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BYU Studies Quarterly is dedicated to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual can be complementary and fundamentally harmonious. It strives to publish articles that reflect a faithful point of view, are relevant to subjects of interest to Latter-day Saints, and conform to high scholarly standards. *BYU Studies Quarterly* also includes poetry, personal essays, reviews, and never-before-published documents of significant historical value to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Contributions from all fields of learning are invited, and readers everywhere are welcomed.





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The Brigham Young Academy Building in about 1897. During a period of sweeping secularization in American higher education, Brigham Young Academy moved in the opposite direction, especially after 1903, when it became Brigham Young University. The LDS Church's increasing commitment to BYU can be seen in the substantial proportion of the university budget it began to provide, the practice of having Church General Authorities interview prospective faculty members, and the composition of the board of trustees, which shifted from local political and Church leaders to general Church officers. During the ensuing years, the Church appears to have committed to BYU the fulfillment of the dream of becoming a "real university" and one that would remain true to real faith in the restored gospel of Jesus Christ. Photographer unknown. Courtesy L. Tom Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

BYU and Religious Universities in a Secular Academic World

Alan L. Wilkins and David A. Whetten

Most of the modern research universities in the United States began as Protestant colleges whose highest stated aspirations were to foster faith and the development of Christian character as well as higher learning. While some Christian colleges remain from that era, among the 207 universities in the Carnegie classification's high and very high research universities, only nine claim a religious affiliation (seven Catholic institutions; Baylor University, with a Baptist affiliation; and Brigham Young University, operated by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints). We will briefly outline some of the primary reasons that religious research universities are such a small proportion of American research universities. However, our primary intent in this article is to examine Brigham Young University as a limit case of the religious research university. In many ways, BYU is an anomaly. At its founding in 1875, BYU was organized in ways that were almost identical to the early Protestant colleges. What is remarkable is that through the period of secularization that led most of those colleges to cut their ties with religion, BYU became more closely tied to its affiliated church and more intentionally religious than any of the remaining religious universities.¹

A popular twentieth-century myth has it that aerodynamics experts have examined the bumblebee and determined that "that critter can't fly," because "it does not have the required capacity (in terms of wing area or flapping speed)." Nevertheless, the laws of physics do not prevent the bumblebee from flying. Research shows that "bumblebees simply flap harder than other insects, increasing the amplitude of their wing strokes to achieve more lift, and use a figure-of-eight wing motion to create low-pressure vortices to pull them up."² In other words, the bumblebee flies, but it does so differently than many other insects.

We have been talking about writing an article like this one for at least a decade and a half. We had both heard numerous questions from faculty members both outside and inside BYU about why BYU was organized as it is. Some wondered why we were so different from other universities, and others wondered if we were different enough. Our interest became more focused in the late 1990s, however, when we began to make a presentation together to new faculty members in the Spring Seminar that most of them attend at the end of their first year at the university. Their interests and questions invited us to think more carefully about our answers. We combined our experience as faculty members and university administrators with our research and theoretical background in organizational theory to try to make sense of BYU as a religious university. When Alan returned from serving as a mission president, we began to gather data about BYU and other religious universities and after too many drafts finally

feel comfortable sharing our current views and conclusions. We have begun sharing these ideas with scholars and administrators at other higher-education institutions, particularly those with religious affiliations, and expect that our journey of understanding will continue as we exchange with them. We particularly hope that those who are interested in BYU and religious higher-education institutions will find this perspective useful.



Alan L. Wilkins



David A. Whetten

As organizational scholars, we ask similar questions of BYU. Our goal is to help those who are interested in universities, and particularly religious universities, to understand them better by comparing BYU to the others in this niche. We believe that by studying the limit case we can shed light on the nature of such organizational “critters” and how they can actually “fly,” sometimes, as it might appear, against all odds.

After reviewing the primary reasons for the secularization of American research universities, we consider BYU by contrasting it with other religious universities in its institutional niche. We then focus on trying to understand how BYU deals with the inherent dilemmas it has chosen quite consciously and the implications of these choices for its ability to “fly.” We conclude by considering implications for faculty, administrators, and scholars of universities that for a variety of reasons (some more conscious than others) incorporate such dilemmas as a core aspect of their identity.

The Secularization of American Higher Education

Given the history of secularization in institutions of higher education in America, some might wonder whether BYU is the last of its kind. Most American universities started out as church-related colleges, but by the 1920s the majority of them had been “secularized.” George Marsden provides some perspective about just how rapidly this secularization took place:

The American university system was built on a foundation of evangelical Protestant colleges. Most of the major universities evolved directly from such nineteenth-century colleges. As late as 1870 the vast majority of these were remarkably evangelical. Most of them had clergymen-presidents who taught courses defending biblicist Christianity and who encouraged periodic campus revivals. Yet within a half century . . . the evangelical Protestantism of the old-time colleges had been effectively excluded from leading university classrooms.³

Harvard’s Charles Eliot offered what Marsden describes as the “shibboleth of the movement” against the possibility of a church university: “A university cannot be built upon a sect.”⁴ A few years earlier, the founding president of Cornell University, Andrew White, said something similar in his inaugural address: “I deny that any university fully worthy of that great name can ever be founded upon the platform of any one sect or combination of sects.”⁵ Indeed, this feeling became so shared among American intellectuals that in 1905 Andrew Carnegie was persuaded to bankroll a foundation that would provide incentives for universities affiliated with denominations to sever their ties in exchange for participation in a generous faculty retirement program. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching had on its board the president of almost every major university of the day.⁶

During this same period, a growing number of Protestants formed a loose coalition of northeastern states Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Unitarians desiring to establish a nonsectarian though Christian (Protestant) educational system that could foster a moral order for American society in the absence of an established religion. Their view largely excluded Catholics and Jews as well as more conservative Protestants and sought to avoid divisive sectarian battles regarding doctrine. This coalition (largely Whigs and later Republicans in the north) gained significant influence during and following the Civil War because the most powerful opposition had largely been religious conservatives, often Democrats, in the southern states.⁷

Ironically, the Whig/Republican Protestant coalition felt at first that they had won the day over their more conservative Protestant brethren and over Catholics and Jews. Many of them felt that democratic values were compatible with an emphasis on the development of individual character (rather than on salvation explicitly) and freedom to pursue truth through science.⁸ However, drawing on the historical work of Burtchaell⁹ and Marsden,¹⁰ we note four structural factors that influenced the movement to secularize higher education or to formally separate its institutions from influence by any particular church or religious order:

1. In their attempt to appeal to a broad coalition of Protestants (to get more students and to influence a larger part of the country) and to avoid unseemly and energy-sapping sectarian debates, academic leaders “established” a secular moral approach to education emphasizing values such as free inquiry, democracy, service to humankind, and so forth. The values were so general that many eventually came to believe they did not require allegiance to a particular religious tradition. Curriculum came to focus on disciplinary subjects, and Bible classes along with the study of church history and doctrine were no longer required and eventually did not appear in class offerings. Curriculum has thus become almost entirely focused on scientific values and critical thinking.¹¹
2. Faculty were hired to teach increasingly specialized subjects. At first, Christian (though nonsectarian) values were deemed important in faculty candidates, but soon universities began to focus, with support from these more specialized and nonsectarian faculty, almost entirely on a faculty member’s academic expertise.
3. Funding sources changed. Many religious proponents of this era assumed that the state would fund “public” universities whose approach coincided with their Christian interests, especially as these interests became less denomination- or theology-specific. However,

primary funding sources for both private and public universities shifted from churches (which had never provided more than meager funding beyond donated scholarships for students in any case) to increased student tuition, private industry, foundations, and, eventually, to government sources (largely in the form of loans or grants to students and funding for faculty research). Those who provided these resources sought to influence universities to adopt their more practical, nonreligious values. The government (both state and local) often required universities to give up hiring preferences and specific religious requirements in order to receive particular forms of aid and forbade the use of religious texts or religious tests in public schools, many of which had been seen as Christian institutions even though they were funded by state funds.¹²

4. Membership in boards of trustees changed along with the funding sources. Increasingly present on these boards were people from the world of business, alumni, and other citizens representing diverse interests of the university. Church leaders were less often involved in interactions with administrators and faculty. Soon the affiliated church leaders had no involvement beyond occasionally continuing to work with a divinity school or theological seminary that persisted at some universities but increasingly became located at the periphery of campus.¹³

Why Are So Many Religious Universities Catholic, Given the Protestant Beginnings?

During this era when many liberal Protestants were seeking less sectarian and more generally acceptable educational approaches, Catholics had relatively little involvement in higher education. They were largely immigrants without a tradition of higher education, and at the turn of the century perhaps 4,200 Catholics were in the sixty-three schools of the Catholic higher-education network.¹⁴ Marsden points out that this was a period of Americanization, when many in the United States saw progress as dependent upon political freedom and free inquiry.¹⁵ Catholic leaders in Rome and Europe viewed this movement with great alarm. The Catholic University of America (CUA) was founded in 1889 by Catholic progressives who were interested in bringing together “Catholic teachings with cautious versions of the attitudes typical of American university founders.”¹⁶ Pope Leo XIII issued an encyclical in 1895 addressed to the American church, stating that the separation of church and state was not the desirable model for the church. While the Vatican had given approval to establish CUA as

the only pontifical university in America, concerns about CUA and Americanization led the pope in 1896 to remove John Keane, the first rector of Catholic University of America.¹⁷ In 1910, a professor of scripture, Henry A. Poels, was dismissed because he held a multiauthorial view of the Pentateuch, contrary to the Pontifical Biblical Commission's position that Moses was the substantial author of the first five books of the Bible.¹⁸

As interest in education grew, Catholics sought to protect themselves from what they saw as contradictions to their faith in the American culture and in its educational approaches. Catholic orders created educational institutions staffed largely by priests and nuns from the order. That approach was quite inexpensive and largely maintained a Catholic ideology. However, the quality of education suffered, and it was very difficult for these institutions to achieve accreditation by anyone beyond their own Catholic accrediting associations. Leahy suggests several reasons for the move away from priests as teachers: (a) increased post-WWII demand by Catholics for higher education, (b) increased desire to fit in with the American mainstream (fueled by a growing trust among Americans of Catholics, growing affluence of Catholics, and an increased desire to be a part of the economy), (c) an increased desire to be accredited and thus recognized more broadly, and (d) fewer Catholics becoming clergy and getting PhDs and therefore a lack of qualified priests.¹⁹

Midway through the twentieth century (in 1955), John Tracy Ellis summarized the intellectual situation among Catholic academics by writing that there was "general agreement as to the impoverishment of Catholic scholarship in this country."²⁰ Marsden's conclusion regarding the first half of the twentieth century in Catholic higher education is: "Whatever the weaknesses of Catholic higher education during this era, and they were many, Catholics emerged from this era with one thing Protestants did not: universities with substantial religious identities."²¹

James Burtchaell explained that in the 1950s many American Catholic educators were embarrassed at the lack of influence of Catholics in intellectual and scientific spheres. He studied a variety of American Catholic as well as Protestant institutions and concluded that from that time forward academic leaders of these Catholic colleges and universities sought independence from official church oversight because they felt it was too restrictive.²² In his massive study of the secularization of both Protestant and Catholic institutions of higher education, entitled *The Dying of the Light*, Burtchaell laments that just as Catholic intellectuals were becoming trained well enough to truly bring a unique light both to the secular world and to the church, Catholic institutions of higher education engaged in secularization that essentially made them look similar to all of the non-Catholic

institutions of higher education.²³ Elsewhere, he presents historical evidence demonstrating a secularization process among Catholic universities that closely parallels the Protestant secular movement at the turn of the twentieth century. While the process started a century later, it is heading in the same direction, according to Burtchaell, and is likely to have a similar result.²⁴

Current Situation of Religious Universities in America

Given the history of secularization we have just reviewed, we were interested to learn that out of eight million students enrolled in undergraduate bachelor's degree programs in the United States in 2004, over one million were attending religiously affiliated colleges or universities. Most of these institutions are quite small, as suggested by the fact that almost one-third (768 of 2,345) of higher-education institutions listed in the U.S. Department of Education database claim a religious affiliation.²⁵ What we observe is that the Christian college (small, typically focused on the liberal arts, and either Protestant or Catholic) has persisted into the present. On the other hand, prominent universities with a clear dedication to research are almost completely secularized. Specifically, the Carnegie classification of universities (2012)²⁶ that are high or very high in research provides the following:

Figure 1
Research Universities That Are Religiously Affiliated

<i>Research classification</i>	<i>Number of institutions</i>	<i>Number of religious institutions</i>
Very high	108	2
High	99	7
Total	207	9

As figure 1 indicates, less than 5 percent of these institutions claim a religious affiliation; BYU is among that minority. Of particular interest to us are questions about how BYU and other universities that clearly value research have been able to deal with significant institutional pressures to secularize. Further, how does BYU organize itself to attend to its avowed (and what many outsiders at least would see as contradictory) goals to foster both faith and reason? While we could look at the extent to which such potential tensions exist in “doctoral universities” in the Carnegie classification system, our choice is to focus on the niche that is least likely in this age of secularization, the religious universities most focused on research.

