tithing is not a "lower law," Huff cites President Hinckley, who said in the April 1984 general conference, "The Church has never taken a backward step since it was organized in 1830 — and never will." However, Huff admits that the exact meaning of this statement is unsure because the Church has had some known setbacks.[159] Next, Huff explains why tithing is not only not a lower law but a *higher* law than consecration:

If we describe what came before 1838 as "consecration" and what came after as "tithing," then, by almost any objective

performance standards, we should call the "consecration" period the lesser law and "tithing" the greater law. The earlier situation could be better described as a non-system rather than any kind of system. Temporal questions were handled on an ad hoc basis, the brethren and the Lord requesting funds as circumstances seemed to require and from whomever was at hand.…

One might observe that *spontaneity is often associated with spirituality, and bureaucracy is often associated with the stifling letter of the law. However, spontaneous gestures will generally only solve small or short-lived problems; major or long-term problems require more planning and organization.…*

In contrast to the earlier "consecration," the later "tithing" system was on the way to becoming a regularized and dependable system which produced more revenue and could support a more extensive program. There was a clarification of the law rather than a replacement.…

Tithing is a "higher" law because under it the members are asked to make a long term commitment of support and to have faith in their leaders concerning projects about which the members know very little. Under the pre-1838 program or so-called "consecration," only one-time or short term commitments had to be made, and only to specific visible projects.[160]

I could not agree more with the value of organization, and I appreciate this insightful thought (italicized portion above)! This is why I disagree with some in the Church who have proposed that we — as a church — are living the *full* law of consecration today when we pay tithing and make donations when led by the Spirit, but feel no yearning to consecrate all in a meaningful — not just lip-service — way and who believe that, as opposed to a past formal system of consecration, that now and in the future, consecration beyond tithing and other donation-slip offerings should be entirely informal — no organized system. However, I absolutely agree that we can and should live the entire *spirit* of the law of consecration today through our generosity and that in a sense we can live the law fully as now practiced. R. Quinn Gardner (no known relation to me), former managing director of the Church Welfare Services Department, seems to agree both on what we should do now, and what we expect in the future (note his use of the word *formal*):

> When many members use the word consecration, they think only of the temporarily suspended law of consecration — the Lord's formal and legally binding economic order. They therefore assume that none of the principles of consecration apply today. This is not true. While the formal law of consecration will be reinstated in the Lord's own time, through his prophets, the Lord has not repealed the covenant of consecration made during the temple endowment. This covenant is in full force and should be actively applied by Latter-day Saints. Only by living it now can we merit the Lord's future reestablishment of the law of consecration.[161]

I believe that only through a formal system, such as the consecration, stewardship, and storehouse program outlined in the Doctrine and Covenants, can the Lord's purposes be fully realized. Only in this way will there be "no poor among us." Without an organized storehouse system, even if every member consecrated his or her excess to the needy, some who are needy would still fall through the cracks, and others would receive too much. (By analogy, imagine if home teaching were not organized, and every man decided whom to visit. Some might never get visited, while others would never get any peace!) Here is where Huff and I disagree: he obviously denies the existence of a historical formal consecration system in Joseph Smith's time, beyond that of a united firm of eleven men. He insists that before tithing was formally instituted in 1838, donations were ad hoc and that individuals were not really asked to consecrate all they had, as most of us have been taught in Church history classes. (But in the previous section, I've shown that this was the plan, at least, even if didn't always work out.) And while he understands the importance of the formal system of tithe payment, he does not seem to appreciate our opportunity to live in a class-less society like that of the city of Enoch.

The traditional thinking is that tithing is the lower law that replaced the formal enactment of the law of consecration, at least for a period because the Saints couldn't keep the higher law, but Huff refutes that idea:

> In trying to construct a definition of the word consecration, it would be helpful to know during what periods of the church's history the law has been said to be in effect. It is the position of this book that it has never ceased to be in effect since the beginning of the church in this dispensation, and that those who tie the practice of the law or doctrine of consecration to a particular social or economic organization simply do not

understand the law. The following entry from the history should shed some further light on that question by showing that the law was in full effect a substantial time after many would say it ceased: [quotes the Iowa High Council in *History of the Church* 4:93, from March 1840]: … "The law of consecration could not be kept here, and that it was the will of the Lord that we should desist from trying to keep it; and if persisted in, it would produce a perfect defeat of its object, and that he [Joseph Smith] assumed the whole responsibility of not keeping it until proposed by himself."[162]

Huff uses this to show that even two years after D&C 119 was revealed, when consecration was supposedly ended — replaced with tithing — consecration is still a "live topic." However, the actual text he quotes seems to be Joseph Smith saying NOT to do consecration! But Huff is saying the Saints were already living it, otherwise how could they desist? I agree that the law of consecration has never ceased to be in effect, and that we ought to live it right now, but by *law of consecration* we can mean the informal form or the formal form. Sometimes it is confusing, since the term is used both ways. Perhaps they weren't really keeping the *full* law — the formal form (see Sections V and VI below, including explanations by Church leaders of the "full" law of consecration), but some of them were trying to resume this practice, and this was what Joseph Smith advised against.

As *Part* of Consecration, Tithing is Lesser than the Whole Law

Huff quoted President Joseph F. Smith (above) as calling tithing a lesser law but disagrees. Harper has also emphasized that tithing is not a lesser law but rather is part of the law of consecration and was not given to "replace" the law, which he says is longstanding LDS "folk history."[163] I'll come back to this point, but first I provide more evidence that President Smith was correct, or at least he wasn't wrong. Here is more of an Orson Pratt discourse I quoted before. It started by comparing "united order(s)" that involved most or all Saints with a limited firm of a few brethren, the "order of Enoch," (referring to Joseph Smith, whose code name was Enoch), and ends with a discussion of tithing as a *lower law*. Pratt also notes that the tithing revelation (D&C 119:1) asks for members to first consecrate or donate all their surplus property to the bishop, *prior* to paying tithing on their increase. Although Huff discusses D&C 119, he never really addresses this, nor do most Mormons today. Huff is usually pretty thorough but this is a major omission.

> Did the Lord forsake us then? No, he had compassion upon us — still looked upon us as the latter-day kingdom — did not take the kingdom from our midst, but continued to plead with us and bear with the infirmities of the people. "Now I will, says he, "try them with another law." So in the year 1838, he gave us another law, called the law of Tithing. Let me name now some of the conditions of Tithing, according to that law. The Lord gave a commandment that the people that came up — gathered with the Saints — should consecrate, not all their property, *but all their surplus property, and after they had consecrated all their surplus property,* there should be a certain portion, not called surplus, which they should retain; and out of this that is not called surplus property, they should try to make an income, they should consecrate one-tenth part of that income. …
>
> This is the law of Tithing, *inferior to the full law of consecration*, and also inferior to the *law of Enoch*.[164]

The fact that we no longer obey the letter of D&C 119 by first donating our surplus calls into question the meaning of this revelation as a "standing law unto [us] forever," as discussed in this article's introduction. Perhaps "forever" simply meant "from now on" but changes could be made. Or, like the united firm, which was also "everlasting," it may simply refer to the eternal nature of the principles involved, so that we might expect an eventual return to the practice outlined in verse 1.

Notice Pratt's phrase *full law of consecration*. To me and apparently to several Church leaders whom I will quote below in Section VI, that means the *formal* law of consecration, such as the system of consecration and stewardship as outlined in the Doctrine and Covenants. The law of Enoch mentioned by Pratt refers, as we've seen, to the united firm under Joseph Smith, who was also known as Enoch.

Lorenzo Snow agreed that tithing is the inferior law:

> And so far as the law of tithing is concerned, there is about it something that is not of the same nature and character as the law of the United Order. It was added because the people were not willing to comply with this noble and high celestial law, whereby they could act according to the light that is in them, and the power of the Almighty, by which they should be inspired.[165]

To me, the feeling that paying tithing is all the consecration we need to do does injustice to the idea of consecration. Continuing, Elder Lorenzo Snow explained why tithing is a lower law — citing the Doctrine and Covenants, or in other words, Joseph Smith's revelations — and why we should not be satisfied with only paying tithing:

> The Latter-day Saints at the present day, are very united in reference to their spiritual principles and doctrines. We see eye to eye in regard to principles that pertain to the doctrinal portion of the religion we have espoused; *but when it comes to our temporal, our earthly possessions, and our conduct in relation to them, we seem to be little confused in reference to what is right and wrong*, and more or less, we feel disposed to pursue our own course in regard to these matters and, as in the days of judges, "Every man is doing what seems right in his own eyes." We seem to forget that the Lord has distinctly pointed out our duties, and that there is a little book, Doctrine and Covenants, that God has given by direct revelation in regard to these matters, by which we should be governed; we forget these things as it is natural for us to forget the things of God. *We sometimes think of the many good things that we do, and imagine, perhaps, that because of these good acts, we are excusable in not bothering ourselves in reference to some other things that we do not perform.* …
>
> *The law of tithing is a lower law*, and was given of God. *But the law of tithing does not forbid us obeying a higher law,* the law of celestial union in earthly things. *And the fact that we do not feel satisfied in simply obeying the law of tithing shows that it is a lesser law.* Do you feel justified simply in obeying the law of tithing? Why, then, do you contribute to our temples and to bringing the people from the old countries, and to this object, and that, in thousands of ways, after you have properly and justly complied with the law of tithing? The fact that you do these things shows that you are not satisfied in merely obeying the law of tithing. In these contributions you are acting just as God designed you should act — by the light of the Holy Ghost that is in you.[166]

So if we're wrong in calling tithing a lesser law, it is because we are only following the likes of Smith, Pratt and Snow as well as more recent Church leaders; here is what some of them have said:

James E. Talmage (See also the James E. Talmage statement in section VI.)

> The law of tithing, as observed by the Church today, is after all but a lesser law, given by the Lord in consequence of human weaknesses, selfishness, covetousness and greed, which prevented the Saints from accepting the higher principles, according to which the Lord would have them live.[167]

Orson F. Whitney

> The law of tithing was given to supersede, for the time being, a greater law known as the law of consecration.[168]

Marion G. Romney

> The requirement to live the united order at that time was then withdrawn. The lesser law of tithing was revealed, which, with the law of the fast, has prevailed and persisted in the Church until now.[169]

Dallin H. Oaks

> Tithe paying is evidence that we accept the law of sacrifice. It also prepares us for the law of consecration and the other higher laws of the celestial kingdom.[170]

Henry B. Eyring

> One of the blessings that comes from paying a full tithing is developing faith to live an even higher law. To live in the celestial kingdom, we must live the law of consecration.[171]

> (Also, see statements by Ezra Taft Benson, Robert D. Hales, and Bruce R. McConkie in section VI.)

So is tithing *not* a lesser law, as some say, or is it indeed a lesser law, as these leaders say? Church leaders are not infallible, but when several agree I believe that we ought to pay attention, and address any disagreements (as Huff did with his disagreement of Joseph F. Smith, above), rather than sweep them under the rug. Is there a way to understand tithing that satisfies everyone?

At the very least, it behooves us to eliminate semantic misunderstandings from our discussions. First, in asking if tithing is a "lower" or "lesser" law than consecration, we must define what we mean by consecration: consecrating some or consecrating all. If we mean all, then tithing, which as now practiced involves only 10% (and we no longer donate our surplus prior to our 10% annual donations as detailed

in D&C 119:1), is clearly lesser. (However, to be fair, and speaking of material things, a very poor person consecrating all in a formal system and then receiving a stewardship might end up much better off than if he were to donate 10% of his income. More on this below.)

But as Harper points out, we don't need to have an either/or dichotomy. Tithing is *part of* the law of consecration. By my analogy, the Aaronic priesthood is the "lesser" priesthood. And yet, it is *part of* the Melchizedek priesthood (D&C 107:14). The Israelites lost the Melchizedek priesthood (together with the higher law, as we've already discussed at the end of section III) but retained that *part of it* (heretofore without its own name, but it existed nevertheless) dealing with carnal/outward/temporal matters and ordinances (D&C 84:27; 107: 14, 68). When Christ restored the Melchizedek priesthood to Israel, he did not eliminate the Aaronic priesthood, for it is but part of the Melchizedek, and ordinations to it continued, as they do today. Likewise, the formal aspects of the law of consecration were suspended in our dispensation, and according to Church leaders (cited later in section VI), those aspects will return again, but this won't necessarily eliminate tithing. In the meantime, we are fully justified as we consecrate our time, talents, and means as directed by the living prophet and the spirit. (One might also consider that sacrifice is *part of* consecration, as suggested in the temple and relate sacrifice to a lower, or Aaronic order, and consecration to a higher, or Melchizedek order, as perhaps also suggested in the temple.)

For years I've been bothered when people say that tithing hits us all equally; it is ten percent for everyone, rich or poor. But I know by experience that for a not-so-rich person supporting a large family, who has had various setbacks, paying tithing can make the difference between being able to buy groceries, having to charge them to a credit card, or asking for Church assistance. (And while some people are financially blessed for tithe payment, some aren't.) Lorenzo Snow hits this point exactly:

> But as regards the law of tithing, it is in force upon the poor as well as the rich, and it seems that it acts almost unequally in some respects. There is a widow, whose income is ten dollars; she pays one for tithing, and then has to appeal to the Bishop for support. Here is a rich man who has an income of one hundred thousand dollars, and pays ten thousand for his tithing. There remains ninety thousand, and he does not need it, but the poor widow requires much more than she had before complying with the law of tithing.

> Now what would be the operation of the celestial law? The widow has not enough for her support, therefore nothing is required of her by the celestial law, or the law of the United Order. This rich man, with his ninety thousand dollars, continues to increase his riches, *pays his tithing fully, and yet wholly disregards the law of stewardship, or the law of temporal union. I cannot believe that a Latter-day Saint is justified in ignoring the higher law.* For, as we have read, "Behold none are exempt from this law who belong to the Church of the living God." There is not a man within the sound of my voice who is exempt from this law, nor will he ever be until Jesus, the Son of God, comes in the clouds of heaven to set all things right.[172]

So, here is a disagreement between Huff, who says (below) that we can be perfectly satisfied paying tithing and other ordinary offerings, and Lorenzo Snow, who says we cannot. In my current position at Southern Virginia University (private, but LDS-oriented), I am surrounded by faculty and staff who have sacrificed and consecrated heavily to build up this corner of Zion, reminding me of the widow in Lorenzo Snow's story, or the widow of mite fame (Luke 21:1–4). Some of them would likely be materially benefited under a formal consecration system; perhaps in that case, tithing really is more of a sacrifice than deeding all possessions.

In conclusion, I agree with Huff in the value of an organized donation program, over an ad hoc system, but disagree that tithing is the higher law. This brings us to the issue of consecration. Inasmuch as Huff denies that the Saints in Joseph Smith's day practiced any formal consecration efforts beyond temporary ones, or beyond the eleven businessmen, I feel the need to show the centrality of a formal consecration system for all of God's Saints.

V. Fifth Thesis: By Paying Tithing We're Already Living The Law Of Consecration [In Part]

In this section, we will discuss Huff's thesis that regular payment of tithes and offerings, as we know them today, makes one fully participant in consecration. We must understand that the law of consecration has always been in effect, but there are varying levels to which it may be kept. We may consecrate some or all. Both are consecration. Sometimes, however, the word implies "all" without saying so, and sometimes it only implies "some." The word can also be understood formally or informally. Often only by context can we understand which sense of the word is meant. Huff would agree, I think, at least somewhat with my point about

the varied uses of the term: He agrees that donations are consecrations but quotes Joseph Smith as saying that when we consecrate our children to the Lord, we don't actually give them away; Huff's lesson is that if we don't transfer our property either unless we give it and that one may consecrate something by dedicating it for a specific use, even if he retains ownership.[173] Harper makes the same point.[174] I don't need convincing of this. Huff emphasizes that consecrating often just means giving "regular" donations.

I agree with Huff that "'Consecration' consisted of tithes and other ordinary offerings to the church to support its building and other programs and to help the poor." But then, *To the people of Joseph Smith's time, the term "consecration" had no effect on economic organization.*[175] This is a bold statement. But is it true? It certainly seems to contradict the D&C scriptures and historical statements quoted in Section III. (Not to mention the Kirtland Safety Society, which as we've seen in Section II might be considered both a method of consecration as well one of economic organization.)

To further demonstrate that consecration is really nothing more than tithing and a few other easy donations, Huff relates these stories and lessons, which provide a basis for thought and discussion:

- Joseph Smith once taught a member in Nauvoo about consecration, and all Joseph asked is that the member pay $300 in back tithing. Huff says, "This should give the modern Saints reason to believe that, by similar simple compliance with church donation programs, they can feel the same joy of acknowledged obedience to an important principle."[176] Well, OK, but that doesn't mean that we as a church are living the "full law." (Compare this with Lorenzo Snow's statement, quoted earlier, about how we are not quite satisfied with paying only tithing. And for those who say that we as a Church are already living the "full law" of consecration see the Church leader statements in Section VI "Will the Church Someday Re-Adopt a Formal System of Consecration and Stewardship?") Nor does this one anecdote imply that this is all that consecration means, but that for this one individual, this is where Joseph Smith asked him to start.

- Huff strongly emphasizes that *consecrate* often means the same as *donate*, or *contribute* and describes those who helped build the Kirtland temple. And thus, "'consecrate'

did not imply a long-term absorption of self and property into a centralized organization. It simply meant the uncoerced, spontaneous donation of means as any church member might do today through the many programs available, including contributions for temple building."[177]

- Those that built the Kirtland temple had a share in it, as opposed to "the common practice in the world of declaring and making the 'state' the only legitimate owner and controller of property and the product of men's labor."[178] Here is the straw man again, because no one ever suggested that the Church coerced anyone. In reminding us that the Church doesn't act like socialist country, he protests too much.

- "There was no room in the true and complete law of the Lord for the common ownership of property."[179] Well, Joseph Smith opposed the common ownership of property, and he said as much, but even if you believe that Joseph Smith's economic system involved people consecrating their property and receiving a stewardship, with surpluses to be given to the storehouse, this system still did not include "common ownership of property." On the other hand, Brigham Young didn't seem to have a problem with "common ownership of property." Could there be some flexibility here? Perhaps conditions in Deseret were different than conditions in Missouri or Ohio, and the Lord approved of different types of "united orders," or *at least in the ability of Saints to experiment with them.*[180] Speaking of such flexibility — but also referring to the Doctrine and Covenants — Orson Pratt said

> There has been a great deal said at different times upon the subject of families being united as one, — eating at the same table, for instance, and having one large field, where their farming operations might be carried on, all who are farmers going forth into the same field to labor; and the same principle carried out in regard to other branches, all taking hold unitedly, having the common interest at heart. Is there anything in the revelations given in these Latter-days requiring this order of things, or is it something we ourselves have considered as being a little ahead of

what our fathers have been practicing? I do not know anything laid down in the revelations, requiring us to take this particular method. Yet is it right? Yes. Why it is right according to the circumstances with which they are surrounded; it points forward to unity and tends to instruct us in the preliminary ideas of being united together. And hence, those that can enter into this order, who are willing to unite in this way, are doing well and will be blessed for it. But let no person set any stakes, in regard to this matter, that because he may have entered into a special order, introduced in one settlement, that all others are wrong because they do not do likewise; they should not find fault with their brethren, neither be discouraged in well-doing.

There are a great many different ideas among the Latter-day Saints, in relation to these matters. *But then, we have a standard given in the Book of Covenants, by which we should be governed.* By and bye, I expect we will be in different circumstances, in which stewardships or inheritances can be issued for all families of the Saints, some in one kind or branch of business, and some in another; and the full law of consecration will take place.[181]

Huff rightly, in my opinion, applies "consecration" to Mosiah 18:27–29, where people were asked to give as much as they could.[182] And again, Huff explains that all this is without coercion. But whoever said it was coerced?

- "The law of consecration as outlined in the D&C section 42 is essentially the equivalent of today's welfare plan. Its purpose was to provide for the poor rather than to fulfill some abstract leveling purpose."[183] Indeed, in several instances[184] general authorities have said that the welfare system is a good *start* towards the full law of consecration, but that there is more to come (see Section VI). At best, this ignores or even contradicts several scriptures about equality (D&C 38:25–27; 51:3; 70:14; 78:5–7).

- Huff points out that section 42 says to consecrate "*of* thy properties (vs. 30)" and "*of* your substance (vs. 31,

emphasis added), instead of consecrate "thy properties." The "of" means only some, and this could mean nothing beyond regular donations. Although Huff admits that some pre-1835 documents lacked the "of," he claims that this only means the "of" was added back on purpose, which strengthens his case.[185] This brings up the question: are we required to consecrate some, or all? I will discuss this in Section VI.

- Huff discusses D&C 42:33 (quoted earlier in Section III), in which people will *continue* to consecrate. "This implies either that all was not consecrated the first time [I don't favor this explanation because perhaps all was consecrated the first time, but the person made money in the meantime, so now has excess again] or that consecration is a repetitive and ongoing process, just like our normal present-day contributions.… Verse 33 also says that 'this … consecration … is a residue,' an amount over and above the needs of the original owner. The amount of the surplus or residue was completely determined by the donor."[186]

- Huff tries to equate ongoing donations, like tithing, with this ongoing donation of surpluses. But tithing is only one-tenth; surpluses can be any amount, depending on circumstances. However, to be honest with the Lord, "surpluses" ought to be what we don't actually need or *reasonably* want. Those who have hundreds of millions of dollars might therefore donate much more than one-tenth because they have millions more than they really need. Yes, we each get to decide what is surplus, but hopefully we don't claim to *need* super-expensive cars, multiple homes, yachts, etc. Because if anyone *needed* those things, most of us would be dead. On this subject, Huff quotes Joseph Smith: "Let them be the judges themselves, for I care not if they do not give a single dime."[187] In context, Joseph Smith was not saying it was not important if they donated their surplus or not but that he was not to be the judge. In that sense, he "didn't care." And, as Steven Harper points out, this is what stewardship, agency, and accountability are all about; as free agents, we decide what is "surplus," but we are accountable to the Lord for our decisions.[188] So Joseph Smith rightly "didn't care." But certainly, the Lord

cares. (And Huff agrees that the Lord cares; he said so himself in his statement about the poor and rich I quoted in Section I.)

Consecrating *All* to the *Church* to Establish Zion

Going back to our original question, does consecration mean all or some, although it can mean both of these, ultimately I believe we must consecrate all — or be willing to — and not grudgingly (D&C 70:14), but if we are willing and eager to consecrate our all someday, we can hardly enjoy great wealth while others are needy today. I believe our temple covenant implies a total consecration and that ideally, it would be in a formal setting. It is to consecrate *all* of what we have and not just to give away to whom we choose but to consecrate it *to the Church*. Rather than quote any sacred phrasing, I'll just encourage endowed readers to ponder the words of the covenant they have made. As William O. Nelson explained, "The law of consecration is a law of the celestial kingdom, requiring that all members of the Church shall consecrate their property (including time, talents, and material wealth) *to the Church* for the building of the kingdom of God and the establishment of Zion."[189] In Zion, as we've seen, there are no poor (in any sense of the word, including financially.) I can't see this situation achieved without a formal system that is more encompassing than that which we now practice. Furthermore, this covenant is based on the Doctrine and Covenants, so the principles and formal plan contained therein should guide our thoughts. I hasten to add that while we are not living, as a church, a formal consecration system, this does not prevent us in the least from living the spirit of the law, as Hugh Nibley continually urged.[190] Consecration doesn't always mean "giving away," but if we claim to consecrate while retaining, while those who need the resources which the Lord has lent us go without, our consecration is really just lip service.

Consecration is related to sacrifice, so perhaps a good way to evaluate our consecration efforts, and if they are more than just lip service, is if they hurt a bit. C. S. Lewis (admittedly not on expert on LDS doctrine, but a very wise man) said

> If our expenditure on comforts, luxuries, amusements, etc., is up to the standard common among those with the same income as our own, we are probably giving away too little. If our charities do not at all pinch or hamper us, I should say they are too small. There ought to be things we should like to

do and cannot because our charitable expenditure excludes them.[191]

In conclusion, the Lord absolutely appreciates the sacrifice and consecration of tithe payers and those who make other contributions. But the evidence in Section IV and the temple covenant as discussed above show that the full law of consecration is more encompassing than that.

VI. Will the Church Someday Re-Adopt a Formal Consecration/Stewardship System?

Are we as a church ever going to readopt a formal system of consecration and stewardship? I believe Huff, as well as many Church members and scholars, would say no, but I say yes for these reasons:

First, this type of economic system isn't confined to Church members living in LDS communities like those in Kirtland, Zion/Missouri, or pioneer Utah. *Working Towards Zion* is a wonderful book that gives great ideas for "united order" and "pre-united order" business models designed to work in today's world.[192] It is not necessary that in every detail it must be exactly like the model of the early 1830s.

Second, our temple covenant. I already discussed how this covenant concerns consecration to the Church (not just directly to needy individuals, although that certainly falls within the spirit of the law and is welcomed by them and by the Lord, but as we discussed already, consecration to the Church helps ensure that no needy person falls through the cracks), so it implies a formal system. It aims to establish Zion. It is related to sacrifice, and Joseph Smith famously told us how the sacrifice of *all things* is important.[193] That is one reason why I believe our covenant involves a consecration of all (and not just money, but certainly including money and temporal things).

Third, statements of LDS leaders — mostly in the twentieth century — who have said that we are preparing for a formal system. I should re-clarify that consecration is the general law, and the "united order," or similar organization involving consecration and stewardship, is the method for living it. In many of these statements, however, this distinction is not made, but when they speak of the "full law" of consecration or even "the law" of consecration, I believe this means a formal system. I don't fault them for this wording because after all, the consecration spoken of in the Doctrine and Covenants is a formal method. While consecration doesn't always mean donating/giving, this is how the term is mainly used in that book of scripture, as we've seen. Furthermore, the donations it mentions are to the Church through the bishop; it does

not speak of donating when the mood strikes you, to whom you feel like. Nevertheless, I emphasize that we can and should live the law of consecration right now, in monetary and nonmonetary ways, even while eagerly awaiting a formal system. As Gordon B. Hinckley said,

> The law of sacrifice and the law of consecration have not been done away with and are still in effect.[194]

The current prophet helps us know how to live the law right now. In an analogy I can take only partial credit for, we look to the prophet for current direction in keeping the Word of Wisdom. Keeping it today requires abstinence from illegal drugs, although these are not mentioned in D&C 89. On the other hand, we can get a temple recommend even if we consume too much meat, which *is* discouraged in D&C 89. However, in our lessons and study of the Word of Wisdom, we do not confine ourselves to the *Handbook of Instructions*; we still study D&C 89. Likewise, while living the law of consecration right now, we learn in the Doctrine and Covenants about its formal application and prepare ourselves to live it.

There are two possible meanings to the "full law" of consecration. First, many Church leaders cited below and I have used it to mean the formal/organized implementation of the law — deeds, stewardships, and a storehouse. This is the way I have used the term throughout this article. Second, even without such a system, we can still fully keep our consecration covenants, be fully committed to consecration, and be fully approved of God right now.

I hope that those who believe that we as a church are living the *full* law of consecration mean it in the second sense of the term. Those who deny the existence of the full law in the first sense of the term will have a hard time explaining the statements below.[195] I think this subject is important enough to include several such statements, by several leaders, to show consensus and consistency. So here are several such statements — in addition to several statements I've already quoted — in alphabetical order by their authors' names. (I've also provided footnote examples of additional but subtler references, that have been made.[196])

Ezra Taft Benson

> The vehicle for implementing the law of consecration is the united order. …

> I repeat and emphasize that the law of consecration is a law for an inheritance in the celestial kingdom. God, the Eternal

Father, his Son Jesus Christ, and all holy beings abide by this law. It is an eternal law. It is a revelation by God to his Church in this dispensation. *Though not in full operation today*, it will be mandatory for all Saints to live the law in its fulness to receive celestial inheritance. You young people today abide a *portion* of this higher law as you tithe, pay a generous fast offering, go on missions, and make other contributions of money, service, and time.[197]

We must not lose sight of the fact that all that we are doing now is but a prelude to the establishment of the united order, and living the law of consecration. The individual Saints must understand this.[198]

When Zion is fully redeemed it will be "by the principles of the law of the celestial kingdom," or in other words the living of the united order (D&C 105:5). The principles which underlie the united order are consecration and stewardship and the contribution of one's surpluses into the bishop's storehouse.[199]

Victor L. Brown

As we prepare to live this law, we will look forward with great anticipation to the day when the call will come. If, on the other hand, we hope it can be delayed so we can have the pleasure of accumulating material things, we are on the wrong path.[200]

F. Enzio Busche

Thus, how beautiful is the revelation of the welfare plan, presently established in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as a preparatory step toward living the law of consecration.[201]

George Q. Cannon

The time must come when we must obey that which has been revealed to us as the Order of Enoch, when there shall be no rich and no poor among the Latter-day Saints; when wealth will not be a temptation; when every man will love his neighbor as he does himself; when every man and woman will labor for the good of all as much as for self. That day must come, and we may as well prepare our hearts for it, brethren, for as wealth increases I see more and more a necessity for the institution of such an order. As wealth increases, luxury and

extravagance have more power over us. The necessity for such an order is very great, and God, undoubtedly, in his own time and way, will inspire his servant [the prophet] to introduce it among the people.[202]

Loren C. Dunn

We do not practice parts of the Doctrine and Covenants today. The law of consecration is not lived today in its fulness.[203]

Henry B. Eyring

It becomes easier to see that consecration simply recognizes the truth that all of God's creations are His. It makes us feel gratitude that He asks only 10 percent of what He has already given us. *So we are better prepared to live the law of consecration when it will be asked of us.*[204]

Vaughn J. Featherstone

A good start has been made; yet much remains to be done in alleviating sorrow and suffering and in making the Saints self-sustaining and able to share with others, preparatory to living the full law of consecration.[205]

Robert D. Hales

The law of consecration was then withdrawn. In its place the Lord revealed the law of tithing for the whole Church. …

The law of tithing prepares us to live the higher law of consecration — to dedicate and give all our time, talents, and resources to the work of the Lord. *Until the day when we are required to live this higher law,* we are commanded to live the law of the tithe, which is to freely give one-tenth of our income annually.[206]

Harold B. Lee

Our present welfare plan could well be the "setting-up" exercises to see how prepared this church is to live this plan, so that, as was the joyous realization of a people on this continent, as recorded in an ancient scripture we call the Book of Mormon, after they were all converted to the Lord, "there were not rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all … partakers of the heavenly gift" and "surely there could not

be a happier people" on the face of the earth (4 Ne. 1:3, 16), by living *fully* the law of sacrifice and consecration.[207]

Neal A. Maxwell

Thus we are often confronted with situations in which certain things will be — someday, but not now. For instance, the coming of consecration with its own laws and economic system has been foretold, but the implementation is not yet. Meanwhile, we are to pay our tithes and offerings in what is yet another example of things as they will become but are not yet.[208]

Bruce R. McConkie

That the *full law of consecration* will yet again be practiced is well known. It is a celestial law [quotes D&C 105:5][209]

Early attempts to operate various united orders failed, but the law of consecration must yet be put into full force, and so the United Order or its equivalent must again be brought into being. It appears that operation of the present Church Welfare Plan may be the beginning of this.[210]

We are not always called upon to live the *whole law of consecration* and give all of our time, talents, and means to the building up of the Lord's earthly kingdom. Few of us are called upon to sacrifice much of what we possess, and at the moment there is only an occasional martyr in the cause of revealed religion.

But what the scriptural account means is that to gain celestial salvation we must be able to *live these laws to the full* if we are called upon to do so. Implicit in this is the reality that we must in fact live them to the extent we are called upon so to do.[211]

In March 1832 the Lord said this about the United Order, the order through which the divine principle of consecration was and is destined to operate: [quotes D&C 78:3]. As is well known, the saints attempted to live in the United Order and failed. That it will yet be operated in its fulness among the Latter-day Saints is also well known. …

And up to this point in time we are living only the lesser law of tithing, though some of the principles of consecration are found in the Church Welfare Program.[212]

David O. McKay

Communists cannot establish the united order, nor will communism bring it about. The united order will be established by the Lord in his own due time and in accordance with the regular prescribed order of the Church.[213]

Keith B. McMullin

"Zion cannot be built up," the Lord said, "unless it is by the principles of the law of the celestial kingdom." [D&C 105:5.] The covenant of consecration is central to this law. We shall one day apply it in its fulness.[214]

Marion G. Romney

Further implementation of the order must therefore await the redemption of Zion. Here Zion means Jackson County, Missouri. When Zion is redeemed, as it most certainly shall be, it will be redeemed under a government and by a people strictly observing those "just and holy principles" of the Constitution that accord to men their God-given moral agency, *including the right to private property. If, in the meantime, socialism takes over in America, it will have to be displaced*, if need be, by the power of God, because the United Order can never function under socialism or "the welfare state," for the good and sufficient reason that the principles upon which socialism and the United Order are conceived and operated are inimical.

In the meantime, while we await the redemption of Zion and the earth and the establishment of the United Order, we as bearers of the priesthood should live strictly by the principles of the United Order insofar as they are embodied in present church practices, such as the fast offering, tithing, and the welfare activities. Through these practices we could as individuals, if we were of a mind to do so, implement in our own lives all the basic principles of the United Order.[215]

Almost from the beginning of my services in Church welfare I have had the conviction that what we are doing in this welfare work is preliminary to the *reestablishment of the law of consecration and stewardship* as required under the united order. If we could always remember the goal toward which we are working, we would never lose our bearings in this great

work. What we are about is not new. It is as old as the gospel itself. Whenever the Lord has had a people who would accept and live the gospel, He has established the united order.[216]

Except for those duties which are unique to the Presiding Bishopric of the Church and those which were made inoperative at the time the *formal law of consecration was suspended*, the role of the bishop today is essentially the same as was defined in these early revelations.[217]

Since this revelation [D&C 105] was received, Church members have not been required to live the law of consecration. There were, however, a few short-lived attempts to establish united order communities in the West.

In the 1930s our present welfare program, which embodies some phases of the law of consecration, was inaugurated.

As to the question, "Will the righteous members of the Church be asked to live the law of consecration?" — my answer is yes. I believe that the righteous members of the Church will, in time, become "united according to the union required by the law of the celestial kingdom" and that the law of consecration will be lived by them during the Millennium.[218]

Lorenzo Snow

Now, here is one of the first principles of the United Order, and it was made and ordained a law by every person, and everyone was required to observe it, who should be privileged to go to the land of Missouri to receive an inheritance. But this, I think, will apply, not only to those who should go to the land of Missouri, but to the people of God in every land. Wherever there is a people of God, the principles of the United Order are applicable if they would receive and obey them. Some have thought that the United Order was to be kept only by the people who should go up to the land of Missouri. Now this, I believe, is incorrect. It would seem very singular that the Latter-day Saints, when they receive the Gospel, should not have the privilege of uniting themselves, according to the principles of the celestial law, and that Jackson County should be the only place where this law might be observed.[219]

James E. Talmage

A system of unity in temporal matters has been revealed to the Church in this day; such is currently known as the Order of Enoch, or the United Order, and is founded on the law of consecration. As already stated, in the early days of the latter-day Church the people demonstrated their inability to abide this law in its fulness, and, in consequence, the lesser law of tithing was given; but the saints confidently await the day in which they will devote not merely a tithe of their substance but all that they have and all that they are, to the service of their God; a day in which no man will speak of mine and thine, but all things shall be the Lord's and theirs.

In this expectation they indulge no vague dream of communism, encouraging individual irresponsibility and giving the idler an excuse for hoping to live at the expense of the thrifty; but rather, a calm trust that in the promised social order, such as God can approve, every man will be a steward in the full enjoyment of liberty to do as he will with the talents committed to his care; but with the sure knowledge that an account of his stewardship shall be required at his hands.[220]

Orson F. Whitney

A brave attempt to practice it was made by the Latter-day Saints, soon after this Church was organized. But they lacked experience, and did not completely rise to the occasion. Selfishness within, and persecution without, prevented a perfect achievement. So the Lord withdrew the Law of Consecration and gave to his people a lesser law, one easier to live, but pointing forward, like the other, to something grand and glorious in the future. That lesser law, the Law of Tithing, is as a schoolmaster, a disciplinary agent, to bring the Saints eventually up to the practice of the higher law, and meanwhile to keep their hearts open for its reception when it returns.[221]

John A. Widtsoe

For the general support, therefore, of the Church and of the poor who are unable to provide for themselves, a fund has been provided by the tithing of the people. This is a preparation for the united order, and some day will be replaced by the more complete system.[222]

These statements leave little doubt that several Church leaders, including apostles, expect the united order or a similar organization to be reinstated. Such reinstatement will come at a time and in a manner as the Lord directs through His prophet.

VII. Conclusion

I have provided substantial evidence (Section III) that it really was Joseph Smith's (and God's) plan that the Saints in general live in a special economic system of consecration, stewardship, and donation of surpluses to the storehouse. It is also clear that this system is at least as much spiritual as temporal; it has eternal significance. I'll re-emphasize that it is more or less well known in the Church that this system is not socialistic, like the communal experiments Huff brings up, although perhaps there are some who believe otherwise. Huff is certainly not wrong in saying so, but it seems he is overeager to avoid any appearance of socialism and so may overlook the Lord's plea for equality or not accept the idea of consecrating one's excess. Here is an excerpt from a readily accessible *Ensign* article (published nine years before Huff's book) agreeing that the "united order" is not socialistic while at the same time giving the "traditional understanding," that I adhere to, and emphasizing that the united order is not a "supplemental assistance program":

> The vision of a modern Zion was not a fanciful Utopian scheme, nor one of the contemporary communal experiments. The Prophet's vision came by revelation, making him intimately familiar with the glory of Enoch's Zion. He sought for the Saints of this dispensation the same approbation which the Lord had given to the Saints of Enoch's day: "And the Lord called his people ZION, because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them." (Moses 7:18) …
>
> 1. Entrance into the united order is *wholly voluntary*, as evidenced by a consecration of all one's property to the Church.
>
> 2. *The united order is not a supplemental assistance program*; it is the economic system in Zion. It provides a standard of living commensurate to one's needs, wants, circumstances, and ability to expand one's stewardship.
>
> 3. The united order operates under the principle of *private ownership* and individual management. It is neither communal

nor communistic. Each man owns his own property with an absolute title. The individual family is preserved. There is no common table. [223]

However, in the Utah pioneer period, some united orders did have a "common table." See the Orson Pratt speech excerpt I presented earlier about whether this was "right," "wrong," or up to the choice of individuals.

Compared to most Americans, perhaps I have an unusual outlook but one I hope I share with many other Latter-day Saints: I am politically conservative and do not agree with socialism; it doesn't work. But I believe in the "united order" — a formal consecration/stewardship system as a way to ensure both freedom and equality and to bring prosperity. I think it is what liberals yearn for, although they don't always realize it. But it will only work with a covenant people and cannot be applied to a whole nation, especially one that is becoming more and more secular. So I understand when my fellow conservatives and anyone who is against socialism would be suspicious of the "united order" as traditionally understood. Brigham Young described this suspicion:

> It seems to be objectionable to some, for the Latter-day Saints to enter into a self-sustaining system, and the probability of our doing so causes a great deal of talk. If we were infidels, any other sect of Christians, or neither Christians nor infidels, but mere worldlings, seeking only to amass the wealth of this world, nothing would be thought or said against it. But for the Latter-day Saints to make a move to the right or to the left, to the front or to the rear, *a suspicion arises directly in the minds of the people*.[224]

I think Kent Huff and others share this suspicion and therefore work hard to deny that anything that resembles socialism, even superficially, could exist in the Church. This is unfortunate because by rightly disavowing socialism, which the 1942 First Presidency has described as a counterfeit united order,[225] Huff also disavows the real thing — he effectively throws the baby out with the bathwater.

I agree with many of Huff's conclusions as well as those of other scholars and enjoyed learning fascinating history from their published works. Scholars differ in their opinions; some are undoubtedly frustrated at what they consider myths about consecration that persist in the Church. But I will stick to the traditional understanding that the revealed economic system involved more than an eleven-man firm to

handle temporary situations (which firm was an example to the rest of the Church) and that God's plan is for all Saints to consecrate their all, right now, but also in a more formal sense someday — and not just by lip service. Church leaders often speak their personal opinions,[226] and the statements I've cited have not been officially canonized. However, with so many Church leaders in the nineteenth through twenty-first centuries who have voiced opinions (several of which were quoted in sections IV and VI) in support of a traditional understanding of the law of consecration and the united order — and in agreement with the most straightforward reading of the scriptures and the temple covenants — I will choose their interpretation.

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Endnotes

1. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order: A Non-Communalistic Interpretation.* (Springville, UT: Cedar Fort, 1988).

2. 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* 46/3, 2007, 13, 58–59.

3. Steven C. Harper, " 'All Things Are the Lord's': The Law of Consecration in the Doctrine and Covenants," in

Andrew H. Hedges, J. Spencer Fluhman, and Alonzo L. Gaskill, eds. *The Doctrine and Covenants: Revelations in Context*, (Salt Lake City and Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, and Deseret Book, 2008), 212–28. This chapter is also available at https://rsc.byu.edu/archived/selected-articles/all-things-are-lord-s-law-consecration-doctrine-and-covenants. I appreciate the discussion of our ability to consecrate our surpluses now in living the law of consecration. I agree that consecration has never been "revoked" although clearly we are not doing it the same way. However, while Harper opines that paying tithing is the current method of consecration, I'd argue that giving ten percent is part of consecration but not equivalent to deeding all of one's property. However, this does not prevent us from consecrating our excess even now.

4. That D&C 42 contained the first official use of the word *consecration* in this dispensation, see Mark Lyman Staker, *Hearken O Ye People: The Historical Setting of Joseph Smith's Ohio Revelations.* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2009), 228.

5. See for example D&C 58:35–36, 85:1 and the original law itself, D&C 42:30–33. Of course, Steven Harper — whom I just cited as teaching that *consecrate* means to make holy — is correct that to consecrate doesn't necessarily mean to give away. He makes that point in the following oral statement, which I feel goes too far in denying that consecration can also involve giving away things. "So first we have to obliterate our false understanding of what consecration means. If, in your mind, consecration means that's when I give all my stuff away, never have any joy after that, that's not consecration. That was never, ever, ever intended or taught or commanded. [I agree that it was never intended that we lose our joy.] If we would think of consecration as making ourselves holy and as part of that, making anything we have stewardship over holy and available to God for his purposes, including feeding my children or getting me to church or getting me to work … then we have consecration." (Steven C. Harper, "Tithing and the Law of Consecration" podcast, http://www.ldsperspectives.com/2017/04/12/tithing-law-consecration/, 18:20) Yet, Harper also agrees that tithing, in which we give money away, is a form of consecration. (Podcast, 18:00). Elsewhere, however, he gave this gem: "Possessions, time, and spiritual gifts can be made sacred by offering them, but philanthropy is not consecration, nor is

making a token offering of one's abundance, as illustrated by the Gospel of Luke's account of the Savior distinguishing between the rich men who cast gifts into the treasury and the widow who offered all (see Luke 21:1–4)." ("'All Things Are the Lord's': The Law of Consecration in the Doctrine and Covenants.") And Gordon B. Hinckley said, "Consecration, which is associated with [sacrifice], a willingness to *give everything*, if need be, to help in the on-rolling of this great work." Gordon B. Hinckley, Meeting with General Authorities and wives, April 10, 1996. In Gordon B. Hinckley, *Teachings of Gordon B. Hinckley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 147, emphasis added.

6. Here are two summaries of this "traditional" interpretation by LDS historians. Bishop Partridge "knew through additional revelation that members were to impart of their 'substance unto the poor' by laying it before the bishop. Under Bishop Partridge's direction, the law of consecration and stewardship developed in Missouri where members contributed all their resources to the bishop and received a stewardship back. He retained excess land, food, and equipment for the poor and spent all of his time helping to manage and direct the distribution of these resources." Mark L. Staker, *Hearken O Ye People,* 241.

    And

    "Members were asked to deed all their property to the bishop of the Church. They then received title to a stewardship — a means of production or support for the family. This inheritance was based on the wants (inasmuch as the wants were just), needs, circumstances (including the size of the family), and abilities of the stewards. At the appointed times, surplus production and increase beyond the needs of the family were to be given into the bishop's storehouse for Church projects, including the care of the poor. Should anyone leave the order, he was to receive his inheritance but not the surplus he had given to the Church. Families were to live separately, and business relations were to be conducted under a system in which stewards owned or held title to their property. Saints who entered this order were placed on essentially the same economic level. This basic equality was to be retained by their giving periodically their surplus to the Church." Milton V. Backman Jr., *The Heaven's Resound: A history of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio 1830–1838.* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 75.

7. A fascinating history of "The Family" is contained in Chapter 6 of Mark L. Staker's *Hearken O Ye People.*

8. Chapter 10 (The United Order Firms are Replaced ny the Corporate Trustee-In-Trust)

9. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 212.

10. Steven C. Harper, "The tithing of my people," in Revelations in Context at https://history.lds.org/article/the-tithing-of-my-people?lang=eng.

11. These scriptures are cited in Iba, Stephen. Answer to "Why does D&C 104:1 say that the united order was an everlasting order until the Lord comes, yet it is not practiced today?" In "I have a question," *Ensign*, June 1986, 27.

12. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 1, 119–120.

13. J. Reuben Clark, *Conference Report*, October 1942, 54–59.

14. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 6.

15. Ibid., 7.

16. *Doctrine and Covenants Instructor Manual* (Institute) Appendix, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 115, 117. Available on lds.org.

17. *Doctrine and Covenants Student Manual*, (Institute) Enrichment L, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 425. Available on lds.org.

18. Victor L. Brown, "The Law of Consecration," BYU speech on 7 November 1976, available at speeches.byu.edu.

19. Marion G. Romney, *Conference Report*, April 1966, 95–101.

20. William O. Nelson, "To Prepare a People," *Ensign*, January 1979, 18–22. (Nelson was the assistant executive secretary to the Council of the Twelve.)

21. Bruce R. McConkie, "Communism" in *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979), 151–152.

22. Ezra Taft Benson, "A Vision and Hope for the Youth of Zion," BYU Speech 12 April 1977, available at speeches.byu.edu.

23. Marion G. Romney, "The Purpose of Church Welfare Services," *Ensign*, May 1977, 92–95.

24. Clark, *Conference Report*, October 1942, 55.

25. See Milton Backman's statement in Section II, which I believe supports my idea of roughly equal standards of living.

26. James W. Lucas and Warner P. Woodworth, *Working Toward Zion: Principles of the United Order for the Modern World* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1996).

27. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 54–55.

28. Ibid., 86–87, emphasis added.

29. Ibid., 100, emphasis added.

30. *History of the Church* 1: 364–365.

31. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 111.

32. Ibid., 235–236.

33. Ibid., 246.

34. Ibid., 249–253; quote is on p. 253.

35. Ibid., 254–255.

36. Ibid., 256–257.

37. Ibid., 258–259.

38. Ibid., 351–352.

39. Here are some other examples (with my comments) Kent W. Huff gives us in *Joseph Smith's United Order* designed to show that the "united order" was not socialistic. Page numbers refer to Huff's book:

    "Verse 55 [of section 42] should also be examined. It says 'and if thou obtainest more than that which would be for thy support, thou shalt give it into my storehouse, that all things may be done according to that which I have said.' Note that this is a command direct from the Lord to each individual, and that each is admonished to 'give' to support the various purposes mentioned earlier. This command from the Lord is not to be enforced by local administrators" (p. 352–353). How could it be "enforced"? Shall church leaders throw people in jail?

    A church member named Isaac McWithy was tried for his fellowship for not being helpful in the migration effort and for accepting $500 that Joseph Smith gave him for moving expenses

but not using it for that purpose. "The procedure followed by Joseph Smith with regard to Isaac McWithy is consistent with the highest regard for private property, and inconsistent with any church-required transfer of property. The cooperation of McWithy was certainly being sought, but *it was not to become part of a life-long involvement in a static, confining "share the wealth" scheme* (as most socialist communities were), but rather a short-term, hopefully one-time, large-scale relocation of the body of the Saints, the involvement determined and limited by the practical needs of such a migration" (p. 168–169, emphasis added).

"This excerpt [of the minutes of the Missouri High Council, April 7, 1837] shows that real estate development went ahead very much as it would today, with lots identified, priced, and sold in an orderly and businesslike way" (p. 179–180), as opposed to some socialistic way.

Huff cites the 11 June 1837 minutes of a meeting of the Missouri high council, which resolved not to trade with non-Mormons. Huff is worried: "This may have seemed necessary to keep out 'enemies,' but its anti-freedom aspect is disturbing and may well have backfired on them later" (p. 184).

"The few fragments presented here of united order and other economic activities in Missouri seem sufficient to show that business transactions were carried on in fairly ordinary ways. There is evidence of natural cooperation, but not of any formal communalism" (p. 184).

Oliver Cowdery was tried for his membership on several counts, one of which was "declaring that he would not be governed by any ecclesiastical authority or revelations whatever, in his temporal affairs" and for "selling his lands in Jackson county, contrary to the revelations" (p. 194, citing *History of the Church* 3:16) However, Cowdery argued back about the value of freedom under our US government, and these particular charges were dropped. Huff uses this to show, once again, that the Church won't interfere with our economic decisions.

40. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 352.

41. *History of the Church* 1: 365.

42. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 110–111.

43. John Taylor, in *Journal of Discourses,* 17:48 (19 April 1874).

44. Erastus Snow, in *Journal of Discourses,* 17:75 (8 May 1874).

45. *History of the Church* 3: 28, 8 May 1838. Huff cites this on p. 26 of *Joseph Smith's United Order.*

46. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 28.

47. Ibid., 28–29.

48. Mark L. Staker, *Hearken O Ye People*, 235, and Max H Parkin, *Joseph Smith and the United Firm*, 15.

49. "'They had all things common' (Acts 4:32) probably does not mean that they pooled all of their resources and then divided up equal portions among believers. Rather they used their excess resources to care for the poor and needy among them." *New Testament Student Manual* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2014), 286.

50. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 29.

51. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses,* 10:6, emphasis added (28 September 1862).

52. See Nate Oman, "Brigham Young's Attack on Communal Economics," *Times and Seasons*, 24 March 2004. Scroll down to comment #7 by "Kent W. Huff" posted on 27 March 2004. It is the same Kent W. Huff because he writes of having authored *Joseph Smith's United Order.* http://timesandseasons.org/index.php/2004/03/brighams-attack-on-communal-economics/. Nate Oman is a professor of law in Virginia.

53. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses,* 4:29–30 (17 Aug 1856).

54. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses,* 12:60–61, emphasis added (16 June 1867).

55. Ibid., 13:302, emphasis added (13 Nov 1870).

56. Ibid., 17:52–53 (3 May 1874).

57. Ibid., 17:54, emphasis added (3 May 1874).

58. Ibid., 18:354–356, emphasis added (6 April 1877).

59. Ibid., 19:46–47, emphasis added (27 May 1877).

60. Ibid., 12:64–65, emphasis added (23 June 1867).

61. Ibid., 18:242, emphasis added (23 June 1874).

62. John Taylor, in *Journal of Discourses,* 18:81, emphasis added (31 August 1875).

63. Lorenzo Snow, in *Journal of Discourses,* 18:373, emphasis added (5 April 1877).

64. Ibid., 20:366–367 (19 October 1879).

65. George Q. Cannon, in *Journal of Discourses,* 17:240–241, emphasis added (8 October 1874).

66. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 266.

67. James E. Talmage explains, "In this expectation they indulge no vague dream of communism, encouraging individual irresponsibility and giving the idler an excuse for hoping to live at the expense of the thrifty; but rather, a calm trust that in the promised social order, such as God can approve, every man will be a steward in the full enjoyment of liberty to do as he will with the talents committed to his care; but with the sure knowledge that an account of his stewardship will be required at his hands." *The Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 398.

68. Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses,* 16:4–5, emphasis added (7 April 1873).

69. Ibid, 16:159, emphasis added (16 August 1873).

70. Kent W. Huff, *oseph Smith's United Order*, 42–43. Portions in [brackets] are my additions, as are the italics.

71. Ibid., 34.

72. Ibid., 323–324.

73. Just to rule out any changes to Joseph Smith's translation of the Bible that did not make it into the LDS-published Bible, I compared the last few verses of Acts 4 in the Inspired Version (published by the Community of Christ/former RLDS Church) and King James Version. Inspired Version of the Bible, Independence, Missouri: Herald House Publishing, 1944. There were no differences.

74. https://rsc.byu.edu/archived/jerusalem-zarahemla-literary-and-historical-studies-book-mormon/when-did-jesus-visit#_ednref4

75. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 44–45, emphasis added.

76. Ibid., 45.

77. See the discussion on how the Lord fights the battles of the righteous in Duane Boyce, *Even Unto Bloodshed: An LDS Perspective on War* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2015), 94–99.

78. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses,* 17:117–118 (28 June 1874).

79. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 45.

80. For example, Elder Neal A. Maxwell called the City of Enoch a "utopia" due to the observance of consecration. (Neal A. Maxwell, "Called and prepared from the foundation of the world." *Ensign*, May 1986, 34–36). President Marion G. Romney linked the law of consecration to each of these Zion societies (Marion G Romney, "The Purpose of Church Welfare Services," *Ensign*, May 1977, 92–95; "Living Welfare Principles," *Ensign*, November 1981, 92–93; "Unity," *Ensign*, May 1983, 17–18). James E. Talmage also ascribed Enoch's and the Nephite Zion to the formal law of consecration (*The Articles of Faith*, 397.)

81. For example, historian Mark L. Staker cites D&C 78:5 ("That you may be equal in the bands of heavenly things, yea, and earthly things also, for the obtaining of heavenly things.") and comments: "It appears that Joseph sought to create in both Kirtland and Missouri a city where the inhabitants were of "one heart and one mind" and "there was no poor among them" as were found in Enoch's city (Moses 7:17–19; Community of Christ D&C 36:2g–i) or, as the Book of Mormon described it, a people where "there were no contentions and disputations among them, and every man did deal justly one with another. And they had all things common among them; therefore there were not rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all made free, and partakers of the heavenly gift." (4 Ne. 1:2–3) Early converts arriving in Kirtland desired to achieve the unity and equality described in scripture." *Hearken O Ye People*, 408.

82. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 5.

83. Ibid., 51.

84. While the Lord did give the Kirtland to the Saints "for a little season" (D&C 51:16), He nevertheless commanded them to act like it was "for years" (vs. 17). And we don't always know what "a little season" really means. Here is some historical evidence that Kirtland was meant to be a lasting center of the Church. Joseph Young said, admittedly decades later, "I will refer once more

to the statement of the Prophet Joseph in regard to the Stake at Kirtland. I will repeat that he said, it would be one of the principle ones of Zion and that the faithful saints who then occupied it should be among the principle ones, and their posterity of the inhabitants that should compose that City. I have heard Brother Brigham make similar statements." Joseph Young, letter to Lewis Harvey, November 16, 1880. Cited in Mark L. Staker, *Hearken O Ye People*, 540. Also Staker points out that Orson Hyde encouraged migration to Kirtland in 1836 by describing its industries. (p. 444.) Finally, Staker cites a sermon given by Joseph Smith on April 6, 1837 (as noted by Wilford Woodruff), about the Kirtland bank and Kirtland's glorious future. (p. 521.)

85. Mark L. Staker, *Hearken O Ye People*, chapters 33–35; quotation is on p. 519.

86. Willard Richards, Letter to Hepsibah Richards, January 20, 1837, as cited in Mark L. Staker, *Hearken O Ye People*, 484.

87. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 65.

88. Ibid., 66, emphasis added. Again, Huff protests too much ("mystical").

89. Ibid., 85.

90. Ibid., 126–127, emphasis added.

91. Milton V. Backman, *The Heavens Resound*, 77.

92. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 86.

93. Ezra Taft Benson, "A Vision and Hope for the Youth of Zion," emphasis added. To show that he means the formal consecration and stewardship system, he next says, "The vehicle for implementing the law of consecration is the united order."

94. Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses,* 16:159, emphasis added (16 August 1873).

95. Hyrum Andrus, *Doctrinal Commentary on the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1973), 504.

96. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 52.

97. Ibid., 6.

98. Ibid., 235.

99. Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses,* 16:156, emphasis added (16 August 1873).

100. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 89, emphasis added. Huff repeats this point on p. 148. Huff cites *History of the Church* 1:365 where editor B.H. Roberts uses the term "order of Enoch."

101. Max H Parkin, "Joseph Smith and the United Firm," 58–60.

102. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 90.

103. Max H Parkin, "Joseph Smith and the United Firm," 14, and Mark L. Staker, *Hearken O Ye People*, 231.

104. Max H Parkin, "Joseph Smith and the United Firm," 5, 66.

105. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 90, emphasis added.

106. Ibid., 94.

107. Ibid., 97, citing *History of the Church* 1:270.

108. Max H Parkin, "Joseph Smith and the United Firm," 33–34.

109. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 117.

110. William O. Nelson, "To Prepare a People."

111. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 236.

112. See, for example, Howard C. Searle, "Authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: A Review Essay," *BYU Studies* 21/1, 1981. However, Huff defends his heavy reliance on the *History of the Church* by citing Joseph Smith scholar Dean Jesse ("I have a question," *Ensign*, July 1985, p. 15) as explaining that the *History of the Church* is our most important historical source (Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 16.

113. "Some of those who have written on the topic of the united order during the Joseph Smith times, and have argued for or assumed the communalistic nature of the united order have perhaps inadvertently shown the weakness of their position by failing to cite examples from the *History* that confirm the communalistic interpretations. Geddes in his work *The United Order Among The Mormons*, in which he expounds on the social policies of the united order, cites no examples from the history, but uses only verses from the Doctrine and Covenants … The D&C verses are subject to other interpretations as shown in other chapters of this book." Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 260.

114. Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, a People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2002), 142–143.

115. Joseph Smith is quoted on p. 240 of Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order.*

116. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 242.

117. Ibid., 337, emphasis added.

118. Max H Parkin, "Joseph Smith and the United Firm," 65.

119. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 351, emphasis added.

120. Ibid., 142–144.

121. Wilford Woodruff's journal, vol 1 page 16, photocopy of transcribed journal I obtained from the Church History Library. I have standardized most of the spelling.

122. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 269.

123. Ibid., 144.

124. Steven C. Harper, 'All Things Are the Lord's': The Law of Consecration in the Doctrine and Covenants."

125. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 96, 100.

126. Ibid., 122.

127. Lorenzo Snow, *Journal of Discourses,* 20:362 (19 October 1879).

128. That this literary firm is an early version ("antecedent") to the united firm is confirmed by Parkin, "Joseph Smith and the United Firm," 11.

129. Lorenzo Snow, in *Journal of Discourses,* 20:365 (19 October 1879).

130. "Some may contend that searching only the *History* is inadequate and that until every journal, newspaper article, or other piece of information from the era has been examined, it cannot be said that the search is conclusive …. If no evidence of doctrinally required communalism appears in the main stream materials, we can safely assume that the omission was intentional and therefore conclusive. This is true regardless of the contrasting Brigham Young era materials." Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 261.

131. Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses,* 16:3–4, emphasis added (7 April 1873).

132. George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses,* 17:59 (7 May 1874).

133. Letter to William W. Phelps, 27 November 1832. Original spelling, emphasis added. Dean Jesse, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 259–260. Also available in Joseph Smith Papers, published by The Church Historian's Press, an imprint of the Church History Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/letter-to-william-w-phelps-27-november-1832?p=#!/paperSummary/letter-to-william-w-phelps-27-november-1832&p=2

134. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 123.

135. *History of the Church* 1:364–65 — this is from 25 June 1833.

136. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 141–142.

137. Ibid., 14.

138. Richard L. Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 182–183. Quote on p. 183.

139. I've already quoted Milton Backman twice, in the sixth endnote and in Section II. I've also quoted Mark Staker in the sixth endnote. See Harper's " 'All Things Are the Lord's': The Law of Consecration in the Doctrine and Covenants." After describing revealed requirements of Zion, Max Parkin says, "The plan directed the faithful who would gather to Zion — soon to be identified as being in western Missouri — to consecrate or grant their property by certificate to Bishop Partridge …. Then, Bishop Partridge would return to them as stewards their personal property … " (Parkin, "Joseph Smith and the United Firm," 8).

140. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 119.

141. Edward Partridge papers: Edward Partridge letter, 1834 October 22. Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. https://eadview.lds.org/findingaid/000104518/ then click on "Edward Partridge Letter, 1834 October 22."

142. Edward Partridge papers: Deed of Stewardship, 1832 October 12. Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE4277947

143. Levi Jackman deeds of consecration and stewardship, circa 1833. Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. It was not actually signed, but my point is that it exists. https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE9090103

144. Steven C. Harper, "'All Things Are the Lord's.'"

145. John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, in 1839, 17–18. Available in the Joseph Smith Papers, http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/john-corrill-a-brief-history-of-the-church-of-christ-of-latter-day-saints-1839?p=1&highlight=john%20corrill

146. Corrill, *A Brief History*, 45–46.

147. Available in the Joseph Smith Papers, http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/minutes-25–26-october-1831?p=4&highlight=minutes%20october%2 1831

148. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 119–120.

149. Huff did not quote this letter but did cite it. It was dated 10 December 1833, addressed to E. Partridge, W.W. Phelps, J. Whitmer, A.S. Gilbert, J. Carrrel, I. Morley, and "all the saints whom it may concern." Joseph Smith says "those who are innocent are compelled to suffer for the iniquities of the guilty; and I cannot account for this, only on this wise, that the saying of the savior has not been strictly observed: If thy right eye offend thee pluck it out … Now the fact is, if any of the members of our body are disordered, the rest of our body will be effected with them and then all is brought into bondage together." Dean Jesse, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 308–309.

150. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 19.

151. Here are some sources that ascribe the suspension of this formal consecration system to D&C section 105: Victor L. Brown, "The Law of Consecration"; J. Reuben Clark, "The United Order and Law of Consecration as Set Out in the Revelations of the Lord." From a 1942 *Church News* series (as reprinted in the appendix of the 1981 Doctrine and Covenants Institute Instructor's Manual); Marion G. Romney, "Living the Principles of the Law of Consecration" *Ensign*, February 1979, 3–4 ; Marion G. Romney,

Conference Report, April 1966, 100; Marion G. Romney, "The Purpose of Church Welfare Services"; William O. Nelson, "To Prepare a People."

152. "I don't think God gives laws based on the percentage of the people that are going to be true and faithful to it. That seems odd to me." Steven C. Harper, "Tithing and the Law of Consecration" podcast 7:30–9:00. In this podcast Harper also makes the point (7:00 to 7:30) that the law of consecration was not revoked or suspended, which I agree is absolutely true, but obviously the formal application was indeed suspended, or else we'd be deeding all of our possessions to the Church through the bishop today. Once again, it is important to avoid semantic misunderstandings.

153. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, chapters 13–15. Unless otherwise stated, the historical information about tithing in this and the next two paragraphs comes from these chapters.

154. Steven C. Harper, "Tithing and the Law of Consecration" podcast 23:06; "The Tithing of my people," Revelations in Context, and " 'All Things Are the Lord's': The Law of Consecration in the Doctrine and Covenants."

155. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 301.

156. Ibid., 270.

157. (*Gospel Doctrine* 1977 edition p. 225, April Conference report, 1900 p. 47). Cited on p. 317–318 of Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*.

158. Lucas and Woodworth, *Working Toward Zion*.

159. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 316, 318.

160. Ibid., 313–314, emphasis added.

161. R. Quinn Gardner, "Becoming a Zion Society: Six Principles," *Ensign*, February 1979, 30–35.

162. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 30–31.

163. Steven C. Harper, "Tithing and the Law of Consecration" podcast 17:00 to 18:00. See also " 'All Things Are the Lord's': The Law of Consecration in the Doctrine and Covenants." I agree that tithing didn't "replace" consecration because tithing is indeed a part of consecration. But it may well have replaced the *formal* law of consecration for a time. It is crucial to avoid

semantic misunderstandings between *consecration* and the *law of consecration*, and to specify if we are referring to its "full" or "formal" application. These terms, "full" and "formal" are not mine; see section VI for their use by Church leaders. But clearly, paying ten percent is not the same as deeding all of one's property.

164. Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses,* 16:156–157, emphasis added (16 August 1873).

165. Lorenzo Snow, in *Journal of Discourses,* 20:367 (19 October 1879).

166. Ibid., 20:365, 368, emphasis added (19 October 1879).

167. James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith*, 396.

168. Orson F. Whitney, *Conference Reports*, April 1931, 65.

169. Marion G. Romney, "Welfare Services," *Ensign* November 1975, 124–128.

170. Dallin H. Oaks, "Tithing," *Ensign*, May 1994, 33–35.

171. Henry B. Eyring "The Blessings of Tithing," First Presidency Message, *Ensign*, June 2011, 4–6 .

172. Lorenzo Snow, in *Journal of Discourses*, 20:368–369, emphasis added (19 October 1879).

173. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 21.

174. Steven C. Harper, "Tithing and the Law of Consecration" podcast 12:00 to 12:20.

175. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 35, emphasis added.

176. Ibid., 36–37.

177. Ibid., 248.

178. Ibid., 249.

179. Ibid., 323.

180. I'm skeptical of Huff's reasons for Brigham Young's different ideas about the "united order" compared to those Joseph Smith had: Brigham Young was away from Nauvoo when Joseph Smith described his negative views on socialism (September and October 1843), and he did not experience the Kirtland "Family" because he hadn't yet joined the Church (Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 41). I doubt that despite their close association, their

differences all boil down to Brigham Young's absences on two occasions.

181. Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses,* 21:148–149 (1 November 1879), emphasis added.

182. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 342.

183. Ibid., 343.

184. See for example, Marion G. Romney, "The Purpose of Church Welfare Services"; Victor L. Brown, "The Law of Consecration"; and McConkie, Bruce R., "United Order," in *Mormon Doctrine*, p. 814.

185. Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*, 344.

186. Ibid., 346.

187. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses* 2:306 (3 June 1855). Brigham Young was quoting Joseph Smith. Cited on p. 347 of Kent W. Huff, *Joseph Smith's United Order*.

188. See Steven C. Harper, "All Things Are the Lord's," for an excellent discussion of agency, stewardship, and accountability.

189. William O. Nelson, "To Prepare a People," emphasis added.

190. Hugh Nibley, *Approaching Zion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1989).

191. C. S. Lewis, *Mere Christianity*. New York: HarperCollins, 2001 (original copyright 1952), 86.

192. Lucas and Woodworth, *Working Toward Zion*.

193. "Let us here observe, that a religion that does not require the sacrifice of all things never has power sufficient to produce the faith necessary unto life and salvation." Joseph Smith, *Lectures on Faith* 6:7. American Fork, UT: Covenant Communications, 2000, 66.

194. Gordon B. Hinckley, Logan Temple Workers Devotional, as quoted in Gordon B. Hinckley, *Teachings of Gordon B. Hinckley*, 639. This statement was also quoted in Steven C. Harper, "The Law," in *Revelations in Context*, at https://history.lds.org/article/revelations-in-context-the-law?lang=eng.

195. A BYU religion professor related in an inspiring talk I attended that he gives his students a "quiz" on the law of consecration (3:53 to 6:20). Possible answers (my summary): A, it is not practiced today. B, it is not practiced but will be brought back in the millennium. C, it is practiced in part but not in full. D, it is practiced in full today. Of course, the "correct" answer was D, and that we are not living a lesser form of the law today (14:50– 15:00, and 18:45– 19:20). (Anthony Sweat, "Consecration is in full effect," Southern Virginia Education Conference, June 12, 2015, Buena Vista, VA. Audio at https://soundcloud.com/svuedu/sets, select "playlists" and scroll down to Education Conference 2015. Or, https://soundcloud.com/svuedu/anthony-sweat-consecration-is-in-full-effect-june-12–2015?in=svuedu/sets/education-conference-2015.) I agree completely that the law of consecration never went away, but I would choose answer C, because the "full" or "formal" law was indeed suspended, as these Church leaders have taught. Nevertheless, a different sense of the word "full" might mean that we can fully keep our covenant by being fully committed to consecration in our lives, and thus, fully approved of God. There may still be disagreements but we can lessen them if we eliminate semantic misunderstandings.

196. Spencer W. Kimball: "In the earliest years of this dispensation the people faltered in attempting to live the *full plan* of Zion." "Becoming the Pure in Heart." *Ensign*, March 1985, 2–5, emphasis added. Dallin H. Oaks: "Tithe paying is evidence that we accept the law of sacrifice. It also prepares us for the law of consecration and the other higher laws of the celestial kingdom." "Tithing," *Ensign*, May 1994, 33–35. If we were already living the full law of consecration, tithing couldn't "prepare" us for it.

197. Ezra Taft Benson, "A Vision and a Hope for the Youth of Zion," emphasis added.

198. Ezra Taft Benson, "The Training Challenge," General Welfare Services Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2 February 1977, cited in *The Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson*, (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1988), 123.

199. Ezra Taft Benson, Logan, Utah, 6 December 1975, cited in *The Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson*, p123.

200. Victor L. Brown, "The Law of Consecration."

201. F. Enzio Busche, "How Beautiful to Live in These Times and Be Prepared!," *Ensign*, June 1982, 16–23.

202. George Q. Cannon, in *Journal of Discourses* 15:207 (8 October 1872).

203. Loren C. Dunn, "The Doctrine and Covenants — A Scripture for All Seasons," BYU speech, 12 March 1985. Available on speeches. byu.edu.

204. Henry B. Eyring, "The Blessings of Tithing," emphasis added.

205. Vaughn J. Featherstone, "The Developing Welfare Services Department," General Conference Welfare session, *Ensign* November 1975, 118–120.

206. Robert D. Hales, "Tithing: A Test of Faith with Eternal Blessings," emphasis added.

207. Harold B. Lee, "Teach the Gospel of Salvation" *Ensign*, January 1973, 60–63, emphasis added.

208. Neal A. Maxwell, *Things As They Really Are* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), 39.

209. Bruce R. McConkie, "Consecration," in *Mormon Doctrine*, 158, emphasis added.

210. Bruce R. McConkie, "United Order," in *Mormon Doctrine*, 813.

211. Bruce R. McConkie, "Obedience, Consecration, and Sacrifice," *Ensign*, May 1975, 50–52, emphasis added.

212. Bruce R. McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 600, 618.

213. David O. McKay, Excerpt from a discussion on Communism with members of the Council of the Twelve, 24 August 1961, McKay Scrapbook, no. 54, as cited in Mary Jane Woodger, *The Teachings of David O. McKay* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2004), 140.

214. Keith B. McMullin, "Come to Zion! Come to Zion!," *Ensign*, November 2002, 94–96.

215. Marion G. Romney, *Conference Report*, April 1966, 100, emphasis added.

216. Marion G. Romney, "The Purpose of Church Welfare Services," emphasis added.

217. Marion G. Romney, "The Role of a Bishop in the Church Welfare Program," *Ensign* November 1979, 94–96.

218. Marion G. Romney, "Q&A: Questions and Answers: Will the Righteous Members of the Church be asked to Live the Law of Consecration?" *New Era*, May 1979, 38–41.

219. Lorenzo Snow, in *Journal of Discourses* 19:343, emphasis added (21 April 1878). Note that the George Q. Cannon and Lorenzo Snow quotes are also cited in *Doctrine and Covenants Student Manual* Enrichment L "The Law of Consecration and Stewardship."

220. James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith,* 398.

221. Orson F. Whitney, *Conference Reports*, April 1931, 65.

222. John A. Widtsoe, *A Rational Theology as taught by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* This was the Melchizedek priesthood manual, published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1915, 139.

223. William O. Nelson, "To Prepare a People."

224. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses,* 17:57, emphasis added (7 May 1874).

225. Messages of the First Presidency (delivered by President J. Reuben Clark), April 1942 *Conference Report*, 90.

226. For example, several Church leaders' statements on blacks and the priesthood have been shown in hindsight to be their personal opinions; and of course some topics emphasized in earlier decades, such as abstinence from cola drinks or playing cards, are rarely heard today. Nevertheless, the safest course is to assume the leaders are right, until shown otherwise, and to seek spiritual confirmation in the meantime.

The Next Big Thing in LDS Apologetics: Strong Semitic and Egyptian Elements in Uto-Aztecan Languages

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Jeff Lindsay

Review of Brian D. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now* (Blanding, UT: Four Corners Digital Design, 2016) and *Exploring the Explanatory Power of Semitic and Egyptian in Uto-Aztecan* (Provo, UT: Grover Publications, 2015).

Abstract: *Following several articles and presentations over the past two decades on tantalizing finds linking Uto-Aztecan languages with Near Eastern languages, LDS linguist Brian Stubbs has recently published two significant works offering extensive details and documentation. The more comprehensive volume intended for scholars and serious students of language is* Exploring the Explanatory Power of Semitic and Egyptian in Uto-Aztecan, *a highly technical work providing 1,528 sets of cognates with intricate details linking Uto-Aztecan languages with two versions of Semitic and with Egyptian. This is followed by an analysis of puzzles in Uto-Aztecan explained by Egyptian and Semitic ties as well as an exploration of grammatical and morphological parallels and many other details that further strengthen the case for an ancient connection to Near Eastern languages. Stubbs has made his work more accessible to general LDS readers with a less technical and highly readable work,* Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now, *that relates his findings to the Book of Mormon and what we can infer about the languages of Book of Mormon peoples. The changes in those languages, correspond remarkably well with the infusions of Near Eastern language that can be seen in abundance in Uto-Aztecan. Numerous questions remain that may require lifetimes of further research, but the meticulous foundation Stubbs has laid must not be treated like past amateurish and erroneous efforts over the centuries*

to find Hebrew in Native American languages. This is a serious, scholarly work that rises above the standards typically used to establish authentic language families. The evidence for, say, Hebrew in Uto-Aztecan is actually more impressive than the linguistic evidence for Hebrew influence in Yiddish. While implications for these finds on the Book of Mormon can be overstated, what Stubbs has uncovered may be among the most impressive scholarly finds related to the Book of Mormon.

When asked what the most impressive evidence is for Book of Mormon authenticity, serious students of the Book of Mormon often point to one of a small handful of items: the finding of candidates for Bountiful, Nahom, and the River Laman in the Arabian Peninsula;[1] the existence of chiasmus[2] and Hebraisms, particularly Hebraic wordplays;[3] the diverse and consistent testimony of the witnesses of the gold plates;[4] and the strength of numerous cultural and geographical correspondences between Mesoamerica and the Book of Mormon.[5] Of these, I think the Arabian evidence has the most easily appreciated "wow" factor. It takes serious effort and a great deal of advanced scholarship to minimize the growing body of evidence from Arabia — and so far those failed efforts have only helped to highlight how improbable it was that Joseph could have fabricated the details of Lehi's trail.[6]

While the attacks of critics have failed to diminish the luster of the Arabian evidence, two new works from an LDS scholar may actually achieve that unintended effect[7] — not by attacking past scholarship but by uncovering what may be an even more exciting line of evidence for the Book of Mormon that may displace Arabia as the "go-to" topic for Book of Mormon defenders. Brian Stubbs's decades of exploration of the Uto-Aztecan language has uncovered what could become the "next big thing" in LDS apologetics. The challenge, however, is that his evidence is far more technical than, say, showing photographs of the proposed Bountiful site at Khar Kharfot in Oman and listing how perfectly the leading candidate accords with Nephi's text. The strong and compelling evidence of ancient Semitic elements in Uto-Aztecan (UA) from a skilled linguist, thoroughly aware of what it takes to establish relationships between languages, demands a good deal from a reader to appreciate the linguistic data that now exists and may take decades before its explanatory power is widely recognized in the Church and among other hesitant scholars. But what has been achieved already is so remarkable and so interesting, it may well be the next big thing for some of us.

Let me jump to the big picture and put it in context: Stubbs has documented 1500 correspondences between Uto-Aztecan and ancient Semitic languages, particularly Semitic (Hebrew/Aramaic, and Phoenician) and Egyptian. LDS and non-LDS audiences, upon hearing a brief summary of Stubbs's work, are likely to make similar assumptions. Non-believers are likely to dismiss the work as fantasy based upon contriving a meaningless list of imaginative links that Stubbs has found by scanning dozens of languages to cherry-pick a few purported links. Book of Mormon believers might conclude that Stubbs has actually found a few tantalizing and possibly legitimate traces of ancient Near Eastern influence that have survived as faint echoes in Native American languages. Both initial assumptions may be wildly wrong.

After examining the details of Stubbs's analysis first in his *Changes in Languages* and then in the much more academic *Explanatory Power*, the impact to this observer is far more dramatic, even overwhelming, than most voices in the LDS community recognize. Stubbs has shared several aspects of his works in recent years,[8] but the buzz in the LDS community has been disproportionately muted. There is a magnitude of correspondences that go far beyond mere whispers and traces, with Egyptian and Semitic influence affecting a huge portion of UA vocabulary, well over 10% (possibly 30%), in ways that follow reasonable linguistic relationships and help resolve many puzzles in UA studies. The parallels identified frequently have significant depth, involving multiple words across multiple UA languages and sometimes showing surprising relationships in meaning or behavior. The large quantity of cognates, coupled with the evidence of systematic sound changes one expects to find between related languages and even some evidence of grammatical influence (typically fossilized), creates a compelling case that exceeds the standards commonly used by linguists to establish connections between languages. The correspondences are at a level far beyond mere chance and highly contrived pattern seeking.

Stubbs's work is based on linguistic rigor, not an amateur list of imagined parallels. There is a depth and beauty in this work that merits much more investigation and attention, along with bigger headlines.

Stubbs's work is in two volumes, one intended for LDS readers and one intended for linguists. The lighter work for LDS audiences is *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*.[9] This 210-page book includes useful background material on the evolution of languages and the relationships that link languages, as well as some background on the Book of Mormon. The meat of the book is the large sections exploring patterns

of relationships with many specific examples creating impressive cases for relationships between Uto-Aztecan and Near Eastern languages, including Hebrew and Egyptian.

Stubbs's larger, more technical volume is *Exploring the Explanatory Power of Semitic and Egyptian in Uto-Aztecan*. This book has 436 large pages and small print with extensive technical detail, offering 1500 detailed examples of parallels meaningfully grouped according to the Near Eastern languages and key sound changes. There are also very useful sections listing English words and the corresponding UA words that are considered, and there are sections listing Semitic and Egyptian words to allow readers to locate the relevant item numbers quickly among his 1500-plus. *Exploring the Explanatory Power* also has helpful introductory chapters on Semitic, Egyptian, and Uto-Aztecan, and concluding sections highlight key sound changes and other patterns, plus there is an extensive bibliography. It is a thorough and thoroughly impressive work.

To put things in perspective, compare Stubbs's collection of cognates with the works that have inaugurated other new language groupings in previous linguistic work:

> After Sapir (1913, 1915) established Uto-Aztecan as a viable family of related languages, Voegelin, Voegelin, and Hale (1962) produced the first numbered list of 171 cognate sets .… Klar (1977) brought the Chumash languages to clarity with 168 sets. Taylor (1963) established Caddoan (a language family of the central plains), assembling 107 cognate sets. Hale (1962, 1967) did the definitive study for Kiowa-Tanoan with 99 sets. This work's proposal may better compare to tying two distant language families, as did Haas (1958) by ending four decades of controversy in uniting Algonkian-Ritwan, an eastern US family with a west coast family, by means of 93 sets. Chamberlain (1888) began the union of Catawba with Siouan via 17 comparisons, and Siebert (1945) secured it with mostly morphological correlations, as not enough clear cognate sets were known at the time to establish correspondences .… Thus, the going rate is between 50 and 200 sets to establish most Native American language families. So this case of 1500 sets merits proportionate consideration.[10]

Further perspective comes from considering the presence of Hebrew and Egyptian in other languages where the influence is widely

appreciated and obvious, namely, Yiddish and Coptic. Yiddish is a Germanic language with obvious Hebrew roots from the Jewish peoples who speak it, yet the Hebraic content is relatively minor and generally weaker, according to Stubbs, than is found in UA. A similar situation occurs in considering Coptic, which is derived directly from Egyptian and evolved over a smaller timeframe than the two millennia or so which separate UA from Egyptian, yet in many cases the vowels and consonants of Egyptian appear to be better preserved in UA than in Coptic.[11]

The Semitic influence shows patterns consistent with two different infusions, an infusion of one type of Hebrew/Aramaic along with Egyptian showing common sound changes. This first infusion could correlate with the entry of Lehi and his group. Another infusion of a different Semitic dialect shows different sound changes as if it evolved in a different environment before influencing UA, and this could be related to an infusion of Hebrew and Phoenician from the Mulekites:

> In UA, we see a substantial amount of Egyptian, and we also find two separate Semitic dialect infusions. One (Semitic-p) has the same sound correspondences as the Egyptian, which suggests that Semitic-p and the Egyptian were spoken by the same people, nicely matching the Book of Mormon's description of the language of the Nephites. The other Semitic infusion (Semitic-kw) has quite a different set of sound correspondences which is probably the Mulekite language. The Mulekite language reflects a Hebrew/Phoenician dialect more like Phoenician than Israelite Hebrew of 600 BC. The Nephite Semitic dialect, in contrast, is either a heavily Aramaicized Hebrew or more Aramaic than Hebrew. Though data on most dialects of Northwest Semitic is limited or unavailable, some scholars (Young 1993, 54–62, 85–86) note that Aramaic did influence the dialects of ancient Israel, especially northern Israel. What is not known is the degree or extent, though it may have been more significant or pervasive than presently known. The American data may prove enlightening to that void in present knowledge.[12]

Semitic-p refers to a Semitic language that has undergone a common set of sound changes, most notably the change of b in Semitic to p in UA. Cognates of Egyptian in UA reflect similar sound changes. But another group of Semitic words shows different sound changes, most

prominently the change of Semitic b to kw. The sound changes involving the various H sounds in Semitic suggest that Semitic-p has Hebrew phonology dating before 300 BC, when the H sounds merged. Examples for these proposed correlations will be given below.

Is the nature of the relationships Stubbs finds sufficient to identify a genuine ancient relationship between the languages in question, or could it be due to chance? After all, false cognates can almost always be found between unrelated languages.

In many New World languages, 100 to 200 pairs of cognates have been used to show a legitimate connection between languages. Cognates and parallels in words and grammar happen by chance all the time in languages. But when they are due to chance, you'll find a few handfuls, as we sometimes do between Chinese and English. Some, like *mama* for mother, may point to some ancient roots shared by many languages, while others appear to be just random and don't fit any kind of meaningful pattern. For example, in Mandarin Chinese, *fei* can correspond to fee in English, and *song* can mean a song of praise. But apart from many modern words recently borrowed directly or indirectly from English, these parallels are rare and don't fit into any meaningful patterns that show systematic changes in sounds reflecting shared ancestry or ancient infusion. Much stronger and consistent similarities can be seen between Mandarin and White Hmong from Laos, which, though in a different language family than Chinese, has borrowed many words and patterns through contact over the centuries.[13] On the other hand, sometimes sound changes between known cognates are so severe that absent a knowledge of the word's origins, it might be very difficult to recognize a connection. One example is the Sanskrit word *chakra* which is actually a cognate of *wheel* in English, although the two words don't share a single letter. Both apparently derive from Proto-Indo-European *k^wek^wlos* and display fairly regular sound changes.[14]

In closely related languages like German and English, however, numerous cognates can be found, and they often reflect sound changes that follow some common patterns, like the hard "h" sound of German's *buch* being related to the *k* in *book* and in many other cognates (e.g., *kuchen* and *cook*, *suchen* and *seek*). (As a young missionary in German-speaking Switzerland, I was so grateful for the bounty of cognates we had to work with.) Also consider Latin's *fabulare*, to speak, and its relatives, *falar* in Portuguese (losing the *b*) and *hablar* in Spanish (losing the *f*). Sound changes include simple shifts in a sound, loss of a sound, addition of a sound, or sometimes moving a sound such as a glottal stop to a

different place in the word. The 1500-plus cognates from Stubbs (over 400 for Egyptian and over 1000 for the infusions of Semitic) reveal many intriguing patterns that point to a strong relationship between these languages and UA.

An impressive aspect of Stubbs's work discussed more fully later is the ability to provide explanatory power in tracing the history of Uto-Aztecan and in evaluating language issues in Book of Mormon studies (this requires a careful reading of the text which Stubbs demonstrates well). One such question, the subject of ongoing debate among LDS scholars, is what Nephi meant when he spoke of the Egyptian language in 1 Nephi 1:2.[15] Was the role of Egyptian merely as a script for writing Hebrew, or was the actual Egyptian language used? Since Stubbs's data shows a significant influence of the Egyptian language in Uto-Aztecan, with sound changes paralleling an infusion of Hebrew or Semitic into Uto-Aztecan, Stubbs argues that Nephi meant that at least some significant aspects of the actual Egyptian language were in use, along with Semitic.

Another question addressed is why the Mulekites, after just 400 years of separation from fellow Hebrews, would find their language mutually unintelligible with the Nephite language when the two groups met. Stubbs offers three possible reasons, one of which is particularly illuminated by his work:

1. The Mulekites may have developed different accent or tone patterns.
2. They may have started with different languages.
3. The languages involved may have changed differently due to contact with other local languages.[16]

Among these possibilities his results point to the possibility of other Near Eastern languages entering early Uto-Aztecan that could help strengthen possibility #2 above as a contributing factor to the Mulekite-Nephite language barrier.

Relevant to the issue of the Mulekites, Stubbs sees evidence of a second infusion of Semitic into Uto-Aztecan that shows features of Phoenician and displays different patterns of sound change consistent with plausible readings of the Book of Mormon account. Based on Stubbs's analysis, he hypothesizes that the language of the Mulekites persisted among the Nephites and contributed roughly 25% of the combined Nephite peoples' vocabulary after their merger.[17] There is the reasonable assumption here that the only significant infusions of Semitic into the UA language

base are those described in the Book of Mormon. There is also the underlying uncertainty as to how infusions into the Nephite language(s) would later influence UA, an issue which Stubbs discusses but remains a topic requiring further research and data.[18] He also points out that the presumably Phoenician vessel on which the Mulekites arrived in the New World could have brought other Mediterranean peoples and linguistic influences (e.g., names like Timotheus) and that we should not assume the immigrants were homogenous in language nor that they were alone once they arrived in the Americas. Rather, it is likely they, like the Nephites, encountered other local peoples and languages that influenced their own language over the centuries.

> This merger alone would have the language in Alma's day being very different from Nephi's vernacular. That merger, plus the five centuries of steady change from the influences of several surrounding languages, would already make Alma's contemporaries have to study to learn the languages of Lehi's and Nephi's writings. Indeed, King Benjamin had to cause that his sons "should be taught in ALL the language of his fathers" so that they could read the records (Mosiah 1:2–4). In other words, it seems that they could not have read the ancient records with only a knowledge of their language in their day. What's more, "all the language of his fathers" may suggest multiple varieties and stages of the starter languages — Egyptian, Hebrew, and Aramaic — plus the various language mixtures that had surely developed among them since arriving in the Americas.[19]

An important finding of Stubbs is that the Near Eastern influences on UA are not just from Hebrew but also from Egyptian and other branches of Semitic languages. The Northwest Semitic languages referred to in his study are Hebrew/Phoenician/Canaanite (essentially different dialects of the same language), and Aramaic/Syriac, and Ugaritic. Aramaic is particularly important in his work, as it was in the Near East where it was frequently a dominant language. Stubbs draws upon the scholarship of Rendsburg[20] and others regarding the early presence of Aramaic in Israel, especially in the north, where it could have been part of the heritage of Lehi as a member of the tribe of Joseph:

> This all aligns well with the likelihood of Aramaic substrata serving as underlying dialects to the literary language of Canaanite/Hebrew, perhaps throughout the Northern

> Kingdom's centuries. What language did the mothers of Israel (Rebekah and Leah and Rachel) speak? Aramaic! Genesis 25:20 speaks of Laban, the Arammiy (in Hebrew) or Aramean, though King James English translates it as the Syrian; and Laban, the Aramean, was Rebekah's brother, and Leah and Rachel's father. So besides Israel's roots being from Aramaic-speaking areas, Aramaic was also a *lingua franca* … throughout many or most areas through most of Israel's BC centuries. So did Israel's population really set aside Aramaic upon entering Canaan to learn Canaanite/Hebrew? More likely are degrees of bilingualism while adding the Phoenician/Canaanite literary language to their native Aramaic, and thus the sizable amount of Aramaic apparent in Uto-Aztecan ….[21]

Lehi as an Aramaic speaker is consistent with the strong strand of Aramaic in UA and may add clarity to a complex issue in Book of Mormon studies:

> Lehi as Aramaic speaker may clarify Nephi's statement [in 1 Nephi 1:2] better than any previous explanation: that the language of his father consisted of the language of the Egyptians and the learning of the Jews. Note that Nephi did not say "the language of the Jews" as if Lehi's language did not consist of the language of the Jews (Hebrew), but "the learning of the Jews" or the scribal learning among the Jews for writing the literary language Hebrew, though Lehi's family may have spoken Aramaic best or an Aramaic-Hebrew mix. First Nephi 1:2 hints at such, and the large amount of Aramaic in UA's Semitic-p vocabulary suggests the same. The characters for both Hebrew and Aramaic were the same, so with them one could write either Hebrew or Aramaic. So Lehi was an Aramaic-speaker knowledgeable in Egyptian and in "the learning of the Jews" or the scribal craft for reading and writing Hebrew and Aramaic.[22]

However, the presence of Hebrew in particular cannot be minimalized:

> Many UA features match reconstructable Hebrew/Phoenician better than they match other Semitic languages:

Uto-Aztecan Hebrew   /   early Northwest Semitic

(1) *-ima (pl suffix)   masc pl: *-iima
(but not like Arabic -uuna/-iina; Aramaic -iin; Akkadian -uu)

(904) *-te (pl suffix)   fem pl: *-ooteey
(but not like Arabic -aat; Aramaic -aat; or Akkadian -aat)

(2) *na- 'reciprocal/passive'   earlier Hebrew *na-

(3) *yasipa 'sit / dwell'   earlier Hebrew *yašiba
(but not like Arabic waθaba; or Aramaic yəθeb)[23]

The possibility of multiple Near Eastern languages playing a role among the Nephites is suggested not only by the presence of both Hebrew and Aramaic in Uto-Aztecan but also Egyptian. The complex linguistic situation after five centuries in the New World is evident in Stubbs's analysis of the text, which points to a mix of languages initially (Hebrew, Aramaic, and Egyptian) and a later mix of languages with the joining of the Mulekites to the Nephites, creating a situation where multiple languages apparently had to be mastered to understand and teach the Nephite scriptures.

In *Changes in Languages*, Stubbs sometimes digresses from the issue of language into areas that ultimately relate to the linguistic data. Thus, there are discussions of the DNA controversy and the debate over Book of Mormon geography, which are still meaningful though they are difficult topics to treat thoroughly in a brief section in a book about language. He also reviews the basics of the Book of Mormon along with a good review of some key evidences for its authenticity, giving readers a section that is useful but may take the focus away from the strengths of his work. Nevertheless, the cumulative impact of his work is frankly breathtaking. Below we will examine specific examples from his work and further discuss its significance.

Is This a Credible Work?

Brian Stubbs is a linguist whose credential and skills cannot be lightly dismissed. He is among a handful of specialists in Uto-Aztecan and has published significant works in the field[24] that appear to have been well received among linguists,[25] particularly his significant scholarly work, *Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary*,[26] with over 400 pages of analysis exploring 2700 cognate sets among the Uto-Aztecan languages. In his review of Stubbs's work for the *International Journal of American*

Linguistics, fellow Uto-Aztecan specialist Kenneth C. Hill described it as "a monumental contribution, raising comparative UA to a new level."[27]

Stubbs earned an MA in linguistics from the University of Utah and completed coursework and comprehensive exams (ABD) toward a PhD in Near Eastern languages and linguistics at the University of Utah. He has studied Hebrew, Arabic, Egyptian, Aramaic, and many Native American languages. While he does not have a PhD, he is among key publishers of articles on the Uto-Aztecan language family in linguistic journals. His book *Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary* is the largest in the field, doubling the size of previous works on comparative Uto-Aztecan studies. He recently retired from teaching at the College of Eastern Utah.

The "elephant in the room" for critics, at least, is why this work linking the Near East and the New World has not been published in a peer-reviewed journal. Based on personal correspondence with Brian Stubbs, peer review is his goal. His work, inherently highly controversial since it clearly supports Book of Mormon claims, has been sent to his fellow Uto-Aztecan specialists, with no public but several private comments so far and eventually will be ready for the challenges and pains of the peer-review process, but this takes time and faces some practical and political considerations.

One must recognize that this work is highly controversial and easy to dismiss without serious consideration, based not just on its ties to the Book of Mormon but also on the centuries of past abuse from amateurs claiming linguistic connection between Native American languages and Hebrew. This abuse is reflected in a statement on the *Native American Languages* website (Native-languages.org):

> Q: Are Amerindian languages descended from Hebrew, Ancient Egyptian, Scandinavian or Celtic languages? A: No. The people who claim this are trying to prove that American Indians arrived in the Americas very recently … . I have seen many websites claiming to "prove" that Amerindian languages are descended from Semitic or Germanic languages. 90% of these websites are deliberately lying, making up nonexistent "Algonquian" words that resemble words from Semitic languages. A quick glance at a dictionary of the Amerindian language in question will reveal these websites for what they are. The other 10% are using linguistically unsound methods — searching two languages for any two vocabulary words that begin with the same letter,

essentially, and presenting them as evidence. Using this method, English can be "proved" to descend from Japanese — English "mistake" sounds a little like Japanese "machigai." In fact, if you randomly generate some vocabulary with a computer program, you will be able to find a few words with surface resemblance to any language you want. Real linguistic analysis requires dozens of vocabulary relationships which are regular and predictable, as well as similarities in phonology and syntax, to show that one language is related to another …. No linguist has ever shown a relationship between any Amerindian language family and a Semitic, Germanic, or Celtic language.[28]

Naturally, with or without a favorable review from other scholars, the critics will have plenty of opportunities to cry foul. Already critics have dismissed his work by mischaracterizing it as merely compiling a list of random hits, and they justify their dismissal by pointing to a handful of examples of chance coincidences that can occur in any language. Some anti-Mormon forums, for example, cite a few random coincidences or point to a list of "Amazing Coincidences" among languages to show how chance can lead to apparent correspondences.[29] That list does illustrate how chance can lead to a few interesting parallels between two unrelated languages, and also reflects the very small number of such correspondences, a mere handful, that one tends to find between any specific pair of unrelated languages. As stated in the quotation from the *Native American Languages* site above, "Real linguistic analysis requires *dozens of vocabulary relationships* which are regular and predictable" (emphasis added) — dozens, not a handful. Perhaps 1500 might be considered a good start.