Following a brief description of BYU's history relative to secularization forces during this same period, we will compare the religious commitment and institutional structures of the nine religiously affiliated research universities using the best data we have available.

BYU's Beginnings in the Context of the Secularization of American Higher Education

BYU's history is all the more remarkable against the backdrop we have just reviewed of secularization among major universities in the United States. Contrary to the trends, BYU has become more closely tied to its sponsoring church during the same period in which the Protestant and more recently Catholic universities were distancing themselves from their initial religious affiliation. Indeed, during the past half-century when pressures on Catholic universities to become more secular and intellectual have led to significant changes in their intentional religiosity, BYU has in many ways reemphasized and strengthened its commitment to its religious moorings. At the same time, BYU paralleled the efforts of both Protestant and Catholic institutions to become accredited and establish a reputation of educational excellence that would benefit its graduates. As we shall see, this move to become at the same time stronger both educationally and religiously is indeed unique among universities.

Brigham Young Academy was founded by Brigham Young in 1875. As he wrote to his son Alfares, then a student at the University of Michigan, he established a private trust to fund Brigham Young Academy "at which the children of the Latter-day Saints can receive a good education unmixed with the pernicious, atheistic influences that are found in so many of the higher schools of the country."²⁷ At first, the Academy was intended to provide elementary and secondary education and a "normal" school to prepare teachers for the public schools in the Utah Territory that no longer allowed the use of the Book of Mormon or the teaching of explicitly Mormon philosophies. Its initial institutional structure was patterned after most of the Protestant colleges of the day: funding through small amounts of tuition (in BYA's case, \$4 per term per student, which over 60 percent of the students paid in commodities) and modest income from property donated by Brigham Young. The board of trustees was composed of local political and church leaders, with teachers who were for the most part members of the affiliated faith.²⁸

Brigham Young Academy was not initially thought of as the Church's university or even the predecessor of such a university. In 1891, the First Presidency of the Church asked James E. Talmage to leave the presidency of LDS College in Salt Lake City to establish what his biographer called

“a genuine Church University.”²⁹ Talmage thrilled at the prospect of founding “an institution of wide scope and high standards that would merit recognition by the established centers of learning throughout the nation and the world. It was a dream he had cherished for many years.”³⁰ The proposed name was Young University. However, the Panic of 1893 destroyed any hope of continuing plans for Young University.

The Brigham Young Academy was named Brigham Young University in 1903 when the secularization forces were gaining strength and influencing the formation of most modern American universities. The newly named BYU still did not have additional or significant Church funding, but it was thought by its leaders in Provo that the new name indicated a direction toward more college-level work, even though the pace toward that end would be slow.³¹

The growing commitment of the Church to BYU is seen by the decision of its leaders in 1918 to liquidate BYU’s debts in exchange for its assets.³² In the years that followed, the Church provided an increasingly significant proportion of its budget. The dream of a genuine Church university was thus kept alive and eventually applied to BYU, remarkably during a time when the Church leaders were deciding that they could not support the Church’s breadth of educational offerings and were withdrawing for the most part from secular education. Indeed, in the 1920s and 1930s the Church withdrew almost completely from higher education. The result was that by 1934 only two higher education institutions were sponsored by the Church—Brigham Young University and Ricks College.³³ A system of LDS Institutes of Religion was created.³⁴ During this period, the Church appears to have committed to BYU the fulfillment of the dream of becoming a “real university”—one, however, that would remain committed to real faith in the restored gospel of Jesus Christ.³⁵

Figure 2 on the next page summarizes the improbable direction and result of changes at BYU relative to principal organizational indicators of secularization among religious institutions of higher education mentioned previously. What we may observe in BYU is an institution that is unique among American universities in general. We turn next to the question of how unique BYU is within these same parameters when compared to the few remaining religiously affiliated universities.

How Does BYU Compare with Other Religious Universities?

Burtchaell³⁶ points to a secularization pattern that included faculty seeking professionalization through increased specialization and prestige-seeking university presidents pushing to hire new faculty experts who were not members of the affiliated church. He also chronicles the move by most

Figure 2
Comparison of Secularization Choices from Founding to Present

<i>Relationship to Church</i>	<i>Other Universities</i>	<i>BYU</i>
<i>Required religion courses:</i>	None	Clarified and increased
<i>Faculty from sponsoring Church:</i>	Decreased to no requirement	Increased, including worthiness requirement
<i>Church funding:</i>	Decreased to 0	Increased, Church contribution
<i>Church leaders on Board:</i>	Decreased to 0	Increased, 100% Church leaders

Source: George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 155–56, 251, 270, 281–82, 300, 419–21, 438.

higher education institutions to admit students with no religious requirement to increase revenues. Additional funding was eventually received from private donors and alumni but was more immediately available from foundations, business, and government (through scholarships, grants for research, and so forth). Through this period of change, most institutions continued to label themselves religious. The label was often the last vestige to go once secularization had run most of its course.³⁷

We noted previously key indicators that reflect the separation of universities from religious influence. We now use these historical indices of secularization to compare the nine universities that claim religious affiliation. However, we begin by using minimum criteria others have employed to qualify universities as having a credible claim to religious affiliation to indicate where each of these nine institutions falls with respect to these measures.

Serious claim to a religious affiliation. All nine of the universities that claim a religious affiliation in the Carnegie classification of Research/High and Research/Very High universities pass a minimum criteria test devised by Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon to determine whether universities have a credible claim to religious affiliation: Does the university have a mission statement that (a) “acknowledges a specific linkage to a church or claims a religious heritage,” (b) “mentions at least one explicitly religious goal,” and does it have (c) “a core curriculum requiring religion courses that reflect and support the university’s religious identity”?³⁸

Figure 3 shows the list of these nine universities along with the number of hours of religion-related courses they require. Each of their mission statements contains an explicit acknowledgement of religious affiliation

Figure 3
Religiously Affiliated “Research Universities”
Required Religiously Related Credits

<i>University</i>	<i># of Credits Required</i>	<i>Doctrinal course required?</i>
Baylor ³⁹	6	Yes
Boston College ⁴⁰	6	May choose
BYU ⁴¹	14	Yes
Catholic U. of America ⁴²	9–12	May choose
Fordham ⁴³	6	No
Georgetown ⁴⁴	6	No
Loyola of Chicago ⁴⁵	6	No
Notre Dame ⁴⁶	6	3 hours required
Saint Louis University ⁴⁷	9	May choose

and at least one religious goal. Some variation in what might be termed a “religion” course exists between these institutions because of differences in definition of what is religious. Other differences exist because some of these universities require only a class *about* various religious traditions while others (specifically Baylor, BYU, Notre Dame, and Catholic University of America) require the study of scripture or doctrine of the particular religious tradition. Thus, while there is some variation in the extent to which a religious commitment entails study of the specific traditions, scripture, or doctrine of a particular religious tradition, all nine of these universities have at least a minimum commitment to identifying themselves with a religious tradition.

Faculty hiring. We are not aware that any of these religious universities *requires* that a faculty member or other employee of the university be a practicing member of a particular faith or religious order. Figure 4 provides a comparison of university hiring policies with respect to the religious character of the faculty candidates. BYU is the only one of these universities that has an explicit “preference” for members in good standing of the affiliated church. BYU advertises in its faculty position announcements that “preference is given to qualified candidates who are members in good standing of the affiliated church.”⁴⁸ Most of the other universities have standard equal employment, affirmative action statements that claim they do not discriminate on the basis of religion or any other “excluded categories.” In addition, Notre Dame encourages women, minorities, and Catholics to apply, and Loyola of Chicago acknowledges, as does the Catholic University

Figure 4
Religious Requirement for Faculty

<i>University</i>	<i>Hire from Specific Religion?</i>	<i>Faithfulness Requirement?</i>
Baylor ⁴⁹	No	Faithful Christians
Boston College ⁵⁰	No (EEO/AA)	NA
BYU ⁵¹	Yes (LDS preferred)	Yes (regular review)
Catholic U. of America ⁵²	No (EEO/AA)	No
Fordham ⁵³	No (EEO/AA)	NA
Georgetown ⁵⁴	No (EEO/AA)	NA
Loyola of Chicago ⁵⁵	No (EEO/AA)	NA
Notre Dame ⁵⁶	No (EEO/AA)	NA
Saint Louis U. ⁵⁷	No (EEO/AA)	NA

of America, that there are some theology degrees that must be offered by approved Catholic faculty members using approved content to receive pontifical sanction. Based on “The Application of *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* for the United States,” all Catholic colleges and universities must require that theology professors obtain a mandatum from the bishop of the local diocese in which the university or college is located.⁵⁸ However, in most cases, Catholic universities and colleges do not reveal whether a particular professor has a mandatum, claiming that such information is private.⁵⁹

We have a general sense based on conversations with colleagues at several of these universities that during hiring interviews some discussion occurs regarding the candidate’s willingness to respect the religious tradition (or at least its predominant values) with which the university is affiliated. On the other hand, Burtchaell claims that few if any Catholic universities insist on faculty loyalty to their faith traditions.⁶⁰ A study by Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon presents faculty attitudes at four of the religious universities on our list (Baylor, Boston College, Notre Dame, and BYU), demonstrating that at each institution there are at least some faculty members who would be willing to wait for a significant period to find a candidate who is a member of the affiliated religion. Nevertheless, BYU’s faculty are significantly more supportive of this idea with 82 percent of the faculty being willing to go shorthanded for a significant period in order to hire an LDS candidate (compared with 55 percent at Baylor, 38 percent at Notre Dame, and 28 percent at Boston College).⁶¹

At Baylor, there has been significant debate about how Baptist the university should be and how much religiosity, especially religious

fundamentalism, should be required of the faculty. Indeed, two presidents previous to the current one, President Kenneth Starr, were fired by the board of regents for issues related to faculty hiring and the standards for granting tenure. Specifically, Robert Sloan was fired after a tenure of ten years because, according to critics, he was “devaluing teaching . . . and . . . edging the institution toward religious fundamentalism.”⁶²

In their study, Lyon and his colleagues noted the very high percentage of BYU faculty who are LDS. They wondered whether the religious affiliation of faculty accounted for the differences in their attitudes about faculty hiring and academic freedom issues in general. They found that the Baptist professors at Baylor and the Catholic professors at Notre Dame and Boston College were significantly more committed to the religious mission of their institution than their colleagues who were not of the faith of the affiliated church. However, even comparing responses of members of the affiliated religions, BYU faculty were more religious in their attitudes.⁶³

Indeed, hiring at BYU focuses on finding LDS candidates who are among the best in their field and who are judged by the leader of their local congregation (bishop) and by an interviewing General Authority of the Church to be faithful, even exemplary, members of the Church. In addition, on a regular basis the Commissioner of Church Education sends a letter to the local bishop of each LDS faculty member at BYU, asking whether he or she continues to abide by certain essential expectations of membership (as someone who is worthy of a temple recommend). Those who are not LDS are asked to abide by similar moral commitments and are reviewed regularly for compliance. These requirements would have been unusual for universities and even religious colleges in the late 1800s.⁶⁴ The explicit goals of BYU for faculty members who are members of the sponsoring Church are that “they . . . live lives reflecting a love of God, a commitment to keeping his commandments, and loyalty to the Church. They are expected to be role models to students of people who are proficient in their discipline and faithful in the Church. All faculty are expected to be role models for a life that combines the quest for intellectual rigor with spiritual values and personal integrity.”⁶⁵

Funding. BYU’s funding model demonstrates another clear difference in institutional governance and support compared with the approach taken by the other religious universities. Figure 5 suggests that a chief form of funding for the other universities derives from tuition, with the average tuition and fees charged for the 2012–13 school year being \$38,116 per school year, compared with \$4,710 at BYU (for LDS undergraduates; \$9,420 for non-LDS students). BYU’s board of trustees, by contrast, has chosen to provide a subsidy for students that is comparable to what many states provide to state residents who attend a state-supported university. The university’s president,

Figure 5
Tuition and Other Funding of Religiously Affiliated Universities

<i>Universities</i>	<i>Tuition (yearly)*</i>	<i>Funding from Church/Order?**</i>
Baylor	\$30,586	"A few million per year"
Boston College	43,140	No
BYU	4,710	Substantial funding
Catholic U. of America	36,320	No ⁶⁶
Fordham	41,000	No
Georgetown	42,360	No
Loyola of Chicago	33,810	No
Notre Dame	42,971	No
Saint Louis U.	34,740	No

Average tuition without BYU: \$38,116

* Tuition from the websites of each university for 2012–13 school year.