Is 1500 genuinely significant? Relative to the 2700 cognates in UA languages published by Stubbs in his well regarded scholarly work, *Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary*,[30] his 1500 cognates with Near Eastern languages may involve roughly 30% of the 2700 entries in his *Comparative Vocabulary* (some of the 1500 Near Eastern words are reflected in UA words that don't belong to the set of 2700, or sometimes a single Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA) cognate may have related UA words connected to multiple items on the Near Eastern list, so the ratio is not simply 1500/2700). That percentage may be shifted up or down with future work and peer review, but this is a level of relationship that far exceeds the minimal criteria to establish a legitimate linguistic relationship.

However, critics can also argue that combing through *three* languages to find cognates for the 30 languages of the UA family will unfairly inflate the odds of finding random hits to proclaim as amazing successes. But the body of cognates for all three Near Eastern languages, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Egyptian are each independently large enough (hundreds, not just dozens, and vastly more than chance would explain) to demand respect. Further, the hits reported by Stubbs are frequently cognates to PUA with many related descendants among the 30 individual languages.

Further still, the consistent patterns of sound changes are a vital issue that show meaningful relationships beyond random chance. Indeed, it is the explanatory power of Stubbs's work that demands particular attention and further scholarship, perhaps several lifetimes of scholarship, for that is the level of commitment such challenges tend to require of those who bring major breakthroughs in understanding language.

Laying a Linguistic Foundation

While some readers will want to dive into the "wow" factors in the evidence right away, Stubbs properly demands more patience from his readers, particularly in *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, where a basic foundation is laid regarding the approach linguists take in exploring the changes in languages over time and the methodologies required to establish plausible connections between languages. I found these sections engaging and interesting without being overly technical, and they should be enlightening to lay students of languages.

Stubbs offers many words of caution in presenting his work and recognizes that linguists will look dimly at his proposal, at least initially. Over the past three centuries, they have grown weary of amateurish attempts to link Egyptian or Hebrew to New World languages. "Most such claims have been bogus to borderline or amateurish at best, … void of sound methodology" and "lacking what linguists have found to be established principles and patterns for verifying language relatedness: rules of sound change that create consistent sound correspondence, hundreds of vocabulary matches consistent with those sound correspondences, and some grammatical and morphological alignments, which sum constitute *the comparative method*. Thus, the language similarities in this work are presented within such a framework of sound correspondences, etc. In fact, the Semitic of Egyptian forms proposed to underlie the UA forms often answer questions and explain puzzles in UA that Uto-Aztecanists have not yet been able to explain, and

explanatory power is a cherished quest among linguists."[31] Nevertheless, many details remain to be worked out. Stubbs is cautious in presenting his work as an initial effort that may yet require lifetimes of further research, just a many decades of work were required to unravel sound shifts in Germanic and other languages.

Let us now turn to the details in these recent works of Stubbs.

Abbreviations and Other Notes

Several abbreviations will be used here, following Stubbs. UA = Uto-Aztecan, PUA = Proto-Uto-Aztecan, a proto-language that is reconstructed from the evidence available from related languages and hypothesized to have existed as an ancient parent language, like Proto-Indo-European for the Indo-European language group. An asterisk denotes a proto-language. Thus PUA *p represents the p sound in Proto-Uto-Aztecan.

A capital C denotes an unspecified consonant and a capital V denotes an unspecified vowel. Thus –Cr– denotes a word with a consonant before an "r." Capital N denotes a nasal consonant: n, m, or ŋ.

Inequality signs denote the direction of change: > means the preceding word or sound changed to or became another as in b > kw, and < means the preceding word or sound changed from or derived from the following word or sound.

Some abbreviations of UA languages:

Ca Cahuilla; Ch Chemehuevi; Cm Comanche; CN Classical Nahuatl; Cp Cupeño; Cr Cora; CU Colorado Ute; EU Eudeve; HP Hopi; KTN Kitanemuk; KW Kawaiisu; LS Luiseño; LP Lower Pima; MN Mono; My Mayo; NP Northern Paiute; NT Northern Tepehuan; NU Northern Ute; NUA Northern Uto-Aztecan; NV Nevome; OP Opata; SH Shoshoni; SP Southern Paiute; SR Serrano; ST Southern Tepehuan; SUA Southern Uto-Aztecan; TB Tübatülabal; TBR Tubar, TO Tohono O'odham, in Arizona; TR Tarahumara; TSh Tümpisha Shoshoni; UA Uto-Aztecan; UP Upper Pima; WC Huichol; WMU White Mesa Ute; YQ Yaqui (and AYq Arizona Yaqui).

The Semitic-p Infusion

The Semitic-p infusion into Uto-Aztecan includes words where Semitic b became p in Proto-Uto-Aztecan, a concept written as Semitic b > UA *p. Examples below are listed with the cognate number from Stubbs's 2015 technical publication, *Explanatory Power*:

(527) baraq 'lightning' > UA *pïrok; MY berok 'lightning'

(528) byt / bayit / beet 'house, spend the night'
> UA *pïtï; TR bete 'house'

> UA *pïtï 'lie down, spend night'; Numic *payïC 'go home'
[recall that the "C" denotes an unknown consonant]

(528) Semitic bytu / bat-uu 'spend the night, pl'
> UA *pïtu 'lie down, spend the night, pl'

(531) Hebrew boo' 'coming (used as 'way to')'
> UA *pooC 'road, way, path'

(534) Hebrew batt 'daughter' > UA *pattï 'daughter'

(550) Aramaic bəsár 'flesh, penis' > UA *pisa 'penis'

(559) Semitic *bakaʸ; Syriac baka' 'cry' > UA *paka 'cry'[32]

Just as b changes to p, the other voiced stops also tend to devoice in this infusion. Thus, Semitic b, d, g > UA p, t, k; also Semitic q > k. Several examples include:

(606) dubur 'buttocks, rear' > UA *tupur 'hip, buttocks'

(607) dobɛr 'pasture, vegetation' > UA *tupi 'grass, vegetation'

(1484) dwr / duur 'go round, turn, revolve' > UA *tur 'whirl, roll, twist'

(1103) dakka 'make flat, stamp, crush' > UA *takka 'flat'

(1279) Aramaic *yagar 'hill, heap of stones' > UA *yakaR / *yakaC 'nose, point, ridge'

(608) gdʕ 'cut off' > UA *katu 'cut, wound'

(57) *siggoob 'squirrel' > UA *sikkuC 'squirrel'

(1014) qədaal 'neck, nape of neck' > UA *kutaC.[33]

Another characteristic of this infusion is that "Proto-Semitic *đ (> Arabic đ, Aramaic d, Hebrew z), corresponds to UA *t (note that UA t best matches Aramaic d (> t) and the vowelings also match Aramaic)."[34] Examples:

(616) Aramaic dakar 'male' > UA *taka 'man, person'

(617) Aramaic diqn-aa 'beard / chin-the'
> UA *tï'na 'mouth' (not Hebrew zaaqaan)

(618) Aramaic di'b-aa 'wolf-the' > UA *tï'pa 'wolf' (not Hebrew hazzə'eb)

(620) Semitic *đabboot(eey) 'flies' > UA *tïpputi 'flea'[35]

Another sound change here is Semitic aleph or glottal stop ' > w in UA (also known in Arabic), or other times a glottal stop and round vowels occur (o, u). A few of Stubbs's many examples include:

(566) Hebrew 'ariy / 'arii 'lion' > UA *wari 'mountain lion'

(567) Hebrew ya'amiin-o 'he believes him/it' > UA *yawamin-(o) 'believe (him/it)'

(569) Hebrew 'egooz 'nut tree' > UA *wokoC 'pine tree'

(571) Semitic ya'ya' / yaa'ayaa' '(be) beautiful' > LS yawáywa, SR yï'aayï'a'n 'be pretty, beautiful'

(572) Hebrew 'iiš 'man, person' > UA *wïsi 'person'

(574) Hebrew 'išaa / 'ešɛt / **'išt-** 'woman, wife of' > UA *wïCti 'woman, wife' (reminder: C = unknown consonant; V = unknown vowel)

(577) 'aas- 'myrtle willow' > UA *wasV 'willow'

(579) pa'r- 'mouse' > UA *pu'wi(N) 'mouse'
(1333) Hebrew m'n / *me''an 'refuse' > HP meewan- 'forbid, warn'[36]

Another common and logical sound change is Semitic initial r- > t- in UA:

(600) r'y / raa'aa 'see, v' > UA *tïwa 'find, see'

(603) Aramaic rima / rimə-taa 'large stone-the' > UA *tïmï-ta 'rock'

(604) Aramaic rə'emaan-aa / reemaan-aa 'antelope-the' > UA *tïmïna 'antelope'

(99) Semitic rakb-uu 'they mounted, climbed' > UA *tï'pu / *tïppu 'climb up'[37]

Other readily understandable sound changes include the loss of a final -r, as in:

(565) makar 'sell' > UA *maka 'give, sell'

(616) dakar 'male' > UA *taka 'man, person'[38]

and the Semitic initial voiceless pharyngeal ħ > UA *hu, or w/o/u, and non-initially ħ > w/o/u, as in:

(672) ħbq 'break wind' > UA *hupak- 'stink' (*q > k)

(673) ħnk 'train, dedicate'; Hebrew ħanukkaa 'dedication, consecration' > UA/CA huneke 'to take an Indian bath'; YQ húnak-te 'show, direct, raise (young)'

(671) ħmm 'heat, bathe, wash' > UA *huma 'wash, bathe'[39]

But many sounds remain much the same, such as t, k, p, s, m, and n. Examples include:

(52) Hebrew mukkɛ 'smitten' > UA *mukki 'die, be sick, smitten'

(769) *taqipa (sg), *taqipuu (pl) 'overpower' > UA *takipu 'push' (*q > k)

(755) Hebrew kutónet 'shirt-like tunic' > UA *kutun 'shirt'

(754) Hebrew participle pone 'turn to, look' > UA *puni 'turn, look, see'

(851) Hebrew panaa-w 'face-his' > UA *pana 'cheek, face'

(852) pl. construct paneey- (< *panii) 'face, surface of' > UA *pani 'on, on surface of'

(1339) šippaa 'make smooth' > UA *sipa / *sippa 'scrape, shave'

(56) šɛkɛm / šikm-, Samaritan šekam 'shoulder' > UA *sïka 'shoulder, arm', Numic *sikum 'shoulder'

(563) sapat 'lip' > UA *sapal 'lip'

(879) šwy / šawaa 'broil, roast' > UA *sawa 'boil, apply heat, melt' …

(1105) kali / kulyaa 'kidney' > UA *kali 'kidney'

(1409) Aramaic kuuky-aa' 'spider-the' > UA *kuukyaŋw 'spider'[40]

An interesting subtlety is that Semitic-p apparently distinguishes between two H sounds in Proto-Semitic, written as *x and *ħ, that merged in Hebrew after the Exile and were merged much earlier in Phoenician. Thus, while ħ > UA *hu or w/o/u, Semitic *x > UA k:

(630) *xole 'be sick, hurting' > UA *koli 'to hurt, be sick'

(631) xmr 'to ferment'; *xamar 'wine'; Arabic ximiir 'drunkard' > UA *kamaC 'drunk'

(632) *xnk 'put around the neck' > UA konaka 'necklace, string of beads'[41]

The Semitic-kw Infusion

The data for the Semitic-kw infusion were noticed by Stubbs first as he became curious about the possibility of a Near Eastern connection to UA. The Semitic-p cognates appeared to be exceptions to what he was finding from Semitic-kw, so he overlooked their significance for years until he later noticed Egyptian cognates showing similar sound changes to the Semitic-p "exceptions." At that point, he realized there could have been two separate Semitic infusions with different sound changes due to contact with different peoples or being in a different environment.[42] Then the current hypotheses came together.

Stubbs sees the Semitic-kw infusion as evidence for the Mulekites' migration to the Americas and their later merger with the Nephite people. This infusion is suggestive of a Phoenician-like Semitic in which Semitic b > UA *kw. There are other logical sound changes for this set of cognates. The change of -r- > -y- is consistent with changes seen in other languages. In contrast to the data from Semitic-p where a final -r causes no vowel change, "the final -r of Semitic-kw causes the last vowel to rise and front to -i or -y." Further, the voiced pharyngeal ʕ > w/o/u consistently. Some examples follow:

(4) Hebrew baašel 'boiled, cook, ripen' > UA *kwasïC 'cook, ripen'

(5) Hebrew bááśaar 'flesh, penis' > UA *kwasi 'tail, penis, flesh' (r > y/i)

(6) Hebrew baalaʕ 'swallow' > UA *kwïluC 'swallow'

(7) Semitic *bahamat 'back' > UA *kwahami 'back'

(24) bky / bakaa[y] 'cry' > UA *kwïkï 'cry'

(19) barr-'land (as opposed to sea)' > UA *kwiya / *kwira 'earth' (r > y/i)

(27) brm 'worn out, weary, bored with' > UA *kwiyam 'be lazy, do lackadaisically' (r > y/i)

(1457) Arabic ṣabba 'pour, drip, overflow' > UA *cikwa 'rain'

(11) Hebrew -dabber 'speak' > UA *tïkwi 'say, talk, speak' (r > y/i)

(26) Hebrew bɛn 'son'; pl: bǝneeʸ 'children (of)' > Nahuatl *konee 'child, offspring' (bǝ/bV > kwV > ko) …

(88) ʕalaqat 'leech', ʕlq 'stick, adhere', > UA *walaka 'snail' (of similar slimy adhering texture)

(89) śeeʕaar 'hair'; Arabic šaʕr / šaʕar 'hair' > UA *suwi 'body hair' (-r- > y/i)

(92) yáʕar 'wood, forest, thicket' > UA *yuwi / yuyi 'evergreen species' (-r- > y/i) …

(78) Hebrew ħeṣ 'arrow' > UA *huc 'arrow'

(79) Hebrew ħmr 'cover with, smear on' > UA *humay 'smear, spread, rub, paint' (r > y/i)[43]

While the glottal stop is often rounded in the Semitic-p data, the Semitic-kw glottal stop is not rounded. Further, it is often lost, as in these examples:

(991) Hebrew ni-qra' 'he/it is called/named' > UA *nihya 'call, name'

(1214) Hebrew mee-'ayn 'from where?' > Tb maa'ayn 'where from'[44]

In contrast to Semitic-p where doubled *-bb- > UA *-pp-, Semitic-kw data shows doubled *-bb- > UA *-kw-, similar to Semitic b > UA *kw, as in:

(1457) Arabic ṣabba 'pour, drip, overflow' > UA *cikwa 'rain'

(11) Hebrew -dabber 'speak' > UA *tïkwi 'say, talk, speak'[45]

An interesting correspondence with -bb- > -kw- is Hebrew ṣaab, "lizard," cognate with Arabic ḍabba, "cleave to the ground, take hold, keep under lock." With Semitic -bb- > UA -kw-, these may correspond with UA cakwa that can also mean "grasp, lock, lizard."[46]

In reading Stubbs, the proposed change of b to kw initially seemed puzzling. The idea of b becoming p seemed natural enough, but as I am a non-linguist, a relationship between b and kw struck me as odd. I initially wondered if this might be an implausible sound change that shows more about creative cherry picking or the Texas Sharp Shooter fallacy[47] than a legitimate linguistic possibility. I think linguists may more readily appreciate the plausibility of such a sound shift, since similar relationships are found in other languages, and there are linguistic reasons for the relationship between the stops p, b, and kw.[48] Stubbs does mention that b > kw proposed for UA is like the relationship between p in Greek and kw in Latin, but this comes in Chapter 8 long after the Semitic-kw hypothesis has been introduced.[49] Further discussion and illustration from other languages would be helpful. For example, the kw sound of *quattro*, the number four in Italian, corresponds to the p of *patru* (four) in Romanian. Other relationships between p and kw are found in a few Indo-European languages[50] and even in some Native American languages,[51] and given the closeness of p and b, to me this strengthens the case for the possibility of Semitic b > UA kw.

In an early publication comparing the vocabularies among several UA languages, B.L. Whorf notes that the kw of PUA, while preserved as a kw in four UA languages, corresponds to b in two languages, Tepecano and Papago.[52] This seems consistent with Stubbs's hypothesis, wherein Semitic b was preserved in some cases but became kw or p in other cases. In any case, Whorf provides another example of a relationship between kw and b that strengthens the plausibility of the Semitic-kw hypothesis. (Whorf's paper, by the way, mentions many words treated by Stubbs in *Exploring the Explanatory Power.*) Perhaps Stubbs's future works for general LDS audiences might include some related examples to help readers better appreciate the plausibility of his argument. In fact, Stubbs himself has already published an entire article (peer reviewed) dealing with the relationship between kw and b in the Uto-Aztecan family, which could be valuable to mention after introducing the Semitic-kw hypothesis.[53]

There are many more examples and details in Stubbs's work from a number of perspectives that strengthen the case for Semitic infusion, whether of the p or kw variety. The parallels between Semitic pronouns and UA pronouns, for example, seem particularly noteworthy.[54] There are approximately 1100 Semitic cognates, an overwhelming quantity. Some are easy-to-recognize matches, while others may be more of a stretch but still plausible, such as:

(724) Semitic parʕoš 'flea (jumper)' (from the Semitic verb prʕš 'jump') > UA *par'osi / *paro'osi 'jackrabbit'; the jackrabbit, like the flea, is also a jumper, and in UA *paro'osi 'jackrabbit' we see all four consonants and two identical vowels in two of the most extraordinary jumpers of the animal kingdom.[55]

A final example from the Semitic-kw data:

(853) Arabic xunpusaa' / xunpus 'beetle'; Aramaic ħippuušiit 'beetle, n.f.' > UA *wippusi 'stink beetle'. … Arabic xunpus shows that Semitic *x was the original consonant, and Aramaic ħippuušiit reflects the Northwest Semitic merger (*x and *ħ > ħ). So UA *wippusi shows Phoenician/Mulekite ħ > UA w, and UA also shows the doubled *-pp- and the exact vowels of Aramaic. An amazing match![56]

Indeed, there are numerous amazing matches in the body of data Stubbs has provided.

The Egyptian Infusion

The over 400 Egyptian terms in UA that Stubbs has found generally have the same sound correspondences as the Semitic-p data, such as b > p, etc. The Egyptian infusion is not as strong as the two Semitic infusions but on its own still exceeds the threshold in terms of number of cognates required to establish a language family.

Stubbs leads the Egyptian discussion in *Changes in Languages* with the observation that -i, the old perfective/stative verb suffix in Egyptian corresponds with -i in UA, which is the intransitive/past/passive/stative verb suffix. Further, "the stative of Old Egyptian 3rd person verbs ended with - i and perfectly matches UA * - a/-i 'alternation on the end of verbs,' i.e., UA *-a 'transitive, active' and *-i 'intransitive, passive, stative.'"[57] Further, Egyptian's -w / -iw 'passive verb suffix' appears to be reflected well in UA -wa / -iwa, a 'passive verb suffix.'[58] But generally, the grammar of both Egyptian and Semitic is much different than that of UA.

A few examples of Egyptian cognates follow:

(115) sbk / *subak 'crocodile' > UA *supak / *sipak 'crocodile' (b > p)

(124) tks 'pierce' > UA *tïkso 'pierce, poke'

(125) km 'black' > UA *koma 'dark, gray, brown, black'

(126) nmi 'travel, traverse' > UA *nïmi 'walk around'

(129) wnš, pl wnšiw 'jackal' > UA *wancio / woncia
'fox' (-ns- > -nc- as in sense/cents)

(131) šm 'go, walk, leave' > UA *sima 'go, leave'

(219) iqr 'skillful, excellent, capable, intelligent'
> UA *yikar 'knowing, intelligent, able, good'[59]

The subak/supak cognate between Egyptian and Nahuatl was actually noted by Cyrus Gordon before Stubbs completed his work. As Stubbs puts it, "I merely added another 400 Egyptian-with-UA similarities to what he started."[60] As seen in the subak/supak example above, the Egyptian infusion is like Semitic-p in the way *b* becomes *p* in UA. Several examples include:

(132) sbq 'calf of leg' > UA *sipika 'lower leg' (b > p)

(133) sbty 'enclosure' > UA *sapti 'fence of branches'

(134) qbb 'cool; calm, quiet, cool breeze' > UA *koppa 'quiet, calm'

(137) bbyt 'region of throat' > UA *papi 'larynx, throat, voice'

(138) bši 'spit, vomit', bšw 'vomit, vomiting' > UA *piso-(ta) 'vomit'

(139) bnty 'breast' > UA *pitti / *piCti 'breast'

(141) bit 'bee' > UA *pitV > *picV 'bee, wasp'

(142) bik 'falcon' > UA *pik 'hawk species'

(154) sb' 'star' > UA *sipo > *si'po 'star'[61]

Also following a trend in the Semitic-p data, Egyptian x > UA *k, as in:

(170) txi 'be drunk, drink deep', txw 'drunkard' > UA *tïku 'drunk'

(294) xpš 'foreleg, thigh' > UA *kapsi 'thigh'

(295) xpd 'buttock' > UA *kupta 'buttocks'

(295) xpdw 'buttocks' > UA *kupitu 'buttocks' …

(452) xt 'fire, heat' > UA *kut 'fire'[62]

The Egyptian infusion also demonstrates other sound changes found in the Semitic-p infusion, including "'Egyptian glottal stop ' > w,

or glottal stop next to round vowels (o, u)," for which many examples are given,[63] and "Egyptian initial pharyngeal ḥ > UA *hu, and non-initially ḥ > w/o/u."[64] Among the many examples of the latter, two should suffice:

(181) ḥnqt 'beer, drinkers' > UA *hunaka 'drunk, alcohol'

(182) ḥtp / hotpe 'be gracious, peaceable, set (sun), bury' > UA *huppi 'peaceable, go down, sink, dive'[65]

UA *huppi is related to the Hopi tribal name, meaning "peace." Stubbs discusses this word in a section on sound clusters and their behavior on sound change patterns. Sound clusters often lose some of the original sounds, just as the -ght- in "daughter" and "night" has become merely -t- as pronounced in English . A sound cluster can also preserve a sound that otherwise would have changed. For example:

> [M]any UA languages have intervocalic *-p- > -v-. That happens in Hopi, the Numic languages, and others. So when we see a -p- between vowels, it is due to an underlying consonant cluster being reduced to -p- but showing -p- (instead of -v-) because of -Cp- or the cluster strengthening the -p-: [thus] Egyptian ḥotpe 'peace' > UA *hoppi > **Hopi** hopi 'peace, peaceable'; otherwise, *hopi > hovi.[66]

Stubbs also notes that Egyptian ḏ corresponds to Semitic ṣ, so there are many examples of Egyptian ḏ > UA *s, just as Semitic ṣ > UA *s in the Semitic infusions. A few of many examples include:

(200) ḏbt / *ḏubat 'brick, adobe brick' > UA *supa 'adobe'

(199) ḏb' 'to clothe, garment, clothing' > UA *sipu' > *si'pu 'slip, skirt, shirt, clothing' …

(197) ḏʕb 'coal-black', ḏʕbt 'charcoal' > UA *so'opa 'black, dark'

(194) ḏ'i 'pierce, transfix' > UA *so'a/*so'i 'pierce, sew, shoot arrow'

(390) ḏwt 'mosquito, gnat' > UA *suti 'mosquito, gnat'[67]

Egyptian initial r- > UA t-, though the Tarahumara (TR) language retains r-. Thus, for example, Egyptian rmt "man, person" > UA *tïmati "young man" but TR ŕemarí.[68] The behavior of Tarahumara in this aspect is one of several puzzles in UA studies that Stubbs's work helps resolve.

The puzzle, discussed in detail in *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, is that the initial t in Proto-UA was retained in all UA languages except Tarahumara (TR), where it become initial r; i.e., PUA *t- > UA t- but TR ŕ-, yet surprisingly, TR also retains initial t in many words. Stubbs states that this is explained by Egyptian and Semitic t and d sounds being retained as t in TR, while initial r in Egyptian and Semitic are retained as r in TR, yet Egyptian and Semitic r > t in the other UA languages.

Of the 40 TR words with initial r- or t- having cognates with Near Eastern languages, 37 (93%) follow the pattern that TR initial r- corresponds to Semitic or Egyptian initial r, while an initial t- corresponds to Semitic or Egyptian initial t or d sounds (t, ṯ, or d in Hebrew or t, d, or ṭ in Egyptian).[69] The 93% correlation is meaningful if the identification of cognates was done by considering TR initial t as possibly coming from either initial t- or r- in Near Eastern languages, which appears to be the case, otherwise possible Near Eastern cognates that underwent the r- > t- sound change would have been excluded, and the (already high) number of cognates under consideration would have been reduced in a way that would skew the numbers. The resolution of this puzzle is one of many subtle indicators that Stubbs's work is not an artifact of chance alone and does indeed provide explanatory power.

In addition to resolving the puzzle of initial t- in Tarahumara, there are six other technical and fascinating UA puzzles that Stubbs's work clarifies, treated in Chapter 6 of *Exploring the Explanatory Power*.[70]

Stubbs argues that "the language of the Egyptians" spoken of by Nephi in 1 Nephi 1:2 "means the language of the Egyptians, that the learning of the Jews means the education Lehi received in the Jerusalem environment for writing Hebrew (or Aramaic) in the Phoenician alphabet and that Lehi, Nephi, and later record keepers to varying degrees (lesser degrees later) knew both Hebrew and Egyptian."[71]

In *Changes in Languages*, Stubbs provides 100 cognates with Egyptian, a small fraction of his total but enough, as with the Semitic cognates, to be startling and often impressive. The relationship between Egyptian stative/passive features and Uto-Aztecan was particularly surprising and nicely documented.[72]

Explanatory Power: The Lamanite Term *Rabbanah*

Stubbs's framework also helps resolve questions about a rare glimpse at a Lamanite term in the Book of Mormon record, where a Lamanite servant after Ammon's miraculous victory at the Waters of Sebus addresses him with the honorific title Rabbanah. Stubbs adds this insight:

Returning to *Rabbanah*, the final *-anah* may be entirely different than any of us are guessing, possibly an unknown suffix from a deceased Native American language. However, in agreement with [the Book of Mormon Onomasticon at] https://onoma.lib.byu.edu, I think it more probable that *Rabbaan-* has the Semitic noun suffix *-aan* (Book of Mormon orthography does not distinguish long and short vowels). As mentioned in the Onomasticon, *-aan* (in Aramaic and Arabic) is cognate with Hebrew *-oon* due to the Canaanite vowel shift of long *aa* > *oo*. LDS scholars have tended to contort explanations for Aramaic in Lehi lingo, because the assumption has been that the Lehi-Ishmael party spoke Hebrew, not Aramaic, which I assumed also, until after I found UA suggesting much Aramaic, and after I found renowned Semitists also suggesting a continued Aramaic substrate among northern Israel's areas …. Nevertheless, UA shows both *-aan* in some terms and *-oon* in other terms (though Hebrew also has some *-aan* terms among the more frequent *-oon*), and the UA *-aan / -oon* mix is consistent with what we see as Lehi's Semitic being a heavy Aramaic-Hebrew mix. The New Testament *Rabboni* 'my master' (John 20:16) has the same Semitic stem *rabb-* with the Hebrew suffix *-oon* and *-i* 'my'. Yet interestingly this Lamanite term has the *-aan* suffix like Aramaic and Arabic, not the *-oon* more common in Hebrew, because the Lamaniyyiim would be continuing the spoken language of the Lehi-Ishmael party, without access to the records containing Egyptian and Hebrew writing and vocabulary. In other words, the evidence in UA would suggest that the Lamanite languages would probably have had more Aramaic and less Hebrew and Egyptian than the Nephite languages had, and *Rabbanah* is consistent with that ….

After the *-aan*, the Onomasticon suggests a feminine abstract noun ending *-aa*. Possibly. However, more likely in my mind is a continuation with Aramaic morphology in the suffix *-aa* 'the'. In some Syriac / Aramaic dialects, the suffix *-aa* 'the' becomes part of the citation form or part of the noun, similar to English 'the horse' to mean 'horse', and to Aramaic *reemaan-aa* 'antelope-the' > UA *tïmïna 'antelope'. Similarly, Aramaic *Rabbaan-aa* 'great one-the' or 'great one',

> consistently Aramaic throughout all 3 morphemes, seems at least as viable as other proposals, if not more so.[73]

This is one of many tentative insights that Stubbs offers from his analysis. There may be many more to consider in the future.

Broad Explanatory Power

It is the explanatory power of Stubbs's work that most clearly points to the value of his find. This is not just a zealous hodge-podge of rather meaningless random parallels like, say, the parallels often collected through the passionate work of some Book of Mormon critics whose theories of plagiarism and borrowing fail to provide any explanatory power for Book of Mormon origins and leave the strengths of the Book of Mormon untouched or even ironically amplified. The parallels between Semitic languages and UA identified by Stubbs follow demanding methodologies and show consistent, plausible sound changes that not only provide large groupings of related words, but also help explain some previous puzzles in UA, including:

(1) The phonology of medial (middle) consonant clusters,[74] a topic Stubbs describes as a huge problem in UA, is clarified by considering the influence of Semitic and Egyptian on the effect of adjacent consonants (see Section 7.2 of *Exploring the Explanatory Power*).

(2) Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA)'s *p has clear reflexes (sound shifts) in the various UA languages. But five languages (Tarahumara, Mayo, Yaqui, Arizona Yaqui, and Eudeve) show both initial b and p corresponding to PUA *p.[75] This is generally viewed as an inconsistency, but Stubbs's work adds a significant insight: "The initial b forms in these languages correspond to Egyptian b or Semitic b of Semitic-p, and the initial p forms in these languages to Semitic/Egyptian p. How can such an alignment be coincidental? For the various UA forms of b vs. p to match Semitic/Egyptian b vs. p is significant."[76] See Section 6.2 of *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, where numerous examples are analyzed, including the Hebrew word for lightning, baraq, which became *pirok / perok, "lightning," in UA, while the initial b is preserved as berok- in Mayo, be'ok in Yaquif, or becomes a v in ve'okte of Arizona Yaqi, viriki-t of TaraCahitan, and vonaq-q of Serrano. Many more examples are offered. The great

majority of these puzzling occurrences of both p- and b-/v-
from PUA *p- can now be explained by origins from Near
Eastern words with initial p and b.[77]

(3) PUA initial t* at the beginning of words corresponds to
the initial t in most of the UA languages, with a notable
exception of Tarahumara initial r, as mentioned with some
examples above. "So if PUA *t became Tarahumaran r, then
where does Tarahumara initial t come from? The data in
this work suggest that Semitic/Egyptian initial r became t,
so in most UA languages initial r and initial t merged to
look like PUA *r, but Tarahumara kept them separate. Thus
[Section] 6.1 [of *Exploring the Explanatory Power*] clarifies
the Tarahumara r vs. t puzzle, which see."[78]

(4) A variety of other issues in sections 6.3 though 6.7 of
Exploring the Explanatory Power are also explained by
Stubbs's work.

Many specific puzzles are also explained, as an understanding of the
Near Eastern roots of UA helps clarify relationships between many of the
words in UA languages. For example, Hebrew makteš "mortar, grinding
stone" is reflected in *ma'ta of Proto-UA, "mortar, grinding stone." But
in Cahuilla (Ca), the noun-made-verb mataš suggests derivation from
a verb that has the geminated *-tt- (< *mattaš) because otherwise a
single *-t- will become -l- in Cahuilla. The geminated *-tt- could readily
derive from a cluster such as -kt-, and helps explain why the Ca word
preserves the -t-. The final š is also more consistent with Hebrew makteš,
strengthening the case for Hebrew makteš > PUA *ma'ta.[79]

One phenomenon of interest is the occasional existence of two
related UA words from related Semitic cognates, one from Semitic-p
and one from Semitic-kw. An example is item 617, UA *ti'na 'mouth'
< Aramaic diqn-aa (Semitic-p), and item 628, UA ca'lo 'chin' < Hebrew
zaaqn-o 'chin-his,' where the Hebrew and Aramaic words are a cognate
pair.[80] This is consistent with two infusions that evolved differently
or among different groups of people before being united in some way.
Stubbs's work may help explain the presence of some pairs of similar
words in UA.

Impressive Depth

The entries in *Exploring the Explanatory Power* are far more than the
amateur list of stray parallels some critics are imagining from Stubbs.

I've been impressed with how consistently deep and expansive Stubbs's analysis is, though I speak as a non-expert. To let readers judge for themselves, I provide a couple of his 1500 entries.

824 Hebrew **hayyownaa** / hayyoonat 'dove': UA ***hayowi** 'dove'. Note loss of -n- also in Ktn[Kitanemuk] payo' 'handkerchief' < Spanish paño; similarly, Sapir claims that single *-n- disappears and only geminated *-nn- survived in SP:

UAcv-696 ***hayowi** 'dove': M88-h03; KH.NUA; KH/M06-h03: Two languages (Hp, Tb) agree with *howi: HP höwi, pl: höwìit 'dove, mourning dove, white-winged dove'; Tb 'owii-t 'dove'. In contrast, three Numic languages show hewi: Mn heewi' 'mourning dove'; TSh heewi-cci 'dove'; Sh heewi 'dove'. Numic forms showing hewi (Mn, TSh, Sh) leveled the V 's from -ai- / -ay- in *hayowi > heewi, o shortened to be perceived as part of -w-; so as CU 'ayövi and Wc haïmï suggest the first vowel was *a*. Kw hoyo-vi 'mourning dove'; CU 'ayövi 'dove'; Ch(L) hiyovi; and Sapir's SP iyovi- 'mourning dove' with the final syllable as part of the stem, as in CNum, all show -y-. Kw and CU seem to have reinterpreted the final -vi as an absolutive suffix, but Ch, SP, and CNum suggest otherwise, and we again see -w- > -v- in Num [Numic]. Most of NUA suggest *hayowi. NP ihobi 'dove' transposed the h.

*hayowi > hewi (Sh, Mn, TSh)

> hayo >　　 'ayö- (CU), iyovi (SP)
> hoyo- (Kw),　 hiyo(vi) (Ch) > ihobi (NP)
> *howi 　　　 > höwi (Hp)
　　　　　　　 > 'owii-t (Tb)

Only the -n- is missing. Wc haïmï/'áïmï 'dove' and the -howa- of Tr čohówari / čohóbari 'turtle dove' are probably related as well. Wc ï could be a leveling of -yow- (*hayow > haï). TO hoohi 'mourning dove' is probably related in some way, perhaps with preservative consonant harmony (*howi > hoohi), and TO does keep PUA *h sometimes.

[TO keeps *h; wN>m in wc?, -n- > ∅] [1h,2y,3w,4n] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC][81]

Having recently discussed the significance of several Hebrew words related to dust-motifs in the Book of Mormon, particularly 'pl related to

darkness and obscurity, where an interesting wordplay may occur with the word 'pr meaning "dust" in 2 Nephi 1:23, I wished to look at the details Stubbs had uncovered regarding a relevant term:

871 Hebrew 'pl 'be dark'; Hebrew 'opl 'darkness'; Hebrew 'aapel 'dark'; Hebrew 'apelaa 'darkness'; Arabic 'afala (< *'apala) '**go down, set** (of stars)'; like 'set' and 'go down', this Semitic root also means 'be late, in the day or in the season'; a causative Hebrew form in Jastrow's Aramaic(J) is later Hebrew h'piil 'make dark' with unattested impfv ya'piil (m.) and ta'piil (f.). The unattested huqtal 3rd sg masc and fem passive of the above root would be Hebrew *yu'pal and *tu'pal 'become dark, be gone down (light)' aligning perfectly with UA *yu'pa(l) and *tu'pa(l) in the sets below; in UA *cuppa, the palatalization t-> c- due to the high vowel u, and the cluster doubles the -pp-: Semitic *tu'pal > cuppa:

UAcv-891 *cuppa 'fire go out': M67-171 *cupa 'fire go out'; 236 'go out (of fire)'; M88-cu9; KH/M06-co21:

Tb cupat, 'ucup 'be out (of fire)' ; Tb(H) cuppat 'fire to be out, go out'; Wr co'a 'put out fire'; Wr co'i 'be out (of fire)' ; Tr čo'á-ri- 'have another put out fire'; Tr čo'wi 'dark'; NV tubanu 'bajar de lo alto [go down from high up)'. …

In the following, the semantic tie goes from 'set, go down, end (day)' to 'end (of whatever)':

UA cv-871a *cuCpa/i / *cuppa 'finish, be end of s.th.': I.Num258 *cu/*co 'disappear'; M88-cu1 'finish'; KH/M06-cul: Mn cúppa 'disappear'; NP coppa 's.th. sinking'; My cúppe 'terminarse, vi'; My cúppa 'terminar, vt';

AYq čupa 'finish, complete, fulfill (vow)'; AYq hi(t)čuppa 'completing, fulfilling (vow), harvesting', AYq čupe 'get completed, finished, married, ripe'; AYq čupia 'be complete'; Yq čúpa 'terminar (bien)'; Wr cu'piba-ni 'acabar'; Sr 'ičo'kin 'make, fix, finish'; Wc sïï 'finish'. Note Mn 'disappear' and NP 'sinking' reflect 'sun going down'. The over-lapping semantics (finish/harvest) in Cah (My, AYq) may have us keep in mind *cuppV 'gather, close eyes'. Does Sr 'ičo-kin 'make, fix, finish' have hi- prefix or is it from Hebrew ya-suup 'come to an end'?

UAcv-871b *copa / *cupa 'braid, finish weaving': Tr čobå/ čóba- 'trenzarse, hacerse la trenza', Tb tadzuub 'braid it'; CN

copa 'finish weaving/constructing s.th.'; CN copi 'piece of weaving or construction to get finished'…. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt].[82]

Other groups of UA words related in different ways to Hebrew *yu'pal and *tu'pal include, in the abbreviated format from *Changes in Languages*:

(872) 'pl / *yu'pal 'be dark, go down, m' > UA *yu'pa > *yuppa 'be dark, black, (fire) go out'

(873) 'pl / *yu'pal 'be dark, go down, m' > UA *yu'pa(l) > Aztecan *yowal, CN yowal-li 'night, n' (The Aztecan branch regularly loses a single -p-)[83]

Several other dust-related correspondences include item 591, Hebrew 'adaama and UA *tïma, "earth";[84] item 150, Egyptian t', "earth, land, ground, country," cf. Coptic to, and UA *tiwa, "sand, dust," and also UA *to'o, "dust";[85] item 162 Egyptian šʕy 'sand' (Coptic šoo) > UA *siwa(l) 'sand';[86] and item 665, Aramaic ḥirgaa', "dust," and UA *huCkuN (C again means an unknown consonant, and N is a nasal sound), "dust".[87]

The richness of linkages in the vocabulary related to dirt, dust, earth, and sand is reflected in many other areas, ranging from body parts and functions, animals, pronouns, numerous details of daily life, etc.

A Note on Metals

Stubbs's work touches directly or indirectly upon a variety of Book of Mormon topics such as the issue of metals. Metals are some of the weak spots in the Book of Mormon, for their presence among the early Nephites is said to be an anachronism. Many scholars claim metals were unknown in Mesoamerica until roughly 900 A.D. In addition to disputing this conclusion on the basis of numerous finds of ancient metals that can push the date of metal use to much earlier, John Sorenson has also appealed to linguistics to show that metals must have been known much earlier. In *Mormon's Codex*, for example, Sorenson states that "decisive evidence for the presence of Classic and Pre-Classic metallurgy" can be found in the linguistic data showing "that words for *metal* or *(metal) bell* appear in five reconstructed proto-languages of major families in Mesoamerica: Proto-Mayan, Proto-Mixtecan, Proto-Mixe-Zoquean, Proto-Huavean, and Proto-Otomanguean."[88] Since Huastecan split from the main Mayan group by 2000 BC, and both have words for metal, knowledge of metals must have been very ancient.

Data from Proto-Mixtecan also supports a date of 1000 bc or earlier for a word for metal.[89] Interestingly, Sorenson then points to an early speculation from Hyacinthe de Charency, who suggested that the Mayan term *nab* (gold) is related to Egyptian *nb* or *nbw* (or *noub*).[90] Though uncertain of the merit in that proposal, Sorenson also notes that Yucatec Mayan *tau* or *taau* (lead or tin, but literally "moon excrement") may relate to Arabic *taws* (moon) and wonders if Zoquean *hama-tin* (gold, silver) might relate to Egyptian *hmty* (copper) or if Zoquean *ʔanak* (lead, tin) could be connected to Akkadian (Babylonian) *annakum* (tin).[91] He calls for further study on this issue, and I would concur.

Stubbs pays little attention to the issue of metals, but some linguistic hints appear in the data. In *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, item 465 looks at ties to the Egyptian word meaning metal, ore, or iron as well as sky (the place where [meteoric] iron comes from), though the linkage may point to flint knives. More relevant is item 466, where Egyptian nm, "knife," and p'-nm, "the knife," may relate to UA *panomi, "knife, iron, tool," which undergoes a *p > v/w shift in several UA languages to give words meaning "iron, tool," "metal, money," or "knife, metal."[92]

Item 98 brings a Hebrew connection: Hebrew rqʕ 'stamp, beat out (metal), spread out'; Hebrew raaqiiaʕ 'extended surface, expanse, sky' > UA *tukuN-in and *tukuN-pa 'sky' and 'metal'. The analysis in *Exploring the Explanatory Power* has nearly a full page on this connection. "Of interest is that Hebrew *raqiiʕ literally means 'beat broad or flat,' used in beating metal flat but also means sky as a broad expanse, and the Ca [Cahuilla], Cp [Cupeño], Sr [Serrano], and Ls [Luiseño] forms all mean both 'sky' and 'iron/knife.'"[93] A related word in Kw (Kawaiisu) means "pounded metal."[94] Such words need not imply that metallurgy was known but could point to ancient work with iron ore, a material treasured by the Olmecs.[95] The apparent sky/metal correspondences in the Old and New Worlds are worth further exploration.

With further work, perhaps the UA language family might be added to the five Mesoamerican language families Sorenson has listed providing linguistic evidence of an early knowledge of metals in the Americas.

Weak Spots

The introduction of the core hypothesis and supporting evidence comes somewhat piecemeal and may leave a reader initially confused in a few sections. For example, there are several initial examples presented from Semitic-kw and Semitic-p before the meaning of these terms, and the evidence for two infusions is clearly presented. I think an introductory

chapter could lay out the key findings to provide a foundation for the examples given while laying the linguistic foundation for the work, all this before the detailed examples are provided.

Some of the cognates are a stretch, and Stubbs often makes that clear, while keeping the possibility open. One example used in illustrating Egyptian r- > UA t- is:

> (508) [Egyptian] rmn 'side, row of rowers' > UA *taman 'tooth' (animal jawbone of teeth on the ground looks like two rows; this is not a match of meanings, but the change is fathomable)

It is possible — English and other languages sometimes have even stranger pathways — but also less convincing than most of Stubbs's cognates.

In *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, one might also wish for the Near Eastern languages also to be written in their respective scripts to make the work more useful to experts in those languages. Instead, everything has been transliterated, but this should not present any serious problem.

Conclusion

Overall, these two new works are impressive contributions not just to the study of language in the Americas but also to the study of the Book of Mormon. In terms of Book of Mormon evidence, what Stubbs has begun here may be one of the most significant advances in our ability to relate the Book of Mormon to New World data. Stubbs's conclusions were driven by data and unexpected discoveries, not by a desire to prove anything or see something that isn't really there. It can only be hoped that others will consider the data as well and the impressive case it makes for Old World infusions into the New.

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Paper Science and (now the Renewable Bioproducts Institute) at Georgia Tech, then went into R&D at Kimberly-Clark Corporation, eventually becoming corporate patent strategist and senior research fellow. He then spent several years at Innovationedge in Neenah, Wisconsin, helping many companies with innovation and IP strategy. Jeff has been in China for five years, where he works with various APP companies and mills in advancing their intellectual property and innovation. Since 2015, Jeff has been recognized as a leading IP strategist by Intellectual Asset Magazine in their global IAM300 listing based on peer input. He is also lead author of Conquering Innovation Fatigue (John Wiley & Sons, 2009). He is active in the chemical engineering community and was recently named a Fellow of the American Institute of Chemical Engineers. Jeff served a mission in the German-speaking Switzerland Zurich Mission and currently serves as counselor in the district presidency of the Shanghai International District. He and his wife Kendra are the parents of four boys and have nine grandchildren.

Endnotes

1. For example, see Warren P. Aston, *Lehi and Sariah in Arabia: The Old World Setting of the Book of Mormon* (Gordon, New South Wales, Australia: Xlibris, 2015), Kindle edition; Warren P. Aston and Michaela K. Aston, *In the Footsteps of Lehi*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Comp., 1994); and George Potter and Richard Wellington, *Lehi in the Wilderness* (Springville, UT: Cedar Fort, Inc., 2003).

2. John W. Welch, ed., *Chiasmus in Antiquity: Structures, Analyses, Exegesis* (Hildesheim, Germany: Gerstenberg Verlag, and Provo, UT: Research Press, Brigham Young University, 1981). See also John W. Welch, "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 10/1 (1969): 1–15; http://byustudies.byu.edu/content/chiasmus-book-mormon.

3. Examples of recent publications treating newly uncovered word plays in the Book of Mormon include the following works by Matthew L. Bowen: "'O Ye Fair Ones' — Revisited," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 20 (2016): 315–344; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/o-ye-fair-ones-revisited/; "The Scalp of Your Head: Polysemy in Alma 44:14–18," *Interpreter:*

A Journal of Mormon Scripture 20 (2016): 39–45; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/the-scalp-of-your-head-polysemy-in-alma-4414–18/; "Alma — Young Man, Hidden Prophet," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 19 (2016): 343–353; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/alma-young-man-hidden-prophet/; "'See That Ye Are Not Lifted Up': The Name Zoram and Its Paronomastic Pejoration," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 19 (2016): 109–143; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/see-that-ye-are-not-lifted-up-the-name-zoram-and-its-paronomastic-pejoration/; "'My People Are Willing': The Mention of Aminadab in the Narrative Context of Helaman 5–6," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 19 (2016): 83–107; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/my-people-are-willing-the-mention-of-aminadab-in-the-narrative-context-of-helaman-5–6/; and "Onomastic Wordplay on Joseph and Benjamin and Gezera Shawa in the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 18 (2016): 255–273; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/onomastic-wordplay-on-joseph-and-benjamin-and-gezera-shawa-in-the-book-of-mormon/.

4. Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1981).

5. John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985); John L. Sorenson, *Mormon's Codex* (Provo, UT: Neal A. Maxwell Institute, 2013); Brant Gardner, *Traditions of the Fathers: The Book of Mormon as History* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2015); and Jerry D. Grover, *Geology of the Book of Mormon* (Vineyard, UT: n.p., 2014); https://archive.bookofmormoncentral.org/sites/default/files/archive-files/pdf/grover/2016–01–27/jerry_d._grover_geology_of_the_book_of_mormon_2014.pdf or https://www.academia.edu/18172439/Geology_of_the_Book_of_Mormon.

6. See, for example, the consequences of the attacks on the Arabian evidence for the Book of Mormon treated in Jeff Lindsay, "Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dream Map: Part 1 of 2," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 19 (2016): 153–239; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/joseph-and-the-amazing-technicolor-dream-map-part-1-of-2/ and "Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dream Map: Part 2 of 2," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon*

Scripture 19 (2016): 247–326; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/joseph-and-the-amazing-technicolor-dream-map-part-2-of-2/.

7. Brian D. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now* (Blanding, UT: Four Corners Digital Design, 2016) and Brian D. Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power of Semitic and Egyptian in Uto-Aztecan* (Provo, UT: Grover Publications, 2015).

8. E.g., Brian D. Stubbs, "Egyptian and Semitic in Uto-Aztecan," *Book of Mormon Archaeological Forum*, Jan. 2015, http://bmaf.org/node/487; Brian Stubbs, "Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now," FAIRMormon Conference presentation, Aug. 2016; http://www.fairmormon.org/perspectives/fair-conferences/2016-fairmormon-conference/changes-languages-nephi-now.

9. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, (Blanding, UT: Four Corners Digital Design, 2016).

10. Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, 1.

11. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 111–3. For more on Yiddish, see Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, 360.

12. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 86–87.

13. "Hmong and Mien Languages," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hmong%E2%80%93Mien_languages, accessed Nov. 29, 2016. See also Brian McKibben, *English-White Hmong Dictionary* (Provo, UT: B. McKibben, 1992). Before moving to China, I lived in a Wisconsin community with many Hmong speakers and new Hmong members, and spent a couple of years studying White Hmong. My family attended a Hmong-speaking branch of the Church for two years. When we moved to Wisconsin in 1994, I heard Hmong speakers at church and thought they must be Chinese, but their tonal language proved to be significantly different from Chinese, which I had studied to some degree at that time. Later I would see numerous connections, often with consistent patterns of sound change.

14. Taraka Lara and Lars Borin, "Comparative Evaluation of String Similarity Measures for Automatic Language Classification," in *Sequences in Language and Text*, ed. George K. Mikros and Ján Macutek (Berlin: Walter de Gruter, 2015), 48–65, citation at 48; https://books.google.com/books?id=kpUoCQAAQBAJ&pg=PA48-IA2. See also "Chakra and Wheel," *Bradshaw of the Future*, Dec. 2007,

http://bradshawofthefuture.blogspot.my/2007/12/chakra-and-wheel.html.

15. Some of the issues in this debate are addressed in Neal Rappleye, "Learning Nephi's Language: Creating a Context for 1 Nephi 1:2," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 16 (2015): 151–159; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/learning-nephis-language-creating-a-context-for-1-nephi-12/.

16. Brian Stubbs, "Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now," FAIRMormon Conference presentation, Aug. 2016.

17. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 9.

18. See discussions of possible models for the expansion of Nephite language into the northern lands in Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 160–163.

19. Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, 9.

20. Gary A. Rendsburg, Chapter 5, "Ancient Hebrew Phonology," *Online offprint from Phonologies of Asia and Africa*, ed. Alan S. Kaye (Eisenbrauns, 1997); Gary A. Rendsburg, "Hurvitz Redux: On the Continued Inattention to a Simple Principle of Hebrew Philology," in Ian Young, ed., *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (London: T & T Clark, 2003), 104–128; Gary A. Rendsburg, "A Comprehensive Guide to Israelian Hebrew: Grammar and Lexicon," *Orient* 38 (2003): 5–35; Gary A. Rendsburg, "Aramaic-like Features in the Pentateuch." *Hebrew Studies* 47 (2006): 163–176; all as cited by Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 87–88, 192.

21. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 87.

22. Ibid., 88.

23. Ibid., 112.

24. For example, Brian D. Stubbs, "More Palatable Reconstructions for Uto-Aztecan Palatals," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 66/1 (Jan. 2000): 125–137; http://www.jstor.org/stable/1265962.

25. See, for example, multiple references to Stubbs in William L. Merrill, "The Historical Linguistics of Uto-Aztecan Agriculture," *Anthropological Linguistics*, 54/3 (Fall 2012): 203–260; http://www.jstor.org/stable/23621084.

26. Brian D. Stubbs, *Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary* (Blanding, UT: Rocky Mountain Books and Publications, 2011).

27. Kenneth C. Hill, "*Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary* by Stubbs," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 78/4 (October 2012): 591–592; http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/667453.

28. "Setting the Record Straight About Native Languages: Linguistic Relationships," *Native Languages of the Americas*, http://www.native-languages.org/iaq3.htm, accessed Nov. 29, 2016.

29. "Amazing Coincidences," archived at http://web.archive.org/web/20060618231054/http://members.aol.com/yahyam/coincidence.html.

30. Brian D. Stubbs, *Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary*.

31. Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power of Semitic and Egyptian in Uto-Aztecan*, 9.

32. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 96.

33. Ibid., 97.

34. Ibid., 98.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., 98–99.

37. Ibid., 99.

38. Ibid., 100.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., 101–102.

41. Ibid., 103.

42. Ibid., 114.

43. Ibid., 115–116.

44. Ibid., 117.

45. Ibid., 118.

46. Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, 69.

47. The Texas sharpshooter fallacy is refers to an alleged sharpshooter drawing a target around a bullet hole after firing a shot at the side of a barn, claiming a bull's-eye. See "Texas Sharpshooter Fallacy,"

Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Texas_sharpshooter_ fallacy, retrieved Nov. 23, 2016.

48. "Labialized Velar Consonant," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia. org/wiki/Labialized_velar_consonant; accessed Nov. 27, 2016.

49. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 114.

50. Henry M. Hoenigswald, "Criteria for the Subgrouping of Languages," in *Ancient Indo-European Dialects: Proceedings of the Conference on Indo-European Linguistics*, *Held at the University of California, Los Angeles, April 25–27, 1963*, ed. Henrik Birnbaum and Jaan Puhvel (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), 1–12; see particularly 7; https://books.google.com/ books?id=5pCBRsfJMv8C&pg=PA7. In that volume also see Calvert Watkins, "Italo-Celtic Revisited," in *Ancient Indo-European Dialects,* ed. Birnbaum and Puhvel, 29–50; see particularly 33, 34; https://books.google.com/books?id=5pCBRsfJMv8C&pg=PA33. A discussion of the transition of a specific form of *p–kw* sound changes in several languages, namely *p … kw > *kw … kw, is discussed in L. Nakhleh, "Coding of the phonological characters in the datasets (PDF)," *CPHL Project (Computational Phylogenetics in Historical Linguistics)*, Rice University, July 2007; project page at http://www.cs.rice.edu/~nakhleh/CPHL, PDF file at http:// www.cs.rice.edu/~nakhleh/CPHL/code-p-07.pdf. Further, see Domenico Pezzi, *Aryan Philology According to the Most Recent Researches (Glottologia Aria Recentissima)*, transl. E.S. Roberts (London, Trübner & Company, 1879), 13, 18; https://books. google.com/books?id=wF0MAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA13. See also the discussion of Fick's hypothesis at 11–12 regarding two k sounds in PIE, one of which became *p* in some languages and the other becoming *c*, with an intermediate sound in some languages similar to *kv*, which would could be the source for *kw* in Fick's view. On the shift involving *p* and *kw* in Irish and Celtic, see Peter Schrijver, *Language Contact and the Origins of the Germanic Languages* (New York and London: Routledge, 2014), 80–82; https://books. google.com/books?id=MUVJAgAAQBAJ&pg=PA80.

51. Brent D. Galloway, "Some Proto-Central Salish Sound Correspondences," in *In Honor of Mary Haas: From the Mary Haas Festival on Native American Linguistics*, ed. William Shipley (Berlin: Mouton de Gruter, 1988), 293–343, see particularly 320–1

and 326–7; https://books.google.com/books?id=GNHjuqXiIJMC&pg=PA298#v=onepage&q=kw&f=false.

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53. Brian D. Stubbs, "The Labial Labyrinth in Uto-Aztecan," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 61/4 (Oct. 1995): 396–422; http://www.jstor.org/stable/1265830.

54. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 68–69.

55. Ibid., 121.

56. Ibid., 124.

57. Ibid., 104.

58. Ibid., 105.

59. Ibid.

60. Brian Stubbs, "Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now," FAIRMormon Conference presentation.

61. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 105–106.

62. Ibid., 106.

63. Ibid., 107–108.

64. Ibid., 106.

65. Ibid., 106–107

66. Ibid., 55.

67. Ibid., 108.

68. Ibid.

69. Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power of Semitic and Egyptian in Uto-Aztecan*, 303.

70. Ibid., 303–319.

71. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 86.

72. Ibid., 64–65.

73. Ibid., 142–143.

74. Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power of Semitic and Egyptian in Uto-Aztecan*, 10.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid, 304–8.

78. Ibid., 10.

79. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 111.

80. Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, 362.

81. Ibid., 210.

82. Ibid., 218

83. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 99.

84. Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, 171.

85. Ibid., 96.

86. Stubbs, *Changes in Languages from Nephi to Now*, 109; Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, 99.

87. Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, 185.

88. John L. Sorenson, *Mormon's Codex* (Provo: Neal A. Maxwell Institute, 2013), 331–5. See also John L. Sorenson, "An Open Letter to Dr. Michael Coe," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 1 (2012): 91–109; http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/an-open-letter-to-dr-michael-coe/.

89. Sorenson, *Mormon's Codex*, 331–2.

90. Hyacinthe de Charency, "Les noms des metaux chez differents peuples de la Novelle Espange," *Proceedings of the 8th International Congress of Americanits* (Paris, 1890; rept. Nendeln, Lichenstein: Draus, 1968), 536–47, as cited by Sorenson, ibid., 343.

91. Sorenson, *Mormon's Codex*, 343.

92. Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power*, 148-9.

93. Stubbs, *Exploring the Explanatory Power of Semitic and Egyptian in Uto-Aztecan*, 83.

94. Ibid.

95. Jane Wheeler Pires-Ferreira and Billy Joe Evans, "Mössbauer Spectral Analyisis of Olmec Iron Ore Mirrors: New Evidence of Formative Period Exchange Networks in Mesoamerica," in *Cultural Continuity in Mesoamerica*, ed. David L. Browman

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Lehi's Dream and the Garden of Eden

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Abstract: Lehi's dream in 1 Nephi 8 and Nephi's related vision in 1 Nephi 11–14 contain many features related to the biblical garden of Eden, including most prominently the tree of life. A close reading of the features of Lehi's dream in light of the earliest Book of Mormon text shows further similarities to the biblical garden, suggesting that the setting of Lehi's dream is actually the garden of Eden. But the differences are also informative. These include both substantive features absent from the biblical Eden and differences in the language used to describe the features. Many of the variant features are also found in other ancient creation accounts. In view of these observations, it is likely the Book of Mormon presupposes a variant account of the garden of Eden. This variant account forms the backdrop for Lehi's dream and for other references to the garden in the Book of Mormon.

1 Nephi 8 contains a report by Nephi, son of Lehi, of his father's account of a visionary dream. Later, in chapters 11–14, Nephi also reports a vision of his own in which many of the elements of Lehi's dream are explained with the help of two messengers: "the Spirit of the Lord" and an angel. The explicit topographic features of Lehi's dream, as recorded in 1 Nephi 8, can be listed in order of appearance as follows:

> "a dark and dreary wilderness" or "a dark and dreary waste" (1 Nephi 8:4, 7)
>
> "a large and spacious field" (1 Nephi 8:9, 20)
>
> "a tree, whose fruit was desirable to make one happy"; the fruit is also described as sweet and extremely white (1 Nephi 8:10–12)

> "a river of water … near the tree," with a "head" or "head of the fountain" (1 Nephi 8:13–14, 17, 20, 26, 32)
>
> "a rod of iron" extending "along the bank of the river" (1 Nephi 8:19, 24, 30)
>
> "a strait[1] and narrow path, which came along by the rod of iron" and "which led (un)to the tree" (1 Nephi 8:20–23)
>
> "a mist of darkness" (1 Nephi 8:23–24)
>
> "a great and spacious building" across the river from the tree (1 Nephi 8:26–27)
>
> "forbidden paths" or "strange roads" (1 Nephi 8:28, 32)

Some of these topographic features are presented in a different way in Nephi's vision in 1 Nephi 11–14. For instance, it seems as if there are two fountains in Nephi's vision, not just one. Nephi describes one of the fountains as if it were either very near the tree or perhaps even emanating from it, for he writes that the rod of iron led to this fountain, "or," he says, "to the tree of life." This fountain Nephi calls "the fountain of living waters … which waters are a representation of the love of God" (1 Nephi 11:25). The second fountain is mentioned later by Nephi's angelic guide: "Behold the fountain of filthy water which thy father saw; yea, even the river of which he spake; and the depths thereof are the depths of hell" (1 Nephi 12:16). Later, Nephi affirms that Lehi had seen the filthy river, but that the fact that it was filthy was not part of Lehi's explicit description (1 Nephi 15:27).

Another topographic feature presented differently in Nephi's account is what stands between the tree and the great and spacious building. Nephi describes a "great," "terrible," and "awful gulf" that separates the wicked people in the great and spacious building from the righteous people near the tree of life (1 Nephi 12:18; 15:28). This gulf is not explicitly mentioned in Lehi's description of his dream (at least as far as this description is reported by Nephi). In his subsequent explanation of his dream to his brothers, Nephi identifies this gulf with the filthy river (1 Nephi 15:28).

The explanations of elements of the dream, as given in 1 Nephi 11–14, may be summarized briefly as follows:

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1. Here I follow the spelling of the earliest manuscripts and of the 1981 LDS edition, which have "strait and narrow" instead of "straight and narrow." For discussion of the correct spelling, see below.

tree = tree of life, representing love of God (1 Nephi 11:21–22, 25)

fountain of living waters = love of God (1 Nephi 11:25)

rod of iron = word of God (1 Nephi 11:25)

great and spacious building = pride of the world, or "vain imaginations" (1 Nephi 11:36; 12:18)

river of filthy water = hell (1 Nephi 12:16; 15:27, 29)

mist of darkness = temptations of the devil (1 Nephi 12:17)

great and terrible gulf = God's justice (1 Nephi 12:18; 15:28, 30)

In a 1993 article, Corbin Volluz compared Lehi's dream with the garden of Eden as described in Genesis 2–3.[2] According to Volluz, Nephi's statement that "the justice of God did also divide the wicked from the righteous" (1 Nephi 15:30) is connected with the presence of the "cherubim and a flaming sword" placed at the entrance to the garden of Eden (Genesis 3:24; Alma 12:21; 42:2–3).[3] Volluz also connects the "strait and narrow path" of Lehi's dream with the "way of the tree of life" that the cherubim guarded according to Genesis 3:24.[4] Volluz concludes that the tree in Lehi's dream, which Nephi calls the "tree of life," is none other than the tree of life in the garden of Eden.

In the present article, I will take Volluz's observations a step further. I will show that the case for matching the setting of Lehi's dream with the garden of Eden is actually stronger than Volluz indicates. Some of the Book of Mormon textual data that support this argument belong to the original text and are not evident in the current edition; these have recently been brought to the attention of Book of Mormon scholarship through Royal Skousen's Book of Mormon Critical Text Project. Based on these newly available data and the use of motifs from Lehi's dream elsewhere in the Book of Mormon text, I will argue that the setting of Lehi's dream represents a conception of the garden of Eden generally consistent with Genesis 2–3 but varying in some significant matters of detail. In addition, the language used to describe the features of the

2. Corbin T. Volluz, "Lehi's Dream of the Tree of Life: Springboard to Prophecy," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 2/2 (1993): 14–38. See especially pp. 34–37.

3. Volluz, "Lehi's Dream," 34–35.

4. Volluz, "Lehi's Dream," 35.

garden differs from the biblical account, making reference to distinctive concepts such as the sweetness of the fruit, falling, and being lost. These differences not only constitute part of the theological worldview that is characteristic of the Book of Mormon, but they may also presuppose a garden of Eden account different from Genesis 2–3.

The Flaming Sword

According to Genesis 3:24, upon driving Adam and Eve out of the garden of Eden, God "placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life."[5] The King James Version's rendition of the Hebrew in the phrase "a flaming sword which turned every way" is not entirely accurate. The phrase in the Hebrew is *lahaṭ haḥereb hammithappeket*, which means "the flame of the swiveling sword."

Lehi does not mention cherubim nor a sword in the description of his dream in 1 Nephi 8. Nor is there any mention of these things in the current LDS text of Nephi's vision in 1 Nephi 11–14. Volluz connects, on an abstract level, the "justice of God" that divided the wicked from the righteous, as mentioned in 1 Nephi 15:30, with the cherubim and the flaming sword. However, this connection receives strong support from the original text of the Book of Mormon, and the connection turns out to be valid on more than an abstract level. In 1 Nephi 12:18, the angel tells Nephi that "a great and terrible gulf divideth" the wicked from the righteous. The angel's elaboration on this statement reads differently in the original manuscript and in our current edition. Here is the reading of the original manuscript (with punctuation added):

> And a great and a terrible gulf divideth them, yea, even the **sword** of the justice of the eternal God, and Jesus Christ, which is the Lamb of God. (1 Nephi 12:18, original manuscript)

The word *sword* was miscopied as *word* in the printer's manuscript, and this reading persisted until the current edition. The reading with *sword* is undoubtedly correct; not only is it the earliest reading, but the phrase, "the sword of justice," referring to God's justice, occurs frequently in the Book of Mormon (Alma 26:19; 60:29; Helaman 13:5; 3 Nephi 20:20; 29:4; Ether 8:23). In Ether 8:23, the same phrase as in the original manuscript of 1 Nephi 12:18 occurs: "the sword of the justice of

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5. Unless otherwise specified, biblical citations are taken from the King James Version, which is the most relevant to the Book of Mormon.

the eternal God." In contrast, the phrase "the word of the justice of the eternal God" would be an anomaly.[6]

The original reading of this phrase allows us to see Nephi's statement in 1 Nephi 15:30 in a new light. In this verse, Nephi tells his brothers the following:

> Our father also saw that the justice of God did also divide the wicked from the righteous; and the brightness thereof was like unto the brightness of a flaming fire, which ascendeth up unto God forever and ever, and hath no end. (1 Nephi 15:30)

Both 1 Nephi 12:18 and 15:30 refer to the justice of God that divides the wicked from the righteous. Putting these two verses together, God's justice is represented as a sword that is bright like a flaming fire, a fire that forever ascends to God. This image is quite close to that of the "flame of the swiveling sword" mentioned in Genesis 3:24.

Even in the earliest text, the cherubim seem to be absent in the descriptions of Lehi's dream and Nephi's vision. However, there are angelic personages, one serving as a guide in Lehi's visionary journey and the other as a commentator in Nephi's vision. It is possible the angelic personage (referred to as a "man … dressed in a white robe") in Lehi's dream has the role of keeping the way to the tree, and he could thus be analogous to the cherubic guards in Genesis 3:24.[7] Still, the cherubim are

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6. See Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, Part One (Provo: FARMS, 2004), 257–58.

7. This personage is enigmatic in 1 Nephi 8. In verses 5–6, he stands before Lehi and commands Lehi to follow him. This is the last point at which he is explicitly mentioned. However, in verse 8, Lehi prays "unto the Lord that he would have mercy on me, according to the multitude of his tender mercies," after which he beholds the large and spacious field. It is possible, though it is not stated, that the "Lord" to whom Lehi prays in verse 8 is the same as the "man … dressed in a white robe" (compare 3 Nephi 11:8, in which the glorified Christ appears as a "man … clothed in a white robe"). If so, this may connect with what the angel tells Nephi in 1 Nephi 12:18: "And a great and a terrible gulf divideth them, yea, even the sword of the justice of the eternal God, and Jesus Christ, which is the Lamb of God." Read in connection with 1 Nephi 8:5–10, this statement may mean that three things separate the wicked world from the garden in which the tree is found: (1) "a great and a terrible gulf," (2) "the sword of the justice of the Eternal God," and (3) "Jesus Christ, which is the Lamb of God." The latter would, then, correspond to the cherubim of Genesis 3:24. This would also accord with 2 Nephi 9:41: "Behold, the way for man is narrow, but it lieth in a straight course before him, and the keeper of the gate is the Holy One of Israel; and he employeth no servant there." However, the syntax of 1 Nephi 12:18 is ambiguous; the phrase "and Jesus Christ" may connect

a point of difference between the two versions of the garden, at least in the name by which they are called.

Elevation

The garden of Eden was understood to be on a hill or mountain. This is implicit in the statement that "a river went out of Eden" (Genesis 2:10), since rivers, of course, flow downhill. Moreover, in Ezekiel 28:11–16, "Eden the garden of God" is equated with "the holy mountain of God."[8]

The elevation of the garden of Eden, as understood in the Hebrew tradition, compares well with Lehi's dream. Three elements of Lehi's dream implicitly point to the fact that the tree whose fruit Lehi tasted was located on a height above the surrounding terrain. First, Lehi's vantage point near the tree gives him a view of everything around him, including the river and its head (1 Nephi 8:13–14), the straight and narrow path leading ultimately to the "large and spacious field" that is said to be like a "world" (1 Nephi 8:20), and "numberless concourses of people" traveling on various paths (1 Nephi 8:21–22, 28). Second, the head of the river is described as being "a little way off" from the place where Lehi stands by the tree (1 Nephi 8:13–14); as with the description of the river in Genesis 2:10, this implies that Lehi's location is higher than the surrounding area where the river flows. Third, the multitudes coming toward the tree are "pressing forward" (1 Nephi 8:21, 24, 30), which implies that the motion requires physical exertion.[9] Although this could be explained in various ways, it fits with the idea that they are traveling uphill.

Nephi's version of the dream may also implicitly refer to the great height on which the tree is located, for Nephi beholds the tree only after he is "caught away … into an exceedingly high mountain," although it is not definitely stated that the tree was located on that mountain (Nephi sees other things, such as the city of Nazareth, that are certainly not located on the mountain). Nephi also states that the righteous near the

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back to the preposition *of*, as if the text read, "even the sword of the justice of the eternal God and (the justice of) Jesus Christ, which is the Lamb of God."

8. Donald W. Parry, "The Garden of Eden: Sacred Space, Sanctuary, and Temple," *Explorations: Journal for Adventurous Thought* 5 (1987): 84–85; idem, "Garden of Eden: Prototype Sanctuary," in *Temples of the Ancient World*, ed. Donald W. Parry (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1994), 133–37.

9. Compare 1 Nephi 8:31, which currently reads "and he saw other multitudes feeling their way towards that great and spacious building." The original manuscript here read "pressing [spelled prssing] their way" instead of "feeling their way"; see Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants*, Part One, 187.

tree of life were separated from the wicked by a large gulf (1 Nephi 12:18; 15:28), which is characteristic of mountainous terrain.

The Strait and Narrow Path

According to Genesis 3:24, the purpose of the cherubim and flaming sword placed east of the garden of Eden was to guard "the way of the tree of life." In Biblical Hebrew, the word *derek*, literally "the way of," often has the more specific sense of "the path leading toward (a place)." For example, the phrase *derek shur*, literally "the way of Shur," is rendered (correctly) as "the way to Shur" or "the road to Shur" in most translations of Genesis 16:7 (kjv, rsv, niv, etc.).[10] Thus the Hebrew phrase *derek ʿets hakhayyim*, translated as "the way of the tree of life" in the King James version of Genesis 3:24, could also be translated as "the path leading to the tree of life."[11]

The "way" in Genesis 3:24 corresponds to the "strait and narrow path" in Lehi's dream, which is also called "the path which led (un)to the tree" (1 Nephi 8:22, 23). Once the sense of the Hebrew phrase in Genesis 3:24 is understood, the path as described in 1 Nephi is easily recognized as a precise equivalent.

There has been considerable debate on whether the path that Lehi saw was "strait and narrow" (that is, constricted and narrow) or "straight and narrow" (that is, without curves and narrow). It is worthwhile to revisit this issue here, since it affects the translation of the phrase and relates to the topography of Lehi's dream. The scribes of the Book of Mormon manuscripts consistently used the spelling *strait* in phrases referring to a path, way, or course, making it unclear which word was intended; the reading *straight* in our current edition is the result of editing based on context. Modern English usage is also equivocal, as some claim that the common English phrase "straight and narrow" arises from a misunderstanding of "strait" (with reference to a gate) and "narrow"

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10. For mention of this meaning and more examples, see Francis Brown, S. A. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1906), 202, under definition 1 of the word *derek*.

11. Compare the rsv and the niv, which translate the phrase as "the way to the tree of life," using the word *way* (which is more familiar in this context) instead of *path* or *road*. Note that before the widespread construction of paved roads after the Roman conquest, routes of travel in the biblical world were usually what we would refer to today as paths.

(with reference to a way) in Matthew 7:13–14.[12] Moreover, it is uncertain to what degree the considerations of modern usage are relevant for a text such as 1 Nephi 8 that claims a pre-exilic Hebrew background.

Discussions of the phrase "strait/straight and narrow" prior to 2001 did not decide between the two homophonous adjectives.[13] A 1992 study by Welch and McKinlay addressed the issue but did not prefer one reading over the other, instead suggesting insights to be gained from both.[14] In 2001, an article by Reynolds and Skousen argued for the reading *straight* based on Skousen's work on variant readings of the Book of Mormon, and the position articulated in that article was further elaborated by Skousen in 2004.[15] The only substantial reply to this view, supporting the reading *strait*, was published in 2003 by Hoskisson; Welch responded to this article, arguing for *straight*, in 2007.[16]

Basically, the arguments for the reading *straight* boil down to two. The foremost argument is the seemingly blatant redundancy of "strait and narrow." Support is also drawn from other scriptural passages thought to allude to Lehi's dream or to be thematically linked to it. The most significant of these other passages are Nephi's plea that the Lord "make my path straight before me" in 2 Nephi 4:33; Jacob's statement in 2 Nephi 9:41 that "the way for man is narrow, but it lieth in a straight course before him"; and Nephi's references to the "straightness of the path" and the "straight and narrow path" (according to an emended reading of the text) in 2 Nephi 31:9, 18–19.

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12. See Paul Y. Hoskisson, "Straightening Things Out: The Use of *Strait* and *Straight* in the Book of Mormon," *JBMS* 12/2 (2003): 63 with note 23, who refers to the Oxford English Dictionary. But the phrase "straight and narrow" is also used by the early Church fathers Cyprian and Origen, for whom the mixup based on homophony would not apply. For this, see John S. Welch, "Straight (Not Strait) and Narrow," *JBMS* 16/1 (2007): 19–20.

13. See, for example, Daniel B. McKinlay, "Strait and Narrow," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1419, assuming (not arguing) for "strait."

14. John W. Welch and Daniel B. McKinlay, "Getting Things Strai[gh]t," in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City and Provo: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1992), 260–62.

15. Noel B. Reynolds and Royal Skousen, "What the Path Nephi Saw 'Strait and Narrow' or 'Straight and Narrow'?" *JBMS* 10/2 (2001): 30–33; Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, vol. 1 (Provo, UT: FARMS, 2004), 174–81.

16. Hoskisson, "Straightening Things Out," 58–71; Welch, "Straight (Not Strait) and Narrow," 18–25.

In his 2003 article, Hoskisson suggests that the seemingly redundant phrase "strait and narrow" may have a precise equivalent in the Hebrew Bible, in which the synonymous and alliterative roots ṣwr/ṣrr "confine, be restricted, narrow" and ṣwq "constrain, bring into straits" are conjoined in some passages.[17] For example, Isaiah 30:6, according to one possible rendering, refers to a "strait and narrow land." Words from these roots are also conjoined in Psalm 119:143 and Job 15:24. It is possible that Lehi, under influence of the Hebrew literary tradition, used the same conjoined pair in his description of the path leading to the tree of life.[18] (It is also possible that Nephi, who wrote in Egyptian, according to 1 Nephi 1:2, rendered this phrase in his own record using equivalent Egyptian words. In the ancient Egyptian Tale of the Eloquent Peasant, for example, a path is similarly described as being "narrow and not wide."[19]) In support of Hoskisson's suggestion, other seemingly redundant phrases occur not only generally in the Book of Mormon, but specifically in reference to the elements of Lehi's dream in 1 Nephi 8. For example, note the phrases "large and spacious field" (1 Nephi 8:9, 20) and "great and spacious building" (1 Nephi 8:26–27).[20] It is difficult to understand why the phrase "strait and narrow path" would be any more objectionable than these. Indeed, the occurrence of these other phrases describing size, in reference to elements of the same dream, rather lead one to expect the redundant phrase describing the width of the path.

The other textual passages frequently cited in support of the reading "straight and narrow" seem to me less persuasive than this clear

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17. For these roots, see Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 847–48, 864.

18. Hoskisson, "Straightening Things Out," 63–64.

19. See F. Vogelsang and Alan H. Gardiner, *Literarische Texte des mittleren Reiches I: Die Klagen des Bauern* (Leipzig, Germany: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908), 9 (German translation), plate 1 (original hieratic), plate 1a (hieroglyphic transcription).

20. Skousen lists these and other synonymous conjuncts in the Book of Mormon in *Analysis of Textual Variants*, 1:176. He acknowledges that they represent a "potential argument … that the redundant 'straight and narrow' is permissible," although he ultimately decides on the reading "straight and narrow." According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word *spacious* means "of vast or indefinite extent or area; wide, extensive," or "that has a large surface area; that covers a wide area; extensive, expansive, large" (definition 1.a–b). It is true that the word in reference to "a room, dwelling, etc." can mean "that has or provides ample space or room; large, roomy, commodious" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, definition 2.a). However, this sense does not easily fit Lehi's description of the building, since it is not clear whether he was able to see inside it; we only learn of his impression that it was "filled with people" (1 Nephi 8:27).

evidence from the Hebrew background and the immediate context. Each of these passages, on closer examination, turns out to support the reading "straight and narrow path" only weakly, if at all. In the case of Nephi's plea to "make my path straight" in 2 Nephi 4:33, the thematic relationship to the path in Lehi's dream is doubtful. The Hebraic phrase "to make a path straight" (*pinnah derek*; see Isaiah 40:3; 57:14; 62:10; Malachi 3:1) refers to clearing obstacles out of the path and not to rendering a path less curved; thus it belongs to a different type of imagery than the straight path or course in passages such as 2 Nephi 9:41.[21] As for 2 Nephi 9:41, the thematic link with the path in Lehi's dream seems likely; yet Jacob's imagery here, which includes a gate and the presence of the Holy One of Israel as the gatekeeper, seems quite different from the landscape around the tree of life in Lehi's dream. A "straight course" is to be expected in a built environment, but not in mountainous terrain such as Lehi's description implies. And while I also agree that 2 Nephi 31 is thematically related to 1 Nephi 8, this would support the reading "straight and narrow" only if one follows the subjective emendation of *strait(ness)* to *straight(ness)* in 2 Nephi 31:9, 18–20. Other passages that may be thematically related to the path in Lehi's dream are subject to similar considerations. Thus I remain convinced by Hoskisson's argument that the path in Lehi's dream was "strait and narrow," not "straight and narrow."

The Fertile Garden and the Wilderness Beyond

In Genesis 2–3, there is a basic contrast between the garden, on the one hand, and the world from which Adam and Eve were taken and into which they were later driven, on the other. The latter was characterized by dust (Genesis 2:7; 3:19), thorns and thistles (Genesis 3:18), and toil (Genesis 3:17, 19). The garden was the antithesis of this, a place of rivers and of "every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food" (Genesis 2:8–10).

This basic contrast is reflected in the "dark and dreary wilderness/waste" and the "large and spacious field" of Lehi's dream (1 Nephi 8:4, 7, 9, 20). McConkie and Millet, commenting on the "dark and dreary waste," state that "this seems to be a symbolic representation of fallen man in the lone and dreary world."[22] It is only after Lehi is brought into the "large and spacious field" that he encounters the tree and rivers.

21. See Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 815.

22. Joseph Fielding McConkie and Robert L. Millet, *Doctrinal Commentary on the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 1:56.

Although the words *field* and *garden* have different meanings, the two concepts are close, especially in the context of the biblical world. The Hebrew word *karmel*, meaning "plantation, garden-land," is translated as "fruitful field" in several places in the King James Bible (Isaiah 10:18; 29:17; 32:15, 16). Other passages also associate fields with fruitfulness and luxuriance (Isaiah 32:12; Ezekiel 17:5). According to one possible etymology, the Hebrew name *Eden* may derive from a Semitic word meaning "plain," which suggests an expansive piece of land, similar to a field.[23] Thus, while the field of Lehi's dream is obviously larger than what most people would call a "garden" today, it is possible this field reflects an ancient conception of Eden (on the large-scale character of the topography of Lehi's dream in comparison with the biblical garden of Eden, see below).

Rivers and Heads

Genesis 2:10 (KJV) states that "a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads." The word *heads* is a literal translation of the Hebrew word *rashim*. Some translations render this word loosely as "rivers" (RSV, cf. *Jerusalem Bible* "streams"); however, the specific sense is captured by the NIV rendering, "headwaters" — that is, "the part of a river or stream closest to its source."[24] The four rivers are described in Genesis 2:11–14.

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23. Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 726–27; Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, study edition (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2001), 1:792.

24. *Oxford English Dictionary* online, under "headwater," definition 3. (Note that definition 1, "a main or principal river," is now obsolete or rare and thus is not likely the intended meaning in the NIV.) The NIV rendering agrees with Brown, Driver, and Briggs, who give the meaning of *rashim* in Genesis 2:10 as "river-heads," meaning "sources of rivers" (*Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 911, under *rosh*, definition 4c; *Oxford English Dictionary* online, "river-head," found under "river," C3). The renderings in the RSV and the *Jerusalem Bible* agree with Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*, 2:1166, under *rosh*, definition 9f ii: "of a stream, meaning branching streams." The meaning given by Brown, Driver, and Briggs and adopted by NIV — that is, a river at the point where it emanates from its source — agrees better with the etymological meaning of the word *rashim* ("heads"). It also provides an acceptable sense in the context of the description of Eden. Rather than picturing a single river coursing through Eden and then parting into four rivers outside of Eden, this interpretation pictures the river parting into four immediately at its source. This allows the center of Eden to function as the point from which the four rivers flow out toward the four points of the compass. For this concept, which is present in many ancient traditions of the creation, see

The river that Lehi sees in his dream is also described as having a "head." According to 1 Nephi 8:14, Lehi looked "to behold whence [the river] came," and he "saw the head thereof a little way off." It was at this head, or source, that Lehi saw some of his family members. The "head of the river" or "head of the fountain" is also mentioned in 1 Nephi 8:17 and 20.[25] As mentioned above, Nephi's vision includes not just one but two "fountains": (1) "the fountain of living waters" (1 Nephi 11:25), which is not mentioned in Lehi's account; and (2) "the fountain of filthy water" (1 Nephi 12:16), which is identified with the fountain Lehi describes. The first of these, very much like the second, appears to have had its source very close to the tree of life.

As with the flaming sword (without mention of cherubim) and the "large and spacious field" (instead of a "garden"), the correspondence between the two rivers of Lehi's dream and the river with four heads of Genesis 2:10–14 is not perfect. However, on a basic level, the motif of waters emanating from the vicinity of the tree of life is common to both. A life-giving water source (*meqor khayyim* "spring of life," or *meqor mayim khayyim* "spring of living waters"), thought to be located at God's garden abode, features prominently in other biblical passages (see Psalm 36:8–10; Jeremiah 17:12–13). The motif is also common in Near Eastern mythology and temple ideology.[26] Fawcett makes reference to various ancient creation traditions that feature two rivers, one being the celestial waters and the other the subterranean waters; these, he writes, may "appear at first to be in conflict with the usual motif of four rivers," but they embody "a related concept."[27]

Mist

Genesis 2:6 mentions a "mist" that arose from and watered the ground. In the context of Genesis 2, this mist serves the function of allowing

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Thomas Fawcett, *Hebrew Myth and Christian Gospel* (London: SCM Press, 1973), 279–81.

25.   It seems the words *fountain* and *river* are used interchangeably. This is clear in 1 Nephi 12:16: "Behold the fountain of filthy water which thy father saw; yea, even the river of which he spake; and the depths thereof are the depths of hell." Compare 1 Nephi 8:32: "many were drowned in the depths of the fountain"; also 1 Nephi 2:9: "the waters of the river emptied into the fountain of the Red Sea."

26.   See John M. Lundquist, "What Is a Temple? A Preliminary Typology," in *Temples of the Ancient World*, ed. Donald W. Parry (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994), 88–89; Dexter E. Callender, Adam in *Myth and History: Ancient Israelite Perspectives on the Primal Human* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 50–54.

27.   Fawcett, *Hebrew Myth*, 281.

vegetation to grow, just as the creation of Adam serves the function of providing for the tilling of the soil (Genesis 2:4–7). The Hebrew word translated as "mist," *ed*, occurs only here and in Job 36:27. In both places, it is associated with watering the ground.

Although the functions are clearly different, the mist in Genesis 2:6 may correspond on some level to the "mist of darkness" in Lehi's dream. The latter is not associated with the watering of the ground but rather with an obscuring of vision that results in the wicked becoming lost. This mist seems to be associated with the filthy river. Note, for example, that the river and the mist are mentioned side-by-side in 1 Nephi 12:16–17. The Hebrew word *ed* "mist" has a homophone that means "distress, calamity," often used in reference to the paths of the wicked or to their fate,[28] and it is possible that the similarity between these two words prompted a sinister understanding of the biblical mist in the context of Lehi's dream.

It may be noted that there is some textual variation between *mist* and *mists* in references to the mist of darkness in the Book of Mormon. In its first instance (1 Nephi 8:23) and in all subsequent instances in which the word is indefinite, the word is singular: "a(n exceeding great) mist of darkness" (1 Nephi 8:23; 12:4). But when the word is preceded by the definite article *the*, it is always plural in the earliest text: "the mists of darkness" (1 Nephi 8:24; 12:17; 3 Nephi 8:22).[29] The one instance of the word *ed* in Genesis 2 is singular and indefinite, which agrees with the usage in the Book of Mormon. Thus the variation in the Book of Mormon instances of "mist(s) of darkness" does not necessarily constitute a point of difference from the biblical mist.

The Rod and the Word

One of the most salient elements of Lehi's dream is the rod of iron, which, according to 1 Nephi 8:19, "extended along the bank of the river and led to the tree" by which Lehi stood. Descriptions of how the people in Lehi's dream used the rod to approach the tree are found in 1 Nephi 8:24, 30:

> And it came to pass that I beheld others pressing forward, and
> they came forth and caught hold of the end of the rod of iron;
> and they did press forward through the mist of darkness,

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28. Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 15.

29. The instance in 1 Nephi 8:24 reads as *mist* in our current edition, but the original manuscript reads *mists*. See Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants*, 1:182–83.

> clinging to the rod of iron, even until they did come forth and partake of the fruit of the tree. (1 Nephi 8:24)

> But, to be short in writing, behold, he saw other multitudes pressing forward; and they came and caught hold of the end of the rod of iron; and they did press their way forward, continually holding fast to the rod of iron, until they came forth and fell down and partook of the fruit of the tree. (1 Nephi 8:30)

Most modern artistic renderings of Lehi's dream depict the rod of iron as a railing alongside the path leading to the tree.[30] Yet it is curious that people in both verses are described as catching hold of the end of the rod (rather than some point along its length), and they are described as "clinging" or "continually holding fast" to the rod (rather than moving along it hand over hand).

Matthew Bowen has pointed out that the rod of iron in Lehi's dream, which signifies the word of God, according to 1 Nephi 11:25 and 15:23–24, has an interesting parallel in the Egyptian word *mdw*, which means both "staff, rod" and "speech, word"; Bowen argues that Nephi's record, which was written in "the language of the Egyptians" (1 Nephi 1:2), contains a wordplay on the two senses of this word.[31] Nephi's understanding of the significance of the rod may even have been informed by his knowledge of this word's two meanings. John Tvedtnes has also shown, again in connection with the rod as the word of God in Lehi's dream, that shepherd's rods and royal scepters were symbolically linked with the word of God in the cultural milieu of the ancient Near East.[32] If the evidence cited by Bowen and Tvedtnes is appropriate, however, then this would imply that the rod of iron was actually a rod or staff and not the usually-depicted railing. Zachary Nelson observes that railings are "seldom seen in ancient architecture," and he argues that the rod of iron

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30. Lehi's dream is a very popular subject for artworks by Latter-day Saints. For many interesting examples with discussion, see Richard G. Oman, "Lehi's Vision of the Tree of Life: A Cross-Cultural Perspective in Contemporary Latter-day Saint Art," *BYU Studies* 32 (Fall 1992): 5–34.

31. Matthew L. Bowen, "What Meaneth the Rod of Iron?" *Insights* 25/2 (2005): 2–3; Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, UK: Griffith Institute, 1962), 122.

32. John A. Tvedtnes, "Rod and Sword as the Word of God," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 5/2 (1996): 148–55.

in Lehi's dream was a kind of staff or walking stick. "Though railings were rare in Lehi's world," writes Nelson, "rods or staffs were not."[33]

The idea that the "rod of iron" was actually a staff and not a railing thus seems to make the best sense in terms of the ancient context of Lehi's dream, and it accords with the description of how people grasped the rod in 1 Nephi 8. It may be difficult to see how this fits with Lehi's statement, as recorded in 1 Nephi 8:19, that the rod "extended along the bank of the river and led to the tree by which I stood." However, this problem may be solved by the double meaning of another Egyptian word, *mꜣꜥ*. This verb means both "lead, guide, direct" and "extend."[34] If the text used this Egyptian word, then the original meaning of 1 Nephi 8:19 could have been something like "it guided (people) along the bank of the river, up to the tree by which I stood." The current translation could arise from an assumption that the "rod" was a railing.[35] The idea that this Egyptian word was used in the text is especially likely in view of Bowen's arguments about the Egyptian word *mdw*. In fact, there may be a similar wordplay at work with the word *mꜣꜥ*, since the homonymous Egyptian adjective *mꜣꜥ* means "true (of speech); just, righteous."[36] The wordplay would imply that the word of God is true and that it leads people in righteous actions.

There does not appear to be an equivalent of the rod of iron in biblical descriptions of the garden of Eden. However, if the rod of iron is understood as a supernatural staff rather than a railing, there is a possibility of an indirect connection. There is a "rod of iron" mentioned in Psalm 2:9: "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." A similar reference to a rod is found in Psalm 110:2: "The LORD shall send the rod of thy strength out of

33. Zachary Nelson, "The Rod of Iron in Lehi's Dream," *The Religious Educator* 10/3 (2009): 49–57.

34. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 102.

35. Joseph Smith's mother Lucy records a dream that Joseph's father, Joseph Smith Sr., had that closely resembles Lehi's dream. In Joseph Smith Sr.'s dream, he saw a stream, and "as far as my eyes could extend I could see a rope, running along the bank of it, about as high as a man could reach." Lucy records this experience as taking place soon after the family's move to Lebanon, New Hampshire, in 1811 — more than a decade before Joseph Smith even knew of the Book of Mormon. However, Lucy's history was not recorded until 1845, long after the Book of Mormon had been published, and it is an open question whether the dream influenced Joseph Smith's interpretation of 1 Nephi 8 or vice versa. See Lucy Mack Smith, "History of the Prophet Joseph by His Mother," *Improvement Era*, 1902, 55–57.

36. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 101.

Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies." Here it is clear that the rod, although it is associated with the royal addressee of the Psalm, is that of the LORD. The word *send* in this verse corresponds to the verb *shalakh* in the original Hebrew; this Hebrew verb can also mean "stretch out, extend," and it may have this sense here. However, the image of the Lord "sending" his iron rod from the place of his throne in Zion, as if it could move of its own volition, would accord with the interpretation of the iron rod in 1 Nephi 8 as a supernatural staff. Elsewhere, the scriptures speak of God's word or voice going forth from Zion (Isaiah 2:3; Joel 3:16; cf. the image of "send[ing] out his voice" in Psalm 68:33). Thus the iron rod in 1 Nephi 8 may be understood as the Lord's rod sent forth from the tree of life.[37] Of course, this is quite speculative, and at most it establishes only an indirect connection, but it shows that a rod of iron would not necessarily be out of place in an ancient Israelite conception of the environs of the tree of life.

Two Trees?

In the biblical account of the garden of Eden, two trees are central to the garden itself and to the story: "the tree of life" and "the tree of knowledge of good and evil" (Genesis 2:9). The description of Lehi's dream in 1 Nephi 8 contrasts with Genesis 2–3 by focusing on just one tree, the tree of life. Is there an equivalent of the tree of knowledge of good and evil in Lehi's dream? It can be stated with certainty that there is no explicit mention of a second tree in any of the textual sources for 1 Nephi 8. However, in 1 Nephi 8:29, Nephi writes, "And now, I, Nephi, do not speak all the words of my father." Thus it is possible that a second tree was originally part of Lehi's narrative of his dream and that it was left out of the written account. If this is so, it would fit with some aspects of the dream as reported by Nephi. Just as the strait and narrow path led to the tree of life, it would make sense to have a forbidden tree to which the "forbidden paths" mentioned in 1 Nephi 8:28 led. In similar fashion, one may note that Nephi's version of the dream included two fountains, namely the "fountain of living waters" and the fountain from which the river of filthy water emanated; and since the former fountain was located near the tree of life, it would make sense for the latter to be associated with a tree as well.

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37. According to Jewish tradition, the rod of the kings of Judah was none other than the rod of Moses, given to him by the Lord, which he used to lead the Israelites through the sea. See Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1968), 6:106–7n600.