** Funding information from telephone call to financial VP or designee in that office during 2009, except for CUA.

Cecil Samuelson, has stated that Church leaders have determined that the Church would be the primary source of support for the university, contrary to the trends of declining church involvement in other universities, to make it “abundantly clear to whom we would look for our leadership and guidance.”⁶⁷

When one of us called financial vice presidents at each of these religiously affiliated universities to ask whether they received funding from the affiliated church or order of the church, the response was often a chuckle and a clear no. In one case, the vice president of a Catholic university commented that it was indeed the other way around. He said that the university administrators are so interested in maintaining a religious presence in an era when those going into the Catholic priesthood is diminishing that they provide a full-time position (FTE) and salary to any department that will hire a priest of the affiliated religious order who also had a terminal degree in the area. After six years, if the department decides to give tenure to that priest/faculty member, the department has to come up with the FTE and funding. As a result of this process, the vice president said the salary for those FTEs across campus, which goes first to the religious order and then a portion to the priest, is helping to fund the order. Vice presidents from several other universities affiliated with the Catholic Church or one of its orders expressed a similar sense that the university actually helped the order in one way or another, rather than the university receiving financial support from the order.

Figure 6

Membership of Governing Boards of Religiously Affiliated Universities

<i>Universities</i>	<i>% from Affiliated Religion</i>
Baylor ⁶⁸	25% from Baptist General Convention of Texas (required)
Boston College ⁶⁹	10% are listed Jesuit priests (not required)
BYU ⁷⁰	100% are General Officers of the Church; past two BYU presidents have been General Authorities of the Church (not a requirement); all have been Church members in good standing
Catholic U. of America ⁷¹	55.3% with religious titles currently; 24 must be clerics of Catholic Church, 18 of whom must be of U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops; Archbishop of Washington is Chancellor of University
Fordham ⁷²	12.5% with religious titles currently (not required)
Georgetown ⁷³	12.8% with religious titles currently (not required)
Loyola of Chicago ⁷⁴	Percentage not specified
Notre Dame ⁷⁵	6 board fellows must be Holy Cross and 6 must be lay persons, and they approve/appoint board of trustees (trustees have no religious requirement); currently 7 of 47 (15%) have religious titles; according to bylaws, president must be a Holy Cross priest
Saint Louis U. ⁷⁶	18.8% with religious titles currently (not required)

Board membership. Figure 6 shows a comparison of these universities with respect to membership on a governing board or board of trustees. Only four of the universities have a requirement for a particular number of “religious” on the board (specifically: Baylor, BYU, Notre Dame, and Catholic University of America), and only BYU requires that all board members be General Authorities/Officers of the Church. Catholic University of America is the only other university that has more than 50 percent of the board made up of church representatives. Indeed, by the mid-1960s, Catholic university leaders came to believe that only by giving lay people (nonclerics) a “shared legal trusteeship” and a predominant role on boards of trustees would they get the financial resources needed to expand Catholic higher education. They were explicitly concerned that exclusive control of boards by priests, brothers, and nuns would limit or curtail state and federal monies. Most of the Catholic universities moved to increase the proportion of laity on their boards during this period.⁷⁷

In addition, Notre Dame and Catholic University of America both require that their chancellor/president be a Catholic from the particular order or

sponsoring church conference. The past two presidents of BYU have come from among the General Authorities of the Church, although there is no requirement that this be the case. However, the board of trustees (all General Authorities or officers of the Church) conducts the search and appoints the president, who has always been a member of the sponsoring church.

Summary of comparisons. Given the history of secularization in higher education, we should perhaps be surprised that any large universities interested in serious research would claim a religious affiliation. We can observe nine universities, mostly Catholic, that have maintained an explicit religious affiliation and seek to foster campus cultures that are open to an association with a particular religious tradition (and in several cases, religious traditions in general). Five of the nine universities do not require a religious presence on the board. They all require that at least six credit hours of the courses a student takes during his or her university experience be at least related to religious thought and lifestyles.

We agree, however, with Baylor scholars Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon that BYU is the most “intentionally religious” of the universities whose faculty they surveyed.⁷⁸ As we compare BYU with the other religiously affiliated universities that qualify to be on our list, we see evidence as well that BYU is more focused on religiosity in addition to academic excellence than those other universities. Part of the difference must come from variation in what it means to be religious in each of the traditions represented, and that sort of comparison is beyond our current intentions and abilities. Nevertheless, what we can see clearly from our organizational theory perspective, which focuses on institutional and organizational structures, is that BYU is the only research university that has such a close relationship with a church. All of the others have been founded by religiously minded individuals and have developed impressive trajectories of academic improvement while at the same time inviting their campus communities to acknowledge the role of faith in their lives and learning. However, BYU is an integral part of its sponsoring church. Its board members are leaders of the Church, and significant church funds are invested directly in the education of the youth of the Church. No other university is structured in that way. The effects on faculty hiring, faculty attitudes, and curricular requirements are clear.

Intentional Dilemmas:

BYU’s Strong Ties to the Church and Its Goal to Be a Major University

Obviously, the responses by BYU and its sponsoring church to secularization pressures have been significantly “against the grain” of general institutional trends in America. While BYU has been able to develop increased academic excellence and commitment to faith, faculty and administrators

often, of necessity, address dilemmas that require special attention. The following questions are representative: How can we grow in academic quality and still hire primarily members of the Church? How will the university and faculty members protect free inquiry in the disciplines and honor scriptural truth as taught by the Church when these interests come in conflict? How can faculty members develop excellent scholarly programs and share their learning in the top journals and presses of their disciplines while working primarily with undergraduate students? Will faculty hold students accountable for obedience to Church standards (honor code and dress and grooming standards, for example) as well as academic performance?

These are the sorts of tensions that, according to both Burtchaell and Marsden, led the pace-setting universities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to seek to free themselves from their affiliated churches. These dilemmas are not the sort that will disappear. They come from the interplay of the reigning “script” about how to be a “real university” and the Church “script” about how to develop faith and character, as well as from the Church’s intention to influence primarily undergraduate students.

Scholarly work by Albert and Whetten provides a framework with which to understand some of the organizational tensions that BYU faculty and administrators face in this institutional environment. They argue that organizations are significantly more efficient when they do not have to specify all of their organizational elements, that is, when the elements are institutionalized and largely taken for granted.⁷⁹ For example, if you work in a retail bank as opposed to a local grocery store, the organizational structure, reward system, and strategies of the business will differ significantly but will not be explained fully anywhere. In higher education, religious colleges are still taken for granted in this way. They focus on undergraduate teaching in a specific religious context and often hire faculty based on their faith as well as academic expertise. But universities, even private ones, as we have seen, are expected to avoid religious commitments and give primary attention to research.

When organizations violate such institutional expectations or seek to combine expectations from two different institutional environments (in this case, church and academic environments), they are “swimming against the current.” They must exert extra effort to find people willing to be different, educate them about the differences, and help them value the “hybrid” organizational life they must then lead. They must convince those outside the organization upon whom they depend for legitimacy and resources that this way of organizing is valuable, or at least allowable (think of accrediting bodies, graduate schools evaluating undergraduates, funding agencies, alumni, and students, whose approval and support of the university are critical for its ongoing existence and success).

Figure 7
BYU as a “Dual Hybrid”

As a Church-University Hybrid

Expected frame of reference for a top-tier research university	Secular
BYU’s frame of reference as a research university	Religious

As a Teaching-University Hybrid

Expected focus of effort for a research university	Graduate students
BYU’s focus of effort	Undergraduate students

Albert and Whetten, along with many others, suggest, contrary to what we might assume, that a large number of organizations are “hybrid” because they combine two or more organizing scripts.⁸⁰ For example, one of the most ubiquitous organizational forms is the family business. Family businesses enjoy the commitment of family members to get the business started and do not have to pay them big salaries. However, families tend to operate on an organizing script that gives membership in the family privileges, and businesses tend to operate on the basis of meritocracy (and to establish policies against “nepotism”). Hence, there are usually inherent dilemmas to manage in such hybrid organizations, as well as potential benefits to gain.

BYU is a unique case of hybrid organization because, as President Cecil Samuelson has reaffirmed, “We have been defined by our board of trustees as a primarily undergraduate teaching university with some graduate programs of distinction and high quality.”⁸¹ Their intention is to provide the very best education possible, first to undergraduate students, and to offer graduate programs that support, or at least do not detract from, undergraduate education. As figure 7 suggests, the commonly accepted institutional scripts in modern American higher education anticipate that a university will have a strong emphasis on graduate students and research. A religious frame of reference would be expected in small colleges. By explicitly designing BYU as a large *university* focused on teaching undergraduates in an intentionally religious context, the board of trustees has created a “dual hybrid”: church university and teaching university. The church university raises questions in the institutional environment about how to maintain

academic freedom. The teaching university raises questions about time, resources, and students who can join with faculty in research.

Most outsiders to BYU would think that the principal tensions would be found in the church-university portion of the hybrid. However, our experience at BYU listening to faculty across campus talk about their career concerns suggests that for most of them the teaching-university tensions are more prominent and ubiquitous. Compared with the number of BYU professors who have academic freedom concerns, significantly more BYU professors wonder about the tension between feeling the need to share their work in the top journals and venues of their discipline while at the same time teaching relatively higher numbers of undergraduates with relatively fewer or no doctoral students to involve in their research.

Church-university tensions. Our observation based on experience finds some confirmation in the research cited earlier by Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon.⁸² In this study, three Baylor professors compared the attitudes of professors at four of the nine major religious universities (Baylor, Boston College, Brigham Young University, and Notre Dame) regarding their approach to dealing with their religious and academic missions. They surveyed faculty at each of these institutions during the middle to late 1990s. Their questions focused on various aspects of practices and attitudes of these professors in such areas as university goals, classroom activities, extracurricular activities, faculty hiring, academic freedom, and integrating faith and learning. Figure 8 provides several examples of how the responses from faculty at the four institutions compare regarding the roles of faith, scholarship, and academic freedom.

BYU faculty are more likely than are faculty at other religious universities to see faith and reason as companion approaches that should be integrated to arrive at understanding and truth.⁸³ Figure 8 shows the comparison of faculty attitudes at BYU and three other universities regarding the idea that faith and learning should be kept separate. It also suggests that when there is conflict between Church doctrine and research findings, BYU faculty are significantly less likely to assume that reason always trumps faith.

The responses to the second question in figure 8 show BYU faculty as much less inclined than faculty at the other universities to guarantee freedom to publish research that questions the sponsoring church's beliefs and practices. At the time this survey question was asked, BYU faculty members were considering issues raised by an American Association of University Professors (AAUP) investigation many claimed to be related to academic freedom. Since BYU's academic freedom policy was under scrutiny at that time and the question asked by the Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon

Figure 8

Comparing Faculty Attitudes about Faith and Scholarship in Four Religiously Affiliated Universities

Survey Statement: Since we strive to be a Christian university, the encouragement of faith and learning are important tasks, but they should be separate and not integrated. (Yes: strongly agree or agree)

Brigham Young: 6%

Notre Dame: 38%; Baylor: 42%; Boston College: 52%

Survey Statement: We should guarantee faculty freedom to explore ideas or theories and publish the results even if they question the sponsoring church's beliefs and practices. (Yes: strongly agree or agree)

Brigham Young: 32%

Baylor: 90%; Notre Dame: 95%; Boston College 98%

Source: Faculty Responses Reported in Larry Lyon, Michael Beaty, and Stephanie Litizzette Mixon, "Making Sense of a 'Religious' University: Faculty Adaptations and Opinions at Brigham Young, Baylor, Notre Dame, and Boston College," *Review of Religious Research* 43, no. 4 (2002): 336–37.

survey is similar to but different than the BYU policy, we provide a brief discussion of BYU's policy.