There is actually another tree mentioned in the same speech in which Lehi reported his dream. In 1 Nephi 10, Nephi paraphrases more of his father's words:

> Yea, even my father spake much concerning the Gentiles, and also concerning the house of Israel, that they should be compared like unto an olive-tree, whose branches should be broken off and should be scattered upon all the face of the earth. … And after the house of Israel should be scattered they should be gathered together again; or, in fine, after the Gentiles had received the fulness of the Gospel, the natural branches of the olive-tree, or the remnants of the house of Israel, should be grafted in, or come to the knowledge of the true Messiah, their Lord and their Redeemer. (1 Nephi 10:12, 14)

The text does not state that this olive tree was part of Lehi's dream; however, as it was part of the same speech by Lehi, it is possible it was connected with the dream in ways left out of Nephi's abbreviated account. Later in the Book of Mormon, Jacob, quoting from the brass plates, describes a very similar olive tree in an allegory by Zenos (Jacob 5). In this allegory, the "Lord of the vineyard" and his servant scatter and then graft in the branches of the tree. The tree in the allegory represents the house of Israel, just like the tree which Lehi describes. At one point in the allegory, the master, who represents God, tastes the fruit in order to ascertain its goodness:

> And it came to pass that the Lord of the vineyard did taste of the fruit, every sort according to its number. And the Lord of the vineyard said: Behold, this long time have we nourished the tree, and I have laid up unto myself against the season much fruit. But behold, this time it hath brought forth much fruit, and there is none of it which is good. And behold, there are all kinds of bad fruit; and it profiteth me nothing, notwithstanding all our labor; and now it grieveth me that I should lose this tree. (Jacob 5:31–32)

This clearly represents God's knowledge of the righteousness or wickedness of his people (see Jacob 6:7). It is possible to equate this olive tree with the biblical tree of knowledge of good and evil. Zenos's allegory locates the olive tree in the Lord's "vineyard," which is similar to the

tree of knowledge of good and evil located in the garden.[38] By tasting the individual fruits, the Lord ascertains the goodness or badness of the various branches, and this in turn represents the good or evil status of his people. The fruit therefore imparts knowledge of good and evil. In the same way, one can speculate that the biblical tree of knowledge of good and evil was a means by which God would foretell the goodness or evil of mankind. By partaking of the forbidden fruit, then, Adam and Eve would have usurped a divine privilege. This understanding would add symbolic meaning to Lehi's statement that the "remnants of the house of Israel," by being grafted into the tree, will "come to the knowledge of the true Messiah" (1 Nephi 10:14).

Ultimately, there is not enough evidence to point with certainty to a counterpart of the tree of knowledge of good and evil in Lehi's dream, although some details are suggestive enough to allow for such a possibility. From the standpoint of narrative typology, the role of the biblical tree of knowledge of good and evil, the opposite of the tree of life (cf. 2 Nephi 2:15), is taken by the great and spacious building in Lehi's dream. Note in this connection that after some people partook of the fruit of the tree of life, "they were ashamed" because of the scoffing inhabitants of the building (1 Nephi 8:25–28). This is similar to Adam and Eve's realization of their nakedness and their experience of shame after partaking of the forbidden fruit (Genesis 2:25; 3:7, 10).

A Variant Conception of the Garden of Eden

The elements of correspondence between the garden of Eden as described in Genesis on the one hand, and the environs of the tree of life as described in the Book of Mormon on the other, are summarized in Table 1 (listed in order of discussion).

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38. For the general connection of the "vineyard" of Zenos's allegory with the garden of Eden, see Matthew L. Bowen, "'I Have Done According to My Will': Reading Jacob 5 as a Temple Text," in *The Temple: Ancient and Restored*, ed. Stephen D. Ricks and Donald W. Parry (Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 2016), 245. Bowen links the olive tree of Jacob 5 to the biblical tree of life. See also the insightful discussion of olive trees and date palms in connection with the tree of life in Jeffrey Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Book of Moses* (Salt Lake City: Eborn Publishing, 2010), 65–67. Notwithstanding these studies, it seems to me that the olive tree of Jacob 5 compares more fruitfully with the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

Table 1: Elements of Lehi's Dream and the Garden of Eden

Garden of Eden	Lehi's Dream	Degree of Similarity
tree of life	tree of life	high
a flaming sword which turned every way (Genesis 3:24)	"the sword of the justice of the eternal God," which is bright like "the brightness of a flaming fire" (1 Nephi 12:18; 15:30)	high
elevated location	elevated location	high
"the way of the tree of life," meaning the path leading to the tree (Genesis 3:24)	"a strait and narrow path … which led (un)to the tree" (1 Nephi 8:20–23)	high
contrast between fertile garden and world of toil	contrast between "large and spacious field" and "dark and dreary wilderness/waste" (1 Nephi 8:4, 7, 9, 20)	high
four rivers with "heads"	two rivers with "heads" or "fountains"	medium
"mist" that waters the garden	"mist of darkness"	low
divine "rod (of iron)" associated with the royalty of Judah (Psalm 2:9; 110:2)	"rod of iron" leading to the tree (1 Nephi 8:19)	uncertain
"tree of knowledge of good and evil"	second tree implicit in Lehi's dream, or great and spacious building	uncertain

The two topographies, while differing in some respects, are similar in terms of their essential elements. Given this fundamental similarity, along with the fact that the various differences in detail fit within a

coherent topography that also matches other Near Eastern mythological motifs (for example, the two rivers instead of four), the setting of Lehi's dream can be understood as the garden of Eden. However, it is not the familiar version of the garden as depicted in the Genesis account. The version of the garden that we find described in Lehi's dream may presuppose a variant scriptural account belonging to the literary milieu of Lehi's day (possibly contained in one of the records on the brass plates). Or, if not a variant scriptural account, it may presuppose an ancient popular conception of the garden. By being set in the garden of Eden, the dream would resonate in powerful ways with Lehi and those who would later study the dream. The setting would evoke the circumstances of the fall of man and a return to the location of God's presence.

The differences between the biblical garden and the setting of Lehi's dream are informative. In addition to the differences noted already (including the absence of cherubim in Lehi's dream, the number of rivers, the nature of the mist, the presence of the iron rod, and the focus on one tree instead of two), there are other differences that involve a major shift from the garden of Eden in Genesis. One difference is that of scale. This is evident through the description in 1 Nephi 8. The field surrounding the tree is explicitly "large and spacious," and it is further described in 1 Nephi 8:20 as "a large and spacious field, as if it had been a world." The building across the river from the tree of life was also "great and spacious" (1 Nephi 8:26). This contrasts with the biblical garden of Eden. Although there are no explicit indicators of scale in Genesis 2–3, it is significant that the entire narrative can be imagined as taking place in a very small space. No travel takes place in the narrative, unlike Lehi's dream, in which "numberless concourses of people" are "pressing forward" toward the tree (1 Nephi 8:21).[39] When Adam and Eve hear the voice of God and hide themselves in the trees (Genesis 3:8), one gets the impression that the action is taking place in a very small setting, for they are close enough to the hear the voice, and they hide rather than escaping to a more remote location. Elsewhere, I have argued that the Genesis account of the garden is purposely constructed to fit a ritual performance, which would take place in the confines of the Solomonic

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39. A reviewer of an earlier version of this article makes the intriguing suggestion that the multitudes pressing forward are pilgrims to the ancient sacred site of Eden. This would explain why the multitudes would be traveling there in the first place.

temple.[40] This would explain the implicit smallness of scale in the Genesis account. The large scale of Lehi's dream, however, would actually make for a more realistic setting for the narrative. After all, with a whole world to themselves, why would Adam and Eve be confined to a tiny garden? This suggests that alongside the ritual text found in Genesis 2–3, there may have been a more expansive scriptural account of the fall of man, whose setting became the basis for Lehi's dream.

The fact that the number of humans present in Lehi's dream is much greater than those in the biblical garden of Eden should not be surprising, since the latter deals with the parents of the human race, whereas Lehi's dream deals with the destinies of the human family. However, the comparison between the two is strengthened by the fact that one can understand the humans in both cases as representative of the whole human family. "Adam" in Hebrew means "man," and it is not a stretch to understand Adam and Eve as types of all men and all women respectively.

Another difference that constitutes a major shift in the setting is the presence of the "great and spacious building" in Lehi's dream, which is absent from the biblical account in Genesis 2–3. In Nephi's subsequent vision, the building is interpreted as a symbol of "the world and the wisdom thereof" (1 Nephi 11:35), "the pride of the world" (1 Nephi 11:36), and "vain imaginations and the pride of the children of men" (1 Nephi 12:18). This building is a countertype to the tree of life and the church of Christ; it represents those who "fight against the twelve apostles of the Lamb" (1 Nephi 11:36). In the latter part of Nephi's vision, the building (which is destroyed in the first part of the dream) is replaced by another countertype, the "mother of abominations" or church of the devil, which fights against the church of the Lamb. I argued above that the great and spacious building, as a countertype to the tree of life, corresponds to the tree of knowledge of good and evil in the biblical garden of Eden account. But by virtue of its role as the opponent of God and his work, the building also corresponds to the serpent in the biblical account. The building and the serpent are thus equivalent symbols in terms of their role, although they are vastly different from a physical standpoint.

Distinctive Language

Another important difference between Lehi's account and the garden narrative in Genesis 2–3 is that of the terms used to describe elements of the garden. In some cases, these descriptive terms refer to substantive

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40. See David Calabro, "Joseph Smith and the Architecture of Genesis," in *The Temple: Ancient and Restored*, 165–81.

elements not present in the biblical account; in other cases, however, the difference is simply a matter of word choice. For example, the tree in Lehi's dream is described as being "white" (1 Nephi 8:11; 11:8), and its fruit is said to make one "happy" (1 Nephi 8:10) and to impart "joy" (1 Nephi 8:12; 11:22–23). Surprisingly, the wording of the tree's description in 1 Nephi 8:10 most closely matches Genesis' description not of the tree of life but rather of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Yet there is a critical difference in the condition (happy vs. wise) that is expected to result from partaking of the fruit:

> a tree whose fruit was desirable to make one happy
> (1 Nephi 8:10)

> a tree to be desired to make *one* wise (Genesis 3:6)

Whiteness and the effect of happiness or joy are substantive features of the tree of life that are not found in the biblical account. Descriptions of partaking of fruit, however, are found in both accounts but show a difference in word choice. In Genesis 2–3, references to partaking of fruit, including both the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil and that of the tree of life, consistently use the verb *eat* (Hebrew *akal*). This verb occurs in reference to partaking of these trees' fruit 16 times in Genesis 2–3, while the verbs *partake* and *taste* are never used (Genesis 2:16–17; 3:1–3, 5–6, 11–13, 17, 22). By contrast, 1 Nephi 8 uses *partake* (13 times) and *taste* (2 times) in reference to the fruit of the tree of life, but never *eat* (1 Nephi 8:11–12, 15–18, 24–25, 27–28, 30, 33, 35). People also "fall down and partake" of the fruit in 1 Nephi 8:30; this curious expression perhaps means that the people prostrate themselves in thanksgiving and then arise to pluck and eat the fruit.[41]

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41. Interestingly, the Book of Moses includes one instance of the verb *partake*, and this happens to be in the only reference in Moses 3–4 (the chapters corresponding to Genesis 2–3) to partaking of the fruit of the tree of life: "and now lest he put forth his hand and partake also of the tree of life, and eat and live forever" (Moses 4:28). The corresponding verse in the kjv, Genesis 3:22, is virtually identical, but with the verb *take* instead of *partake*. The kjv reading (which follows the received Hebrew text) describes a sequence: reaching with the hand, taking the fruit, and then eating (cf. the sequence of taking fruit and then eating in Genesis 3:6). The reading in Moses 4:28 replaces this three-part sequence with a two-part one (reaching and partaking), and the verb *eat* that follows then repeats the idea of partaking. The reading partake in Moses 4:28, referring to the fruit of the tree of life, is very likely connected to the use of the same verb in 1 Nephi 8, but the nature of the connection is uncertain. Possibly Joseph Smith's change here restores a reading to which Lehi had access, so that the use of the verb *partake* in 1 Nephi 8

In the Genesis account, after Adam and Eve had eaten of the fruit, they "hid themselves" when they heard the voice of God (Genesis 3:8), after which God appeared and "sent forth" or "drove out" the man and, implicitly, his wife (Genesis 3:23–24). These verbs emphasize God's agency in orchestrating the outcome of Adam and Eve's transgression. By contrast, the Book of Mormon uses verbs that call attention to the agency of man. This is evident, for example, in 1 Nephi 8:28:

> And after they had tasted of the fruit they were ashamed, because of those that were scoffing at them; and they fell away into forbidden paths and were lost.

While the reference to being "ashamed" may call to mind the forbidden fruit, the reference here is actually to the fruit of the tree of life. The term *fall away* also occurs in 1 Nephi 8:34. The term suggests apostasy (compare 2 Thessalonians 2:3; Alma 24:30), but the motif of departure from the tree of life is also suggestive of Adam's transgression and subsequent expulsion. The adverb *away* accords with the fact that Lehi, as an actor within the vision, sees people going down and away from where he stands near the tree of life; it contrasts with the verb *come* by which he describes people moving toward the tree. If the vision had been narrated from an outside perspective, the verb *fall* by itself would have been appropriate, which would more readily suggest the fall of man. The ultimate result of the people's departure from the tree is that they are "lost," a notion also found in verses 23 and 32. These other verses make clear that what is described is not merely being unable to find one's way:

> insomuch that they who had commenced in the path did lose their way, that they wandered off and were lost. (1 Nephi 8:23)

> and many were lost from his view, wandering in strange roads. (1 Nephi 8:32)

In verse 23, people do lose their way, and wandering off and being lost are ensuing results. Being "lost" is thus a final state here, not synonymous with losing one's way. In verse 32, it is clear that the people are lost specifically from Lehi's view. The sense in all instances could be

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simply follows the Genesis account available to Lehi. However, it could also be that Joseph Smith was influenced by 1 Nephi 8 (and other Book of Mormon passages that refer to partaking of the fruit of the tree of life, such as Alma 42:5) as he made the change in Moses 4:28. In any case, the use of the verb *taste* and the expression "fall down and partake" are still distinctive in 1 Nephi 8.

that of being hidden from view. However, in verses 23 and 28, there may also be the sense of "ruined, esp. morally or spiritually."[42]

The Variant Garden of Eden in 2 Nephi 2

The connection between Lehi's dream and the garden of Eden is evident in Lehi's discourse to his sons in 2 Nephi 2. Here Lehi makes explicit reference to the garden of Eden and the actions of Adam and Eve in the garden, but the conception of the garden in this discourse, as well as the language Lehi uses to describe it, are strongly reminiscent of the dream described in 1 Nephi 8 and 11–14.

In his discourse, Lehi describes the opposition between the two trees in the garden in terms of the taste of the fruit:

> [I]t must needs be that there was an opposition, even the forbidden fruit in opposition to the tree of life, the one being sweet and the other bitter (2 Nephi 2:15)

Here it must be assumed that it is the fruit of the tree of life that is sweet and the forbidden fruit that is bitter. This accords with Lehi's description of the fruit in his dream (1 Nephi 8:11; cf. Alma 32:42), although it is at odds with the notion, repeated in Latter-day Saint ritual settings, that the forbidden fruit was delicious and desirable (compare the statement that the fruit was "good for food" in Genesis 3:6). Lehi also implicitly associates the tree of life, the embodiment of eternal life, with joy; this is opposed to misery, which is the object of the devil's enticements (2 Nephi 2:23, 25, 27). As with eating the fruit of the tree of life in 1 Nephi 8, Lehi uses the verb *partake* twice in reference to eating the forbidden fruit (2 Nephi 2:18, 19), but never the verb *eat*.

People in various Christian denominations today are accustomed to speaking of the "forbidden fruit" and the "fall of man" in connection with the garden of Eden narrative. These terms are foreign to the account as given in Genesis 2–3, but they do occur in reference to the garden in 2 Nephi 2. Lehi refers to the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil as "the forbidden fruit" (2 Nephi 2:15, 18). He describes partaking of the fruit and being driven out of the garden as "the fall" (2 Nephi 2:26; compare the phrase "the fall of man" earlier in verse 4, and the phrase "Adam fell" in verse 25). The result of the fall is that mankind have become "lost" (2 Nephi 2:21). In Lehi's use of these terms, we can discern

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42. *Oxford English Dictionary* online, "lost," definition 1a.

links with his earlier dream, in which the people enticed away from the tree of life "fell away into forbidden paths and were lost" (1 Nephi 8:28).

Another aspect of the garden of Eden that is present in Lehi's understanding as expressed in 2 Nephi 2, but that is absent in the Genesis version, is the explicit presence of the devil. Lehi tells his son Jacob:

> And I, Lehi, according to the things which I have read, must needs suppose that an angel of God, according to that which is written, had fallen from heaven; wherefore, he became a devil, having sought that which was evil before God. And because he had fallen from heaven, and had become miserable forever, he sought also the misery of all mankind. Wherefore, he said unto Eve, yea, even that old serpent, who is the devil, who is the father of all lies, wherefore he said: Partake of the forbidden fruit, and ye shall not die, but ye shall be as God, knowing good and evil. (2 Nephi 2:17–18)

The devil is also mentioned in verses 27 and 29. This contrasts with the Genesis account, in which the antagonist is known only as "the serpent." The term *devil* does occur in Moses 4:12 (which is part of the Joseph Smith Translation of Genesis), in a passage that may well be the text to which Lehi refers in 2 Nephi 2:17:

> Wherefore, because that Satan rebelled against me, and sought to destroy the agency of man, which I, the Lord God, had given him, and also, that I should give unto him mine own power; by the power of mine Only Begotten, I caused that he should be cast down; and he became Satan, yea, even the devil, the father of all lies, to deceive and to blind men, and to lead them captive at his will, even as many as would not hearken unto my voice. (Moses 4:3–4)

However, the mention of the devil in this passage does not fully explain Lehi's version of the account. In the book of Moses, instead of the devil and the serpent being the same being, they are partners in tempting Eve:

> And Satan put it into the heart of the serpent, (for he had drawn away many after him,) and he sought also to beguile Eve. … And he said unto the woman: Yea, hath God said — Ye

shall not eat of every tree of the garden? (And he spake by the
mouth of the serpent.) (Moses 4:6–7)[43]

The term *devil*, although absent from Lehi's description of his dream in
1 Nephi 8, does appear in Nephi's later vision, in connection with the mist
of darkness and the great and abominable church (1 Nephi 12:17; 13:6–9).
The implication is that the devil is present but invisible in Lehi's dream,
working behind the scenes to tempt people and to establish opposition.

The elements of the garden of Eden story that share the same imagery
or language in the descriptions of Lehi's dream and in 2 Nephi 2, and
that are not found in the Genesis version, are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Elements of Lehi's Notion of the Garden Not Found in Genesis 1

Element	Lehi's Dream	Lehi's Discourse
sweet	1 Nephi 8:11	2 Nephi 2:15
joy	1 Nephi 8:12	2 Nephi 2:23, 25
partake	1 Nephi 8:11, 12 (2x), 15, 16, 17, 18, 24, 25, 27, 30, 33, 35	2 Nephi 2:18, 19
forbidden	1 Nephi 8:28	2 Nephi 2:15, 18
fall	1 Nephi 8:28, 34	2 Nephi 2:22, 25, 26
lost	1 Nephi 8:23, 28, 32	2 Nephi 2:21
devil	1 Nephi 11–14	2 Nephi 2:17–18

43. Note the difference in terms in the Book of Moses between "the devil"
(Moses 4:4) and "Satan" (Moses 4:1, 3–4, 6–7), the latter being the more frequent
term (compare Moses 5:13, 18, etc.). Similar variation occurs in Islamic versions
of the Genesis account, in which the antagonist is variously described as "the
serpent" (*al-ḥayya*), "Iblis," and "Satan" (*al-shayṭān*). Another point of similarity
between the book of Moses and the Islamic accounts is that Satan speaks from the
mouth of the serpent, as a separate being. In the Islamic accounts, however, the
serpent is clearly female (the devil ends up marrying the serpent in some accounts),
which corresponds to the fact that the Arabic word *ḥayya* is feminine. Lehi's
understanding of the devil and the serpent being one being, by contrast, depends
on an assumption that the serpent is masculine, corresponding to the fact that the
Hebrew word for "serpent," *naḥaš*, is masculine. Lehi's understanding is reminiscent
of the ancient Ugaritic notion of the "fleeing serpent," a "consubstantial" being that
is occasionally understood as an antagonistic human-like deity or as the sea. See
Terry Fenton, "Baal au foudre: Of Snakes and Mountains, Myth and Message," in
Ugarit, Religion and Culture, edited by Nicolas Wyatt, Wilfred G. E. Watson, and
J. B. Lloyd (Münster, Germany: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996), 58–59.

The similarity in imagery and language between Lehi's dream and his discourse in 2 Nephi 2 could be interpreted in different ways. It is possible that Lehi recognized the connection between the dream he had received and the garden of Eden account in Genesis, and this influenced the way he visualized and described the latter. In this interpretation, neither 1 Nephi 8 nor 2 Nephi 2 would necessarily point to a variant account of the garden of Eden existing in Lehi's day.

Although this interpretation makes sense, there is little or no support for the idea that Lehi modified his personal understanding of the garden from what was written in the textual sources available to him. In fact, Lehi seems to have put great stock in the scriptural account(s), specifically mentioning that his knowledge of the devil's role in the fall was "according to the things which [he had] read." The important point here is that Lehi was not just making up his information, but rather relied on a textual source, whether it was the Book of Moses or some other text. Further, some aspects of the garden of Eden account in 2 Nephi 2 that are not found in Genesis have no extant parallel in the account of Lehi's dream. For example, although the sweetness of the tree of life is mentioned in both, the bitterness of the other tree (2 Nephi 2:15) is not. The inability of Adam and Eve to have children before partaking of the forbidden fruit (2 Nephi 2:23) is another aspect that has no parallel in Lehi's dream.[44] In addition, many of the distinctive aspects to which I have drawn attention are matters of language and phraseology common to both pericopes but not necessarily arising from either one. From these considerations, the idea that Lehi's understanding of the garden was influenced by a third source seems likely. I would suggest that this was a variant scriptural account of the garden of Eden available to Lehi, perhaps from the brass plates.

Conclusions

I have argued that the setting of Lehi's dream, as described in 1 Nephi 8 and expanded in 1 Nephi 11–14, is best understood as the garden of Eden. In terms of its fundamental features, this setting is basically the same as the biblical Eden. However, in many matters of detail, it differs from the way Eden is described in Genesis. This includes distinctive terminology

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44. As discussed above, it is possible that Lehi's dream included a vision of a second tree opposed to the tree of life. If this was so, then the absence of the bitterness of the other tree from the abridged account in 1 Nephi 8 would not be a valid argument here. Adam and Eve's inability to have children, however, is something that one would not expect to have been part of Lehi's dream.

which Lehi uses to describe the garden in 2 Nephi 2. In answer to the question of why these differences occur, I have suggested that the Book of Mormon presupposes an alternate version of the Genesis account, perhaps a version from the brass plates. As with any study dealing with reconstructed texts, there remain many points that are speculative. However, the suggestion of a variant account of events in the garden of Eden seems to work well with the indications in the Book of Mormon.

This study adds new significance to the visions described in 1 Nephi 8; 11–14 and also to Lehi's discourse in 2 Nephi 2. It also illuminates the Book of Mormon's implicit presentation of a complex ancient Israelite literary milieu, in which the account of Adam and Eve in Genesis 2–3 stood alongside other versions with different details, much like the variant accounts known from pseudepigraphical literature.

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On Doctrine and Covenants Language and the 1833 Plot of Zion

Stanford Carmack

Abstract: *Contrary to the generally accepted view, it seems likely that much of the wording of the Doctrine and Covenants was transmitted to Joseph Smith as part of the revelatory process. Apparent bad grammar and a limited reading of "after the manner of their language" (D&C 1:24) have led to the received view that "the language of the revelations was Joseph Smith's."[1] This judgment, however, is probably inaccurate. Abundant cases of archaic forms and structures, sometimes overlapping with Book of Mormon usage, argue for a different interpretation of "after the manner of their language." Scholars have chosen, for the most part, to disregard the implications of a large amount of complex, archaic, well-formed language found in both scriptural texts. As for the 1833 Plot of Zion, transmitted words in Doctrine and Covenants revelations, a key statement by Frederick G. Williams, and a small but significant amount of internal archaic usage mean that the layout, dimensions, and even some language of the city plat were specifically revealed as well.*

The impetus for this study was a desire to determine whether one could reasonably take the mile measurement of the June 1833 Plot of Zion as conveying an archaic sense that had become obsolete long before the 1830s. Because the city plat was given around the same time as sections 93 to 98, an analysis of Doctrine and Covenants language was determined to be essential to the task.

One item of archaic vocabulary in the Doctrine and Covenants is the adjective *strange* in "strange act" (D&C 95:4; 101:95). This is a biblical phrase (Isaiah 28:21), and different modern versions of the Bible translate the Hebrew adjective in this Isaiah passage as 'alien,' 'unusual,' 'extraordinary,' 'strange,' 'disturbing,' 'mysterious,' or 'unwonted.'[2] According to the Oxford English Dictionary, some of these are obsolete

meanings, and 'extraordinary' seems to be a good fit for the Doctrine and Covenants usage, which corresponds to definition 8 in the OED (2nd edition): "†8. Of a kind that is unfamiliar or rare; unusual, uncommon, exceptional, singular, out of the way. *Obs.*" We note that the sections containing the archaic phrase "strange act" were revealed in June 1833 and December 1833,[3] around the same time the city plat was revealed. That is one small point in favor of the possibility of archaism in plot language. (An appendix contains the plot description, laid out in sense lines.)

Frederick G. Williams, the scribe for the draft of the Plot of Zion,[4] wrote the following on the manuscript of the closely affiliated Plan of the House of the Lord: "NB[5] For your satisfaction we inform you that the plot for the City and the size form and dime[n]sions <of the house> were given us of the Lord."[6] Here Williams asserts that the details of the plot and the plan were revealed. On the basis of evidence given in this paper, we can reasonably conclude that the various measurements of the city plat and the temple plan set down in writing in 1833 were tightly controlled.[7] One of the purposes of this paper is to show that in some detail. However, one cannot determine by scholarly means that the plot description was tightly controlled throughout. A considerable portion of its wording could have been under loose control or even no control as part of this particular extra-canonical revelatory process.

As mentioned, one possibility of tight control in the delivery of the Plot of Zion is the term *mile*. It is used at the very beginning of the plot description and does not correspond to the English statutory mile in effect in 1830s America.[8] A simple calculation from specified plot dimensions leads to that conclusion. The question boils down to whether the mile of the plot was an error or whether it could be an obsolete 16th-century measurement, which fits the plot description. (This is given a fuller treatment in the last section of this paper.)

It is reasonable to consider tightly controlled elements in the Plot of Zion since there are substantive linguistic reasons for taking a goodly portion of the Doctrine and Covenants to be revealed words.[9] Frederick G. Williams was also involved, at the time he drafted the plot, with scribing dozens of revelations that would later become part of the Doctrine and Covenants. Indeed, the Plot of Zion was set down in writing between the time that sections 93 and 94 were revealed to Joseph Smith, with Williams acting as scribe.[10] Moreover, some language of the Doctrine and Covenants is found in the plot description, and D&C 94:2 states that the Lord revealed the pattern of the city.[11]

Outline of Article

This paper first discusses aspects of revelatory translation. In order to do this, I focus on the form and structure of the language, an almost entirely neglected field of inquiry. My focus on these aspects of the language doesn't mean I think they are more important than the content. It's just that the study of the form and structure of the language is the most effective way to determine whether ideas or words were transmitted to Joseph Smith.

Next I examine various types of language found in early manuscripts and printings that would later become sections of the D&C, showing how they are likely to be instances of tightly controlled language. The primary sources used in this study are given at the end of this article. These recently created digital databases have dramatically improved the analysis of revelatory language, greatly increasing our knowledge and understanding of it.

Doctrine and Covenants language is directly relevant to the 1833 Plot of Zion, since some contemporary revelations refer to the plot, and some of the language is found in the plot. These linguistic facts, together with the above supporting statement written down by Frederick G. Williams, mean that it is not a stretch to think that parts of the plot description could have been tightly controlled in the revelatory process.

After attempting to establish that words were transmitted to Joseph Smith as part of Doctrine and Covenants revelations, I then discuss some of its questionable grammar. This has a bearing on plot language, since it also contains some suspect grammar. In addition, there is a tendency to wrongly think that "bad grammar" in the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants means the language could not have been rendered into English by the Lord.[12] Rather, we find that the apparently poor grammar fits literate writings of earlier English, at times in arcane ways, actually strengthening the argument for tight control.

Finally, I discuss some of the archaic and modern language found in the Plot of Zion. Terminology, phraseology, and syntax are briefly noted, as well as some rather unique design elements of the community plat and the temple plan.

On Revelatory Translation and Tight Control

Those who are opposed to tight control in relation to the Book of Mormon tend to misunderstand or misrepresent what it might mean in terms of Book of Mormon translation. The view of tight control does not declare that there was a 16th-century translator of the text (or a 17th-century

translator, etc.). The position of tight control is that the Lord rendered the ancient Nephite record into English or had it done, and then transmitted this translation to Joseph Smith. The process of rendering the plate text into English is unknowable without specific revelation on the matter. Furthermore, tight control can involve modern English vocabulary and syntax as well as Early Modern English (1500–1700), and even some late Middle English.[13] Tight control, however, is typically established by a subset of Early Modern English that had become obsolete or very rare by the 1820s[14] and by systematic archaic usage that fits the Early Modern English era exclusively.[15] That the language of the Book of Mormon is not a monolithic variety of English does nothing to weaken the evidence that the Lord caused words to come to Joseph Smith, words that he then relayed to scribes.

To a more limited degree, this type of analysis can be carried out in relation to Doctrine and Covenants language. Especially important to consider in this regard are the early revelations, given before or concurrently with the Book of Mormon dictation. Forms and syntactic structures that were obsolete, archaic, or rare in early 19th-century English point to a tightly controlled revelatory process, especially because receipt of the early revelations matched that of the Book of Mormon. The majority of the language, however, encompasses usage that persisted for centuries.

In the case of the Book of Mormon, abundant manuscript evidence and textual evidence strongly support the view that words were transmitted to Joseph Smith. For some, the question arises whether the revelatory process could have involved a mixture of tightly controlled and loosely controlled language. This is theoretically possible, but there are substantial problems with such a view.

The main issue is that one cannot reliably distinguish between tight and loose control in the original manuscript and in the text.[16] For example, suppose the "they was" of 1 Nephi 4:4 is taken to be loosely controlled language.[17] Immediately after "they was," we encounter two instances of *did*-periphrasis. This prevalent Book of Mormon usage is only a systematic fit with mid-16th-century patterns, patterns that Joseph was almost certainly unaware of in the 1820s.[18] If we accept a mixture of tightly and loosely controlled revelatory language for "they **was** yet wroth and **did** still continue to murmur," we must accept that the translation process switched between transmitted ideas and words in the same sentence, in this case and in many others like it — thousands of times. The same issue exists with the thousand or so instances of

personal *which* (for example, "Adam and Eve, **which was** our first parents" [1 Nephi 5:11]). If the systematically extra-biblical and archaic relative-pronoun usage of personal *which* was tightly controlled,[19] while the verb agreement was loosely controlled,[20] then again the view must be that there was a mixture of transmitted words and ideas within the same sentence, in this case and in many others like it.

Suppose, then, we stipulate that there was less frequent changing of the translation process. In other words, lengthier passages were tightly and loosely controlled. Less frequent but continual switching is unlikely, however, for at least a couple of reasons. First, the longer the passage, the more likely we are to encounter extra-biblical, archaic usage. There are probably more than 4,000 instances of such usage in the earliest text, out of approximately 250,000 words (excluding lengthier biblical passages). That means we can find stretches of 100 words or so without potential cases of extra-biblical archaism, but not many of them. Second, when we consider the original manuscript and its 75,000 extant words, there is no original manuscript evidence that the dictation changed character repeatedly — that is, there is no convincing evidence of indecision over lexical or syntactic choice, since such corrections are extremely minimal in occurrence. It is a uniformly dictated text with dictation-type errors. If Joseph had been periodically and repeatedly responsible for lexical and syntactic choice under loose control, the rate of scribal correction would have been higher. That is because a human trying to accurately convey a divine revelation would have changed his mind about how to express revealed ideas to a noticeable degree.

Another important item to consider is biblical passages. The dictation witnesses, the unchanging manuscript character at transitions between non-biblical and biblical passages (for example, 1 Nephi 19–20 and 1 Nephi 21–22) and the more than 800 word and constituent differences between King James and Book of Mormon versions indicate that a Bible was not used in the dictation (the figure of more than 800 differences derives from careful comparative work carried out by Royal Skousen). But the otherwise close match with King James passages points to words, not ideas, being sent to Joseph Smith during the dictation. Otherwise the differences in wording between the two texts would have been much greater than they are. In other words, 800+ differences are more than one reasonably expects from copying but fewer than what are reasonably expected from memory.

Consistent tight control is also likely to have been the case in contemporary Doctrine and Covenants revelations, and there is no

compelling reason that it could not have been the case in many later revelations.

Editing and Grammar in the Doctrine and Covenants

The Book of Mormon is of primary importance in determining the nature of the revelatory process between the Lord and Joseph Smith. That is because there is no critical text of the Doctrine and Covenants at this time, and its textual history is complex and difficult. A wide variety of emendations have been made through the years, and a large number have a difficult textual history. Some edits have obscured various archaic features of original revelatory dictations, and some of these have involved questionable grammar and nearby variation, but others have not. In many cases it is hard to be certain of original readings for Doctrine and Covenants passages. Also, some early manuscripts have been lost. This state of affairs hampers us in analyzing its language. Nevertheless, the Joseph Smith Papers project and website are helpful resources, as citations throughout this paper show.

In general, the Doctrine and Covenants is not as consistently archaic as the Book of Mormon. For example, there are fewer instances of archaic vocabulary, and the relative pronoun *who* is generally used in the Doctrine and Covenants (after human antecedents), while the Book of Mormon favors *which*.[21] Also, there is less archaic verbal {-th} morphology in the Doctrine and Covenants than in the Book of Mormon.[22]

First we take a look at language that has not tended to be edited out, that has been generally regarded as acceptable. Then we consider a few items of suspect grammar. These have usually been edited to conform to generally acceptable modern standards. The language to be considered includes:

Acceptable Grammar

- save it be/was/were
- dual-object *command* syntax
- if there shall come
- dual-object *cause* syntax
- if it so be
- expedient in me
- of which hath been spoken

Suspect Grammar

- you ~ thou switching
- *exceeding* used with adjectives
- you ~ ye switching
- the {-th} plural
- subjunctive ~ indicative variation
- the {-s} plural
- plural *was*

Acceptable Grammar and Its Implications

We begin by considering various types of language found in the Doctrine and Covenants that are uncommon or rare in the textual record but which have probably been viewed as unobjectionable and have not been edited out.

The presence of archaic, well-formed, extra-biblical language scattered throughout Doctrine and Covenants revelations casts doubt on the following conclusion by Bushman: "The revealed preface to the *Book of Commandments* specified that the language of the revelations was Joseph Smith's."[23] Although it is hard to pinpoint what exactly Bushman means by this statement when read in isolation, we can gather from the context that he concluded that much of the wording of the revelations came from Joseph's own language, influenced by his exposure through the years to the King James Bible.

Bushman refers to "the simple language of Joseph Smith" (173) and on the following page indicates the possibility that "Joseph's human mind" may have "introduced errors" as well as mentioning "human language coming through the Prophet." But he concludes this section on revelatory language with this sentence: "The words were both his and God's." From all this it seems most likely to me that Bushman meant that the language of these revelations was in the main loosely controlled, with God's language (King James idiom) often coming through because of Joseph's familiarity with the Bible.[24] In essence, Bushman seems to believe that in many instances the Lord gave Joseph Smith ideas that he put into his own words. But his statements don't appear to rule out the possibility of occasional tight control. However, the relative degree of tight and loose control is not discussed.

The principal reason for judgments such as Bushman's has been bad grammar. And more often than not verb agreement peculiarities prompt a conclusion of loose control. But this ignores a large amount

of textual evidence that informs us that the phrase "after the manner of their language" (D&C 1:24) certainly must also encompass complex, well-formed language that was rare, archaic, even obsolete by the 1820s. Therein lies the difficulty: the revelations are full of archaic, literary language mixed with occasional doses of bad grammar. Because of these facts, any explanatory view of revelatory language must account not only for bad grammar but also for archaic, literary language.

During the revelatory process, Joseph would have recognized the archaic language, since it seems to have been filtered for recognition and even sometimes for plainness,[25] but in case after case the textual record tells us that it is very likely he would not have produced the wording from ideas.

The phrase "after the manner of their language" doesn't force the conclusion that faulty verb agreement — from a modern, prescriptive perspective — was the result of Joseph putting ideas into his own words. First, some questionable subject–verb agreement could just as well have been archaic language (such as plural subjects used with singular verb inflection — treated below). Second, we cannot rule out the possibility that the Lord might have tailored some of the language to fit Joseph's American dialectal usage.[26] Nor can we conclude from tight control in relation to the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants that the Lord favors Early Modern English in an absolute sense.[27] Both scriptural texts contain modern language as well as many archaisms, and they contain plenty of "good" grammar as well as some "bad" grammar.[28]

In summary, rare, archaic, obsolete usage in Doctrine and Covenants revelations indicates tight control. In isolation, modern usage, nonstandard grammar, or common archaisms (for example, high-frequency biblical language) could be either tightly or loosely controlled language. But in the Book of Mormon, nonstandard grammar is very weak evidence for loose control: in many cases it actually turns out to be evidence for tight control (as shown by non-superficial analysis). And nonstandard grammar in the Doctrine and Covenants that precedes in time or is co-extensive with Book of Mormon language should be considered in the same light. Tight control is able to cover all instances, but loose control fails to convincingly explain the presence of rare, archaic, obsolete language, as the following discussion attempts to demonstrate.

Summary of Findings in the Domain of Acceptable Grammar

Some rare, archaic grammar first appears in the Doctrine and Covenants before or close in time to when it was first dictated in the

Book of Mormon (not counting the lost 1828 dictation). Here is a list that shows the acceptable grammar discussed in this section, along with its earliest use in the Doctrine and Covenants and in the Book of Mormon (assuming that the dictation began with Mosiah):[29]

LANGUAGE	EARLIEST D&C OCCURRENCE	D&C DATE	EARLIEST BofM OCCURRENCE
dual-object *cause* syntax	D&C 5:3	March 1829	Mosiah 6:7
dual-object *command* syntax	D&C 5:2	March 1829	Mosiah 2:30
save it be	D&C 6:12	April 1829	Mosiah 29:21
of which hath been spoken	D&C 8:1	April 1829	Helaman 16:16
save it was	D&C 9:7	April 1829	Alma 49:4
finite *suffer* syntax with *shall*	D&C 10:14	ca. April 1829	Mosiah 13:3
save it were	D&C 18:35	early June 1829	Mosiah 18:19
if it so be that . . . should	D&C 18:15	early June 1829	1 Nephi 19:19
it behooveth <DATIVE> that . . . should	D&C 21:10	6 April 1830	3 Nephi 21:6
there shall a <NP> be <PAST PARTICIPLE>	D&C 21:1	6 April 1830	—
expedient in <NP> that . . . should	D&C 30:5	September 1830	—
if there shall <INTRANSITIVE VERB>	D&C 94:9	2 August 1833	—

"I have caused **him** that **he** should enter . . . " (D&C 5:3) was dictated *before* "king Mosiah did cause **his people** that **they** should till . . . " (Mosiah 6:7). This syntax was either obsolete or very rare by the modern period (after the year 1700).

"I have commanded **him** that **he** should stand . . . " (D&C 5:2) was dictated **before** "and hath commanded **me** that **I** should declare . . . " (Mosiah 2:30). This archaic syntax is biblical: "And commanded **them** that **they** should take nothing . . . " (Mark 6:8). Original instances were rare by the early 19th century.

Of the three non-biblical *save* phrases "save it be/was/were," indicative past-tense "save it was" (D&C 9:7) was probably dictated before the earliest Book of Mormon appearance. The first instances of subjunctive present-tense "save it be" were dictated close in time to each other. Subjunctive past-tense "save it were" (D&C 18:35) was dictated more than a month after the first Book of Mormon occurrence.

Rare "of which hath been spoken" (D&C 8:1) was dictated **before** Helaman 16:16.

"I will not suffer **that** Satan **shall** accomplish . . . " (D&C 10:14) may have been dictated months before (in 1828) or close in time (in April 1829) to "God will not suffer **that** I **shall** be destroyed at this time" (Mosiah 13:3).

Rare "if it so be that . . . should" (D&C 18:15) was dictated close in time to structurally identical 1 Nephi 19:19.

"Wherefore it behooveth me that he should be ordained" (D&C 21:10) was dictated almost 10 months **after** "it behooveth the Father that it should come forth from the Gentiles" (3 Nephi 21:6).

The archaic expression exemplified by "there shall a record be kept" (D&C 21:1) is not found in either the Book of Mormon or the King James Bible. This phraseology is akin to Shakespeare's "There shall not a maid be / married" (*Second Part of Henry the Sixth* 4.7.121–122).

The archaic expression exemplified by "it is expedient in me that thou shalt open thy mouth" (D&C 30:5) is not found in either the Book of Mormon or the King James Bible. An example with *should* has been found in the 17th century. Similar expressions **without** an *in*-phrase are fairly common in the Book of Mormon; the King James Bible has one of these.

Archaic "if there shall come" (D&C 94:9) is not found in either the Book of Mormon or the King James Bible, but it is Early Modern English usage.

While there is close-in-time production of identical archaisms, there are archaic Doctrine and Covenants structures whose dictation preceded that of the same archaic Book of Mormon structures. Thus there is no compelling reason to attribute close-in-time Doctrine and Covenants archaisms to Book of Mormon usage. While there might have been influence in some cases, there is no conclusive evidence against the occurrence of separately revealed, tightly controlled wording.

"Save it be/was/were"

There are 11 instances of "save it be/was/were" in the Doctrine and Covenants (sections 6, 9, 18, 33, 58, 61, 68, and 104; 1829–1834). This compact phraseology is rare in the textual record before 1830 and particularly suited to poetic use. As of this writing, I have encountered no American instance before the time of the Book of Mormon's publication.

Nine of the eleven instances take the present-tense subjunctive form "save it be."[30] In writings published before 1830, the short phrase "save it be" has currently been verified in the works of three late 17th-century Scottish authors[31] as well as once each in the 19th-century works of an English clergyman (who was also a translator and a botanist) and an Irish literary enthusiast.[32]

The earliest use of "save it be" in the Doctrine and Covenants can be seen in the 1833 Book of Commandments:

Book of Commandments 5:5 (D&C 6:12) [April 1829][33]

> Make not thy gift known unto any,
> **save it be** those which[34] are of thy faith.

The revelation was probably set down in writing before Alma 58:31, which reads identically in part: "all *save it be those which* have been taken prisoners." Even considering this evidence in isolation, we can reasonably assert that this five-word phrase was very likely tightly controlled in both instances. Had it not been tightly controlled, we would probably read the three-word phrase "**except** those **who**" in both Book of Commandments 5:5 and Alma 58:31.[35]

Interestingly, the nine instances of "save it be" in the Doctrine and Covenants are roughly equal to the number currently verified in the earlier textual record. This means there are no writings that employ this rare phrase in any frequency close to what is found in Doctrine and Covenants revelations.[36]

The phrase "save it was" is found in D&C 9:7.[37] This phrase is even rarer in the pre-1830 textual record than "save it be." William Tyndale employed the phrase as part of his glossary to the book of Exodus in 1530.[38] There is also an instance in a 1607 poetic translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*,[39] and another 17th-century example found in EEBO or in Literature Online (LION).[40] "Save **that** it was" is the phrase encountered in the textual record more often, but neither the Doctrine and Covenants nor the Book of Mormon ever employs this short phrase type with the complementizer *that*.

The phrase "save it were" is found in D&C 18:35.[41] This might be even rarer in the pre-1830 textual record than "save it was." Currently we know of an obscure poetic instance by a Scotsman in 1646[42] and an occurrence in an old Scottish folk song, published occasionally beginning no later than 1751.[43]

In summary, the phrase type "save it be/was/were," as found 11 times in the Doctrine and Covenants (and 128 times in the Book of Mormon), is very likely to be tightly controlled revelatory language.

Dual-Object *command* Syntax[44]

Because the original production of dual-object syntax[45] after the verb *command* was rare by the 1820s,[46] instances of this construction found in the Doctrine and Covenants are likely to be examples of tightly

controlled language. The most complex case of this syntactic structure found in the revelations is the following:

> D&C 124:38 [19 January 1841; scribed by Robert B. Thompson][47]
>
>> for, for this cause I **commanded** Moses
>> **that** he <u>should</u> build a tabernacle,
>> **that** they <u>should</u> bear it with them in the wilderness,
>> and **to** build a house in the land of promise,
>> that those ordinances might be revealed
>> which had been hid from before the world was;

Moses is the first object after the verb *commanded*, and then there are two *that*-clauses (which are also grammatical objects), followed by an infinitival complement.[48] There is a switch from co-referential *Moses ~ he* (*he* refers to *Moses*), to partially distinct *Moses ~ they* (*Moses* is part of *they*),[49] and then to infinitival "I commanded Moses . . . **to** build."[50] The complexity of the above structure and the rarity of mixed complementation in the textual record increase the likelihood that the wording here was tightly controlled.

There are other examples of dual-object *command* syntax in the Doctrine and Covenants, including D&C 5:2;[51] 5:4;[52] 19:25, 26, 28; and 76:115.[53] The last one in this list is noteworthy in that the *command* syntax is part of a relative clause, and it doesn't employ a complementizer *that*:

> D&C 76:115 [16 February 1832; copied between 16 February and 8 March 1832, handwriting of Frederick G. Williams and Joseph Smith, Jr.][54]
>
>> *Which* he COMMANDED **us we** <u>should</u> not write
>> while we were yet in the Spirit,

Similar syntax can be seen in Alma 63:12 and Helaman 6:25,[55] but the following is a precise match, since it also involves a dual-object structure in a relative clause:

> 1650, EEBO A40026, George Foster, *The Pouring Forth of the Seventh and Last Vial upon All Flesh and Fleshlines*, page 57
>
>> by his longing desire after the fruit
>> *which* I had COMMANDED **him he** <u>should</u> not eat of,
>>
>>> The "which . . . commanded **us we** <u>should</u> not" of D&C 76:115 exactly parallels Foster's "which . . . commanded **him he** <u>should</u> not." Both phrases have the relative pronoun *which*, repeated pronominals, and negation after *should*.[56]

Most complementation after the verb *command* in the Doctrine and Covenants, however, is infinitival. I haven't carried out an extremely careful tally, but a preliminary estimate yields a rate of 76% infinitival.[57] This marks the text as distinct from the systematic usage of the Book

of Mormon, which is only 21% infinitival. However, part of this large difference stems from the fact that there are many passive *command* verbs in the Doctrine and Covenants.

Interestingly, almost all cases of finite complementation in the Doctrine and Covenants are dual-object constructions, which is the more archaic variety that had become rare by the 19th century. Therefore, the Doctrine and Covenants is an interesting hybrid of syntactic structures in this regard: it is somewhat biblical in its complementation distribution (not modern), and quite archaic in its heavy use of dual-object finite *command* syntax.