BYU's 1992 statement on academic freedom argues for both individual and *institutional* academic freedom. The intent of BYU's policy is to grant the individual faculty member freedom to "teach and research without interference, to ask hard questions, to subject answers to rigorous examination, and to engage in scholarship and creative work." However, it also argues that BYU must have institutional academic freedom to retain the benefits of its unique religious commitments (which benefits include preservation of pluralism in American higher education, antidogmatism, and religious freedom). Both individual and institutional academic freedom are critically important and may occasionally come into conflict. Neither freedom is unlimited. Further, individual academic freedom is limited to some extent in all institutions (for example, secular universities limit racist and anti-Semitic speech, and public institutions limit advocacy of religion to maintain a separation of church and state). Nevertheless, at BYU, "individual academic freedom is presumptive, while institutional intervention is exceptional." Indeed, at BYU, limitations on individual academic freedom

are deemed reasonable only “when the faculty behavior or expression *seriously* and *adversely* affects the University mission or the Church.” Such limitations include faculty member expression in public or with students that “contradicts or opposes, rather than analyzes or discusses, fundamental Church doctrine or policy; deliberately attacks or derides the Church or its general leaders; or violates the Honor Code because the expression is dishonest, illegal, unchaste, profane, or unduly disrespectful of others.”⁸⁴

The Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon survey asks a question about whether faculty should be guaranteed the “freedom to explore any idea or theory and to publish the results of those inquiries, even if the ideas question some traditional (Catholic, Baptist, Mormon) beliefs and practices.”⁸⁵ At BYU, exploring ideas and publishing results that question the sponsoring church’s beliefs and practices would not be cause for dismissal. Nevertheless, some BYU faculty members may feel that the spirit of such an enterprise would not be in harmony with the academic freedom policy or with the spirit of searching for truth through both rational methods as well as through revelation to prophets of God. Whatever the interpretation BYU faculty members made of these issues, their responses to these and similar questions in the survey suggest that they are more likely to bring together spiritual and rational pursuits of truth than to see tensions between the two approaches. Indeed, from analysis of the results of the BYU responses to the same survey data used by Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon, Wilson reports that “88 percent of the women and 89 percent of the men say that they ‘have more freedom at BYU to teach’ as they deem appropriate than they think they would have elsewhere.”⁸⁶

Lyon and his colleagues noted that BYU had the highest university religiosity scores on every question by a sizeable margin. The most common rank order was BYU, Baylor, Notre Dame, and Boston College. The Baylor professors concluded their study by saying that “in contrast to the overlap among Baylor, Notre Dame, and Boston College, our data suggest that Brigham Young faculty are distinctively committed to their school’s religious tradition. . . . Brigham Young is more committed to their religious tradition in both organizational structure and faculty attitudes.”⁸⁷

Of course, BYU faculty members do experience tensions around academic freedom, in some disciplines more than others. Lyon and his associates report that professors in the arts and sciences at all of the universities, including BYU, have greater concerns about academic freedom than their counterparts in other disciplines.⁸⁸ Particularly among faculty at BYU in the arts and sciences we hear concerns about preparing undergraduates for doctoral work outside of BYU. How can they help students understand and contribute to academic discussions that do not allow for the existence

of God or that contradict their faith? How can they help their students be open to important ideas that appear to contradict their faith but that may indeed be a useful corrective to cultural definitions of their faith that may need to be reconsidered? In our experience, these faculty members are in general both academically thoughtful and committed to BYU's unique mission, and they experience the tensions that result from these dual commitments. Nevertheless, as the Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon survey demonstrates, BYU faculty members seem to feel much less "hybrid identity" tension in these areas than do those at other religious universities, and certainly less than the hybrid identity literature would suggest.

Thus, the hybrid tensions around academic freedom are much more evident in interactions with outside entities like the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), accrediting bodies, and some funding agencies. For example, of the nine major religious universities, only BYU and the Catholic University of America (CUA) have been censured by the AAUP, and both for matters related to religion. CUA's censure was related to a professor teaching in the university's theology department in a degree program that requires papal support. The university and a papal board determined that this professor could not teach in that program because of his outspoken criticism of papal encyclicals regarding divorce, "artificial contraception," "masturbation, pre-marital intercourse and homosexual acts." The AAUP argued that this professor's work had been well received in academic circles and that the university could not deprive him of his right to teach material that had received such supportive external peer review.⁸⁹

In BYU's case, the AAUP censure was triggered by the university's decision to deny continuing faculty status (tenure) to a professor who, among other concerns, was unwilling to curb her discussion of prayer to Mother in Heaven (contrary to Church doctrine) after having been told that her expression was inappropriate. The AAUP argued that the university should not have denied this professor her academic freedom to engage in such expression.⁹⁰

Others have noted that the AAUP is biased against religiously affiliated institutions and have pointed out that a large proportion of its censures have been given to such institutions.⁹¹ Many in the AAUP and in the academic world in general see no reason for any religious or faith-based limitations on what faculty members teach or write,⁹² and therefore universities or colleges that exercise any such limits at all are subject to critique or censure.

Some accrediting bodies for individual disciplines also raise issues related to the mission of religious colleges and universities. For example, in 2001, the American Psychological Association's Committee on Accreditation conducted a six-month public comment on footnote 4 of its Guidelines and

Principles for Accreditation of Programs in Professional Psychology.⁹³ This footnote allows programs with a religious affiliation or purpose to adopt and apply “admission and employment policies that directly relate to this affiliation or purpose,” including policies that “provide a preference for persons adhering to the religious purpose or affiliation,” if certain conditions are met. The concern was that religious universities and programs would use the exemption as a way to discriminate against students and faculty on the basis of their sexual orientation. After a long deliberation, Susan Zlotlow, then head of APA’s Office of Program Consultation and Accreditation, concluded: “The committee remains committed to valuing all kinds of cultural and individual diversity, including religion and sexual orientation. We will continue to work with individual psychology programs to foster diversity.”⁹⁴ In other words, such tensions are not likely to dissipate for BYU and for other religiously affiliated institutions that take their affiliation seriously.

Based on our observations, we conclude that while there are tensions internally at BYU, the greater tensions faced by faculty and administrators at BYU are with external entities. We argue that institutional pluralism (including a variety of religious as well as secular universities and colleges) is important for the academic landscape just as is the rational approach to scholarship that encourages competition among ideas. We believe that such scholarly tensions in the pursuit of academic learning are, up to a certain point, good for BYU. They help us define our theories and subject our ideas to rigorous testing and peer review. On the other hand, we see a continuing bias against BYU because of its religious commitments that will require vigilance and, in some cases, increased academic rigor to earn respect from skeptical disciplinary colleagues who assume a religious bias.

Teaching-university tensions. The choice to focus on undergraduates is an important one for BYU. One reason is that it allows the Church to influence more students at what could be argued is a relatively more vulnerable life stage than would be the case for graduate students. However, BYU’s undergraduate emphasis suggests a relatively higher teaching load and a lower level of student specialization when compared with a graduate research university. In addition, doctoral programs at BYU are asked to be supportive of this undergraduate emphasis. Faculty groups proposing a new graduate program must show how it contributes to rather than detracts from undergraduate work.

Some faculty members feel the undergraduate focus thus significantly constrains their ability to produce a high quantity of good research. For example, faculty at BYU who have been educated at some of the finest research universities will occasionally question how BYU can involve them in such teaching loads and also expect them to contribute to the best

Figure 9

Advantages and Challenges Come Together for BYU

Advantages

- Stable source of funding
- Excellent teaching and research support
- Outstanding students (primarily undergraduate); low tuition; high grad school and job placement
- Distinctive mission and purpose
- Freedom to combine sacred and secular; most students feel inspired both intellectually and spiritually
- Generally high satisfaction with colleagues and students

Challenges

- No “elite” researchers; limits on research time; fewer graduate programs
- Below-market pay (for full professors)
- Rarely hire non-LDS faculty; some are excellent
- Need to overcome outsiders’ presumption of religious bias, particularly in some disciplines
- Tendency of some faculty/students to avoid serious discussion of the relationship between faith and learning for fear of creating contention or because they take religious agreement for granted
- Slow hiring process; higher likelihood of faculty “career decay” (average tenure is twenty-five years at BYU)

academic journals and presses. In response to such questions, BYU's president, Cecil Samuelson, has clarified that "we should not, and do not, have exactly the same quantitative standards for our people as another institution might have for its faculty who have little or no other responsibilities. . . . On the other hand, we cannot, and must not, compromise on the qualitative aspects of the creative work that we do here."⁹⁵ Indeed, a number of BYU's faculty have been creative about this tension and have involved some very bright undergraduate students in their research. When done well, the result is a rather unique *undergraduate teaching and research university*, what President Samuelson has called a "learning university."⁹⁶

But Can This Critter Fly? Trade-offs and Performance

Given such tensions, why would any university or board of trustees consciously choose to organize itself this way? In BYU's case, we note that its board of trustees, essentially leaders of its sponsoring church, believe that this is the best way to accomplish what are for them important religious priorities: to provide a first-rate educational experience for its youth in the context of faith.⁹⁷ What should be clear from this article is that there are clearly trade-offs associated with hybrid organizations. They are able to do some things remarkably and perhaps uniquely well. There are other things they don't do as well. Hybrid organizations also present unique challenges to those who inhabit them. In figure 9, we suggest some of the more obvious advantages and challenges faced by BYU faculty and administrators that derive from the particular choices made by the board to implement its vision of a church teaching university. We argue that, in this case, if you pick up one end of the stick, you pick up the other end too. From this point of view, we now consider how these conscious organizing choices create specific trade-offs. We also review available evidence on the extent to which these trade-offs are able to produce unique results sought for by the university.

Given BYU's choice to be unique as a religious university, determining how well it is performing becomes more difficult. Admittedly, universities have a difficult time measuring success because they have so many publics who worry about quite different outcomes (for example, graduation rates, acceptance rates, win-loss records of athletic teams, amount of endowment, number of Nobel Prize winners, number of articles published in "A" journals, amount of government grants, impact on the local or national economy due to inventions by faculty and students, percentage of graduates employed, acceptance rates of graduates in quality graduate programs). In BYU's case, these criteria are not all of equal importance. For example, its official policy is not to limit government funding, but it refuses to seek or receive funding that

compromises its independence from certain government requirements that are incompatible with its religious commitments. As we have already seen, President Samuelson has invited faculty to engage in quality research in the best venues but perhaps not at the quantity level that some graduate research universities would require. In addition, BYU faculty focus significant attention on helping students develop in ways that go beyond intellectual ability, including being “spiritually strengthened,” developing Christian character, and living a life of continued learning and service.⁹⁸

Because it is so closely aligned with the purposes of its sponsoring church, BYU receives uniquely stable funding. In what would seem an unusual move in a research university, the BYU board does not allow government research grant recipients to keep indirect funds to hire staff or to use in renting space. Rather, the board includes all indirect-cost money in the general budget of the university, where it is used to provide quite generous funding available to all faculty for travel, hiring of research assistants, and so forth.⁹⁹ One result is that faculty members do not have the same incentive that faculty in other universities do to bid for more government grants and thus become relatively independent of the university. Indeed, BYU policy limits the number of faculty members who can buy out their time from teaching during the fall and winter semesters to six full-time faculty equivalents across the entire university.¹⁰⁰ In terms of total research and development funds from federal sources expended each year, BYU ranks 226th in the U.S.¹⁰¹ We have also already noted the limitations on the number of graduate students and programs and the need to have them be supportive of rather than detrimental to BYU undergraduates. These trade-offs encourage the faculty to involve students (often undergraduate) in their research and to allow them to travel to conferences and research opportunities. They also provide opportunities for students to be involved as teaching assistants, for whom the university provides excellent teacher-development and online-learning supports. On the other hand, these conditions do not facilitate the flourishing of relatively independent “elite” researchers with their cadre of doctoral student followers.

As we mentioned earlier, BYU limits the number of graduate programs and the number of graduate students (to around 10 percent of the student body). Graduate programs must not detract from and should strengthen undergraduate programs. As a result, few departments outside of the STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) areas have doctoral programs. Some faculty members in the areas without doctoral programs see the advantage of working with very bright undergraduate students and often treat them like doctoral students. Those with doctoral students also make significant efforts to include undergraduates in their research. Over

\$2 million a year is spent from a variety of funds to sponsor “undergraduate mentored research” efforts that provide a stipend for students and for faculty members who collaborate in this program. This effort, along with the caliber of BYU students, has been credited with the growing number of BYU undergraduates who have gone on to obtain PhDs. Indeed, BYU ranks tenth among U.S. universities in the past ten years and fifth in the past five years in the number of its undergraduates who go on to receive doctorates.¹⁰²

In addition, a recent report from BYU’s office of research and creative activities shows that over the past forty years both the quantity and quality (as indicated by citations) of scholarly work by faculty members has increased rather significantly. Figure 10 displays the increases in scholarly publications. Figure 11 shows the number of citations in each decade for articles published in that decade. Note the significant increases in publications and the accelerated rate of increase in citations particularly in the past two decades. These are not comparisons with other universities, but they suggest a marked improvement.