"If there shall come"

The phrase "if there shall come" is marked as archaic in two ways: by the use of existential *there* with the intransitive verb *come*, and by the future subjunctive marker *shall* being used after the hypothetical *if*. The co-occurrence of these archaic elements in one short phrase makes it rare in the modern era. Surprisingly, there are no instances of the phrase "if there shall" in either the Book of Mormon or the King James Bible. The Doctrine and Covenants has one instance of this:

> D&C 94:9 [2 August 1833; scribed by Frederick G. Williams][58]
>
> but **if ther shall come** into it any unclean thing
> my glory shall not be there and my presence shall not come into it.

The EEBO database currently contains 21 examples of this four-word phrase.[59] Significantly, neither Google Books nor LION provides examples from the 18th or 19th centuries at this time.[60] Here are the two earliest-dated examples from EEBO:

> 1534, EEBO A13615, Nicolas Udall (translator),
> Terence's *Flowers for Latin speaking*, page 14
>
> **If there shall come** more hurt or displesure vnto vs bothe
> than profyte therby.

> 1583, EEBO A67922, John Foxe (editor), *Book of Martyrs*, page 481
>
> First of al, **if there shall come** such one
> (saying expresly that he is Christ)
> what Christian would be seduced by him,
> though he shuld do neuer so many miracles:

Thus the phrase "if there shall come" is language characterisitic of the Early Modern English era, not yet verified in the late modern textual record before 1833, when section 94 was revealed. Consequently, by

1833 it was very rare syntax, and even if textual attestations are found in the future, the wording in this case was likely to be tightly controlled.[61] Loose control might have given us "if any unclean thing come(s)," "if there come(s) any unclean thing," or "if any unclean thing shall come." In fine, there were five possibilities that were more likely than the one that the Doctrine and Covenants has in section 94, revealed just after the Plot of Zion.

Dual-Object *cause* Syntax and Related Structures[62]

Besides having two instances of dual-object *command* syntax, section 5 of the Doctrine and Covenants has one instance of dual-object **cause** syntax:

> D&C 5:3 [March 1829; copied about April 1829;
> handwriting of Oliver Cowdery][63]
>
>> nevertheless I have caused **him** that **he** should enter
>> into a covenant with me
>>
>>> This currently reads: "**And** I have caused **you** that **you** should enter . . . "[64]

I haven't found this redundant syntactic structure in the modern period yet, and I have looked for it several times. In contrast, as of this writing I have been able to verify about 30 Early Modern English examples of this construction.[65] Here is one that is very close to the original language of D&C 5:3 (accidentals regularized):[66]

> 1550, EEBO A22686, Nycolas Lesse (translator),
> Augustine's *A Work of the Predestination of Saints*
>
>> Their works and deeds do not **cause him that he should** perform
>> that which he hath promised.

In the 19th-century textual record, virtually all causative constructions involving the verb *cause* and taking verbal complements were infinitival. Finite complementation was very uncommon by this time (probably less than 0.25%, and perhaps less than 0.1%).[67] As a result, had the language of D&C 5:3 not been tightly controlled, it almost certainly would have read differently, something like "I have caused him **to** enter into a covenant with me" or "I have **made** him enter." Even if we suppose that Joseph might have opted for finite complementation here, it is extremely unlikely that the superfluous object *him* would have been used, since dual-object syntax with the verb *cause* was obsolete or very rare by this time.[68]

Next we consider finite complementation with the auxiliary *shall*, which is rarely found in the early 19th-century textual record.[69] This

formal language involves future subjunctive marking in the *that*-clause *(shall)*. The usage rate of this syntax diminished century by century from the 16th century on. Yet there are two of these rare constructions among the earlier revelations found in the Doctrine and Covenants, both beginning with "I will cause":

> D&C 9:8 [April 1829; copied by John Whitmer about March 1831][70]
>
> > and if it is right I will CAUSE **that** your bosom **shall** burn within you;
>
> D&C 21:8 [6 April 1830; copied by John Whitmer about March 1831][71]
>
> > and I will CAUSE **that** he **shall** mourn for her no longer;

This particular construction is absent from the King James Bible, and it was very likely to be tightly controlled language when we consider it along with the obsolete dual-object *cause* syntax found in D&C 5:3 and the nearby co-occurrence of rare phraseology such as "save it was" in D&C 9:7 and "there shall a record be kept" in D&C 21:1[72] and "it behooveth me that he should be ordained by you" in D&C 21:10.[73] In other words, there is a slight possibility that Joseph Smith would have produced this syntax on his own, if we consider it in isolation, but that view is even less likely once we take into account other nearby or related Doctrine and Covenants language.

Very similar to D&C 9:8 and 21:8 is the following language, involving the verb *suffer:*

> D&C 10:14, 43 [about April 1829; parts may date as early as summer 1828; copied by John Whitmer about March 1831][74]
>
> > I will not SUFFER **that** Satan **shall** accomplish his evil design in this thing
> >
> > I will not SUFFER **that** they **shall** destroy my work

This *suffer* syntax with finite complementation containing the auxiliary *shall* was also rare language in the spring of 1829.[75] It is properly classified as archaic, literary usage.

There is one other instance of finite *cause* syntax in the Doctrine and Covenants that is very similar to the above. In the following example the auxiliary of the *that*-clause is *should*, for which there is matching King James language (but only two instances):[76]

> D&C 29:41 [September 1830; copied by John Whitmer about March 1831][77]
>
> > Wherefore I the Lord God CAUSED **that** he **should** be cast out from the Garden of Edan from my presence

Even though the auxiliary *should* in this syntax was relatively more frequent in contemporary texts than the auxiliary *shall*, this usage of D&C 29:41 was quite uncommon by the early 19th century.[78]

Elsewhere in the Doctrine and Covenants, infinitival *cause* syntax occurs slightly more than 20 times.[79] In the case of revelatory language, the finite rate of the Doctrine and Covenants is approximately 15%, which is extremely high for the modern period and very rare in the 19th century, but much lower than the extraordinary 56% finite complementation rate after the verb *cause* in the Book of Mormon.

"If it so be"

The 1611 King James Bible consistently employs the distinctive, emphatic hypothetical phrase "if so be" 18 times.[80] In contrast, the earliest text of the Book of Mormon consistently employs the four-word phrase "if **it** so be" 42 times.[81] This categorical difference indicates tight control of this phraseology in the Book of Mormon, since it is reasonable to assume that biblical influence would have prompted at least a few instances of "if so be" in the Book of Mormon under loose control (or no use at all of this archaic hypothetical). The very rare usage of the subjunctive auxiliaries *shall* and *should* in complementary *that*-clauses after "if it so be," found seven times in the Book of Mormon, cements this view.[82]

Interestingly, the only 16th-century Bible that has "if **it** so be" is the 1568 Bishops' Bible, which has a single example of this: "And yf **it** so be that he fynde it" (Matthew 18:13).[83] This archaic phrase can be found in Chaucer's writings more than a dozen times, and was used at approximately 30 times the rate in the 16th century versus the 17th century.[84] "If so be" was the more frequent phrase throughout the Early Modern English period, but was heavily dominant by the 17th century. Consequently, "if **it** so be" is clearly a phrase that is characteristic of the late Middle English period and the first half of the Early Modern English period.[85] This phrase can be found in the 19th century in novel production, but instances are very uncommon.[86]

The Doctrine and Covenants has three examples of this archaic phrase, each time followed by a *that*-clause. Two of these have following finite verbs whose grammatical mood cannot be determined:

D&C 27:2

> it mattereth not what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink
> when ye partake of the sacrament,
> **if it so be that** ye do it with an eye single to my glory

D&C 61:22

> And it mattereth not unto me, after a little,
> **if it so be that** they fill their mission,
> whether they go by water or by land;

In both these passages the nonbiblical, archaic phrase "it mattereth not" precedes the usage.[87] The subjunctive was often employed after "it mattereth not what" in the Early Modern English era, and D&C 27:2 has two instances of future subjunctive *shall* after this phrase. This is formal auxiliary usage in this context. That syntax, along with closely occurring "if it so be," points to tight control in this verse. But the third case of "if it so be" is from an early June 1829 dictation. The surrounding language strongly suggests tight control.

The earliest extant version of this case of "if it so be" in the Doctrine and Covenants reads as follows:

Book of Commandments 15:17 (D&C 18:15)[88]

> And **if it so be** that you **should** labor in[89] all your days,
> in crying repentance unto this people,
> and bring **save it be** one soul only[90] unto me,
> how great shall be your joy with him in the kingdom of my Father?

The Book of Mormon has one example of matching syntax: "if **it** so be that they **should** obtain these things" (1 Nephi 19:19). Both passages would have been dictated at roughly the same time, and it's possible that D&C 18:15 was written down before 1 Nephi 19:19. As a result, one cannot make the case that this Doctrine and Covenants language depended on the matching Book of Mormon language.

The co-occurrence of the auxiliary *should* (functioning as an archaic subjunctive marker) in the *that*-clause of the non–King James phrase "if **it** so be" is very rare in English of any time period.[91] To date I have found only one matching example:

1481, EEBO A69111, translation of Cicero's *Cato On Old Age*

> But **if it so be** that my soul **should** die with my body together

> Spelling and morphology modernized.

Modern instances of the syntax "if **it** so be that <SUBJECT> **should** <INFINITIVE>" may be found going forward, but probably few of them. As discussed before, "save it be" is also a rare phrase, and it is used almost immediately after "if it so be that . . . should." The co-occurrence of these linguistic elements in D&C 18:15 makes tight control extremely likely in this revelatory instance. In other words, it is extremely unlikely

that Joseph Smith would have produced the combined wording of this passage from his own language or experience.

"Expedient in me"

The phrase "expedient in me" is an example of language that we can find in the Book of Mormon once, without a verbal complement: "ye shall have power to do whatsoever thing is expedient in me" (Moroni 7:33). Also, the Book of Mormon has many cases of "expedient that S," where S stands for sentence. These Book of Mormon sentences usually contain the auxiliary verb *should*. (Generally speaking, sentences have finite verbs, and these finite verbs can be non-main verbs such as *should* and *shall*.) The Doctrine and Covenants has more than 10 examples of "expedient **in me** that S" with *should*, as well as one with *shalt*. Doctrine and Covenants usage is thus derivable from the Book of Mormon, but the syntax "expedient in <NOUN PHRASE> that S" is very rare in the general textual record outside of the Doctrine and Covenants.

There are 20 instances of the phrase "expedient in me" in the current Doctrine and Covenants,[92] and most of these are followed by dependent *that*-clauses.[93] In contrast to Doctrine and Covenants usage, the few relevant examples seen in the greater textual record are almost always infinitival — that is, of the form "expedient in <AN AGENCY> **to** <INFINITIVAL VERB PHRASE>."

In the Doctrine and Covenants, the prepositional phrase "in me" always refers to the Lord, who is distinct from the entity that is the subject of the complement clause (the *that*-clause). This is apparently what makes the language rare.

The Oxford English Dictionary may not have a definition for the preposition *in* that is directly on point, and there are several possible meanings that we could assign to *in* as used in this construction.[94]

We can profitably contrast typical Doctrine and Covenants usage with the way Joseph Smith employed it in a 1 September 1842 letter that he wrote:

D&C 127:1[95]

> I have thought it **expedient** and wisdom **in me** to leave the place for a short season, for my own safety and the safety of this people.

This is probably Joseph's own language, and it shows an awareness of language he frequently received by revelation, but he employs it somewhat differently. Elsewhere in the Doctrine and Covenants the verb *think* and the *in*-phrase are not used together.[96] And in the letter the *me* of the

phrase "in me" is the same as the understood subject of the infinitival complement. In other Doctrine and Covenants instances, the Lord is the one who deems something suitable or proper to the circumstances of the case,[97] but humans are to take action or refrain from some action.

We find that the three-word phrase "expedient in **me**" is textually rare, currently attested in a single 17th-century translation out of Latin: "all things are lawful for me . . . but are not all **expedient in me**, making me better" (1646, EEBO A25854,; paraphrasing 1 Corinthians 6:12). Not too much should be made of this, however, since we can find examples of "expedient in him/them" in later language as well (see note 102).

As mentioned, most of the time a *that*-clause follows "expedient in me" in the Doctrine and Covenants. The one case with an accompanying **infinitival** verb phrase is the following:

> D&C 72:2 [4 December 1831; scribed by Sidney Rigdon][98]
>
>> for verily thus saith the Lord
>> it is **expedient in me** *for* a Bishop **to** be appointed unto you

Here the preposition *for* immediately follows the phrase "it is expedient in me," and there is an accompanying infinitival verb phrase after the noun phrase "a bishop." If this passage had been phrased in the usual way, it would have read: "it is expedient in me **that** a bishop **should** be appointed unto you." The phraseology with *for* is less archaic than the 17 instances of "it is expedient in me" immediately followed by dependent *that*-clauses.[99] So in its overall usage of this construction the Doctrine and Covenants is clearly more archaic than modern. Here are two examples that employ an auxiliary — *shalt* and *should* — after the subject of the *that*-clause:

> D&C 30:5 [September 1830; scribed by John Whitmer][100]
>
>> for the time has come, that it is **expedient in me**,
>> *that* thou **shalt** open thy mouth to declare my Gospel

> D&C 64:18 [11 September 1831; scribed by John Whitmer][101]
>
>> & now verily I say, that it is **expedient in me** *that* my servent Sidney
>> (Gilbert) after a few weeks, **should** return upon his business,
>>
>>> The manuscript reads *should;* the current LDS text has *shall* here.

The D&C 30:5 example is the earliest one found in this body of scripture. It was dictated more than a year after Moroni 7:33, the lone Book of Mormon example, which, however, has no dependent *that*-clause or infinitival complement.

The particular syntax in question — "it <BE verb form/phrase> expedient **in** <agentive NP>" — is neither common nor rare in the

textual record, but what **is** rare is the co-occurrence of an *in*-phrase and a dependent *that*-clause. The closest match found to date with this fairly common Doctrine and Covenants language is the following:

> 1634, EEBO A23187, Meric Casaubon (translator),
> Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*
>
> It was **expedient in nature** *that* it **should** be so, and therefore necessary.

In every other instance encountered thus far — either before or after the year 1700 — the agent of the *in*-phrase is the same as subject of the complement, and an infinitival verb phrase is used.

The date distribution of the above 1634 example and the seven infinitival examples isolated for this study[102] suggests that this language was somewhat more characteristic of the 17th century than of the 18th century,[103] but nevertheless the usage clearly persisted into the 19th century.

When we consider cases of "it <BE verb form> expedient" **without** an *in*-phrase, we encounter hundreds of examples in the textual record with complementary *that*-clauses. The favored auxiliary in *that*-clauses after this impersonal expression is *should*, followed distantly by *shall*.[104] That same tendency is reflected in both the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants. The latter has 12 instances of *should* (as in D&C 64:18, shown above) and only one of *shalt* (D&C 30:5, shown above).[105] I haven't yet found a precise match with D&C 30:5 in the textual record,[106] but the 1634 Casaubon example is structurally the same, differing only in the tense of the auxiliary.

As indicated, Joseph could have derived this syntax from analogous Book of Mormon usage. The other possibility (because of how uncommon this linguistic structure is in the written record) is that "expedient in me that <SUBJECT> should/shall" was tightly controlled revelatory language. We do not expect that Smith would have formulated it this way and in such a consistent manner from his own language. It is likely he would have expressed it another way from revealed ideas, and varied the language. Even under analogy, we expect that the language would be more variable than it actually is, similar to the idiosyncratic usage found in D&C 127:1. Consequently, no matter if we choose to think of this particular language as modern or archaic, it was most likely to have been the result of wording that was tightly controlled in its delivery.

"Of which hath been spoken"

Section 8 originally had one example of this archaic, little-known phraseology:

D&C 8:1 [April 1829; copied by John Whitmer about March 1831][107]

those parts of my Scriptures **of which hath been spoken**

> The 1833 Book of Commandments 7:1 reads "those parts of my scripture of which **have** been spoken"; the current reading is "those parts of my scripture of which **has** been spoken."

We see that *hath* was first changed to *have* for the 1833 Book of Commandments, and then later (after 1844) to *has*. Thus it is possible, if not likely, that the phraseology dictated one month later (for which the manuscripts are lost) read the same, since later editing followed the same path:[108]

Book of Commandments 10:9 (D&C 11:19)
[May 1829; copied by John Whitmer about March 1831][109]

those things of which **have** been spoken

> This currently reads "those things of which **has** been spoken."

The Book of Mormon has two instances in the body of the work (Helaman 16:16; Ether 13:15) and one in each of the witness statements.[110] In three of these the antecedent is in the plural, as is the case in the above Doctrine and Covenants excerpts. These may be cases of the {-th} plural.[111]

Alexander Campbell criticized the Book of Mormon for employing "of which hath been spoken," giving three examples of it.[112] Campbell may have thought Smith had invented the phraseology in order to sound old. This is not dialectal speech, however, but formal in nature; it is uncommonly found in the Early Modern English era, as in these five examples:

1630, EEBO A01972, William Gouge [1578–1653]
An exposition on the whole fifth chapter of S. Johns Gospell

The parts are, 1. A Preface, Verily, etc.]
of which hath been spoken before, . . .

The meanes are expressed in these words, (the whole armour of God)
of which hath been spoken before, vers. 11.

1657, EEBO A57385, Francis Roberts [1609–1675]
The mysterie and marrow of the Bible

Divine and Humane, and amongst Divine, both of Works
and Faith do concur, That they are Compacts or Agreements.
Of which hath been spoken sufficiently heretofore.

1683, EEBO A54597, John Pettus (translator) [1613–1690] | Lazarus Ercker [d. 1594] *Fleta minor the laws of art and nature, in knowing, judging, assaying, fining, refining and inlarging the bodies of confin'd metals*

> FLUSS (**of which hath been spoken**) is made thus,
> Take one part of Salt-peter and two parts of Argol

1685, EEBO A42965, Thomas Godwin [d. 1642]
Moses and Aaron civil and ecclesiastical rites

> First, he consulted with his arrows and staves,
> **of which hath been spoken** immediately before;

The 1683 example is a bare use without any accompanying adverb, similar to what is found in the Book of Mormon.[113] In addition, two or three of the above examples may have plural antecedents, as we encounter in both the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants.

Significantly, section 8 was set down in writing before Helaman 16:16, and so archaic "of which hath been spoken" in D&C 8:1 preceded its use in the Book of Mormon.

Suspect Grammar

Now that it has been established that it is reasonable to accept tight control for a variety of Doctrine and Covenants language, we extend our view to examine some questionable grammar. This is the aspect of these revelations which has led commentators to conclude that the wording was Joseph Smith's. They did so without researching earlier English, which was extremely difficult to do until recently. We will see that the "bad grammar" of the Doctrine and Covenants only strengthens the claim of tight control; it does not diminish it.

Close Pronominal Variation: *you ~ thou*

First we consider the following revelation addressed to Martin Harris:

D&C 19:26 [summer of 1829; copied by John Whitmer][114]

> And again, I command **you** that **thou** shalt not covet **thine** own
> property, but impart it freely to the printing of the Book of Mormon,

Here the doubtful language is the immediate pronoun switch from *you* to *thou* (and continuing with *thine)*. There are several of these close switches in this section alone.[115] This may have been thought to be a mistake on the part of Joseph Smith, and so *you* was later changed to *thee* a few times in this section, since the addressee (Harris) is a single person.

As discussed in the prior section, dual-object syntax after the verb *command*[116] was rare by the 1820s, and so the *you* after the verb *command*

was probably tightly controlled language. If the wording hadn't been tightly controlled here, we would expect no *you* here, only "I command that thou shalt." There would have been only one pronoun, and therefore no grammatically suspect shift in pronominal form.

Interestingly, the immediate pronoun switching of D&C 19:26 can be found in various Early Modern English texts, as in the following examples (the spelling has been regularized):

> 1623, EEBO A16053, James Mabbe (translator), Mateo Alemán's
> *The Rogue, or the Life of Guzmán de Alfarache*, page 353
>
>> And in case I should go hence, I will so far befriend **you**, that **thou**
>> shalt be ranked like a rogue, according as **thy** villanies deserve,

> *before* 1647, EEBO A30582, Jeremiah Burroughs,
> *Gospel Remission* (1668), page 59
>
>> and therefore I beseech **you** look up higher than for such
>> signs as reason may reach unto, and beg of God to reveal this
>> unto **you**, that **thou** mayest have the witness of the Spirit of
>> God to testify unto **thee** that **thy** sins are pardoned.

In the 1623 example, the pronominal switch involves the same auxiliary we see in the revelation given during the summer of 1829: "thou shalt."[117] And in the Burroughs example, there are two instances of *you* followed closely by *thou* and a continuation of *thou* forms, similar to the use of *thine* in D&C 19:26. The close switch is even found in the current King James Bible:

> Ezekiel 36:13
>
>> Because they say unto **you**, **Thou** land devourest up men,
>> and hast bereaved thy nations;

Another biblical verse is worth pointing out as well, since it has "command you" followed closely by *thou:*

> Deuteronomy 12:32
>
>> What thing soever I COMMAND **you**, observe to do it:
>> **thou** shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.

The Doctrine and Covenants usage in question can be viewed as a compact form of the language of Deuteronomy 12:32.

Therefore the questionable pronoun variation found in D&C 19:26 and elsewhere in these revelations and in the Book of Mormon[118] is actually biblical and not rare in the Early Modern English textual record. Its usage in the Doctrine and Covenants certainly does not argue against

tight control of the language or convincingly point to it being Joseph Smith's language.

The Adverb *exceeding* Used with Adjectives

Another type of edited Doctrine and Covenants language worth considering is the two instances of "exceeding angry," originally found at D&C 87:5 and 88:87 (scribed in late December 1832 by Frederick G. Williams).[119] This can only be a minor point, however, since by late 1832 frequent Book of Mormon usage could have influenced Joseph Smith to adopt the typical morphological form of the Book of Mormon in these Doctrine and Covenants revelations.[120]

The Google Books *Ngram Viewer* currently indicates that in the 1830s the short adverbial form without {-ly} in the phrase "exceeding angry" occurred less than 15% of the time in the textual record. But this same abbreviated form had been dominant in the 17th century and before. Consequently, we might expect that at least one of these would have been "exceeding**ly** angry" had the dictation not been tightly controlled here.[121] A contemporary example of the modern morphological usage is the phrase "exceding**ly** fateagued," found in a July 1833 letter scribed by Williams, but probably representing the language of Sidney Rigdon.[122] Because this letter contains an instance of *exceedingly* used with a following adjective, it strengthens the possibility of tight control over the morphology of the adverb in the Doctrine and Covenants bigram "exceeding angry."[123]

The 15% textual usage rate of "exceeding angry" in the 1830s agrees with the general rule of this decade that *exceeding* used before all adjectives was the less-common form (20%), slowly diminishing in rate decade by decade. The crossover for *exceeding(ly)* with adjectives, in terms of textual attestation, occurred in the 1770s.[124] In other words, during the decade of the 1770s "exceeding**ly** <ADJECTIVE>" finally surpassed "exceeding <ADJECTIVE>" in frequency of use in the textual record.[125]

In summary, two instances of "exceeding angry" in sections 87 and 88 are consistent with tight control but may also be ascribed to the influence of frequent Book of Mormon usage. If so, "exceeding angry" in Doctrine and Covenants revelations could be a case of indirect tight control.

Close Pronominal Variation: *ye ~ you*

Just as we see very often in the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants switches between subject *you* and subject *ye*. This was quite

common during the Early Modern English period and close switching of subject *you* and subject *ye* is not hard to find in the original **1611** King James Bible (discussed below).

In terms of the history of English usage, we find that subject *you* had overtaken subject *ye* by the 1570s as the clearly favored form in textual use.[126] Yet despite the pronoun *ye* being quite archaic, it is familiar to many because of its prevalence in older biblical versions.[127] In Early Modern English there is plenty of evidence for nearby variation of subject *you* and subject *ye;* here are examples from the Doctrine and Covenants, the Book of Mormon, and a 17th-century sermon:

> D&C 98:14 [6 August 1833; copied about 6 August 1833, handwriting of Frederick G. Williams and Joseph Smith, Jr.][128]
>
> > I will prove *you* in all things
> > whether **you** will abide in my covenant even unto death
> > that **ye** may be found worthy
> >
> > > The *ye* was changed at some point to *you*.
> > > There is also an instance of object *you* in this verse, shown in italics here.
>
> Alma 5:20
>
> > Can **ye** think of being saved
> > when **you** have yielded yourselves to become subjects to the devil?
> >
> > > The subject *you* in this passage has remained in the text;
> > > grammatical editing in the Book of Mormon has been uneven.
>
> 1617, EEBO A17051, Robert Bruce [1554–1631] *The way to true peace and rest*
>
> > and if **ye** find these in any measure, though never so small,
> > **you** have the right faith in your hearts;

Significantly, the original **1611** King James Bible has 44 instances of subject *you* in the two-word phrase "that you."[129] (This 2-gram can no longer be found in modern versions of the King James Bible; a sampling showed them to be edited out by 1769.) There are many other cases of subject *you* to be found in the 1611 King James Bible besides these. Because there are so many instances of subject *you* in this Bible, there are also cases where subject *ye* is employed close to subject *you*. As a result, a number of 1611 King James Bible examples straightforwardly dismiss the view that nearby subject *ye* ~ *you* variation is ill-formed or inappropriate for a scriptural text. Here is one such example:

> Job 19:3 [original 1611 spelling retained]
>
> > These tenne times haue **ye** reproched me:
> > **you** are not ashamed that **you** make your selues strange to me.
> >
> > > The two instances of *you* were changed at some point to *ye*.

In view of this textual evidence, we see that the pronominal editing in D&C 98:14 has had the effect of making this passage less like Early Modern English and the 1611 King James Bible, and more like modern English.

This same variation occurred in **early** Doctrine and Covenants revelations as well, as the following examples show:

D&C 6:30[130]   blessed are **ye**, for **you** shall dwell with me in glory:

D&C 17:7–8[131]   wherefore **you** have received the same power . . .
                            and if **ye** do these last commandments of mine

Another item directly relevant to this discussion is the multiple occurrences of **singular** *ye* in manuscripts of early revelations. This questionable pronominal usage most likely represents tightly controlled Early Modern English usage,[132] lending support for viewing *ye ~ you* variation in the same way. Consequently, what looks at first blush to be a minor grammatical error by Joseph Smith might actually constitute further evidence of tight control in the revelatory process.

The {-th} Plural[133]

Elsewhere I have treated this topic in some depth, showing that the present-tense {-th} plural of the Book of Mormon is not a case of conscious overuse since there is very little of it after pronouns, and much heavier rates of use after relative pronouns and conjunctions, matching Early Modern English tendencies.[134]

By the 19th century, the {-th} plural was very rare, restricted to the archaic auxiliary verbs *hath* and *doth*. An early Doctrine and Covenants revelation (given July 1828) has an example with plural *hath* following the relative pronoun *who:* "the Lamanites . . . who **hath** been suffered to destroy their Brethren" (D&C 3:18).[135] In contrast to its considerable presence in the Book of Mormon, there are far fewer examples of the {-th} plural in the Doctrine and Covenants. Here are two possible cases with **main** verbs (which makes the usage anomalous for the 1830s):

D&C 93:33, 37 [6 May 1833; scribed by Frederick G. Williams][136]

and SPIRIT and ELEMENT inseperably connected **receiveth** a fulness of Joy

LIGHT and TRUTH **forsaketh** that evil one

These are examples with grammatical subjects made up of conjoined singular nouns. Although the nouns are fairly concrete in verse 33, in verse 37 they are not. And conjoined singular **abstract** nouns often did not (and do not) resolve to plural in English.

Nevertheless, based on textual evidence, even "light and truth" may be viewed as sufficiently distinct so that we can assume plural number resolution, and later editing has treated the phrase in this way, changing *forsaketh* to *forsake* (and *receiveth* was changed at some point to *receive* as well). Indeed, here is an excerpt with plural *are* after the subject phrase "light and truth":

> 1660, EEBO A62877, John Tombes, *True old light exalted above pretended new light*
>
> > Light and truth **are** either the same, or very like, and helpfull to each other, Psal. 43. 3.
> >
> > > Psalm 43:3 reads, in part:
> > > "O send out thy **light** and thy **truth**: let **them** lead me."

This 1660 example clearly shows plural construal of the complex subject "light and truth," and in Psalm 43:3 they are given their own possessive pronouns and referred to with the plural pronoun *them*.

More to the point, here are two Early Modern English examples with conjoined "truth and light" that could contain instances of the {-th} plural, similar to the language of D&C 93:37:

> 1618, EEBO A05105, Richard Dolman (translator), Pierre de la Primaudaye's *The French academie*
>
> > and taught by the soueraigne doctor and supreme brightnes from which all truth and light **doth** issue.

> 1656, EEBO A44342, Thomas Hooker, *The application of redemption by the effectual work of the word, and spirit of Christ*
>
> > But now in a Godly man whose understanding is turned from darkness to light, when the truth and light of it **hath** by the spirit of bondage been set on upon the mind and Conscience, you shal see day breaking as it were,

In summary, "light and truth" may be a complex plural subject in D&C 93:37, and "spirit and element" is probably a complex plural subject in D&C 93:33. From that perspective, their predicates contain main verbs carrying {-th} plural inflection. This could be tightly controlled language, just as it almost certainly is in the Book of Mormon (because of the deep match with 16th- and 17th-century inflectional tendencies).

Subjunctive ~ Indicative Variation

According to the current Joseph Smith Papers transcription of the manuscript found in *Revelation Book 2*, the following passage contained nearby variation in grammatical mood after the time conjunction *until*:

D&C 98:44 [6 August 1833][137]

> **untill** he **repent** and **rewards**[138] thee four fold in all things

Indicative *rewards* was edited for the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants to subjunctive *reward*,[139] since it is under the same uncertain future time condition as subjunctive *repent*. Here are two 17th-century examples of this close variation after the same time conjunction:

> 1662, EEBO A67153, Abraham Wright, *A practical commentary or exposition upon the Pentateuch*
>
> > So hard a thing it is to perswade sinners to beleeve that God is so just, or his Judgements so infallible, or their sins so destructive, **until** the Floud **come**, and a second Deluge, a Deluge of Fire **sweeps** them away, as that first of Waters did their unbeleeving fore-fathers.

> 1669, EEBO A23716, Richard Allestree, *Eighteen sermons*
>
> > yet he reckons of all this as if he had said nothing
> > **till** he **speak** Plagues and **commands** afflictions; Psal. 50. 21.

Unlike the doubtful case of subjunctive ~ indicative variation in D&C 98:44, a solid example of such contextual variation is found in the following early revelation:

> D&C 3:4 [summer of 1828][140]
>
> > yet **if** he **boast** in his own strength & **Sets** at naught the councils of God & **follows** after the dictates of his will & carnal desires
> > he must fall to the Earth & incur the vengence of a Just God upon him
> >
> > > Subjunctive *boast* has been changed to indicative *boasts*.[141]

Here are similar examples after the hypothetical *if*,[142] as found in the Book of Mormon, the 1539 Great Bible, and the 1611 King James Bible:

> Helaman 13:26
>
> > **if** a prophet **come** among you and **declareth**
> > unto you the word of the Lord
> >
> > > This reading persists in the current LDS text; it is natural language variation.

> 1539, Great Bible, James 1:23 [EEBO A10405, (1540)]
>
> > For **yf** any man **heare** ye worde, and **declareth**
> > not the same by hys workes,[143]
> >
> > > The indicative verb in the conjoined predicate is the same as the one in Helaman 13:26.

> 1611, King James Bible, 1 John 4:20
>
> > **If** a man **say**, I loue God, and **hateth** his brother, he is a lyar.

The language of 1 John 4:20 may be the only example of variable grammatical mood after a single instance of the hypothetical in the King James Bible,[144] but there are a few of these in the Book of Mormon. In the King James Bible, the phrase "I love God" interrupts the syntactic conjunction of *say* and *hateth*, just as "a deluge of fire" does in the 1662 example after the time conjunction *until*. The intervention of extraneous elements may explain the nearby variation in grammatical mood.

In any event, we can see that this kind of subjunctive ~ indicative variation is attested in earlier English, and this may be a source of the variation found in D&C 3:4 (and in D&C 98:44, if subjunctive ~ indicative variation was in fact original to the revelation).

The {-s} Plural

Linguists have called the use of is, *has*, and other present-tense verb forms ending in the verbal suffix {-s}, when used with plural grammatical subjects, the {-s} plural.[145] For example, in Early Modern English, when the agreement controller is plural *things*,[146] we quite often see the use of singular verb inflection. (Nevertheless, it was the less-common option overall in the textual record.) EEBO has hundreds of examples of "things that is" and "things which is." These can be found throughout the Early Modern English period, but the usage rate may have been two to three times greater in the 16th century than in the 17th century. Here are two examples from the 16th-century Great Bible, with the original spelling retained:

> 1539, Great Bible, Proverbs 21:7; Jeremiah 15:19 [EEBO A10405, (1540)]
>
> > The robberyes of the vngodly shall be theyr owne destruccyon,
> > for they wyl not do the THYNGES *that* **is** ryght.
>
> > and yf thou wylte take out the THYNGES *that* **is** precious from the vyle,
>
> > > The 1611 King James Bible does not have *things* in either case. It has quite different language: "because they refuse to doe iudgement" (Proverbs 21:7) and "if thou take forth the precious from the vile" (Jeremiah 15:19).

There are more than a dozen occurrences of "things that/which **is**" in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, all edited out. Here are two found in early Doctrine and Covenants revelations:[147]

> D&C 11:14 [May 1829; handwriting of Hyrum Smith][148]
>
> > By this shall you know all THINGS whatso Ever you Desire
> > of me *which* **is** Pertaining unto things of rightousness

Book of Commandments 15:20 (D&C 18:18) [June 1829][149]

> and you shall have the Holy Ghost which manifesteth
> all THINGS *which* **is** expedient unto the children of men.

Therefore, we can take "things which **is**" to be a feature of Doctrine and Covenants revelations as well as a feature of the earliest text of the Book of Mormon.

According to the Joseph Smith Papers historical introduction, D&C 18:18 was dictated in Fayette "within the first few days of June 1829." Hence, it likely would have been first set down in writing very close in time to the dictation of the following Book of Mormon verse:

Moroni 10:23[150]

> If ye have faith, ye can do all THINGS *which* **is** expedient unto me.

These passages contain the same six-word phrase "all things which is expedient unto." There is one other case of "expedient unto" in the Book of Mormon, which was probably dictated after Moroni 10:23 and D&C 18:18:

2 Nephi 2:27[151]

> Wherefore men are free according to the flesh,
> and all THINGS **are** given them *which* **is** expedient unto man.

The syntactic variation seen above — "things are" ~ "things . . . which is" — is similar to what we read in the following excerpt:

1661, EEBO A44790, Francis Howgill, *The glory of the true church*

> and that all that come to the beginning again, to union with God,
> must die to all these THINGS *which* **is** got and entred into the
> hearts of men since the transgression, and while these THINGS
> **are** loved they alienate the mind from the Living God,

We see that when the verb *be* occurs immediately after *things*, both in the 1661 example and in 2 Nephi 2:27, its form is *are*, but when the verb *be* occurs after "things **which**," its form is *is*.[152] Another similar match with Early Modern English possibilities is the following:

Alma 9:16[153]

> For there **are** many PROMISES *which* **is** extended to the Lamanites,

1671, EEBO A59163, Henry Carey (translator),
Jean-François Senault's *The Use of Passions*

> there **are** some ERRORS, *which* **is** easilier
> perswaded unto than to some truths.

The point of presenting these cases of plural *is* ~ *are* variation is that we encounter this sort of matching frequently in the Book of Mormon. This kind of linguistic evidence (and much more) leads to the conclusion that Early Modern English competence was involved in the elaboration of the Book of Mormon and that the delivery of the text was tightly controlled. From that it is likely that either D&C 11:14 and 18:18 were also given word for word, or that Joseph Smith followed Book of Mormon usage like Moroni 10:23 very closely, so that the Doctrine and Covenants language was effectively controlled by way of this Book of Mormon language. Either way we choose to look at it, it boils down to tight control for this questionable Doctrine and Covenants verb agreement.

This then informs our view of the following language, which in section 20 may have been a case of Oliver Cowdery borrowing directly from Book of Mormon phraseology:

D&C 20:17 [about April 1830; some parts could have
been revealed as early as the summer of 1829][154]

> Wherefore, by these things we know that there is a God in heaven, who is infinite and eternal, from everlasting to everlasting the same unchangeable God, the Maker of heaven and earth, and all THINGS *that* in them **is**;

The distinctive six-word phrase "all thing**s** that in them **is**" can be found four times in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, at 2 Nephi 2:14, 3 Nephi 9:15, Mormon 9:11, and Ether 4:7. (Alma 11:39 is a fifth case, but it has *which* instead of *that;* Mosiah 13:19 is a biblical case because it has Tyndale's phraseology—"and all that in them is"—which carried through to the 1611 King James Bible.) So the language of these Book of Mormon verses could have served as a source for D&C 20:17.

Nevertheless, when we examine these passages we find that there are some clear differences between them. In the Book of Mormon passages plural *heavens* is used in all but Alma 11:39 (the one with *which),* and *Maker*[155] is not used in any of them to describe God. Those facts, then, make a word-for-word borrowing from the Book of Mormon less likely in this case, but still possible.

The {-s} plural used in this same Decalogue language is attested in the textual record, though it is not found in 16th-century Bibles or in the 1611 King James Bible. Here is an example that is nearly identical to D&C 20:17 and the five Book of Mormon instances:

1665, EEBO A35520, Thomas Curwen et al., *An Answer to John Wiggan's Book*

> Thou art worthy Lord God of Heaven and Earth, who hath
> made the Heavens and the Earth, Sea, and all THINGS *that*
> **is** in them: but this thou will sure say was confusion,

EEBO contains at least two similar examples from the 16th century, with *therein* used for the phrase "in them."[156] Strong supporting evidence throughout the Book of Mormon leads one to take its five instances of "all things that/which in them **is**" to be tightly controlled. This combined with "things which is" — found at least in D&C 11:14 and 18:18 — points to direct or indirect tight control of plural *is* in D&C 20:17.

Also worth noting is the archaic time conjunction "after that," originally found in the phrase "For after **that** it truly was manifested" (D&C 20:5),[157] as well as the {-th} plural found in "those SCRIPTURES *which* **hath** been given of him" (D&C 20:21), part of the *Painesville Telegraph* version, which might have preserved the original language of the revelation in these instances.[158]

In view of all this, ascribing this verb agreement peculiarity of Doctrine and Covenants revelations to Joseph's dialect is a doubtful enterprise.

Plural *was*[159]

Joseph Smith certainly employed plural *was* as part of his speech and writing. It was part of his dialect. The early 1832 History written in his hand (two-thirds) and in the hand of Frederick G. Williams (one-third) gives direct evidence for this:

> 1832 History [written down around the summer of 1832][160]
>
>   and he revealed unto me that in the Town of Manchester
>   Ontario County N.Y. there **was** PLATES of gold upon which
>   there **was** ENGRAVINGS *which* **was** engraven by Maroni & his
>   fathers the servants of the living God in ancient days

Before this we read "there **were** many THINGS," so there is verb agreement variation, which we can take to have been part of Joseph's language as well. Of note is that the Book of Mormon uses only standard plural forms with *engravings* and the past participle *engraven*: "engravings <RELATIVE PRONOUN> are/were/have" and "which are/were engraven." This tends to reinforce a view that the above nonstandard verb agreement was due to Joseph's dialect.

There is also plural *was* in Doctrine and Covenants revelations, as this example from an early revelation shows:

> D&C 3:12–13 [received during the summer of 1828,
> after the loss of the 116 manuscript pages]
>
>   thou deliveredst up that which was Sacred into the hands of a wicked
>   man who has Set at naught the Councils of God
>   & hath broken the most Sacred PROMISES *which* **was** made before God

Earlier in this section, there is also an original instance of *were* after plural *which:* "the Promises *which* **were** made to you" (D&C 3:5). So just as in Joseph's own language, this section has fairly close variation of nonstandard (from a modern perspective) plural *was* and standard *were*.

In D&C 3:13 we also note the use of archaic, biblical "set at naught" and the nearby variation of *has* and *hath (has ~ hath* variation is not found in the King James Bible, since it never employs *has). But nearby has ~ hath* variation was typical of earlier writings and can be seen in these 17th- and 18th-century examples with very similar phonology and structure:

> 1680, EEBO a65829, Anne Whitehead [1624–1686]
> *An epistle for true love, unity, and order in the Church of Christ,*
> *against the spirit of discord, disorder and confusion*
>
> > which the Lord by his Power **has** set up, and **hath** given Wisdom
> > according to true Knowledge, to act in the Church of Christ:

> 1727, ECCO–TCP, Daniel Defoe, *An essay*
> *on the history and reality of apparitions*
>
> > Now I know of a surety, that the LORD **has** sent his Angel,
> > and **hath** deliver'd me.
> >
> > > This is a close quotation of Acts 12:11, which has "ha**th** sent."

As shown, both textual examples are solid matches with the variable form of the auxiliary *have* found in D&C 3:13. These examples inform us that we cannot be sure that the nearby morphological variation is a case of Joseph failing to be consistent. It could have been tightly controlled language that merely reflected earlier tendencies.

As for plural *was* in D&C 3:13, we cannot tell **in isolation** whether it is revealed archaic language or Joseph's dialectal usage. Despite the inherent difficulty in deciding between loose and tight control for plural *was* here and elsewhere in the Doctrine and Covenants, the earliest text of the Book of Mormon sheds light on this issue, and other linguistic evidence from section 3 does so as well.

I have shown elsewhere how nearby *was ~ were* variation in the Book of Mormon is very similar to earlier English usage.[161] For example, Mosiah 24:15 contains the exact distribution of variable forms that we find in the writings of the Scottish reformer John Knox and in the writings of quite a few others from the Early Modern English period:

> Mosiah 24:15[162]
>
> > the BURDENS *which* **was** laid upon Alma and his brethren **were** made light;
> >
> > > The change from *was* to *were* was made for the 1837 edition, marked
> > > in the printer's manuscript by Joseph Smith; see under Alma 46:33 in

> Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 2nd edition (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2017).

1560, EEBO A04920, John Knox [1505–1572] *An answer to a great number of blasphemous cauillations written by an Anabaptist*

> That place of Paule proveth not that all the ISRAELITES,
> *which* **was** called from Egypt, **were** within gods holie election
> to lief everlasting in Christ Jesus.

There is also the following match to consider, not involving variation:

1 Nephi 5:11[163]

> and also of Adam and Eve, *which* **was** our first parents
>
> > The change from "which was" to "who were" was made for the 1837 edition, marked in the printer's manuscript by Joseph Smith.

1566, EEBO A06932, Thomas Becon [1512–1567] *A new postil conteinyng most godly and learned sermons vpon all the Sonday Gospelles*

> not after the maner of Adam and Eue, *which* **was** made of the grounde

The 5-gram "Adam and Eve which was," where *which* and *was* refer to both Adam and Eve, is unlikely to be found in the modern era.

The archaic, systematic implementation of plural *was* in the Book of Mormon, along with plenty of supporting lexical and syntactic evidence, points to Early Modern English competence and tight control over this syntax in the Book of Mormon. And it is interesting to consider that by the summer of 1828 Joseph had probably dictated several instances of tightly controlled plural *was* as part of the early translation that was subsequently lost.

The internal evidence for treating plural *was* in section 3 and elsewhere as archaic, tightly controlled language is found particularly in verse 15. The original language of this verse contains an interesting vocabulary item as well as some odd syntax:

D&C 3:15 [copied about March 1831 in *Revelation Book 1* by John Whitmer]

> for thou hast suffered **that** the council of thy DIRECTORS
> **to** be trampeled upon from the beginning
>
> > Plural *directors* reads in the singular in the current LDS text.

Plural *directors* is found twice in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon at Alma 37:21, 24;[164] the term there refers to the Nephite interpreters.[165] It is likely that *directors* in D&C 3:15 also refers to the same sacred objects, whether they are called directors, interpreters, or Urim and Thummim. The use of the verb *suffer* with a following complementizer *that* also suggests tight control; in addition, the archaic

lexical choice of the verb *suffer*, instead of *allowed* or *permitted*, may be a further indication of tightly controlled archaism.[166]

As for the curious syntax, there's a switch from a *that*-clause after the verb *suffer* to an infinitive, the same type of language that Joseph dictated the following year for the Book of Mormon more than once.[167] The following passage involves the same governing verb *suffer*:

> Mormon 6:6
>> And knowing it to be the last struggle of my people
>> and having been commanded of the Lord
>> that I should not SUFFER **that** the records
>> which had been handed down by our fathers, which were sacred,
>> **to** fall into the hands of the Lamanites

Thomas More also used this variety of suspect grammar in the 16th century after the verb *think*,[168] and the following EEBO excerpt is a good match:

> 1598, EEBO A02364, translation of Jacques Guillemeau's *The French Chirurgery*
>
> which was alsoe an occasione of his resanation,
> because he SUFFERED, **that** the tronchone of the Launce,
> which stucke clean through his heade,
> **to** be with force, and violence drawne therout.
>
>> Of course in all three cases the auxiliary *should* could have been used in place of infinitival *to*. Another point of similarity between D&C 3:15 and the 1598 EEBO excerpt is that both end with a phrasal verb in the passive: "to be trampled upon" and "to be drawn out."

In summary, D&C 3:15 vocabulary and syntax, as well as the Book of Mormon's varied, archaic use of plural *was*, argue for treating plural "which was" in D&C 3:13 as revealed archaic language, not as emanating from Joseph's dialect.

Summary of Suspect Grammar

The exact syntax "<COMMAND verb form> **you** that **thou**" is not found in either the Book of Mormon or the King James Bible; it is only found in the Doctrine and Covenants. The questionable pronominal switch, however, is attested in earlier English with other verbs and in other contexts. This switch is found in the Book of Mormon, and even in the King James Bible (Ezekiel 36:13), which contains similar language at Deuteronomy 12:32: "I command you . . . thou shalt." It is likely that this Doctrine and Covenants syntax is tightly controlled language — the dual-object construction is somewhat creative, well-formed, and archaic.

The 2-gram "exceeding angry" is not strong evidence of tight control because of extensive Book of Mormon usage, which may have influenced the morphology in later Doctrine and Covenants revelations.

Subject *ye ~ you* variation in early revelations such as "blessed are **ye**, for **you** shall dwell with me in glory" (D&C 6:30) may indicate tight control as it matches earlier King James usage that had been edited out by 1769. Had Joseph Smith closely followed either his own dialect or a 1769 King James Bible, there would be little nearby variation. Nevertheless, if he mixed modern *you* with biblical *ye*, we do get Doctrine and Covenants usage.