Further, while assistant and associate professors tend to have salaries that are competitive with those of the same rank at comparable universities, full professors at BYU tend to receive lower than market salaries.¹⁰³ That is likely most true in the areas where many other universities are willing to pay large salaries to professors who can teach in “executive education” programs or bring in large government contracts, thus generating additional funds by which their particular program provides a higher proportion of its own budget.

In terms of students, BYU is blessed with undergraduates who are, relative to other universities, very well prepared for college and who are attracted to the excellent academic programs taught in the context of their faith. They and their parents are attracted by the wholesome religious environment, but the relatively low tuition is undoubtedly an attraction as well. For the past two years, BYU has been the “most popular” national university in the United States, and this year (2012) it was second only to Harvard. The measure of popularity fashioned by *U.S. News & World Report* is essentially a “yield rate” that calculates the “percentage of applicants accepted by a college who end up enrolling at that institution in the fall.” BYU’s rate has been around 75 percent.¹⁰⁴ Further, the top 1,500 students in the BYU freshman class, about the size of the entire freshman class at Harvard or Stanford, look equal on paper to students at those universities in terms of intellectual ability. For example, their ACT scores are 30 (96th percentile) or higher. The average ACT score for the whole incoming freshman class in 2012 (7,101 admitted) is 28.13 (91st percentile).¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, 84 percent

Figure 10
Publications of BYU Faculty Members (1972–2011)

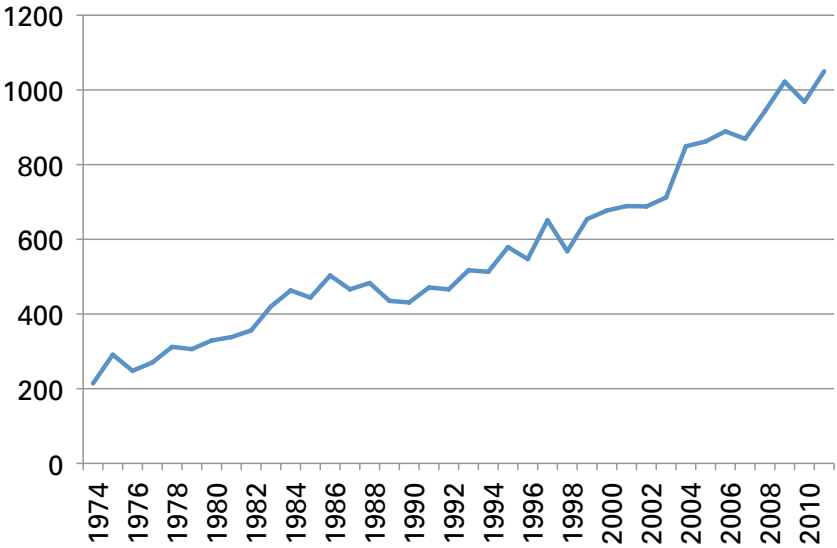
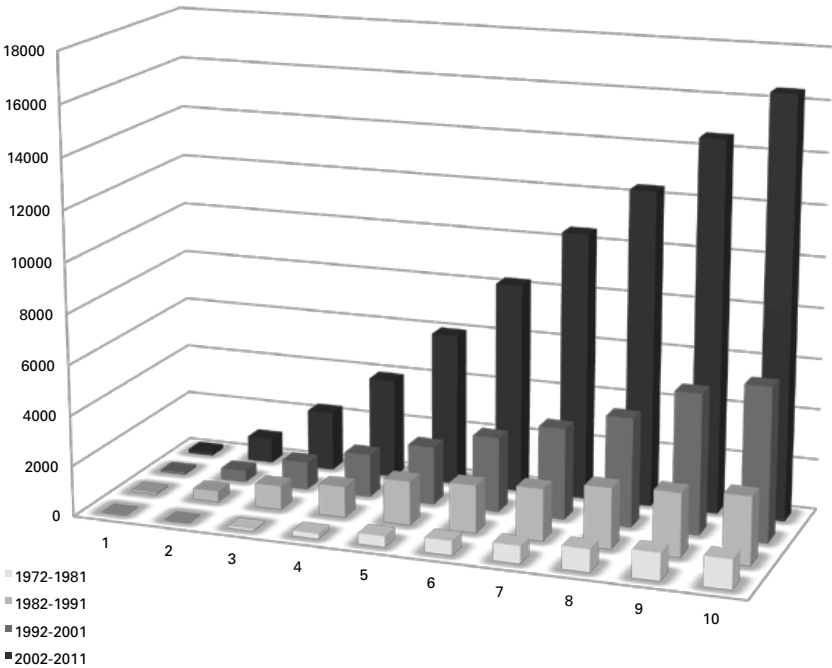


Figure 11
Citations of BYU Faculty Members (1972–2011)



Citations are counted by decade, so the numbers reset every ten years. Note the significant increase from one decade to the next.

Analysis for both charts by Alan Harker, associate academic vice president for research and graduate studies at Brigham Young University, using data from the Web of Science, thomsonreuters.com/products_services/science/science_products/a-z/web_of_science/. Used by permission.

of them have completed a four-year Duty to God or Young Women's award program, wherein they have engaged in significant service and talent development. Almost all of them (96 percent) have completed four years of seminary (eight semesters of studying the doctrine of the Church during high school; 47 percent of the students have taken this class at 5:30 or 6:00 a.m., before their regular high school classes started). In addition, 71 percent of incoming freshmen were involved in sports, 83 percent participated in performing arts, and 76 percent were employed during their high school years. By the time they complete their undergraduate experience, approximately 85 percent of the men and 15 percent of the women (about 50 percent of students) have completed full-time missionary service for the Church (two years for men and eighteen months for women). In large part because so many of these missions require learning a second language, approximately 70 percent of graduating seniors speak another language.¹⁰⁶

Certainly, students and their parents are drawn to BYU by its religious environment and the opportunities to meet other youth of their faith, but they are also drawn by the academic quality and, increasingly, by the relatively low tuition (see figure 5). Tuition at BYU is even lower than tuition for many state-funded institutions (for example, the University of Utah tuition for 2012–13 is \$6,764 for in-state residents,¹⁰⁷ compared to BYU's tuition for LDS students of \$4,710).¹⁰⁸ Indeed, as state governments have been pressed to reduce their budgets, many have cut their contributions to public education, and for this reason, among others, universities have increasingly raised their tuition and fees at rates many times greater than yearly inflation increases to cover the lost revenue.¹⁰⁹ Of course, private universities have to charge even more tuition to cover their costs, but most of them raise money through donations to provide scholarships and help students apply for government grants. CNNMoney has compared the total yearly costs of universities and colleges in the U.S. (this includes tuition, fees, room and board, and books; it excludes grants and scholarships).¹¹⁰ We present in figure 12 the comparative results for the nine religious universities we have been considering. The differences in costs are not as great as those seen in figure 5, but BYU's costs are nevertheless more than 2.5 times less than the average cost for the other universities. In the current economic climate, BYU's favorable cost advantage combined with the religious and social environment and academic quality of its offerings make it indeed a desirable place. No wonder it rivals Harvard as the most popular university in the country.

Some BYU faculty members have felt that while the quality of the faculty is good, the university could get better faster if it opened searches to consider non-LDS candidates more seriously. The board of trustees has

Figure 12
Total Average Cost of College Per Year after Grants/Scholarships¹¹¹

	<i>Family income¹¹² \$48–75K</i>	<i>Family income \$75–110K</i>
Baylor	\$23,200	\$27,000
Boston College	23,300	31,900
BYU	9,000	11,600
Catholic U of A	32,200	32,800
Fordham	29,600	33,100
Georgetown	16,600	26,400
Loyola, Chicago	26,500	31,100
Notre Dame	15,700	22,600
Saint Louis U.	26,400	30,700
Average without BYU	\$24,187.50	\$29,450

determined that to pursue BYU’s mission faithfully requires the vast majority of faculty members to be committed members of the faith. We will examine later why this choice is so important, given the way BYU is designed. For now, we want to recognize the trade-off that this choice entails. Even before the current rather austere economic climate, in which positions at many universities have been cut and hiring was curtailed or ceased entirely for a time, faculty candidates of other faiths or of no particular faith tradition would often apply for positions at BYU. Some of them were very well prepared and clearly could have helped improve the intellectual quality of BYU’s teaching and research contributions. However, with rare exceptions, LDS candidates have been sought or a department has been encouraged to hire faculty temporarily until qualified LDS candidates could finish their terminal degrees. Indeed, several departments across campus have developed doctoral preparation programs (often teaching them as an overload) to give their undergraduate students the necessary background to be admitted into the best PhD programs, with the hope that some of them will come back in the future as faculty members. This approach requires significant patience and confidence in the idea that it is critical to have faculty members who are both academically alive and well grounded in the faith of the sponsoring church.

Certainly, the increasing number of BYU undergraduates who pursue a PhD is helping to create more robust and well-qualified faculty hiring pools.

And many LDS faculty candidates are drawn to BYU because of its distinctive commitment to developing faith and intellect. On the other hand, the closeness to the Church and any limitations like those discussed earlier (such as contradicting or opposing fundamental Church doctrine or policy, or deliberately attacking or deriding the Church or its general leaders) can lead to criticism from those outside the university. One consequence of this situation is that in many disciplines BYU professors feel that they are scrutinized regarding potential religious bias and feel discriminated against in some journals, academic presses, or other outlets for faculty work. Some faculty members would like to engage in Mormon studies early in their careers but are advised to first establish credibility as a scholar in non-Mormon topics, for fear that (1) they will not develop the rigor and respect necessary to overcome a presumption of religious bias, and (2) they may become focused only on Mormon studies and fail to be current and growing in important disciplinary areas that need to be represented and taught at the university. Some faculty members have noted the irony that no other institution has the breadth and depth of research capacity combined with interest in Mormon themes, and yet BYU has relatively few faculty members who focus on Mormon studies. The reasons are complex and beyond our ability to address in this article but are related to the hybrid nature of BYU and its relationship to multiple institutional environments with often conflicting expectations.

As we demonstrated earlier, most BYU faculty members feel freer academically at BYU than they would at any other university.¹¹³ They sincerely appreciate the freedom to discuss their motives (often related to their religious values) and their faith in conjunction with secular subjects. In recent surveys we have conducted with undergraduate students, the large majority respond that in their classroom involvement with BYU professors they expect to grow both intellectually and religiously (spiritually). Further, they believe that, by and large, they have such integrated experiences in many of their classes. Nevertheless, they would like to see even more opportunities for serious and thoughtful integration of both aspects of learning promised by BYU's mission statement.¹¹⁴ BYU professors are relatively supportive of this mission, as we have noted in the research by Lyon and his associates.¹¹⁵ However, we have observed several responses from BYU faculty members that preclude more serious reflection and efforts to develop the ability to make such integration. Some assume that since we are primarily LDS faculty and students, we must all agree about any particular topic. These faculty make comments in class that take for granted this presumed agreement and tend to close down rather than open up exploration of potentially important insights. Others fear that

examination of our differences will lead to contention and believe that we have a mandate to avoid contention at all costs (3 Ne. 11:29–30). Still others express openly the thought that because of these two previous tendencies, bringing faith-related ideas into a discussion of secular subjects will water down the learning and destroy real critical thinking.

We have interviewed individually and in focus groups many faculty members across the disciplines at BYU who are in the top 25 percent of their college or discipline in student ratings measuring how much the students learned in their class and how much they were strengthened spiritually. Interestingly, there are many things about how to integrate faith and learning about which faculty do not agree (for example, whether prayer is necessary to begin class, whether the introduction of religious ideas should be spontaneous or planned, and whether the ideas have to be tightly integrated with the secular subject). Nevertheless, there was virtual unanimity about the idea that relationships of trust and sincere concern precede any genuine investigation of something so important as how faith and reason are related and how that intersection contributes to the growth of character. These faculty members employed a variety of ways to demonstrate their concern for students and a variety of ways related to their own personality and discipline to consider faith and learning issues, but they almost universally embraced the concept of beginning with a relationship of Christian caring and high expectations for the potential and importance of each student. In addition, some were quite articulate about how they introduced potentially sensitive or complex areas of combining faith and learning.¹¹⁶

Because the Church and the university care so deeply about having faculty serve as role models of both academic excellence and faithfulness, the hiring process is very deliberate. Most faculty candidates are eager enough to be considered for a faculty position that they put up with the higher number of interviews (including by General Authorities) and the longer hiring process. Indeed, many have such respect for the General Authorities that they feel honored these men would take time to interview them personally and believe the interview is a statement of how much BYU is an integral part of the work of the Church. However, the slow process and its almost exclusive focus on candidates who are members of the sponsoring church limit the number and quality of candidates in the hiring pool. It may also lead some candidates to accept employment offers that come earlier in the hiring cycle with a deadline for responding that precedes BYU's ability to make an offer.

For a number of reasons, once faculty members have been hired at BYU, they become part of an intellectual and faith community that many

would not easily consider leaving. We are aware of many faculty members who have turned down opportunities at prestigious universities because of their commitment to the mission of BYU and to their colleagues and students here. At the Faculty Center, we sponsor an annual retirement dinner to celebrate those who are retiring from the university that year. As mentioned earlier, the average tenure at the university of those who retire is approximately twenty-five years, or most of a faculty career. That is, most faculty members are “lifers.” The good news is that their loyalty and desire to remain at the university can lead to great willingness to sacrifice and contribute in a variety of important but not always glamorous ways to the growth of the community. The challenge is that some of these faculty members may be so sacrificing that they do not remain current in their discipline and lose the ability to contribute as much intellectually.

These trade-offs are illustrative of the fact that BYU is uniquely designed to do some things better than others. Those who would improve the university must take into account how such “improvements” would affect the intentional tensions that make BYU uniquely able to teach and nurture undergraduates in the context of a specific faith.

The approach we have been using to understand hybrid organizations affords us a critical insight: participants in hybrid-identity organizations must learn to deal with inherent dilemmas or tensions, many of which cannot be definitively resolved. Attempts to completely resolve the dilemmas—by ignoring one aspect of the dilemma, for example—significantly change the nature of the organization and eliminate the benefits of that hybrid nature. In the case of BYU, the church-university dilemmas will most likely persist unless the American higher education institutional environment becomes more open to the possibility that religion and freedom of inquiry can coexist, or unless BYU and its sponsoring church become less concerned about the importance of faith. Alternatively, the Church and BYU could decide not to take seriously BYU’s academic reputation. Of course, such a direction would significantly reduce the value of an education for students and for the Church and university. Furthermore, Church leaders have routinely emphasized their expectation that BYU be a place where faculty members and students can and should succeed both academically and spiritually, and most faculty members and students agree with them and come to BYU with that hope in mind.

President Gordon B. Hinckley, at the time a member of the Church’s First Presidency, captured this sense of the need to deal well with intentional dilemmas in order to fulfill BYU’s unique mission when he said: “This institution is unique. It is remarkable. It is a *continuing experiment* on a great premise that a large and complex university can be first class

academically while nurturing an environment of faith in God and the practice of Christian principles. *You are testing whether academic excellence and belief in the Divine can walk hand in hand.* And the wonderful thing is that *you are succeeding* in showing that this is possible.”¹¹⁷

Some Design Choices Are More Critical Than Others

Some of the design choices and resulting trade-offs that we have just reviewed seem more critical than others. Changing some of these policies might begin to erode the uniqueness of BYU, but changing three of them would likely destroy what makes BYU so remarkable: (1) the almost exclusive focus on hiring LDS faculty members and the heavy investment in their socialization, (2) the significant financial support from the Church, and (3) the related policy oversight by the board of trustees. Of course, not coincidentally, these were some of the most prominent factors whose change led to the secularization of religious universities and colleges.

Perhaps one more element from the Albert and Whetten study of hybrid organizations will help us understand why these factors are so important. The authors describe two alternative ways that a hybrid organization can deal with disparate organizing scripts: ideographic and holographic.¹¹⁸ The ideographic approach seeks to keep each organizing script located primarily in separate parts of the organization, whereas the holographic approach seeks to have each member of the organization embody and deal with the tensions personally. Figure 13 displays these alternatives and suggests how they are applied in different institutions and with respect to the two underlying dilemmas or tensions inherent in BYU’s unique approach to being a church-teaching university. Regarding the church-university dilemma, most religious research universities organize ideographically. They may have priests or other religious officials working as student-life advisers or teaching in a theology department, but the majority of the faculty are hired for their qualifications to teach a particular subject and are not necessarily expected to bring a Catholic or Protestant perspective into the classroom or their counseling of students. In this approach, students are exposed to faith in some settings and to reason in other settings, with little explicit overlap. Faculty and staff are also organized in ways that keep them in relatively homogenous subgroups, so that they do not often confront hybrid tensions.¹¹⁹

By contrast, BYU organizes “holographically.” The founding charge from President Brigham Young, then the President of the Church, to the first principal of Brigham Young Academy was “not to teach even the alphabet or the multiplication tables without the Spirit of God.”¹²⁰ Following

Figure 13
Alternative Approaches to Organizing Hybrids

	<i>Holographic</i> (“compound in one”; within tensions)	<i>Ideographic</i> (“separate but equal”; between tensions)
Church University	Faith <i>and</i> Reason (BYU)	Faith <i>or</i> Reason (Religious Universities)
Teaching University	Teaching <i>and</i> Scholarship (BYU)	Teaching <i>or</i> Scholarship (Secular Universities)

this approach, faculty members are expected to find ways to combine faith and reason in their relationships with students. As another Church leader explained, it is not intended “that all of the faculty should be categorically teaching religion constantly in their classes, but . . . that every . . . teacher in this institution would keep his subject matter bathed in the light and color of the restored gospel.”¹²¹

Regarding the teaching-university dilemmas or tensions, some secular research universities tend to organize and reward in ways that keep the teaching and the research relatively separate. Indeed, graduate students are significantly involved in teaching undergraduates, and the greatest indication that a faculty member is valued is that he or she gets a reduced teaching load. Faculty members more often teach graduate students who work with them on their research. In contrast, at BYU, faculty members are expected to give significant attention to both teaching (particularly undergraduates) and research, and both activities count heavily in whether a faculty member is given continuing faculty status (tenure) or is promoted.

Selecting “hybrid” faculty. Such expectations put a premium on who is hired at BYU. Faculty are expected not merely to be civil to people in a different part of campus who respond to a “different drummer” institutionally (for example, those who work with honor-code violations or those who teach religion courses full time), but they are expected to embody the dilemmas and bring them together in their work. Faculty members who are uninterested in the particular dilemmas they will have to manage at BYU are not likely to enjoy their experience or want to perform well. On the other hand, most faculty report that they feel freer here than they would at any other university because of the unique environment that includes these dilemmas. Indeed, members of the Church who have gone through doctoral or other terminal-degree experiences outside of BYU have had to learn to manage their own personal dilemmas that may be inherent in

the organizational dilemmas BYU is designed to create. Because of their religious commitments to marriage and family, for example, a relatively large proportion of them have been married with children during their postgraduate studies and have had to learn how to balance family, professional, Church, and other commitments. They have also been exposed to those whose academic and personal values are quite different from theirs, and many learn how to balance faithful commitment and tolerance. Many of them have had to work through the dilemmas of reconciling their faith with what they are learning about homosexuality, evolution, or other topics that have been historically problematic for some Christian groups. They also find in their religion many paradoxes, like justice and mercy, that are inherently similar to the dilemmas we have been discussing: essential, often apparently incompatible, and ultimately responsible for their sense of unique identity as well as for their growth, learning, and happiness.

In other words, time spent finding those who have already learned about dilemma management is likely to be a key determinant in the ability of BYU to create a holographic approach to teaching and learning. Such an approach requires much greater ability to deal with tensions of the sort we have been discussing but also promises a much richer outcome of understanding and furthering the university's mission.

Developing "hybrid faculty" through socialization. In addition to carefully selecting those whose background has provided dilemma-management experience, BYU invests significant funds to help new faculty "learn the ropes" and make a quick start on their career. For example, new faculty members engage in an eighteen-month development program that introduces them to BYU's mission, campus resources, and teaching, research, and citizenship requirements. This program also helps them find a mentor to work with on three projects (research, teaching, and service/citizenship) and gives them time with the BYU president and a member of the board of trustees for questions and answers. As one indication of their level of support and involvement, they spend half-days for two weeks at the end of their first school year engaged in workshops focused on the topics listed above, among other things. They are paid for attending this two-week seminar and receive additional remuneration when they complete the three projects. Beyond these formal university efforts to socialize new faculty, departments and colleges often sponsor their own "on-boarding" programs. These programs help new faculty address both the religious-academic and the teaching-research dilemmas that lie at the heart of BYU's hybrid identity.

Some faculty members also become involved in additional socialization regarding the hybrid nature of BYU when they are called to serve in lay ministry positions in congregations of students. They often meet with

students for church services on the weekends in the same rooms where they have taught secular subjects during the week. Furthermore, a significant proportion of the faculty outside of Religious Education professors (these are full-time teachers of religion classes) have taught a religion class.

Import of Church financial and policy support. Even with all of these efforts and the growing ability to find LDS faculty who are well prepared and faithful, the dilemmas and related tensions we have reviewed have led to pressures from outside and inside BYU to relieve them just as other religious educational institutions have done. As at other universities, some very wealthy donors have been willing to give more money if it funds their favorite emphasis. The board has routinely responded that the Church would provide the bulk of the funding and accept only those donations that help further the ends they have negotiated with the university and approved.¹²² Over the years, faculty and administrators have asked for permission to engage in greater efforts to obtain government funding and be allowed to keep the indirect cost allocations to build their own programs. As mentioned previously, the board has routinely removed much of the indirect-cost monies from the specific projects and provided generous research support across the university (though not at the level that some more research-oriented faculty might like). Others have asked for more graduate programs and graduate students, for fewer required religion courses, or for their courses to count as part of the religion requirement. These proposals usually meet with a negative response because they do not conform to the mission of BYU. In these and many other ways, the board of trustees has provided a steady hand along with stable funding, without which many of the dilemmas would likely have dissolved into following the more predominant academic organizing script.

Perhaps with this perspective we can see why so few religious universities remain and why BYU is unique among them in this niche. The particular hybrid dilemmas that BYU has chosen are not inevitable. That is, we can imagine other combinations of tensions or specific applications of them. However, any institution whose leaders and faculty set out to create a unique hybrid identity that combines faith and learning is likely to have to address the basic factors we have examined and to do so with unusual financial and policy support over a long period of time. As organizational scholars, we marvel at the unique combination of these factors at BYU.

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1. Larry Lyon, Michael Beaty, and Stephanie Litizzette Mixon, "Making Sense of a 'Religious' University: Faculty Adaptations and Opinions at Brigham Young, Baylor, Notre Dame, and Boston College," *Review of Religious Research* 43, no. 4 (2002): 326–48.

2. "Bumblebee Argument," RationalWiki, http://rationalwiki.org/wiki/Bumblebee_argument.

3. George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 4.

4. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 116, 192.

5. Andrew White, "Inaugural Address," in *Account of the Proceedings of the Inauguration, October 7, 1868* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1869), quoted in Marsden, *The Soul of the American University*, 116.

6. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 281–82.

7. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 84–86, 100.

8. This is a primary theme in Marsden, *Soul of the American University*; see particularly 150–64.

9. James Tunstead Burtchaell, *The Dying of the Light: The Disengagement of Colleges and Universities from Their Christian Churches* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing, 1998); see 823–32 for a summary of factors that marked and influenced institutional secularization. We have selected four organizational elements that reflect changing formal connection to and control by religious institutions.

10. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, see particularly 150–64, 265–87.

11. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 150–64.

12. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 332–33, 438.

13. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 339–40.

14. William P. Leahy, *Adapting to America: Catholics, Jesuits, and Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1991), ix.