The {-th} plural with main verbs such as "spirit and element inseparably connected receive**th** a fulness of joy" (D&C 93:33) also indicates tight control, since it was very rare by May 1833. While this language might have followed Book of Mormon usage, the {-th} plural of section 3, received in 1828 ("the Lamanites . . . who ha**th** been suffered to destroy their brethren"), supports the view that D&C 93:33 could be independent of Book of Mormon influence.

Subjunctive ~ indicative variation is scriptural and a natural linguistic phenomenon. The D&C 3:4 example after the hypothetical — "if he boast . . . and sets . . . and follows" — preceded all Book of Mormon examples. Because this nearby variation in grammatical mood is probably tightly controlled in the Book of Mormon, there is no reason it could not have been in Doctrine and Covenants revelations.

The {-s} plural seen in early Doctrine and Covenants revelations (of the form "things which/that **is**") could have been tightly controlled. Examples of "things which is" occur sufficiently early in the Doctrine and Covenants so that their independence of rather frequent Book of Mormon usage is possible. The Decalogue-like phrase "all things that in them is" is a creative modification of biblical language, incorporating the Early Modern English plural *is*.

Plural *was* occurs early in the Doctrine and Covenants, just after Joseph had dictated the lost 116 pages (which probably had examples of it as well). The D&C 3:13 instance of plural *was* precedes published Book of Mormon language and is therefore independent. The Book of Mormon and internal evidence argue for taking the case of plural *was* at D&C 3:13 to be tightly controlled. There is no compelling reason why this also could not have been the case in later Doctrine and Covenants examples such as "things which was" at D&C 35:18 (7 December 1830), "glories which was" at D&C 66:2 (29 October 1831), and "even ᴛʜɪɴɢs [which were from the beginning before the world was] *which* **was** ordained of the Father" at D&C 76:13 (7 February 1832).

The Challenge

In general, tight control of Doctrine and Covenants language also provides greater clarity with respect to the challenge found in section 67:

D&C 67:6–7 [about 2 November 1831;
copied about November 1831 by John Whitmer][169]

> now seek ye out of the Book of commandments even the least that
> is among them & appoint him that is the most wise among you
> or if there be any among you that shall make one like unto it then
> ye are Justified in saying that ye do not know that [it] is true but
> if you cannot make one like unto it ye are under condemnation
> if you do not bear [record/testimony] that it is true.

It is possible that this challenge would **not** have been made if Joseph Smith had been in control of the wording of these revelations from received ideas. At this time there were certainly a number of church members who were better educated and more literate than Joseph was and were able at that time to "express beyond his language," all things being equal.[170] But because the Lord was probably in charge of the wording of the revelations, any such persons were unable to surpass the revelatory language. Indeed, if we exclude the content from consideration, who among the challengers would have been able to readily produce, by dictation, some of the obscure, archaic language discussed throughout this paper?

Grandstaff asserts that "Section 67 was *not* given because the elders criticized Smith's grammar."[171] Nonetheless, it is interesting that section 66, given to McLellin days before section 67, probably contained a clear case of bad grammar.[172] Therefore McLellin could have very recently formed doubts about the source of revelatory language because a revelation containing "GLORIES which **was**" was addressed to him personally and he was a school teacher and thus probably held strict views on grammatical usage. These facts are certainly worth bearing in mind in relation to the challenge of section 67.

Analysis of Some Language of the Plot of Zion

The tight control of Doctrine and Covenants language combined with Frederick G. Williams's apparent upright character and general trustworthiness, as well as his lack of experience in city planning,[173] constitute the strongest evidence that various details of the Plot of Zion were revealed and tightly controlled. (An appendix contains the plot description, laid out in sense lines.)

As mentioned briefly in the introduction, an August 2, 1833, revelation to Joseph Smith states that a "pattern"[174] had been given for laying out a foundation for a city (see D&C 94:1–2).[175] Because of the likelihood of tight control, the import of this Doctrine and Covenants reference should be taken seriously. In D&C 94:4, dimensions are specifically given

for an inner court (55' × 65'), indicating that dimensions could have likewise been specifically given for the Plot of Zion as well.[176] Because of substantial evidence for tight control in this and other close-in-time revelations, we can reasonably take plot measurements to have been revealed by the Lord. Moreover, Frederick G. Williams wrote on the temple plan that the city plot was revealed (see the text accompanying note 11).

Nevertheless, there is a clear, uncorrected error in the original plot description of June 1833, which argues that this item was not tightly controlled. And so other parts of the plot description could have been under loose control (or even no specific control).[177] In this particular case, a narrow 4 × 20 rod building lot (66' × 330') is wrongly indicated to be ¼ of an acre. Yet a simple calculation tells us that this is too small by a factor of 2, and so it is no surprise that this fraction was corrected to ½ in the *Letterbook 1* copy.[178] However, before the incorrect figure of ¼ of an acre was written down, the governing dimension for a typical square or block had already been given as 10 acres and 40 square rods. This twice-specified areal measurement, along with the transparent 10 × 2 lot layout within a block, controls the size of individual building lots being one-half of an acre. Thus the mistake of "¼ of an acre," uncorrected on the original plot manuscript, is not specific evidence that the block area of 40 square rods (10 acres) was not tightly controlled, or that other independent plot dimensions such as street width (8 rods) were not specifically revealed.

In this same vein, there is a somewhat confusing note given on the back side of the plot that acknowledges a scribal error, and that the order of two multi-word constituents should be switched where indicated by two dotted symbols (the note calls the symbols stars; see the end of the appendix). But this same note also indicates how to group these constituents so that this error may actually provide evidence for word and constituent control in the plot specification.

The beginning of the plot description reads: "This plot contains one mile square." This language could be either archaic or modern, but *plot* used in this context in 1830s America was much less common than *plat*,[179] and "mile square" was much less common than "square mile."[180] Had the language at the outset been loosely controlled, Williams might have written "this plat contains 1.44 square miles" instead of "this plot contains one mile square." Also, this measurement was not corrected in *Letterbook 1*, unlike the ¼ acre ~ ½ acre variant.[181]

The Mile

The **one** square mile reference is the most interesting part of the opening sentence of the plot description: either it is an obvious error (as shown by the plot draft and its description),[182] or it corresponds to an archaic measurement of the past. We have considered one item of archaic vocabulary (*strange* in "strange act"), and we have seen that the Doctrine and Covenants has archaic grammar that corresponds with 16th- and 17th-century usage. In like manner, there is phraseology in the referred-to plot description that is possibly archaic, such as "according to wisdom" (see below), and there are other potential archaisms, as discussed below. Consequently, it is not out of the question that the term *mile* as used in the plot might be a 16th-century measurement.
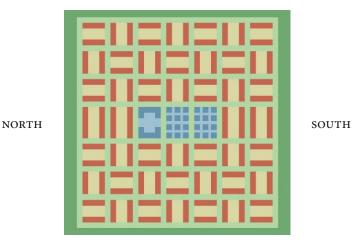
The mile referenced in the plot draft and description is apparently 6,336 feet. This plot dimension corresponds to the Saxton mile, in use in England before a statutory decree of 1593.[183] That distance is determined by the language and the ground-plan of the plot in the following way:

First, measuring north to south (from left to right on the plot), the distance is 8 streets, each one having a width of 8 rods, and 7 blocks, each one having a width of 40 rods. Taken together, those give a distance of 344 rods. In addition, the ground-plan of the plot indicates two easements: an easement of 40 rods on the north and an easement of 40 rods on the south. Half of each of those easements belongs to the Plot of Zion, in accordance with common approaches under property law.[184] Thus the total north–south measured distance of the plot is 384 rods. Because a rod is equivalent to 16.5 feet, that means that one side of the plot of Zion is 6,336 feet.

Second, measuring east to west (from top to bottom on the plot), the distance is 8 streets, each one having a width of 8 rods; 6 blocks having a width of 40 rods; and 1 block having a width of 60 rods. The Plot of Zion is silent on the matter of the east and west easements, but to make a square for the entire plot, as indicated by the first sentence of the plot description, each of the easements on the east and on the west must be 20 rods in width. As a result, half of the total east–west easement width of 40 rods is 20 rods, giving a square for the Plot of Zion of 384 × 384 rods, or 6,336 × 6,336 feet, as shown in the figure below.

Wherefore, the MILE of the Plot of Zion is exactly 1.2 of a statute mile. Hence the community plat is 1.44 square statute miles in area.

EAST

NORTH

SOUTH

WEST

Unusual Features Found in the City Plat and the Temple Plan

This short section lists a number of features of the Plot of Zion and the Plan of the House of the Lord that appear to be rare or unique for 1830s America. Some of these are consistent with centuries-old usage. (It is expected that these items will be discussed and documented in another paper.)

City Plat

- narrow building lots: 66 feet wide
- high-density living in half-acre lots:
  15 to 21 persons in several apartments
- the placement of east instead of north
  at the top of the plat drawing
- 24 central buildings can provide seats
  for the entire community

Temple Plan

- two inner courts of 55 × 65 feet, one above another
- inner-court size allows seating on two-foot-wide chairs
- curtains divide the house into four parts[185]
- "14 feet high between the floors"; "each story to be 14 feet"[186]

It is worth noting that the Kirtland Temple, as built, represents only about one-third of the prescribed plan. For example, the outer courts were left out of the temple as was space for pulpits. The builders put all the functions into the specified inner-court space; that may have been as much as they were able to build or could visualize building at the time. Also, the hanging chambers — mentioned not only in the temple plan but also at D&C 95:17 — were not implemented in the construction. These were to be located in the upper part of the inner courts.

"According to wisdom"

The three-word phrase "according to wisdom" occurs twice in the Doctrine and Covenants, and once in the plot description:

> D&C 63:44 [30 August 1831; copied about
> 30 August 1831 by Oliver Cowdery][187]
>
>> Behold, these things are in his own hands,
>> let him do **according to wisdom**.

> D&C 96:3 [4 June 1833; copied between 6 June and 30 July 1833 by Orson Hyde][188]
>
>> and again let it be divided into lots **according to wisdom** for the benefit of those who seek inheritances as it shall be determined in council among you.

> 1833 Plot of Zion
>
>> the ground to be occupied for these must be laid off **according to wisdom**

This 3-gram is rare in the modern era before the 1830s, and is principally found in the 17th-century textual record.[189] The 1560 Geneva Bible is the one Early Modern English Bible with this exact phrase,[190] and the 4-gram "do according to wisdom," found in D&C 63:44, occurs in this 17th-century example:

> 1638, EEBO A18610, William Chillingworth,
> *The religion of protestants a safe way to salvation*
>
>> For first, this is most certain, that we are in all things
>> to **doe according to wisdome** and reason rather then against it.

King James usage always has a determiner between *according to* and *wisdom*,[191] and that is the more typical textual usage.

The subject matter of the D&C 96:3 passage with "according to wisdom" is similar to that of the June 1833 Plot of Zion, and laying off lots is also mentioned twice at D&C 104:36, 43 (April 1834). The phrasal verb "lay off" as used in this context is modern in origin, according to the Oxford English Dictionary. But the general sense may have arisen in the 17th century.[192] And it is probably tightly controlled language in

D&C 104, and so even though it could correspond to modern usage, it could have still been tightly controlled in the plot description.

The {-s} Plural in Plot Language

There are two possible occurrences of the {-s} plural in the plot description:[193]

> all the squares in the plot **containes** ten acres each

> and the next the lots **runs** from the east and west to the middle line

In the first case, the intervening singular noun *plot* may make this a case of proximity agreement.[194] The adjacency of singular *plot* to the verb *containes* makes the apparent non-agreement sound less jarring to the modern ear.

Here are some 17th-century examples of the {-s} plural with the verbs *contain* and *run*, a usage which may account for the suspect verb agreement found in the plot description (since it may be an archaism):[195]

1605, EEBO A21691, L. T. A. [fl. 1592] *Falshood in friendship, or vnions vizard: or wolues in lambskins*

> All the forepart and exteriour shew of thy body is fayre, yet semblable to painted and guilded SEPULCHERS, *that* **containes** within them nothing but loth-some smels and rotten bones:

1605, EEBO A20836, Michael Drayton [1563–1631] *Poems*

> the riuer of Yarmouth runs, hauing West and South thereof a wood, and a little Village called Thorpe, and on the North, the PASTURES of Mousholl, *which* **containes** about six miles in length and breadth.

>> *Pastures* seems to be the antecedent of *which*, but it is not certain. This describes land in the Norwich area of Norfolk, England.

1656, EEBO A92204, Robert Read, *The Fiery Change*

> though he be present in body, he is absent in minde, and either his minde wanders, & his THOUGHTS **runs** out into the world,

1683, EEBO A58408, John Reid, *The Scots Gardener*

> Plant no Trees deep; (albeit some deeper than other) when their ROOTS **runs** near the surface, there they receive the beneficial influence of Sun and Showres,

The {-s} plural form *containes*[196] occurs both times in the above examples after a relative pronoun, which is the grammatical subject, and is unmarked for number. The {-s} plural and the {-th} plural were more often found after opaque relative pronouns in Early Modern English.[197]

An opposing kind of agreement phenomenon found in the plot is the phrase "NONE of these temples **are**," with plural *are* being used despite the word controlling agreement being *none*. If we consider, however, that in present-day English one says "zero feet," etc., then we can see that any prescriptive rule against plural *are* in this kind of grammatical structure is artificial. In this particular case, both early and late modern English have strongly favored the use of *are* after the 4-gram "none of these things."[198]

Some Semantic Usage

There is one term of measurement used in the plot description whose usage is found both early and late, but which is more characteristic of the Early Modern English period: PERCH. Like *rod*, *perch* signifies 16.5 feet. The plural form *perches* is used six times in the Plot of Zion, while *rods* is used only once (at the outset).

In all of EEBO (Phases 1 and 2) there are 46 instances of the two-word phrase "perches long/wide," compared with only 16 of "rods long/wide" (75% *perch*).[199] In contrast, the Google Books *Ngram Viewer* currently shows that in 1833 "rods long/wide" was used approximately 95% of the time, and "perches long/wide" only 5% of the time.[200]

I have ruled out other potentially archaic semantic and morphological usage, determining that they do not strongly point to archaism. The following may or may not represent archaic language. These include *range* used to mean 'row' (as in "the middle range of squares"),[201] *stand* in the phrase "the houses stand on one street,"[202] the adverb *alternate* used instead of *alternately* in the phrase "laid off alternate,"[203] and *painted* in "painted squares" meaning 'colored.'[204] Also, "inside **of** NP" used in "the circles inside of this square" still fits the 1830s well, since it was more common in the early 19th century than "inside NP," which grew dominant in the 20th century.[205]

Summary of Plot of Zion Language

To be sure, we can take the pattern and measurements of the 1833 Plot of Zion to be revealed because of supporting declarations made in section 94 and by the scribe Frederick G. Williams. The term *mile* was probably tightly controlled since it has an obsolete meaning of 1.2 statute miles. Also, the opening sentence "this plot contains one mile square" could have been revealed word for word. The term PERCH could have been tightly controlled since it fits the earlier period better than the 19th century. There is some verb agreement that might have been tightly

controlled since there is archaic matching of the syntax in question. However, loose control in these potential cases of the {-s} plural is also possible.

One mistake — "¼ of an acre" — may indicate lack of control with this dependent dimension (or scribal error), but another scribal mistake at the end of the plot description (on the back side) may indicate word and constituent control. One directive, "of which we send you the draft," could be uncontrolled language, while another directive, "let every man live in the city for this is the city of Zion," could be from the Lord (see note 177). Finally, the phrase "according to wisdom" is either tightly controlled language in the plot description or indirectly controlled by way of Doctrine and Covenants language. Beyond these items, it becomes more difficult to make definitive statements.

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Primary Sources

The Joseph Smith Papers project and website (www.josephsmithpapers. org) and the Yale edition of the Book of Mormon were essential to this study: Royal Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) (bit.ly/2ocoerM). Directly related to the latter is Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2004–2009); Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 2nd edition (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2017); and Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation* [Parts 1 and 2 of *The History of the Text of the Book of Mormon*] (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2016). LDS View provided access to the current LDS text of the scriptures (ldsview. wordcruncher.com; Salt Lake City: Intellectual Reserve, 2001–).

The principal English textual source used in this study was the *Early English Books Online* database (EEBO; eebo.chadwyck.com). It currently contains close to 60,000 transcribed texts printed between the years 1473 to 1700. The publicly searchable portion of EEBO (Phase 1 texts) is to be

found at <quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup>. Other important textual sources include Literature Online (LION; literature.proquest.com), Google Books (books.google.com), and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO; quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco). The full database of ECCO is available through some public libraries, as is the Oxford English Dictionary (www.oed.com).

Mark Davies initially provided me with a very useful corpus and interface: *Early English Books Online, 400 million words, 1470s–1690s* (2013–) (corpus.byu.edu/eebo). I have mainly derived Early Modern English examples from a 700-million-word WordCruncher corpus that I made from almost 25,000 EEBO Phase 1 texts (www.wordcruncher.com; Provo, UT: BYU, 1991–). This corpus is precisely searchable, making it a valuable resource for discovering Early Modern English usage. In addition to ECCO, the Google Books database was essential for the modern period, as well as the associated *Ngram Viewer*.

Appendix

The 1833 Plot of Zion Description

The margin notes from the front side of the plot are rewritten below in sense lines:

East side of the plot

Explanation —
this plot containes one mile square
all the squares in the plot contains ten acres each
being 40 rods square
you will observe that the lots are laid off alternate in the squares
in one square running from the south and North
to the line through the middle of the square
and the next the lots runs from the east and west to the middle line
each lot is 4 perches in front and 20 back
making ¼ of an acre in each lot
so that no one street will be built on intirely through the street
but one square the houses stand on one street
and on the next on another
except the middle range of squares
which runs North and south
in which range are the painted squares
the lots are laid off in these squares North and south all of them
because these squares are 40 perches by 60

being twenty perches longer than the others
the long way of them being east and west
and by runing all the lots in these squares North and south
it makes all the lots in the City of one size
the painted squares in the middle are for publick buildings
the one without any figure is for store houses

West side of the plot

for the / Bishop and to be devoted to his use
figure one is for temples for the use of the presidency
the circles inside of this square are the places for the temples
you will see it containes twelve Figures
2 is for Temples for the lesser Priesthood
it also is to contain 12 Temples
the whole plot is supposed to contain
from 15 to 20 thousand people
you will therefore see that it will require 24 buildings
to supply them with houses of worship schools, &c.
none of these temples are to be smaller than the one
of which we send you the draft
this Temple is to be built in square marked figure one
and to be built where the circle is which has a cross on it.
On the north and south of the plot where the line is shown
is to be laid off for barns stables &c. for the use of the city
so that no barns or stables will be in the City among the houses
the ground to be occupied for these must be laid off according to wisdom
on the North and South are to be laid off the farms for the agraculturists
& sufficient quantity of land to supply the whole plot
and if it cannot be laid off
without going too great a distance from the city
there must also be laid off on the east and west
when this square is thus laid off and supplied
lay off another in the same way
and so fill up the world in these last days
and let every man live in the City for this is the City of Zion

South side of the plot

All the streets are of one width
being eight perches wide
also the space round the outer edge of the painted squares
is to be eight perches
between the temples and the street on every side

North side of the plot

No one lot in this City is to contain more than one house
& that to be built 25 feet back from the street
leaving a small yard in front to be planted in a grove
according to the taste of the builder
the rest of the lot for gardens &c.
all the houses to be of brick and stone

South side of the plot

the Scale of the plot is 40 perches to the inch

*The notes from the back side of the plot are rewritten below in sense lines;
the phrases to be switched are preceded by dotted cross symbols:*

Back side of the plot

The names of the temples to be built on the painted squares

Nos 10–11–12 are to be called
The house of the Lord
for the presidency of the high and most holy priesthood
after the order of Melchisedeck
which was after the order of the Son of God
upon Mount Zion City of the New Jerusalem

Nos 7–8–9
The Sacred Apostolical repository
for the use of the Bishop

Nos 4–5–6
The holy Evangelical house
for the high priesthood of the holy order of God

Nos 1–2–3
The house of the Lord
for the Elders of Zion an ensign to the nations

Nos 22–23–24
house of the Lord
for the presidency of the high priesthood after the order of Aron
a standard for the people

Nos 19–20–21
house of the Lord
⁜ the law of the kingdom of heaven and Messenger to the people
⁜ for the high priesthood after the order of Aron

Nos 16–17–18
house of the Lord
for the teachers in Zion Messenger to the church

Nos 13–14–15
house of the Lord
for the Deacons in Zion helps in government
underneath must be written on each house holiness to the Lord

NB. the Stars are to have the sentences placed together
having committed an error in writing
the sentence "for the high priesthood after the order of Aron
should be placed immediately after the house of the Lord

Endnotes

1. Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 174. See the text accompanying note 23.

2. See, for example, www.blueletterbible.org/lang/lexicon/lexicon.cfm?Strongs=H5237&t=KJV.

3. "Revelation, 1 June 1833 [D&C 95]," p. 59, *The Joseph Smith Papers*, accessed November 1, 2016, www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-1-june-1833-dc-95/1. "Revelation, 16–17 December 1833 [D&C 101]," p. 73, *The Joseph Smith Papers*, accessed November 1, 2016, www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-16–17-december-1833-dc-101/1.

4. See "Plat of the City of Zion, circa Early June–25 June 1833," p. [1], *The Joseph Smith Papers*, accessed November 1, 2016, www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/plat-of-the-city-of-zion-circa-early-june-25-june-1833/1.

5. NB stands for Latin *notā bene*, meaning 'mark well, observe particularly' (see under the entry in the OED for the phrase *nota bene*).

6. The signatories to this document were Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams, and Martin Harris. "Plan of the House of the Lord, between 1 and 25 June 1833," p. [2], *The Joseph Smith Papers*, accessed November 1, 2016, www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/plan-of-the-house-of-the-lord-between-1-and-25-june-1833/2. Because of frequent citation, this article will abbreviate Joseph Smith Papers references by using only the URL. Online access can be taken to have occurred on or about November 1, 2016.

7. "Tightly controlled" means that the Lord caused words, not ideas, to be sent to Joseph Smith (see 2 Nephi 27:22, 24). Royal Skousen expressed it this way: "*Tight control:* Joseph saw specific words written out in English and read them off to the scribe — the accuracy of the resulting text depending on the carefulness of Joseph and his scribe" ("How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7.1 [1998]: 22–31, 24). In opposition to the terminology *tight control* is "*Loose control:* Ideas were revealed to Joseph Smith, and he put those ideas into his own language (a theory advocated by many Book of Mormon scholars over the years)" (1998:24).

   Brant Gardner has developed an approach that involves Joseph seeing specific words even though Gardner believes that only ideas were revealed to Joseph throughout the dictation of the Book of Mormon: "We need a mechanism that explains how Joseph could be the translator and still read what he saw on the interpreters or his seer stone" (*The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* [Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011], 274). As used in this paper, the terms "tightly controlled" and "tight control" are not meant to convey the view of Gardner 2011.

8. The statutory mile of 5,280 feet had been established 240 years earlier in 1593 by an English Act of Parliament during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.

9. This supporting evidence is addressed in some detail in this paper, as well as the challenge of D&C 67:5–8, which is consistent with the notion that the language of these revelations might have been beyond the natural abilities or knowledge of the revelator and his scribes.

10. Most of the sections revealed closely before and after June 1833 were scribed by Williams, but the earliest extant versions of sections 95 and 96 were copied by Orson Hyde. It is unclear from the source note whether Williams served as the original scribe for these revelations.

11. In particular, what would become the first part of section 94 (scribed on August 2, 1833, by Williams) states that the "laying off and preparing a begining and foundation of the city of the stake of Zion . . . must be done according to the **pattern** which I have given unto you" (emphasis added; see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-2-august-1833-b-dc-94/1).

12. See Gardner's discussion of this issue in Brant Gardner, *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011), 148–152. See in particular B. H. Roberts, "Translation

of the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 9.6 (1906): 428–429; B. H. Roberts, *New Witnesses for God* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1909), 2:110–121; 3:407–425; John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith: Seeker after Truth, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1951), 42; Sidney B. Sperry, *Answers to Book of Mormon Questions* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967), 184–186; Daniel H. Ludlow, *A Companion to Your Study of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 141, 163; and Robert L. Millett, "The Book of Mormon, Historicity, and Faith," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 2.2 (1993): 5.

13. The obscure phraseology "it supposeth me" is one possible example of late Middle English language. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (see definition 1d under the verb *suppose*), simple dative syntax involving the verb *suppose* is attested only once in a 1390 poem by John Gower. (The dative pronominal in Gower and in the Book of Mormon is not a "raised" object.)

    Descriptive linguistic evidence shows that the English-language text of the Book of Mormon is principally Early Modern English in form and structure but somewhat eclectic as well. In order for ideas to have been transmitted throughout the dictation, many anomalous forms like "did molten," "they who art," "they sleepeth," "it supposeth me," "had been spake," and "of which hath been spoken" must have been part of Joseph's dialect, along with much other systematic usage like the Early Modern English {-th} plural and 16th-century periphrastic *did*. See Stanford Carmack, "The Case of the {-th} Plural in the Earliest Text," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 18 (2016): 79–108, www.mormoninterpreter.com/the-case-of-the-th-plural-in-the-earliest-text; and Stanford Carmack, "The Implications of Past-Tense Syntax in the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 14 (2015): 119–186, www.mormoninterpreter.com/the-implications-of-past-tense-syntax-in-the-book-of-mormon.

14. After considering a large amount of textual evidence and reading a variety of independent linguistic studies, I have concluded that it is extremely unlikely that many morphological forms and syntactic structures found in the Book of Mormon (and in the Doctrine and Covenants) were part of Joseph Smith's pre-1830s rural New York and New England dialect. Documents containing aspects of Joseph Smith's dialect (such as a 2,000-word personal history written in 1832 scribed by Joseph Smith and Frederick G. Williams) generally support this view. See Stanford Carmack, "How Joseph Smith's Grammar Differed from Book of Mormon Grammar: Evidence from the 1832

History," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 25 (2017): 239–259, www.mormoninterpreter.com/how-joseph-smiths-grammar-differed-from-book-of-mormon-grammar-evidence-from-the-1832-history/; and www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-circa-summer-1832/1.

15. Systematic usage includes but is not limited to the present-tense, past-tense, and perfect-tense verbal systems. Tight control has crucial explanatory power since it makes sense of the hundreds of differences — small and large — between lengthy biblical passages found in the Book of Mormon and the King James Bible. Under tight control, changes that were expedient in the Lord to make were made. The text itself tells us that a human consulting a 1769 King James Bible would have been inadequate to the case since there are 1611 readings, as well as an apparent reliance on language found in other Early Modern English Bibles. These facts are problematic for loose control.

16. See Royal Skousen, editor, *The Original Manuscript of the Book of Mormon: Typographical Facsimile of the Extant Text* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2001); and Royal Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2009), bit.ly/2ocoerM.

17. "They was" is Early Modern English usage by consequential authors, and some of them varied "they was" closely with "they were," as we read in Alma 9:31–32. Also, "they were" was written down once by Joseph Smith for his 1832 History in the one case where he could have written "they was" (near the beginning).

18. For background on the Book of Mormon's use of the *did*-periphrasis, see Carmack, "Past-Tense Syntax," 119–186, bit.ly/2nLFIiA. For a historical treatment of the *do*-periphrasis in English, see Alvar Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do: The Establishment and Regulation of Its Use in English* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953). Pages 157 and 161–162 contain a brief summary that is relevant to Book of Mormon usage.

    Citing two earlier studies, Ellegård wrote on page 157 that periphrastic *do* (both present-tense and past-tense) "first occurred in prose [about] 1400, gained ground slowly in the 15th [century] and rapidly in the 16th century. In the 17th century the tide fell fast in affirmative declarative sentences, whereas the use of *do* became regular in negative and interrogative ones. The modern state of things was practically achieved around 1700."

19. The Book of Mormon employs personal *which* more than 50 percent of the time, the King James Bible less than 20 percent of the time.

20. Because the King James Bible doesn't have plural *was*, this has typically been attributed by LDS scholars to Joseph Smith.

21. I have not done a comprehensive study of this syntactic feature in the Doctrine and Covenants, but there is nearby variation of personal *which ~ who* in D&C 3:13 (July 1828), which we can also find in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon (e.g. 2 Nephi 9:26, Mosiah 3:5, Alma 1:7; 10:3; 15:1; 26:36; 43:44; 46:14; 61:3–4; Helaman 3:28; 3 Nephi 7:24; Ether 13:15) and in the King James Bible (e.g. Numbers 14:36; 26:9; 1 Samuel 16:16; 2 Chronicles 8:17; 30:7; etc.). The original Book of Mormon language can be read in Royal Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), bit.ly/2ocoerM.

    Because the King James Bible favors the relative pronoun *that* after human antecedents, the heavy use of *which* in the Book of Mormon is distinct from biblical preferences. There are Early Modern English authors who favored *which* over *that* (after human antecedents), but it was clearly the less-common option for most authors.

22. But see below for a brief treatment of the {-th} plural as may be found sporadically in early versions of Doctrine and Covenants sections.

23. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, 174. The preface was revealed on November 1, 1831 in Hiram, Ohio — see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-1-november-1831-b-dc-1/2. This was around the time that sections 67 and 68 were revealed. The source note says that section 1 was "copied [between 12 and 20 Nov. 1831] in Revelation Book 1, pp. 125–127; handwriting of John Whitmer."

24. Attributing Book of Mormon language to Joseph Smith because he possibly had extensive subconscious knowledge of biblical usage is an impracticable idea since most Book of Mormon grammar is archaic but not biblical.

25. This judgment is made because the vocabulary and the syntax of the Book of Mormon appear to have been filtered for recognition but not for obsolescence. In the main, the archaic or obsolete vocabulary and syntax are quite plain to our understanding. For example, "cause X that X (should/shall) do something" (e.g., 3 Nephi 29:4), though apparently obsolete before the 19th century, is as easy to understand as "cause that X (should/shall) do something" or "cause X to do something." And the "but if" of "but if he yieldeth to the enticings of the Holy Spirit" (Mosiah 3:19) is made up of current, high-frequency words that can be determined to mean 'unless' from the context.

26. For example, this may be the case with "had **not** ought to + <INFINITIVE>" in the Book of Mormon. This negative quasi-modal auxiliary verb has not yet been found in the Early Modern English period, but the occasional uncontracted case can be found in the modern era, such as the seven instances in a Buffalo, New York book by Tallcut Patching (1822). This book also has at least 15 instances of "had ought to + <INFINITIVE>," which is uncommonly found in Early Modern English. The quasi-modal "ought to" is used with *had* approximately 30 times in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon.

27. On more than one occasion I have encountered the assertion that it means that the Lord favors or has a vested interest in Early Modern English. Of course the position of tight control doesn't depend on any such view nor does it assert any such thing. Tight control is merely shown by the occurrence of certain types of Early Modern English usage that did not carry through materially to modern English. Another recently made claim is that by analyzing the form and structure of the language — in order to answer the question of the nature of the revelatory process — I imply that the Lord is more concerned with the "mechanics" of language than with the expressiveness of communication. To my knowledge I have never stated that the Lord deems content to be less important than form and structure.

    Yet obviously the form and structure of the language of Joseph's revelations — a largely neglected topic — is important, since it has a direct bearing on who worded the text: the Lord or Joseph Smith. Because humans cannot accurately simulate foreign grammar, and the dictation grammar of the earliest text was effectively foreign to Joseph Smith in 1829, that aspect of the text resolves the nature of the revelatory translation. This is substantial evidence as the grammar of a lengthy text is massively represented and concrete in nature.

28. Bushman might simply mean by the Doctrine and Covenants revelations not being in "God's diction, dialect, or native language" (*Rough Stone Rolling*, 174), that they weren't given in dominant King James language. If so, then this is accurate. Royal Skousen noted the following in the case of the Book of Mormon: "the biblically styled language of the text . . . does not imitate the specific language of the King James Bible (of course, the biblical quotes in the Book of Mormon do follow the King James text for the most part)." (*Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* [Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2006], 3:1393–94.) This important observation has been borne out repeatedly by subsequent research.

Yet five years later, Brant Gardner wrote the following: "The Book of Mormon's imitation of King James translation language and style is so obvious it does not need demonstration" (*The Gift and Power*, 192). While it is true that there is plenty of overlapping usage, there are also so many significant differences between the two texts that we do not obtain the form and structure of the Book of Mormon in many cases from a close imitation of King James language.

In 2011, the details of Book of Mormon language and earlier English were finally available to scholars: Skousen's 2009 Yale edition, his 6-part *Analysis of Textual Variants* (2004–2009), the Oxford English Dictionary, and the vast, searchable *Early English Books Online* database (there are currently approximately 25,000 publicly available Phase 1 texts, as well as almost 35,000 Phase 2 texts available by subscription). These sources provide evidence of the Early Modern English character of the Book of Mormon and for how the King James Bible and the Book of Mormon are distinct in their semantic, morphological, and syntactic usage.

29. See, for example, Royal Skousen, editor, *The Original Manuscript of the Book of Mormon: Typographical Facsimile of the Extant Text* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2001), 6.

30. There are 48 instances of "save it be" found in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon.

31. The Scottish authors James Durham (1658), Andrew Honyman (1669), and James Canaries (1684) provide a total of five instances of "save it be." Here I list those instances, with spelling regularized. Durham (EEBO A37035): "the four monarchies, which were not any of them (**save it be** the third) in an individual person, yet they are called four kings:"; "not one of them is subject to the Roman emperor now (**save it be** Germany alone, which yet indeed is not so)"; Honyman (EEBO A86516): "Do they not, for the most part, live abstractly at their several charges, **save it be** one or two admitted by the king to his council?"; Canaries (EEBO B18463): "Wherefore as all those jejune and barren speculations are in themselves altogether uncapable to work upon practice, or employ anything of us below the chin, (**save it be** in those ebullitions of contention and strife which they are indeed *very* and *only* apt to occasion)" (emphasis in original); "I know none that ever held anything like this latter, **save it be** the Quakers."

32. William Herbert, Dean of Manchester, employed the phrase in 1804 while translating Icelandic poetry ("Thou canst not leave me, **save it be** my will;" <bit.ly/2rrKAqm>, reprinted elsewhere). The Dubliner Matthew Weld Hartstonge used it in 1825 in a Scottish romance

("**save it be** upon your death-bed alone that you may divulge it" <bit.ly/2pXoWZT>). The use of "save it be" by Hartstonge in a Scottish romance may speak to his viewing it as being characteristic of northern English dialects. See the end of note 43 for a short list of possible Scotticisms or northern Early Modern English usage found in the Book of Mormon.

33. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-april-1829 -a-dc-6/1 and www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/book-of-commandments-1833/15. The citation in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants is 8:5. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/doctrine-and-covenants-1835/117.

34. *Which* was changed to *who* for the 1835 edition.

35. The Google Books *Ngram Viewer* (https://books.google.com/ngrams; citation given immediately below) indicates that in 1830 "except those who" was used approximately 80% of the time versus "save those who," and more than 80% of the time throughout most of the preceding century. *Ngram Viewer* citation: Jean-Baptiste Michel *et al.*, "Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books," *Science* 331.6014 (2011): 176–182 (published online ahead of print on 16 December 2010).

36. Nor are there any writings that employ "save it be" anywhere close to the number of times that we encounter it in the Book of Mormon (48 times).

    Suppose we were to assert that the heavy use of "save it be" in the Doctrine and Covenants and in the Book of Mormon was merely an indication that Joseph Smith overused rare phrases that he came to favor. This could be a possible explanation in isolation, but it fails to explain a host of forms found in the Book of Mormon. If one were to resort to this argument, then the strong match between the ubiquitous affirmative, declarative, periphrastic *did* usage of the Book of Mormon with 16th-century patterns, on multiple levels, would remain unexplained. Nor does such a view explain the prevalence of extrabiblical, archaic vocabulary in the earliest text, or the diversity of systematic syntax found in the Book of Mormon, including but not limited to the presence of a rich variety of 16th-century agentive *of* usage (which pseudo-biblical texts do not have), the solid match between *command* syntax with some late 15th-century Caxton usage, the good match between various causative constructions and the Early Modern English period, as well as personal *which*, embedded auxiliary usage, the {-th} plural, plural was, some past participle leveling, etc.

37. This revelation is also dated April 1829. See www.josephsmithpapers. org/paper-summary/revelation-april-1829-d-dc-9/1. In addition, there are three instances of "save it was" found in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon: Enos 1:20, 23; Alma 49:4.

38. Defining the term *ark*: "Arcke, a cofer or cheste as oure shrynes **saue it was** flatte" (EEBO A13203).

39. John Harington (translator), book 37, stanza 75: "That **saue it was** so darke they could not see" (EEBO A21106, page 311).

40. This work is dated variously: either *about* 1630 (LION), or 166–? (EEBO A78289). The author is given as S.C., and the title as *The famous and delectable history of Cleocreton and Cloryana:* "all the fabrick of her beautiful body was composed without fault, **save it was** too little" (London).

41. This language was received in early June 1829, copied by John Whitmer in March 1831, and typeset in early 1833. See www.josephsmithpapers. org/paper-summary/revelation-june-1829-b-dc-18/3. There are 77 instances of "save it were" found in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon.

42. William Mercer [1605?–1676?], *Angliæ speculum: or Englands looking-glasse:* "Some were confounded, others forc'd to fly, / Their bodies wounded all were glad to cry, / And beg for pardon, **safe it were** those Priests / And Jesuits, who counted all but jeasts / Till they were routed" (EEBO A89059).

43. One can currently read it online as it was set forth in *The Charmer*, volume 1, page 311 (Edinburgh, 1751): digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner.cfm?id=87773315&mode=fullsize. The first line is "Will you go and marry, *Kitty?*": "I could wish no man to get you, / **Save it were** my very sel[']." According to page 27 of William Scott Douglas, editor, *The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, Volume 2 (Kilmarnock: James M'Kie, 1871), the poet Robert Burns merely reworked the folk song and any attribution to him is incorrect. This is shown directly by the fact that *The Charmer* was published when Burns was only two years old.

The same song was published again in 1768, with slightly different wording, by Alexander Ross of Aberdeen [1699–1784], in *The Fortunate Shepherdess*, under the title "Wilt thou go and marry, Ketty?": "And yet, my dear and lovely Ketty, / I hae this one thing to tell: / I wad wish no man to get ye, / **Save it were** my very sell" (bit. ly/2pUPuvF).

The substantial presence of this Scottish or northern Early Modern English element ("save it were" and "save it be") in the Doctrine and Covenants and Book of Mormon should not be overlooked. We encounter it in this type of phrase, and in the Book of Mormon in a number of items including intransitive *anger*, *hurl*, *molten*, *proven*, *subsequent*, and the time conjunction "to that." (The past participle *proven* was Scottish usage in the 1600s, before spreading in the 1700s.)

44. For a discussion of this syntax in the Book of Mormon, see Stanford Carmack, "What Command Syntax Tells Us About Book of Mormon Authorship," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture*, 13 (2015): 180–184, 192–194, www.mormoninterpreter.com/what-command-syntax-tells-us-about-book-of-mormon-authorship. See also Royal Skousen, *Grammatical Variation* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU Studies, 2016), 1053–1057. Dual-object *command* syntax is called **layered** syntax in the 2015 *Interpreter* article.

45. In this syntax there are two object layers after the verb *command*: an indirect object noun phrase (or pronoun) and a direct object *that*-clause.

46. Here and elsewhere I refer to novel production, rather than quoted or paraphrased language of the past. A genuine modern example comes from the *Edinburgh Review* 28:367 (1817): "his Majesty . . . issued a general order, in May 1809, to the governors in the West Indies, COMMANDING **them**, *that* **they** should, on no pretence whatever, give their assent to any law relative to religion" (bit.ly/2pUA22G).

47. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-19-january-1841-dc-124/4. Source note: "Revelation, Nauvoo, IL, 19 Jan. 1841; in Book of the Law of the Lord, pp. 3–15; handwriting of Robert B. Thompson; CHL."

48. 3 Nephi 4:23 has essentially the same complex syntax, but the verb is *give* followed by the noun *command:* "Zemnarihah did give command unto his people **that** they should withdraw themselves from the siege and **to** march into the farthermost parts of the land northward." Here we can see that the first object, "his people" is an indirect object, marked by the preposition *unto*, as in this 1483 Caxton example: "David commanded **to** his servants to slay them" (EEBO A14559,; spelling regularized here and following). Here is another instance from the same book, *The Golden Legend*, which is a fairly good match with D&C 124:38: "And after this the emperor commanded **that** they should be hanged with cords and their bodies **to** be given to hounds and wolves to be devoured." A better match is the following from Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577), because it involves

a dual-object construction: "**whom** the King commanded, **that he** should call all those before him which held any lands of the Crown, and **to** retain of them in his name their homages and fealties" (EEBO A03448). Mosiah 29:30, Alma 8:25, and Acts 24:23 have infinitival complements followed by *that*-clauses after the verb *command*.

49. *Moses* is one of the *they*, similar to this example from Holinshed's *Chronicles:* "**whom** he commanded that **each one** should kiss other's sword." Here *whom* is plural and *each one* is one of the *whom*. When there is a change in object reference in this lengthy Tudor history, the auxiliary is usually *may* or *might*, as in this example: "the king commanded Anselm that the consecration of the said Archbishop of York **might** stay till the feast of Easter" (EEBO A03448).

50. The understood subject of the infinitive may be either *Moses* or *they*.

51. This currently reads in the second person: "I . . . have commanded **you** that **you** should stand as a witness of these things." It originally read in the third person: "I have commanded **him** that **he** should stand . . ." See www. josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-march-1829-dc-5/1.

52. There is an inline deletion of *should* in the manuscript, with *shall* written immediately after: "I have commanded him that he ~~should~~ shall pretend to no other gift." See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-march-1829-dc-5/1. This creates nearby variation in auxiliary usage in verses 2 and 4. Both auxiliary forms can be found in the textual record after present-perfect "have commanded," with *should* predominating. Here is a less-common example with *shall:* "I have commanded, that he **shall** be greatly favoured," (1687, EEBO A47555, page 950). The Book of Mormon also has both types in close proximity at 1 Nephi 3:2, 4.

53. The instance currently found at D&C 76:28 — "the Lord commanded **us** that we should write the vision" — was a later insertion by Joseph Smith. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/vision-16-february-1832-dc-76&p=3. Joseph may have decided to match the dual-object instance of verse 115, or he may have chosen to switch to the dominant finite structure of these revelations, or he may have been sufficiently familiar with the construction by 1831. (That would be unsurprising since he had dictated more than 100 dual-object complementation constructions in 1829.) At the very least, it is unlikely that Smith would have produced the early instances found in section 5 (in the hand of Cowdery, and dictated concurrently with the beginning of the Book of Mormon dictation), or the two extraordinary cases discussed here whose structures are consistent with uncommon usage of the Early Modern English era.

54. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/vision-16-february-1832-dc-76/10. There are also two nearby infinitival examples in a relative clause at D&C 76:80: "that the Lord commanded us to write"; and at D&C 76:113: "which we were commanded to write" (the *command* verb is in the passive voice which favored infinitival complementation with this verb historically).

55. Alma 63:12: "save it were those parts *which* had been COMMANDED by Alma <u>should</u> not go forth"; Helaman 6:25: "*which* Alma COMMANDED his son <u>should</u> not go forth unto the world." EEBO Phase 1 texts also have the following: "and to forbidde them to doe those things *which* God COMMAUNDED, they <u>should</u> doe" (1593, EEBO A03398, page 100); and "see here a paper *which* he COMMANDED I <u>should</u> deliver you" (1647, EEBO A41385, page 113).

56. To be sure, we can currently find other examples in Google Books of "commanded us [ø] we should not" and "commanded them [ø] they should not," in books printed between 1700 and 1830, but these are reprints/quotations of 16th- and 17th-century language (by Philip Sidney and Ben Jonson, respectively). While these instances are distinguishable (the *command* syntax is not part of a relative clause), this evidence reinforces the view that finite complementation lacking the conjunction *that* is archaic language.

57. I have made a preliminary count of 28 infinitival constructions. In 15 of these the verb *command* is in the passive voice, which favors infinitival complementation. In eight of the other 13 cases the object precedes the *command* verb.

58. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-2-august-1833-b-dc-94/1. There is also one instance of "if there shall be properties" in D&C 42:33. Both "if there be" and "if there is" were used much more often than "if there shall be" in the Early Modern English period (before the 18th century) and in the late modern period (after the 17th century). According to *Ngram Viewer*, "if there is" finally overtook "if there be" in the 1880s.

59. The EEBO Phase 1 database contains seven instances of "if there shall come": two from the 16th century, and five from the 17th century. EEBO Phase 2 currently contains 14 examples (texts are added to it periodically): 12 of these are from the 17th century, and the last one is dated 1700: "**if there shall come** to them *out of Zion a deliverer to turn away their Iniquity*" (EEBO A65710). This quote is from the biblical commentator Daniel Whitby, discussing Romans 11:27.

60. There are currently two 20th-century examples found on Google Books, as well as some false positives. One example is from a somewhat obscure 20th-century translation of Thomas Aquinas and the other is from Richard Llewellyn's *How Green Was My Valley* [1939]. (Google Books is not always reliable, and there are many reprints and editions that carry misleading or incorrect dates; *Ngram Viewer* is not currently reliable before the 18th century.)

61. Here are five 17th-century examples of the uncommon phrase "if there shall come," taken from publicly available EEBO Phase 1 texts:

    1633, EEBO A13053, John Stow [1525?–1605] *The survey of London*, page 723

    And **if there shall come** no heire of the said Lands or Tenements,

    1638, EEBO A14258, George Herbert, tr. [1593–1633] |
    Juan de Valdés [d. 1541] *The hundred and ten considerations*, page 279

    And **if there shall come** a fancy to him to say that his doubting is of the same quality with that of them who doubt without spirit,

    1643, EEBO A86477, Denzil Holles [1599–1680]
    Mr. Hollis his speech to the Lords in Parliament concerning peace, page 25

    And therefore **if there shall come** any discord between any of your quarter,

    1671, EEBO A45356, Henry Hallywell [d. 1703?]
    A discourse of the excellency of Christianity, page 22

    And consequently, **if there shall come** one whose Doctrine tends to the establishing the pure Worship of the true God, and delivers nothing but what is for the promotion of Piety and Holiness, and shall

    1677, EEBO A48960, John Logan [17th cent.] *Analogia honorum, or, A treatise of honour and nobility, according to the laws and customes of England*, page 54

    and to be a Judge, to sit, hear, and determine Life and Member, Plea and right of Land, **if there shall come** occasion:

62. See Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 1048–1052.

63. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-march-1829-dc-5/1.

64. Here is an example of the edited language: "God forbid it, for to doubt and stand in a ma*mm*ering, would **cause you that you should** never truely loue God, but ever serue him of a servile feare," (1613, EEBO A19420, pages 207–208).

65. This is mainly from EEBO Phase 1 texts, so that there are almost certainly more instances of dual-object *cause* syntax in EEBO Phase 2 texts that I haven't encountered.