15. See Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 271–72.

16. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 271.
17. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 271.
18. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 273.
19. Leahy, *Adapting to America*, 93–114, 127–28, 134.
20. John Ellis, *American Catholics and the Intellectual Life* (Chicago: Heritage Foundation, 1956), 46; see also John Ellis, “American Catholics and the Intellectual Life,” *Thought* 30 (1955): 23.
21. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 275.
22. James Tunstead Burtchaell, “The Decline and Fall of the Christian College (II),” *Journal of First Things* (May 1991): 13, 30–38; available online at <http://www.firstthings.com/article/2007/11/004-the-decline-and-fall-of-the-christian-college-ii-24>.
23. Burtchaell, *Dying of the Light*, 822.
24. Burtchaell, “Decline and Fall (II),” 30–38.
25. Douglas Jacobsen and Rhonda Hustedt Jacobsen, “The Ideals and Diversity of Church-Related Higher Education,” in *The American University in a Postsecular Age*, ed. Douglas Jacobsen and Rhonda Hustedt Jacobsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 63–80.
26. For Research University, Very High, see Search Results for Basic = “RU/VH,” Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, http://classifications.carnegiefoundation.org/lookup_listings/srp.php?clq={%22basic2005_ids%22%3A%2215%22}&start_page=standard.php&backurl=standard.php&limit=0,50; for Research University, High, see Search Results for Basic = “RU/H,” Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, http://classifications.carnegiefoundation.org/lookup_listings/srp.php?clq={%22basic2005_ids%22%3A%2216%22}&start_page=standard.php&backurl=standard.php&limit=0,50.
27. Brigham Young to Alfaes Young, October 20, 1875, Brigham Young Papers, quoted in Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 1:67–68.
28. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 38–42; Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:25, 63, 65, 74, 105–14, 162; 2:749–56.
29. John R. Talmage, *The Talmage Story: Life of James E. Talmage—Educator, Scientist, Apostle* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1972), 108.
30. Talmage, *Talmage Story*, 108.
31. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:375–77, 544–45.
32. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:445.
33. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 2:65–77, 85–93; Harold R. Laycock, “Academies,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:11–12.
34. Stanley A. Peterson, “Institutes of Religion,” in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:684–85.
35. Bruce C. Hafen, “The Dream Is Ours to Fulfill,” speech to BYU Annual University Conference, August 25, 1992, available online at <http://speeches.byu.edu/index.php?act=viewitem&id=1693>, published in *BYU Studies* 32, no. 3 (1992): 23–24.
36. Burtchaell, *Dying of the Light*, 828–37.
37. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 155–56, 270, 282, 419; Burtchaell, *Dying of the Light*, 837–38; Burtchaell, “Decline and Fall (II),” 828–33.
38. Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon, “Making Sense of a ‘Religious’ University,” 326–48.

39. "Chapel and two required religion courses have been part of Baylor's curriculum since the University's founding more than one hundred sixty-five years ago. Courses in Christian heritage and scripture provide students with the knowledge necessary to understand the Christian narrative, reflect on how this narrative has shaped human history, and consider how Christ's message relates to each of us personally. These core requirements offer students the opportunity to grow in their faith and reflect on God's calling for their lives." "General Education Outcomes," Baylor, <http://www.baylor.edu/vpue/index.php?id=82141>.

40. Two required theology courses; see course information at "Theology Core Courses," Boston College, <http://www.bc.edu/content/bc/offices/avp/core/coures-courses/theology-core.html>.

41. Breakdown of required religion courses:

<i>Courses</i>	<i>Credit Hours</i>
Two Book of Mormon courses	4
One Doctrine and Covenants course	2
One New Testament course	2
Elective courses	6

See "Religion Requirements," Religious Education, Brigham Young University, <https://religion.byu.edu/religion-requirements>.

42. Students are required to take one course in the Christian Theological Tradition and two or three others from an array of courses largely based on scripture and Catholic theology; see "TRS Undergraduate Program," School of Theology and Religious Studies, the Catholic University of America, <http://trs.cua.edu/academic/undergrad/index.cfm>; and "Course Descriptions," School of Theology and Religious Studies, the Catholic University of America, <http://trs.cua.edu/courses/courses.cfm>.

43. Two required theology courses: (1) Theology: Reason and Belief, and (2) Theology: A Course in Religious Texts. For detailed information, see "Core Curriculum," Fordham University, http://www.fordham.edu/academics/colleges__graduate_/undergraduate_colleg/fordham_college_at_r/core_curriculum/index.asp.

44. Two required theology courses: (1) The Problem of God (THEO 001) or Introduction to Biblical Literature (THEO 011) and (2) A second THEO course. See "Core Curriculum," Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, <http://bsfs.georgetown.edu/academics/core/>.

45. Two required theology courses, see "Knowledge Area: Theological and Religious Knowledge," Core Curriculum, Loyola University Chicago, <http://www.luc.edu/core/theoreligstudiescoursesub.shtml>.

46. Two required theology courses: (1) Foundations of Theology (Theology 10001/20001) and (2) an elective (Theology 20xxx) that takes up a major theme or set of themes in the Christian theological tradition. See "Rationale for University Theology Requirement," University of Notre Dame, <http://nd.edu/~coreclm/rationales/theology.htm>; and "Approved Courses," University of Notre Dame, <http://nd.edu/~coreclm/approved/index.htm>.

47. Three required theology courses: (1) THEO 100, (2) a 200-level course, and (3) a 300-level course. See <http://www.slu.edu/x12584.xml>.

48. From examples of departmental invitations to apply for available positions at BYU. See, for example, "Faculty Positions—Brigham Young University,

UT,” *ArchaeologyFieldwork.com*, <http://www.archaeologyfieldwork.com/AFW/Message/Topic/12854/Employment-Listings/faculty-positions-brigham-young-university-ut>.

49. Baylor has recently announced the result of a two-year process that resulted in a new vision statement, “Pro Futuris.” In one section of that statement, the following statement is made regarding faculty hiring: “To these ends, we exercise care in hiring and developing faculty and staff who embrace our Christian identity and whose lives of faith manifest integrity, moral strength, generosity of spirit, and humility in their roles as ambassadors of Christ.” “Baylor’s Distinctive Role in Higher Education,” Baylor, <http://www.baylor.edu/profuturis/index.php?id=88961>. In their Human Resources page “Available Faculty Positions,” the following statement regarding religious requirements for faculty appears: “Faculty recruitment and retention is a top priority of the university. In particular, we seek to improve Baylor’s academic excellence while enhancing our integration of outstanding scholarly productivity and strong Christian faith.” See <http://www.baylor.edu/hr/index.php?id=79678>. A policy statement approved by Baylor’s president on August 1, 2006, states the following: “Based upon the religious exemption of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Baylor University has the right to discriminate on religious grounds in the hiring of its employees. It makes a good faith effort to administer all recruitment policies in a manner so as to maximize the diversity of the applicant pool.” See “BU-PP 110 Recruitment and Employment—Faculty,” <http://www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php?id=42352>. The previous vision statement included the following statement: “Because the Church, the one truly democratic and multicultural community, is not identical with any denomination, we believe that Baylor will serve best, recruit more effectively, and both preserve and enrich its Baptist identity more profoundly, if we draw our faculty, staff, and students from the full range of Christian traditions.” “Baylor 2012: Our Heritage, Our Foundational Assumptions,” Baylor, <http://www.baylor.edu/about/baylor2012/index.php?id=64338>.

50. In its EEO statement, the university does not indicate any religious preference in its hiring: “Boston College is an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Employer.” See “Faculty Openings,” Boston College, <http://www.bc.edu/offices/avp/openings.html>.

51. All faculty are required to abide by the university’s honor code and dress and grooming standards. The following statement found in a position announcement for chemical engineering is typical of all such announcements: “BYU, an equal opportunity employer, requires all faculty members to observe the university’s honor code and dress and grooming standards (see honorcode.byu.edu). Preference is given to qualified members in good standing of the affiliated church—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.” “Faculty Application Details,” Chemical Engineering, Ira A. Fulton College, BYU, <http://chemicalengineering.byu.edu/faculty-application-details>.

52. “The Catholic University of America is an AA/EO employer and does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin, age, sexual orientation, religion, veterans’ status, or physical or mental disabilities. The Catholic University of America was founded in the name of the Catholic Church as a national university and center of research and scholarship. Regardless of their religious affiliation, all

faculty members are expected to respect and support the university's mission." See, for instance, Positions, Office of the Provost, the Catholic University of America, <https://provost.cua.edu/positions.cfm>.

53. "Fordham is an independent, Catholic university in the Jesuit tradition that welcomes applications from men and women of all backgrounds. Fordham is an EEO/AA institution." "Mathematics Department, Fordham University," MathJobs.org, <https://www.mathjobs.org/jobs/Fordham/2330>.

54. "Georgetown University provides equal opportunity in employment for all persons, and prohibits unlawful discrimination and harassment in all aspects of employment because of age, color, disability, family responsibilities, gender identity or expression, genetic information, marital status, matriculation, national origin, personal appearance, political affiliation, race, religion, sex, sexual orientation, veteran's status or any other factor prohibited by law." "Georgetown University Faculty Handbook," Georgetown University, <http://www1.georgetown.edu/facultyhandbook/>.

55. EEO/AA "except where religion is a Bona Fide Occupational Qualification for the job." "Welcome to Loyola University Chicago and Loyola University Health System Career Home Page," Careers @ Loyola, <https://www.careers.luc.edu/applicants/jsp/shared/frameset/Frameset.jsp?time=1299263089062>.

56. EEO/AA: "Women, minorities, and Catholics are encouraged to apply." See, for instance, "University of Notre Dame, Economics, Professional Specialist in Economics," American Economic Association, http://www.aeaweb.org/joe/listing.php?JOE_ID=201204_397029. "Employment decisions are based on qualifications and are made without regard to race, color, national or ethnic origin, sex, disability, veteran status, or age except where a specific characteristic is considered a 'bona fide occupational qualification' for a specific position." "Recruitment, Selection, and Hiring," Office of Human Resources, University of Notre Dame, <http://hr.nd.edu/nd-faculty-staff/forms-policies/recruitment-selection-and-hiring/>. From the University of Notre Dame Mission Statement: "The intellectual interchange essential to a university requires, and is enriched by, the presence and voices of diverse scholars and students. The Catholic identity of the University depends upon, and is nurtured by, the continuing presence of a predominant number of Catholic intellectuals. This ideal has been consistently maintained by the University leadership throughout its history. What the University asks of all its scholars and students, however, is not a particular creedal affiliation, but a respect for the objectives of Notre Dame and a willingness to enter into the conversation that gives it life and character. Therefore, the University insists upon academic freedom that makes open discussion and inquiry possible." "Mission Statement," University of Notre Dame, <http://www.nd.edu/about/mission-statement/>.

57. EEO/AA: "Saint Louis University prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, disability, age, or veteran status as required by law." "The Faculty Manual 2006," Saint Louis University, May 6, 2006, http://www.slu.edu/organizations/fs/fac_manual/faculty_manual_2006.pdf.

58. "The Application of *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* for the United States," effective May 3, 2001, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, http://old.usccb.org/bishops/application_of_excordeecclesiae.shtml, hereafter cited as "Application."

59. See Tim Drake, "Mandatum Cover-Up?" *National Catholic Register*, June 1, 2003, http://www.ncregister.com/site/article/mandatum_cover_up/; Tim Drake, "Parents Take Nothing for Granted," *National Catholic Register*, July 20, 2003, http://www.ncregister.com/site/article/parents_take_nothing_for_granted1/.

60. Burtchaell, "Decline and Fall (II)," 828–33, see section 2, paragraph beginning "When the Vatican . . ." and paragraph beginning "The Catholic colleges, in a liberating ecumenical age . . ."

61. Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon, "Making Sense of a 'Religious' University," 335.

62. "The president's critics have focused on a mix of issues related to strategy and personal style. They have accused Sloan of intimidating his opponents and chilling academic freedom. But it was the president's ambitious plan to drive Baylor up the national ranks of research universities, while reinforcing its mission as a Christian institution, that spurred much of the fighting." Doug Lederman, "Trying to Calm the Storm," January 24, 2005, *Inside Higher Ed*, http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2005/01/24/baylor1_24.

63. Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon, "Making Sense of a 'Religious' University," 337–39.

64. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 127–28, 159, 185–86.

65. "Rank and Status Policy," January 14, 2008, 3.1.1, Brigham Young University, <http://avp.byu.edu/wp-content/documents/rankstatuspolicy.pdf>.

66. "Intellect and Virtue: The Idea of a Catholic University," the Catholic University of America, 2010–2011 annual report, 37, <http://president.cua.edu/res/docs/2010-11-annual-report.pdf>.

67. "A conscious decision was reached many years ago and regularly reaffirmed by our board of trustees that the primary source of support for BYU and other Church institutions would come from the appropriated funds of the Church. This is so not only because we have a very generous Church and leaders but also because the Brethren have always wanted it to be abundantly clear to whom we would look for our leadership and guidance." Cecil O. Samuelson, "The BYU Way," speech given on August 23, 2005, at the BYU Annual University Conference, available online at <http://speeches.byu.edu/index.php?act=viewitem&id=1491>.