66. Here are two more examples with doubled *him ~ he* and embedded auxiliaries:

1520, EEBO A03126, translation of Frère Hayton's
La fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient [page xvii]

And an other thing was that he made warr vpon his neyghbours / whiche **caused hym that he coude** nat ouercome the sodan of Egipt

1634, EEBO A09763, Philemon Holland (translator) [1552–1637] | Pliny the Elder's *The naturall historie of C. Plinius Secundus*, page 341

And verily the great master teeth and grinders of a wolfe, beeing hanged about an horse necke, **cause him that he shall** neuer tire and be weary, be he put to neuer so much running in any race whatsoeuer.

67. I estimate this on the basis of the following *Ngram Viewer* formula: "(caused that _PRON_ / (caused _PRON_ to + caused that _PRON_))."

68. It could be argued in this instance that there was influence from the closely preceding dual-object **command** syntax. Nonetheless, such influence is unlikely when another verb is involved for which the speaker has no evidence of analogous obsolete usage. One does not know that it had ever been used with the verb *cause* based on usage with the verb *command*. The historical usage may have been different in this regard, since the semantics of the two verbs are clearly distinct. (In terms of historical English usage, the semantic difference between the verbs *command* and *cause* might have disfavored the dual-object structure with the verb *cause*.) Moreover, infinitival complementation with the verb *cause* was probably heavily dominant in all English dialects in the 19th century (more than 99%), since it was very uncommon even in the 16th and 17th centuries, when the average usage rate was more than 95% infinitival.

There are only four instances of finite complementation with the verb *cause* in the entire King James Bible (two in one verse with no auxiliary, and two with the auxiliary *should*), and there are absolutely no biblical examples of dual-object syntax with this verb. In contrast, the Book of Mormon has 12 instances of dual-object syntax with the verb *cause*, language that would have been dictated for the most part after the language of D&C 5:3 was set down in writing.

69. Currently there are a number of instances on Google Books of 18th-century language or earlier with early 19th-century date stamps. In terms of novel, 19th-century production, one can find several examples of this language in a translation of Plautus by George Sackville Cotter (*Seven Comedies of Plautus* [London, 1827]), such as "I will have caused, **that** you **shall** catch him in a manner openly

seen"; "Now I shall have caused, **that** the fortified town belonging to the Pimp, **shall** be totally sacked, and devastated" (bit.ly/2rrVsVW); "I will have caused **that** you **shall** say mischief." Cotter notes that he made a literal translation out of Latin, and that explains the finite syntax with *shall* found in these plays.

In addition, at this point in time I have encountered one 19th-century American instance, and so the language is attested, but seemingly rare: "and to cause **that** the proprietor thereof **shall** not be able to live, unless they receive their mark" (Abner Kneeland, editor, *The Olive Branch and Christian Inquirer* 1.17 [New-York, 6 September 1828]: 269, bit.ly/2rsasU6).

70. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-april-1829-d-dc-9/1. This revelation could have been given around the time that Mosiah 7:14 was dictated: "I will cause *that* my people **shall** rejoice also," which was almost certainly tightly controlled language.

71. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-6-april-1830-dc-21/1.

72. The word order was changed subsequently to "there shall **be** a record kept among you," with the change shown on the 1831 manuscript. This emendation was probably prompted by the archaic syntax. The rare phraseology ("there shall <small>INDEFINITE NP</small> be <small>PAST PARTICIPLE</small>") is found in two 16th-century Bibles (specifically, the 1539 Great Bible and the 1568 Bishops' Bible, which have "there shall a beam be taken from his house") as well as occasionally in other writings of the Early Modern English period. EEBO Phase 1 texts contain the following examples: "there shall a place be prepared," "there shall a certain be left for that use," "there shall a voice be heard crying in the wilderness," "there shall a mass be said by a chaplain," "there shall a proof or trial be made of the said monies," and "in the last day there shall a separation be made."

The apparent analogous example found in the King James Bible at Luke 22:10 — "there shall a man meet you" — is distinct in that *there* expresses location, not existence, so that it is equivalent to "a man shall meet you **there**."

73. In this syntax the *that*-clause after "it <small>BEHOOVE verb form</small> <small>INDIRECT OBJECT</small>" as well as the presence of the auxiliary *should* in the *that*-clause make this usage rare.

74. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-spring-1829-dc-10/1.

75. The JSP source note states: "Revelation, Harmony Township, Susquehanna Co., PA, [ca. Apr. 1829; though parts may date as early as summer 1828]" (www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-spring-1829-dc-10/1). See also www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/5.

76. See John 11:37 and Revelation 13:15 for two passages containing somewhat complex language that probably prompted the choice of finite complementation. Earlier biblical translations into English employed the verb *make* in John 11:37, but in Revelation 13:15 the verb *cause* is found early, in Tyndale.

77. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-september-1830-a-dc-29/4.

78. Here are two relevant American examples that I noted in July 2015: "caused, *that* he **should** be chosen and crowned emperor of the Romans" (1798, Northampton, Massachusetts; not found in May 2017) and "could have caused *that* all his people **should** be of one heart, and of one mind" (*The Triangle;* New York, 1816) (bit.ly/2rv5F35). During roughly the same time period I have noted at least 10 instances of finite *cause* syntax with *should* in British publications.

79. Excluding D&C 134:12 as a probable case of non-revelatory language, I have counted 22 instances of infinitival *cause* syntax. Three of these occur in sections with finite *cause* syntax — sections 8, 9, and 29 — so there is nearby variation.

80. This includes one instance found in the Apocrypha at 2 Esdras 14:34.

81. Forty-two appears to be the correct count. If so, then my essay at Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 91, has it wrong by one.

82. The auxiliary *shall* occurs six times in this context in the Book of Mormon, and the auxiliary *should* once, all in the small plates section of the Book of Mormon. The Doctrine and Covenants has one example with *should*, which is discussed below.

83. The 1568 Bishops' Bible also has 12 examples of "if so be." The modern update of the 1582 Douay-Rheims Bible (Catholic), the 1749 Challoner-Rheims Bible, also employs the phrase with *it* at Matthew 18:13, but the 1582 version has "if it chaunce." The Geneva Bible (1560) has 30 instances of "if so be," and earlier Bibles have fewer occurrences, but never employ the phrase with *it*.

84. EEBO Phase 1 texts have 147 instances of "if it so be" (and spelling variants) from the 16th century, versus only 25 instances from the 17th century (excluding 15 instances found in a 1687 edition of some

of Chaucer's writings). This database also has approximately five times as many 17th-century words as 16th-century words. Hence, 147 × 5 ÷ 25 = 29.4 ≈ 30.

85. As good evidence of its uncommon use, in the publicly available portion of *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO–TCP; quod. lib.umich.edu/e/ecco) there are 117 instances of "if so be" and only two instances of "if **it** so be":

> 1773, David Henry, *An historical account of all the voyages round the world*
>> and, **if it so be**, that I never come home,
>> yet will her Majesty pay every man his wages

> 1797, Samuel Jackson Pratt, *Family secrets: literary and domestic*
>> Such is your humble servant's good counsel; but **if it so be** it be not taken,

The second example above has a dependent clause in the subjunctive, with ellipsis of the conjunction *that*.

86. Here are five instances with sentential complements taken from Google Books (from both British and American sources):

> 1813 GOOG Pseudonymous author *It was me*, 54 (London)
>> now **if it so be** that I positively don't know good grammar

> 1815 GOOG John Mathers (pseudonym) *The History of Mr. John Decastro*, 231 (London)
>> But, **if it so be**, that I **am** called upon for mine objections to pretty Jenny

> 1826 GOOG L. S. Everett (editor) *Gospel Advocate*, 4:142, 220 (Buffalo, NY)
>> **if it so be** that your conviction of its truth or falsity
>> **are** honest and pure . . .
>>
>> But **if it so be**, that they **are** . . . under the influence
>> of any predominant sect

> 1827 GOOG *The New-York Literary Gazette*
>> **if it so be**, that you **are** come hither
>> like the rest of your fraternity with a large bill

These examples have dependent *that*-clauses with verbs in the indicative mood (when it can be determined — that is, in all but the 1813 excerpt, whose grammatical mood cannot be determined).

87. The phrase "it mattereth not" is found seven times in the Doctrine and Covenants and 11 times in the Book of Mormon. La Roy Sunderland criticized this phrase, on page 59 of *Mormonism Exposed* (New York: NY Watchman, 1842) (bit.ly/2pXtuPS), but his criticism

was misplaced since one can currently find more than 200 instances of this phrase in the EEBO database.

88. This language was received in early June 1829, copied by John Whitmer in March 1831, and typeset in early 1833. See www.josephsmithpapers. org/paper-summary/revelation-june-1829-b-dc-18/3.

89. The *in* was edited out. EEBO Phase 1 texts provide a number of examples which show that the *in* here could have been archaic usage (tightly controlled language), as in the following two excerpts from the 16th and 17th centuries: 1540, Myles Coverdale, *Psalter:* "we have been glad and refreshed **in all our days**" (EEBO A13371); 1683, John Bulteel (translator), Mézeray's *A General Chronological History of France:* "Amongst his fervent exercises of piety, which never did abate **in all the days of his life**, he observed the fasts ordained by the church with great exactness" (EEBO A70580).

90. The *only* was edited out. EEBO Phase 1 texts have a few examples of this pleonastic language. There is one instance of closely related "save only it be" (in a 1691 translation of an Italian work), as well as three examples of "save only it is/was" (1652, 1671, 1684).

91. Not uncommon is for the auxiliary *should* to occur after the nearly identical phrase "if it **should** so be," which is found in the Book of Mormon at Enos 1:13: "if it **should** so be that my people the Nephites **should** fall into transgression." This language is found in the 18th-century language of wills. For example, the book *Maine Wills: 1640–1760*, edited by William Mitchell Sargent (Portland: Brown Thurston & Company, 1887), contains several instances of this language (archive.org/details/cu31924081314852). And it can be found in other legal references to wills, as in this example — (1772) "but if it **should** so be that my son . . . **shall/should** depart this life" (in William P. Mason, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the First Circuit* [Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1828], 3:391–395, 543, bit. ly/2qVEWRc). But this language is not found in either ECCO–TCP or LION (after the year 1700).

92. One of these is a case of resumptive repetition (D&C 96:8). In D&C 37:1 *expedient* is used in the negative, and the tense is in the past at D&C 100:4. There are two instances in which *expedient* is conjoined with and preceded by *necessary* (D&C 71:1) and *wisdom* (D&C 96:6). And the phraseology of D&C 96:5 is slightly different from the usual: "this is **the most** expedient in me."

93. One instance has a following *that*-clause which is not dependent in the usual way, since the *that* is not a simple conjunction/complementizer. In this particular case the clause is **purposive**: "keep these things from going abroad unto the world until it is **expedient in me**, **that** ye may accomplish this work in the eyes of the people," (D&C 45:72), and *that* means 'in order that'. This is the only time the auxiliary *may* is used in a following *that*-clause, instead of *should* or *shall*.

94. The semantics of the noun phrase or the pronoun in the prepositional phrase after *expedient* appears to involve agents with power to influence things or agents with the authority to judge matters of importance.

95. In the 1844 Doctrine and Covenants, current section 127 is section CV (105): see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/doctrine-and-covenants-1844/420. In that book there is a comma after *expedient*, tying the prepositional phrase "in me" only to *wisdom*, rather than to both *expedient* and *wisdom*, as the current lack of punctuation makes possible.

96. Substituting the adjective *wise* for the phrase "wisdom in me" would create a more compact, parallel structure that would express essentially the same content, since the verb *thought* effectively conveys the same notion as the *in* of "in me." The prepositional phrase "in me" in D&C 127:1 is therefore a possible redundancy, unlike the usage in similar Doctrine and Covenants passages.

97. This is taken from definition 2 in the Oxford English Dictionary for the adjective *expedient*.

98. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-4-december-1831-a-dc-721–8/1.

99. D&C 96:6 does not complete the *that*-clause until the resumptive repetition of verse 8. For a thorough treatment of resumptive repetition in the Book of Mormon, see Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 2:808–853. Also, D&C 100:4 reads "for thus it was expedient in me for the salvation of souls," without a verbal complement.

100. This is the earliest dictation of "it is expedient in me." See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-september-1830-d-dc-305–8/1. The manuscript includes redactions (*thou* to *you*, etc.) that are noteworthy but irrelevant to this particular discussion.

101. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-11-september-1831-dc-64/3.

102. The seven infinitival examples of this syntax that I have collected as of this writing (May 2017) are the following: "Because it was expedient **in** the . . . gouernment . . . **to** vse all rigor and seueritie" (1603); "Wherefore it is expedient **in** this . . . Councell, **to** remove that especially which is so opposite to Gods Lawes" (1638); "Whether it is expedient **in** a State **to** have Slaves" (1664); "and that therefore it was expedient **in them to** set the Commons an example and open their doors" (1774); "would it have been wise, would it have been expedient **in** him **to** have issued a direction too limited," (1780); "how far it may be proper and expedient **in** them, **to** carry the improvement of the quality of their butter" (1824); "You are not asked to say whether they are deeds that a wise or an affectionate man should have made; or if it was expedient **in** him **to** execute them" (1831).

103. This conclusion is made because a single 17th-century instance points to a much higher usage rate than a single 18th-century instance, since the number of imprints usually increased decade by decade.

104. There are more than 100 examples with *should* in EEBO Phase 1 texts, compared with only two examples with *shall* currently found in all of EEBO.

105. The King James Bible has a single past-tense example: "it was expedient that one man **should** die for the people" (John 18:14). Here are four uncommon early modern and late modern examples with *shall* in dependent *that*-clauses (the first two from EEBO Phase 2 texts, and the last two from Google Books):

1627, EEBO A18885, E.C.S. (translator), Cicero's *Scipio's dreame*

To be short, **it is expedient, that** you being Dictator
shall gouerne the common-wealth,

1672, EEBO A70912, H. Parsons, *The history of the five wise philosophers*

it is expedient, that any of the saids officers . . .
shall cause register the docquet

1789 GOOG Catholic Committee (England), *To the Catholics of England*

And that **it is expedient that** such persons . . . **shall** be relieved from the penalties and disabilities to which Papists . . . are by law subject,

1813 GOOG *Parliamentary Papers* (in relation to the East India Company)

it is expedient that all the privileges, authorities,
and regulations and clauses affecting the same,
shall continue and be in force for a time to be limited;

106. The syntax is "it <BE verb form/phrase> expedient in <AGENTIVE NP> that <SUBJECT> **shall** <INFINITIVE>."

107. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-april-1829-b-dc-8/2 and www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/7.

108. In both cases the final edit from *have* to *has* occurred **after** the 1844 Doctrine and Covenants.

109. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-may-1829-a-dc-11/2.

110. There are also four with *has* in Alma 12:25; 27:15; 40:24; 41:1. A close Early Modern English example with *has* is the following:

> 1677, EEBO A48816, William Lloyd [1627–1717] *Considerations touching the true way to suppress popery in this kingdom*
>
> they would be wakened by those Censures
> **of which** enough **has been spoken** already.

111. Another possibility is to consider "**of which** hath been spoken" to be an adjunct construction where the subject slot of the clause is occupied by the prepositional phrase (in bold), which is construed as singular by default. That may be how those responsible for the later edit to *has* took this phraseology.

112. Alexander Campbell, *Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon* (Boston: Greene, 1832), 13. These statements were first published the year before in Alexander Campbell, editor, "Delusions," *The Millennial Harbinger* 2.2 [7 February 1831] (Bethany, VA: A. Campbell, 1831): 85–96, at 93–95. The *Delusions* portion is dated 10 February 1831. (Bethany is located in present-day West Virginia [Northern Panhandle], sandwiched between Ohio and Pennsylvania; the volume is wrongly dated 1731 [MDCCXXXI], and thus it appears with that publication date in Google Books).

113. It was also possible and more common in the Early Modern English period to use *before-mentioned* and *afore-mentioned* to express the same meaning.

114. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-circa-summer-1829-dc-19/1.

115. The Book of Mormon doesn't have this exact language, but it does have several cases such as "And now Jacob, I speak unto **you**: **Thou** art my first born" (2 Nephi 2:1). These can be profitably compared with the following examples from EEBO, which show the same nearby variation: "when will it say unto **you**, **thou** hast served me long enough; **thou** hast serv'd thy pleasures, and thy estate," (1668, EEBO A74977, Richard Alleine [1611–1681], *The world conquered, or a*

believers victory over the world); "If **thou** desirest Christ, goe to him, and **you** shall speed;" (1649, EEBO A91791, Samuel Richardson [fl. 1643–1658], *Divine consolations, or, The teachings of God*).

116. The reader may recall that there are two grammatical objects after the verb *command:* the indirect object *you* and the direct object *that*-clause, which has two embedded verbs, *covet* and *impart*.

117. There are even interesting cases of co-referential "thee that you" found on EEBO, such as: "Knight I doo request **thee**, that **you** wil**t** take me into **your** Galley," (1583, EEBO A08548, translation of Pedro de la Sierra's *Second Part of the Mirror of Knighthood*); "What benefit will it be to **thee**, that **you** do no body else wrong, when **you** doe your own soul**s** wrong?" (1652, EEBO A49252, Christopher Love, *The naturall mans case stated*).

In this second example, taken from a sermon, *thee* may refer to more than one person, similar to Abinadi's usage with king Noah's priests: "**ye** shall be smitten for **thine** iniquities" (Mosiah 12:29); or Nephi's usage with Laman and Lemuel: "**thou** art mine elder brethren, and how is it that **ye** are so hard in your hearts" (1 Nephi 7:8).

118. Compare 2 Nephi 2:1 in the current LDS text. (The string "unto you: Thou" in Mosiah 13:12 involves Decalogue language and so the switch can be classified as a quotation.)

119. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-25-december-1832-dc-87/2 and www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-27–28-december-1832-dc-881–126/10.

120. In this particular case, there are seven instances of "exceeding angry" in the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, and none of "exceeding**ly** angry." Before 1830 Joseph had dictated scores of instances of "exceeding <ADJECTIVE>" for the Book of Mormon.

121. To be clear, tight control does not involve spelling control, but it does involve morphological control and/or word control, with the possibility of human error.

122. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letterbook-1/63 or www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-church-leaders-in-jackson-county-missouri-2-july-1833/1. Later in the letter we read the following: "I Sidney write this in great haste."

An example of "exceeding fatigued" can be found in a 1768 abridgment of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (Edinburgh, 121 pages; first published on 25 April 1719) on ECCO. More examples are found on Google Books.

123. Sidney Rigdon was 12 years older than Joseph Smith, so Rigdon's personal usage could have been slightly more conservative than Joseph's in this regard.

124. The Google Books *Ngram Viewer* is, generally speaking, a lagging indicator. This is because it contains later editions and reprints of earlier publications, as well as internal quotations of earlier language.

125. It should be noted, however, that "exceeding great" appears more frequently in the textual record than "exceeding**ly** great" until the 1930s, when any form of this adverb was used far less frequently with adjectives. (*Ngram Viewer* shows that after the 1930s these nearly identical bigrams were employed at roughly the same rate.) Nevertheless, Gilbert Hunt, the author of the pseudo-biblical text *The Late War* (1816), split usage, employing one instance of "exceeding great" and another of "exceeding**ly** great." Based on that variable usage and *Ngram Viewer*, we reasonably expect that the Book of Mormon would have employed a few instances of "exceedingly great," had the wording not been tightly controlled, instead of the 57 consistent instances of "exceeding great" found in the earliest text (Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon* [bit.ly/2ocoerM]). This fact, along with the highly consistent use of *exceeding* with other adjectives, points to tight control in the Book of Mormon in this domain, which lends support, in this regard, for that view relative to many sections of the Doctrine and Covenants.

126. This fact can be determined from modern databases in a number of ways. For example, a comparison of "that/which ye" with "that/which you" (including several spelling variants) shows that in the 1570s subject *you* was already found in writing twice as often as subject *ye*.

127. Biblical language, of course, owes much to Tyndale, who began to translate in the 1520s, when subject *ye* was still dominant over subject *you*.

128. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-6-august-1833-dc-98/1.

129. In current LDS scripture, there are nine instances of "that you" in the Book of Mormon, 148 in the Doctrine and Covenants, and two in the Pearl of Great Price. The earliest text of the Book of Mormon has only seven instances of "that you": Jacob 2:13, Mosiah 29:13, and Alma 41:14 were originally "that ye," and Alma 7:17 was originally "that you." These editorial changes account for the difference in these counts and demonstrate inconsistent editing.

130. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-april-1829-a-dc-6/4.

131. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-june-1829-e-dc-17/1.

132. See under *ye* in the Oxford English Dictionary, definition 2 (the dictionary provides a Shakespearean example of singular ye: "Will ye be gone?" *Two Gentlemen of Verona* 1.2.49). This OED entry suggests (and EEBO verifies) that singular *ye* was fairly common in the Early Modern English era, and this use persisted into the 19th century in various British dialects. Its presence, however, in Joseph Smith's dialect is uncertain; specific evidence for it is lacking at this time, but may be pinpointed in the future after further research.

An October 1829 letter from Joseph to Oliver doesn't have singular *ye* in this excerpt: "we want to hear from you and know how **you** prosper in the good work" (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-oliver-cowdery-22-october-1829/1). Nor did Moroni address Joseph with singular *ye* in the 1832 History manuscript, which Moroni might have employed had it been part of Joseph's dialect: "**you** have not kept the commandments of the Lord which I gave unto you therefore **you** cannot now obtain them" (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-circa-summer-1832/4).

As for singular *ye* in the Doctrine and Covenants, we must look to the manuscripts, since there was a strong tendency to remove this particular usage for printed publication. For example, singular *ye* is originally found eight times in section 8 (addressed to Oliver Cowdery), as in this excerpt: "even so shure shall **ye** receive a knowledge of whatsoever things **ye** shall ask with an honest heart believeing that **ye** Shall receive" (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-april-1829-b-dc-8/1. In addition, this section has nine instances of object *you*, eight instances of possessive *your*, and six *thou* forms (*thou, thee, thy*).

Sections 9 and 10 have clear cases of singular *ye* as well, as in these examples: "because **ye** did not Translate according to that which **ye** desired of me" (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/8; Book of Commandments 8:1 (D&C 9:1) has *you* here); "therefore it is wisdom in me that **ye** should translate this first part of the engravings of Nephi" (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/5; Book of Commandments 9:11 (D&C 10:45) has *you* here).

133. For a discussion of the {-th} plural, see Charles Barber, *Early Modern English* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 169; and Roger Lass, "Phonology and Morphology," *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, ed. Roger Lass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3:165–66, bit.ly/2obexd8. Barber calls it the {-eth} plural (or plural {-eth}). Because of the frequent use of *hath* and *doth* with plural subjects, I follow the shorter {-th} plural designation of Lass.

134. See Stanford Carmack, "The Case of the {-th} Plural in the Earliest Text," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 18 (2016): 79–108, www.mormoninterpreter.com/the-case-of-the-th-plural-in-the-earliest-text. See also Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 465 ff.

135. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-july-1828-dc-3/2 (copied about March 1831 in *Revelation Book 1* by John Whitmer). This excerpt currently reads quite differently: "whom the Lord has suffered to destroy their brethren the Nephites."

136. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-6-may-1833-dc-93/4.

137. This doubtful transcription is found on page 70 of *Revelation Book 2*. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-6-august-1833-dc-98/5 or www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-2/84. Both *repent* and *reward* have final *s*'s that appear to have been added later (since they do not match Williams's hand elsewhere on this page), but only the verb *reward* is transcribed as *reward**s***. It is hard, however, to make a reliable determination without visually inspecting the manuscript. Hence, a clear case of subjunctive ~ indicative variation from the Doctrine and Covenants is provided immediately below (after the hypothetical *if*).

138. In EEBO Phase 1 texts, the earliest dated example of "he rewards" is 1588. About the same number of instances of "he rewards" and "he rewardeth" are found in this database, which covers the years 1473 to 1700.

139. Both the 1835 and 1844 editions of the Doctrine and Covenants have "until he repent and reward the fourfold" (www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/doctrine-and-covenants-1835/227 and ~/doctrine-and-covenants-1844/339 and ~/doctrine-and-covenants-1844/340).

140. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-july-1828-dc-3/1.

141. A reading of consistent subjunctive mood in this passage sounds less acceptable to me than the current fully indicative reading. However, I judge the original, variable reading to be fully acceptable.

142. See also Stanford Carmack, "A Look at Some 'Nonstandard' Book of Mormon Grammar," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 11 (2014): 246–50, www.mormoninterpreter.com/a-look-at-some-nonstandard-book-of-mormon-grammar.

143. Tyndale (1534) has consistent subjunctive use here with a different second verb: "yf eny **heare** the worde and **do** it not." Coverdale (1535) follows Tyndale. The King James Bible has: "For if any be a hearer of the word, and not a doer." A second verb is not used.

144. The 1611 King James Bible in Genesis 4:7 reads "**If** thou **doe** well, shalt thou not be accepted? and **if** thou **doest** not well, sinne lieth at the doore." It currently reads "if thou doest" in both cases. The 1535 Coverdale Bible has "if thou do" twice here.

145. See, for example, Charles Barber, *Early Modern English* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 169–70; and Roger Lass, "Phonology and Morphology" in *The Cambridge History of the English Language: Volume III: 1476–1776*, edited by Roger Lass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3:165–66. This terminology can be a little confusing at times, but I will use it here nevertheless.

146. Normally *things* is the antecedent of a relative pronoun in cases of plural *is*, etc., but here is an uncommon example where *things* is the grammatical subject:

> 1658, EEBO A44798, Francis Howgill, *The measvring rod of the Lord*
>> I say the light which comes from Christ by whom the World was made, will shew you that all these THINGS **is** sin and evil in the sight of God,
>>> The immediate occurrence of singular *sin* in the complement probably made plural *is* more likely in this instance.

147.   D&C 45:28 has an apparent case of the {-s} plural with the subject *times*, but this was introduced by a later edit, and as a result, the plural *is* currently remains in this verse: "And when the **times** of the Gentiles **is** come in." The original, crossed-out language read "shall be" instead of "is." See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-circa-7-march-1831-dc-45/3. I have found an instance of "the times **is** comming" (1643), but *are* is usually used with *times* and the verb *come* in the Early Modern English textual record.

148. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-may-1829-a-dc-11-in-handwriting-of-hyrum-smith/1.

149. The 1833 Book of Commandments contains the earliest extant version, and in that publication there is a comma after *things* that I have left out. The current LDS text reads "things which are,"

without a comma. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-june-1829-b-dc-18/3. This same revelation may contain other instances of "things which is," but we cannot determine what the original readings actually were since the two earlier manuscript versions are lost.

150. Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon*, 734 (bit.ly/2ocoerM).

151. See Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon*, 80 (bit.ly/2ocoerM).

152. The following passage may also contain an example of nearby plural *is ~ are* variation, but it is difficult to be sure that the antecedent of *which* is *lies:* "And these THINGS **are** done to Seal and Confirm LIES, *which* **is** the more heavy, heinous, and prodigious;" (1689, EEBO A47362).

153. See Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon*, 309 (bit.ly/2ocoerM).

154. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/articles-and-covenants-circa-april-1830-dc-20/1. The source note states: "The *Painesville Telegraph* version and the copy found in Revelation Book 1 both appear to have been created about the same time, but differences between the two versions indicate that the [*Painesville Telegraph* version] was based on an earlier copy; therefore, the *Telegraph* version is featured here." See also www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/37.

155. *Maker* was edited to *framer* for the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/doctrine-and-covenants-1835/86?highlight=framer.

156. Here are these two examples with language that is similar to D&C 20:17 (in the original spelling):

> 1528, EEBO A03318, Andrew Laurence (translator) [fl. 1510–1537] | Hieronymus Brunschwig [*c.*1450–*c.*1512] *The vertuose boke of distyllacyon of the waters of all maner of herbes with the fygures of the styllatoryes*
>
> > [Bu]t onely God that hath created hevyn and erthe / and all THYNGES *that* **is** there in

> 1549, EEBO A03622, John Hooper [d.1555] *A declaration of the ten holy co[m]maundementes of allmygthye God wroten Exo. 20. Deu. 5.*
>
> > For in syx daies / God made Heaven and Earthe / the See / and all THINGES *that* **is** therin

There are other Early Modern English examples with quite similar language, such as the following: "to wean you from the love of the **World**, and all the THINGS *that* **is** in it," (1660, EEBO A60658).

157. There are two cases of "for after that <SUBJECT>" in the Book of Mormon, at Words of Mormon 1:3 and Ether 12:31.

158. Compare "scriptures which **have**" in *Revelation Book 1* (www. josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/38? highlight=scriptures+which+have) and in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants(www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/doctrine- and-covenants-1835/86?highlight=scriptures+which+have).

159. For a discussion of plural *was* in earlier English, see Terttu Nevalainen, "Vernacular universals? The case of plural *was* in Early Modern English," *Types of Variation: Diachronic, dialectal and typological interfaces*, edited by Terttu Nevalainen, Juhani Klemola, and Mikko Laitinen (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2006), 351–69.

160. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-circa- summer-1832/4.

161. See Stanford Carmack, "The Case of Plural *Was* in the Earliest Text," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 18 (2016): 114–21, www. mormoninterpreter.com/the-case-of-plural was-in-the-earliest-text.

162. See Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon*, 259, bit.ly/2ocoerM.

163. See Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon*, 17.

164. See Skousen, editor, *The Book of Mormon*, 412.

165. See the thorough discussion in Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, Alma 37:21. ("Directors" has been changed to "interpreters" in both Book of Mormon verses.) The interpretation of the Joseph Smith Papers transcription of D&C 17:1 — "the Urim and Thumim <which **was**> given to the brother of Jared upon the mount when he talked with the Lord face to face and the marveelus director**s** which **was** given to Lehi while in the wilderness on the borders of the red sea" — is difficult. It should not be taken as clearly indicating instances of plural *was*. The later addition of "which was" after "Urim and Thumim" appears to have been unnecessary, and plural *directors* could have been originally written in the singular. The term here signifies Liahona, and singular *director* is used three times in the Book of Mormon to refer to it (Mosiah 1:16, Alma 37:38, 45).

166. According to Google Books, the syntactic grouping "suffered that the," where the verb *suffer* means "allow, permit," is hardly to be found in early 19th-century writings, confined to uncommon literary use. According to *Ngram Viewer*, "allowed the <NOUN> to" was approximately 1.5 times as likely as "permitted the <NOUN> to"

in 1828 (taking the three most common nominal cases for each verb, two of which are shared: *enemy* and *people)*.

167. Two other examples of complementation switching are found at 1 Nephi 1:3 and Moroni 4:1: "I know **that** the record which I make **to** be true" (cf. 3 Nephi 5:18) and "wherefore we know **that** the manner **to** be true." See Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 1:450–451.

168. In *A dialogue of comfort against tribulation* (1534; EEBO A07696, [1553]), More wrote "yet would I think **that** the least **to** be ours of the twain," which is equivalent to a construction with an immediate postmodification of the subject noun phrase: "yet would I think **that** the least [of the twain]ᵢ **to** be ours øᵢ." This is akin to the phraseology of 1 Nephi 1:3. See the discussion in Skousen, *Grammatical Variation*, 451.

169. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-circa-2-november-1831-dc-67/2.

170. See Mark R. Grandstaff, "Having More Learning Than Sense: William E. McLellin and the Book Of Commandments Revisited," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26.4 (1993): 42. Grandstaff wrote: "[Joseph Smith's] grammar was poor and undoubtedly Cowdery, Rigdon, David Whitmer, and McLellin were more eloquent."

171. Grandstaff, "Having More Learning Than Sense," 40.

172. McLellin made his own copy shortly after Joseph received this revelation ("[between ca. 30 Oct. 1831 and 15 Nov. 1831]"). A Joseph Smith Papers note placed after "glories which **are**" at www. josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-29-october-1831-dc-66/1 reads as follows: "John Whitmer's copy of the revelation in Revelation Book 1 has "was" instead of "are." (Revelation Book 1, p. 111.)" Whitmer's copy reads as follows: "that they might have life & be made partakers of the glories which **was** to be revealed in the last days as it was written by the Prophets & Apostles in days of old" (www. josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-book-1/97).

Either tense appears to be acceptable in this context, depending on the perspective. Hence, it is more likely that McLellin changed "glories which was" to "glories which are" than that John Whitmer changed "glories which are" to "glories which was." If so, then McLellin knew of the bad grammar and decided to eliminate the case of plural *was* and change the tense to the present, a reading he might have favored.

173. As objective evidence of Williams's good character, we note that he served as a ship's pilot during the War of 1812, a town clerk, a medical doctor for approximately 25 years (until his death in 1842), and that

he was elected to be justice of the peace for Geauga County, Ohio in 1836, the first Mormon to hold government office there. See Frederick G. Williams, *The Life of Dr. Frederick G. Williams: Counselor to the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 2012), 3, 11, 40, 43, 44, 50, 57–88, 374–375.

Beyond some general knowledge that Williams would have acquired from being a landowner in the Kirtland area and elsewhere, there is no specific evidence in this thorough biography that he was knowledgeable in city planning or architecture.

174. Definition 1a of the noun *pattern* in the Oxford English Dictionary reads: " 'The original proposed to imitation; the archetype; that which is to be copied; an exemplar' ([Samuel Johnson]); an example or model deserving imitation; an example or model of a particular excellence."

175. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-2-august-1833-b-dc-94/2.

176. As discussed, D&C 94:9 contains archaic "if there shall come," which is specific wording that was unlikely to have come from Joseph Smith's own language or linguistic experience. In addition, after the dimensions for the width and length of the inner court are given, we read archaic *thereof* twice, instead of modern *its*. Also, "an higher" and "an house" are used in this section (verses 5 and 10 currently read "**a** higher" and "**a** house," without the nasal). According to *Ngram Viewer*, archaic "an high(er)" and "an house" were only **3%** variants in the 1830s written record. In other words, the modern two-word phrases "a high(er)" and "a house" were used **97%** of the time.

177. One somewhat obvious candidate for no control is the phrase "of which we send you the draft." This directive includes the pronoun "we," who we can take to be (at least) Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams. Another directive, however, at the end of the plot description, strikes one as consistent with what the Lord might issue: "when this square is thus laid off and supplied / lay off another in the same way / and so fill up the world in these last days / and let every man live in the City for this is the City of Zion."

178. Note 4 of www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/plat-of-the-city-of-zion-circa-early-june-25-june-1833/1 states: "Instead of "¼ of an acre," the JS letterbook copy has "½ of an acre." According to the dimensions listed here, the lots would occupy eighty square perches or rods, which is equal to half an acre. The plat, however, contains several inconsistencies. As drawn, some of the blocks contain only

eighteen lots, while others have twenty-two, rather than the twenty implicitly prescribed in the drawing and explanation." See also www. josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letterbook-1/50.

It should be pointed out that this is merely a case of drawing, by accident, one too many lines, or one too few lines in a square of the plot, something that is almost to be expected, given that Williams had to draw hundreds of lines by hand.

In addition, "2 perches" was corrected to "4 perches," and there is a cross-out of *perches* with an immediate rewrite of the same word. The correction of 2 to 4 could have been immediate as well, and is subsidiary to the initial dimensions given for the majority of the squares (all but the middle row), which is 40 square rods (= 40 square perches). The middle row has blocks whose dimensions are 40 × 60 rods or perches, that is 660' × 990'.

179. A search for "plot/plat of the city of" in Google Books, limited to 1850 and before, yielded three instances on 27 August 2016 , two with *plat* (in the 1830s [Detroit and Cincinnati]) and one with *plot*: "the **plot** of the city of Baltimore" (1800, *Laws of the State of Maryland*, online at books.google.com/books?id=mc1JAQAAMAAJ). Even more contrastive were the 10 instances of "plat of the town of," versus only one example with *plot*: "which are included in the **plot** of the town of Owenboro" (1834, *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, online at books.google.com/books?id=J09NAQAAMAAJ).

On the other hand, the EEBO Phase 1 database (containing texts published before the 18th century) has 17 instances of "plot of" used within three words before *city* or *town* (including spelling variants) versus only 5 instances of "plat of" in the same context. So *plot* (meaning 'ground-plan') was used with *town* or *city* approximately 75% of the time in the Early Modern English period, according to this sampling from EEBO, but only about 15% of the time in the early 19th century, according to the above sampling from Google Books.

180. According to *Ngram Viewer*, "square mile(s)" was used nearly 90% of the time in the 1830s compared with "mile(s) square." But in the EEBO Phase 1 database, "square mile(s)" occurs only 30% of the time, and "mile(s) square" 70% of the time (29 and 68 instances, respectively). So the two-word phrase of the Plot of Zion was used at a higher rate in the Early Modern English era than the alternate word order.

181. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letterbook-1/50.

182. The plot as sketched is neither square nor small enough to be a modern square mile. The plot is squared by adding two narrow

easements to the east and west sides, which aren't shown in the draft. These additional easements would be half as wide as the north and south easements shown.

183. Michael J. Ferrar has shown in an unpublished 2008 paper entitled "The Saxton Map, 1579; an Investigation" (www.cartographyunchained. com/pdfs/cs1_pdf.pdf [accessed 10 September 2016]), that the mile used by the English cartographer Christopher Saxton in 1579 to make his landmark map depicting both England and Wales was 1.2 statute miles. Ferrar concludes on page 4 of that paper, after many carefully considered drawings and calculations, the following: "Thus it can be shown that the Miliarum used by Saxton is the equivalent of 1.2 Statute Miles or 1.3 Roman Miles." Therefore, the 6,336-foot mile of the Plot of Zion is equivalent to Saxton's mile of 1579.

Moreover, Saxton's *Britannia* map of 1583, measuring 140 × 173 cm, provides three mile measurements: a long mile, a middle mile, and a short mile. Saxton's middle mile has been carefully determined by Bower, and is referenced in a 2011 article — see Table 2 on page 192 of David I. Bower, "Saxton's Maps of England and Wales: The Accuracy of *Anglia* and *Britannia* and Their Relationship to Each Other and to the County Maps," *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, 63.2 (2011): 180–200. There Bower states that Saxton's middle mile is equivalent to 1.21 ± 0.02 of a statute mile. Therefore, the mile of the Plot of Zion also corresponds with Saxton's middle mile of 1583.

Furthermore, the Scots mile in Elizabethan times has been determined to have measured 5,951 feet; the Irish mile in Elizabethan times has been determined to have measured 6,721 feet (see page 70 in Arthur H. Klein, *The World of Measurements: Masterpieces, Mysteries, and Muddles of Metrology* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974]). The average of those two 16th-century standards is exactly 1.2 statute miles, equivalent to Saxton's 1579 mile, his 1583 middle mile, and another match with the 6,336-foot mile of the Plot of Zion.

184. An easement between two tracts of land is commonly defined as extending an equal distance from each side of the property line.

185. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/plan-of-the-house-of-the-lord-between-1-and-25-june-1833/1.

186. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/plan-of-the-house-of-the-lord-between-1-and-25-june-1833/2.

187. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-30-august-1831-dc-63/1.

188. See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-4-june-1833-dc-96/1.

189. The textual usage rate of "according to wisdom" in the earlier period could have been more than 20 times that of the 18th century and early 19th century. EEBO currently has 14 instances in the Early Modern English era (dates ranging from 1560 to 1692), and Google Books currently has only four in the late modern era before the time of the Doctrine and Covenants (dates ranging from 1748 to 1823). (The 1748 example may be used in direct imitation of the 1638 example, quoted in this section.) There were nearly eight (approximately 7.7) times the number of imprints between 1700 and 1830 as there were between 1560 and 1700, leading to the above claim that the early modern textual rate could have been more than 20 times the modern rate: $14_{eModE} \times 7.7 \div 4_{modE} \approx \mathbf{27}$.

190. A comparison of Geneva and King James usage:

> 1560, Geneva Bible, Job 34:35 [EEBO A10605, (1561)]
>> Iob hathe not spoken of knowledge:
>> nether were his wordes **according to wisdome**.

> 1611 King James Bible, Job 34:35
>> Iob hath spoken without knowledge,
>> and his words were **without wisdome**.

191. 2 Samuel 14:20
> and my lord is wise,
> according to **the** wisdom of an angel of God,
> to know all things that are in the earth.

> 1 Kings 2:6
>> Do therefore according to **thy** wisdom,
>> and let not his hoar head
>> go down to the grave in peace.

> Proverbs 12:8
>> A man shall be commended
>> according to **his** wisdom:

> 2 Peter 3:15
>> even as our beloved brother Paul also according to
>> **the** wisdom given unto him hath written unto you;

192. The earliest example given in the Oxford English Dictionary is from a mid-18th-century journal entry by George Washington:

> **lay**, *v.*[1] **54**. **lay off**. **c**. To mark or separate off (plots of ground, etc.); to plot out land in some way or for some purpose.

> 1748 WASHINGTON *Jrnl.* 30 Mar.

>> This Morning began our Intended business of **Laying of[f] Lots**.

From this OED quotation it is clear that "lay off" was a term used in 18th-century surveying, but we also find it in a 17th-century book

on how to use a device called the TRIANGULAR QUADRANT. It was used to make sun-dials, and also in navigation and surveying: "which Numbers being gathered into a Table, and **laid off** by Chords or Sines in a Semi-circle, shall be the true Hour-points to draw the Lines by" (1671; EEBO A29762). This language, used here to measure off an area, may be the forerunner of the use of the phrasal verb "lay off" in surveying.

193. This usage is maintained in the *Letterbook 1* copy, despite the JSP mis-transcription of "lots runs" as "lots run" (there is a weak final *s*). See www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letterbook-1/50. Hence the {-s} plural of *containes* and *runs* was apparently not viewed to be an error like the clear mistake of ¼ acre ~ ½ acre.

194. For a discussion of proximity agreement or attraction — that is, the verb agreeing with the closest nominal — see Randolph Quirk, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (London: Longman, 1985), 757 (§10.35). Here is a past-tense example taken from EEBO:

> 1696, EEBO A34032, Cornelius Nary, *A modest and true account of the chief points in controversie between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants*
>
> But the Remembrance of the Death and Passion of our Lord,
> by whom the SINS of the *World* **was** taken away.

195. Nevertheless, this verb agreement could still be loosely controlled American dialectal usage.

196. Even though spelling is not generally tightly controlled in the manuscripts of the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants (in the Book of Mormon spelling control is largely confined to the first instance of proper nouns — see Royal Skousen, "How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7.1 [1998]: 24, 25, 31), I have considered the odd if consistent spelling of *containes*, with a silent *e*, found three times in the plot description, and spelled consistently as *contains* by Williams in the *Letterbook 1* copy (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letterbook-1/50 and www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letterbook-1/51).

(I have ruled out other spellings as insignificant, such as *runing*, *then* for *than*, *intirely*, *publick*, and *Melchisedeck*. An accurate transcription of the latter as used at the back of the plot description could be Melch[i(-)|e]sedec{h|k}, meaning that the *i* letter apparently doesn't have a dot, so that it could be an *e*, but *i* is preferred; and

that the scribe originally wrote *h*, then overwrote to get a *k*, giving us *Melchisedeck*.)

The odd spelling *containes* instead of *contains* is a type of misspelling that is never found in manuscripts of the Doctrine and Covenants or the Book of Mormon, but it is a rather high frequency spelling of the 17th century. Specifically, the directly analogous verb form *pertains* was spelled **without** a silent *e* by Williams at D&C 104:34 (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-23-april-1834-dc-104/9). Williams also spelled the plural noun *rains* without a silent *e* at D&C 90:5 (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-8-march-1833-dc-90/1). Other nouns ending in -*ains* do not show a silent *e* between the *n* and the *s*.

In addition, John Whitmer used *contains* twice in section 77 (see www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/answers-to-questions-between-circa-4-and-circa-20-march-1832-dc-77/2). And Cowdery wrote *contains* in the printer's manuscript at 2 Nephi 29:10; see Royal Skousen, editor, *The Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2001), 230.

197. This is shown in the textual record by usage frequency and by nearby variation where {-s} plural and {-th} plural verb forms are used after relative pronouns, but where typical plural verb forms are used after complex subjects containing the same relative pronouns. This is exemplified in the present tense by Alma 57:36: "Yea, and I trust that the souls of THEM *which* **has** been slain **have** entered into the rest of their God."

198. In EEBO Phase 1 texts there are 69 instances of "none of these things **are**" and only 13 with *is* (84% plural). *Ngram Viewer* shows that plural *are* was used in this phrase about 90% of the time in 1833.

199. Also, there are 191 instances of perch* within five words of acre* in EEBO Phase 1, compared with 103 instances of rod* within five words of acre* (65% *perch*).

200. This 2-gram forces a measurement interpretation for both *rod* and *perch*. In addition, the most frequent measurements used before the 3-gram "in an acre" (restricted to the years 1750 to 1850) are *yards* then *feet* then **rods**. *Perches* is not one of the top 10 words occurring with this 3-gram, so it doesn't appear in the *Ngram Viewer* listing generated by the string "* in an acre."

201. The relatively high-frequency 3-gram "ranges of buildings" is found approximately 80% of the time in 1833 versus "rows of buildings." By

the year 2000 "rows of buildings" is found approximately 80% of the time.

202. I considered the possibility that the phrasal verb "stand on" in the plot description might mean 'face'. This particular meaning corresponds to the following obsolete definition found in the Oxford English Dictionary:

stand, *v.* †76p. **stand to** — . To **face**, be built opposite to. *Obs.*

1726 Leoni *Alberti's Archit.* I. 16 a

> We shou'd also observe what Suns our House **stands to**.

Here is another example of "stand to" meaning 'face,' from the 17th century:

1621, EEBO a17310, Robert Burton [1577–1640]
The anatomy of melancholy, page 334

> and will by al means haue the front of an house **stand to**
> the South, which how it may be good in Italy I know not,
> in our Northerne Countries I am sure it is best.

However, the preposition following the verb *stand* is different in the plot description — *on* instead of *to.* As a result, it seems more likely that the verb *stand* conveys a sense of 'situated/located.' Definition 19 of the verb *stand* in the OED reads in part: "Of a . . . dwelling, etc.: To be **situated** in a specified position or aspect."

203. I only found "placed alternately" in EEBO, while "placed alternate" is found as the less-common alternative to "placed alternately" in the 19th century. Here is a relevant example from Google Books:

1818, *Congressional Edition*

> And that as to the residue of the said lots, into which the said
> land hereby bargained and sold, shall have been **laid off** and
> divided, . . . then such residue of the said lots, shall be **divided**
> every other lot **alternate** to the said Samuel Davidson;

204. According to *Ngram Viewer*, "painted paper(s)" was slightly more common than "colo(u)red paper(s)" until the end of the 18th century. By the 1830s "colo(u)red paper(s)" had become slightly more than twice as common, and by the 20th century it was dominant. Here is a representative example of "painted paper" from Google Books, where *painted* may mean 'colored':

1814, *The Annals of Philosophy*

> unless he compare the **colour** of his specimen with that
> of the slip of **painted** paper in Mr. Syme's book.

205. The crossover in use occurred in the 1860s, as shown by a comparative *Ngram Viewer* chart using terms like these: "(and inside of the+or inside of the),(and inside the+or inside the)".