68. "The Board of Regents is the official governing body of Baylor University. Regents are selected by election, with 75% of the membership elected by the Regents themselves and 25% elected by the Baptist General Convention of Texas. Regents serve a three-year term, and may serve up to three terms consecutively before they must rotate off the Board for at least one year." "Board of Regents," Office of the President, Baylor, <http://www.baylor.edu/president/index.php?id=1457>.

69. "The membership of the Board of Trustees shall consist of twenty-one or more persons, as may be determined from time to time by majority vote of the entire Board of Trustees. The President of Boston College shall be an ex officio member of the Board of Trustees." "The Bylaws of the Trustees of Boston College," art. 2, sec. 1, Boston College, <http://www.bc.edu/content/bc/offices/bylaws/bylaws.html#art2sec1>. There are no requirements for nor mention of a proportion of "religious" on the Board. The most current listing of board members we found included that of forty-nine members, five of whom were listed "S.J." (Society of Jesus, or Jesuit priests). "Boston College Board of Trustees," Boston College, <http://www.bc.edu/about/trustees.html>.

70. "The make up of the Board was slightly amended in 2002 and currently the Board of Trustees can be made up of between five and fifteen members. Since its organization, it has been stipulated that all members of the Board of Trustees must be members in good standing in the Church. Though the exact make up of the Board has changed over time, it currently consists of the entire First Presidency, three members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the member of the Presidency of the Seventy who oversees the Church in Utah, the Relief Society general president, the Young Women general president and the Assistant Commissioner of the Church Educational System as Secretary and Treasurer. Between Board meetings, an Executive Committee consisting of Board members handles the duties of the Board of Trustees, subject to the ratification of the Committee's decisions by the Board." "Assets and Administrative Structure" section of "Brigham Young University. Board of Trustees," Brigham Young University, https://lib.byu.edu/byuorg/index.php/Brigham_Young_University_Board_of_Trustees.

71. CUA Board of Trustees: "The civil charter and the Bylaws place in the Board of Trustees ultimate responsibility for governance and sole responsibility for fiscal affairs of the University. The Board's membership is limited to fifty persons of whom twenty-four must be clerics of the Roman Catholic Church. The Chancellor, who is the Archbishop of Washington, and the President are members *ex officio*." "Board of Trustees" section of "Office of the President," the Catholic University of America, <http://president.cua.edu/staff/trustees.cfm>. Eighteen of the twenty-four clerics of the Church must be members of the U.S. bishops' conference. "CUA Today" section of "A Brief History of Catholic University," <http://www.cua.edu/about-cua/history-of-CUA.cfm>.

72. For detailed information on the number of trustees, term of office, and election of trustees, see "By-laws of the Board of Trustees," Fordham University, http://www.fordham.edu/campus_resources/administrative_offic/legal_counsel/university_statutes/article_2/chapter_2_25549.asp.

73. For detailed information about the Georgetown board of directors, their powers, number, and term of office, see "Bylaws of the President and Georgetown College," Georgetown University, <http://www.georgetown.edu/content/1242662846446.html>.

74. "The Board of Trustees manages the affairs of Loyola University of Chicago . . . , including the election of the President and all vice presidents and other officers. The Board approves the budget and all major financial transactions, the University's strategic plans, and all major acquisitions and disposals of capital assets. It is composed of up to 50 members, made up of both Jesuit and lay colleagues. Trustees ordinarily serve a term of three years." "Faculty Handbook: Policies, Procedures, and Information for the Faculty of Loyola University of Chicago," Loyola University of Chicago, June 5, 2009, 17, http://www.luc.edu/academicaffairs/pdfs/LUC_Fachbook_2009.pdf.

75. "The Fellows of the University shall be a self-perpetuating body and shall be twelve (12) in number, six (6) of whom shall at all times be clerical members of the Congregation of Holy Cross, United States Province of Priests and Brothers, and six (6) of whom shall be lay persons." For more information, see "Statutes of the University," sec. 2, in "Charter of the University of Notre Dame," University of Notre Dame, <http://nd.edu/about/leadership/pdf/Charter-Statues.pdf>.

"Except to the extent of those powers specifically reserved to the Fellows of the University of Notre Dame du Lac ('the University') in the Statutes of the University,

all powers for the governance of the University shall be vested in a Board of Trustees which shall consist of such number of Trustees not less than thirty (30) nor more than sixty (60) as shall from time to time be fixed by resolution of the Fellows." For more information, see "Bylaws of the University," sec. 1, no. 1, University of Notre Dame, May 23, 2012, <http://nd.edu/about/leadership/pdf/bylaws.pdf> and also Ed Cohen, "Next Leader of Notre Dame Chosen," *Notre Dame Magazine*, summer 2004, <http://magazine.nd.edu/news/10669-next-leader-of-notre-dame-chosen/>; current bylaws do not require that the president be a priest of the Congregation of the Holy Cross.

76. For current (2012) board membership, see "Board of Trustees," Saint Louis University, <http://www.slu.edu/x19167.xml>.

"In 1967, Saint Louis University welcomed lay people to its Board of Trustees and became the first Catholic college or university to give the power of governance to a lay-dominated board. This pioneering action was soon emulated worldwide and is now the standard for most schools. Board members may serve three consecutive four-year terms, and the Board may have up to 55 members. According to the University's Constitution and By-laws, the Chairman of the Board must be a lay person and the President can be either a lay person or a Jesuit." See "Fact Book, 2009–2010," Saint Louis University, February 12, 2010, 6, <http://www.slu.edu/Documents/provost/oir/Fact%20Book%202009-2010%20Final%208-24-2010.pdf>.

77. See Leahy, *Adapting to America*, 110–12.

78. Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon, "Making Sense of a 'Religious' University," 330.

79. Stuart Albert and David A. Whetten, "Organizational Identity," *Research in Organizational Behavior* 7 (1985): 263–95, especially 268.

80. Matthew S. Kraatz and Emily S. Block, "Organizational Implications of Institutional Pluralism," in *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, ed. Royston Greenwood and others (London: Sage Publications, 2008), 243–75; Albert and Whetten, "Organizational Identity," 270–72, 283–92.

81. Cecil O. Samuelson, "Citizenship, Research, Teaching: The BYU Way," speech given on August 26, 2008, at the BYU Annual University Conference, available online at <http://speeches.byu.edu/index.php?act=viewitem&id=1802>.

82. Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon, "Making Sense of a 'Religious' University," 326–48.

83. Keith Wilson, "By Study and Also by Faith: The Faculty at Brigham Young University Responds," *BYU Studies* 38, no. 4 (1999): 157–75.

84. All quotations in this paragraph from BYU's statement "Academic Freedom," <http://saas.byu.edu/catalog/archive/2000/info/Statement.html>, emphasis added.

85. Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon, "Making Sense of a 'Religious' University," 334.

86. Wilson, "By Study and Also by Faith," 168.

87. Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon, "Making Sense of a 'Religious' University," 339, 344.

88. Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon, "Making Sense of a 'Religious' University," 333–34.

89. See "Academic Freedom and Tenure: The Catholic University of America," *Academe*, September–October 1989, 27–40, available online at <http://www.aaup.org/NR/rdonlyres/9CA4679F-7BC7-4AD7-BA37-0C1B00AEBAA1/o/CatholicUSA.pdf>.

90. See "Academic Freedom and Tenure: Brigham Young University," *Academe*, September–October 1997, 52–71, available online at <http://www.aaup.org/NR/rdonlyres/27EB0A08-8D25-4415-9E55-8081CC874AC5/o/Brigham.pdf>. Note also BYU's response as an addendum to this report: "Comments from the Brigham

Young University Administration,” 69–71. The response states: “Professor Houston engaged in an extensive pattern of publicly contradicting and opposing fundamental Church doctrine and deliberately attacking the Church. Professor Houston had ample notice that her public statements endorsing prayer to Heavenly Mother were inappropriate. President Hinckley made the matter crystal clear in 1991, and the Church’s scriptures clearly set forth the manner in which we are commanded to pray. In addition, Professor Houston received *specific personal notice* that her statements were inappropriate.”

91. See BYU defense in AAUP investigation of BYU in “Comments from the Brigham Young University Administration”; see also an examination of AAUP treatment of religious institutions in Michael W. McConnell, “Academic Freedom in Religious Colleges and Universities,” *Law and Contemporary Problems* 53, no. 3 (1990): 303–24, available online at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1191799>.

92. The 1940 *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure*, issued jointly by the AAUP and the Association of American Colleges (now the Association of American Colleges and Universities) recognizes the right of religious bodies to establish limits on academic freedom if those limitations are clearly stated. However, in 1970 the AAUP questioned such limitations, arguing that they were no longer needed and said that it no longer endorsed such limitations. An interpretation made in 1988 of the 1970 statement suggests that any institution that requires allegiance to religious doctrine cannot call itself an “authentic seat of higher learning.” This 1988 interpretation was published by the AAUP’s Committee A, but the Committee did not endorse it. As a result, the matter appears to be unresolved. See Lee Hardy, “The Value of Limitations,” *Academe Online*, <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/academe/2006/JF/Feat/hard.htm>.

93. Available at <http://www.apa.org/ed/accreditation/about/policies/guiding-principles.pdf>.

94. D. Smith, “Accreditation Committee Decides to Keep Religious Exception,” *American Psychological Association* 33, no. 1 (2002): 16, available online at <http://www.apa.org/monitor/jan02/exemption.aspx>.

95. Samuelson, “Citizenship, Research, Teaching.”

96. Samuelson, “Citizenship, Research, Teaching.”

97. See, for example, Gordon B. Hinckley, “Why We Do Some of the Things We Do,” *Ensign* 29 (November 1999): 52–53; and Gordon B. Hinckley, “The BYU Experience,” devotional address given at BYU on November 4, 1997, available online at <http://speeches.byu.edu/index.php?act=viewitem&id=761>.

98. See “Aims of a BYU Education,” Brigham Young University, <http://aims.byu.edu>.

99. “Brigham Young University Sponsored Programs Handbook of Policies and Procedures,” Office of Research and Creative Activities, April 2012, 14: “At BYU, funds collected as indirect costs become part of the total university budget. They are thus used to support those functions identified earlier by the budget allocation process.”

100. “Brigham Young University Sponsored Programs Handbook,” 17.

101. Ronda Britt, “Academic Research and Development Expenditures: Fiscal Year 2009,” *National Science Foundation* (2011): 85–101, table 27, “R&D Expenditures at Universities and Colleges, Ranked by FY 2009 R&D Expenditures: FY 2002–09,” <http://nsf.gov/statistics/nsf11313/pdf/tab27.pdf>. The rankings and expenditures of

the nine religious universities from this FY 2009 reports are: Georgetown: 110, \$147,441; Notre Dame: 135, \$97,850; Boston College: 187, \$41,132; Saint Louis U. Chicago (all campuses): 192, \$37,983; Loyola U.: 201, \$35,126; BYU (all campuses): 226, \$25,497; Baylor: 278, \$11,427; Fordham: 322, \$6,637.

102. *Baccalaureate-Origins of U.S. Doctorate Recipients*, published by the National Organization for Research at the University of Chicago (NORC). Report for 2000–2009 may be ordered using information at <http://www.norc.org/PDFs/SED-Findings/SEDBA09.pdf>.

103. Samuelson, “BYU Way.”

104. “The Most Popular National Universities,” *U.S. News & World Report*, January 24, 2012, <http://www.usnews.com/education/best-colleges/articles/2012/01/24/the-most-popular-national-universities>.

105. “Entrance Averages,” Brigham Young University, <http://saas.byu.edu/tools/b4byu/sites/b4/?new-freshman/entrance-averages/>.

106. B4 BYU, Brigham Young University Admissions, at <http://saas.byu.edu/tools/b4byu/sites/b4/?new-freshman/campus-quick-facts/>.

107. This is an estimate for two semesters, assuming fourteen credit hours per semester. See “Tuition Calculator,” University of Utah, <http://fbs.admin.utah.edu/income/tuition/tuition-calculator/>.

108. See “Tuition and General Fees,” Brigham Young University, <http://finserve.byu.edu/content/tuition-and-general-fees>.

109. Felix Salmon, “Why Tuition Costs Are Rising,” blog title, <http://blogs.reuters.com/felix-salmon/2011/11/21/why-tuition-costs-are-rising/>.

110. “How Much Will That College Really Cost?” CNNMoney, <http://cgi.money.cnn.com/tools/collegecost/collegecost.html>.

111. “How Much Will That College Really Cost?”

112. “In 2005, entering freshmen came from households with a parental median income of \$74,000, 60 percent higher than the national average of \$46,326.” Kathy Wyer, “Today’s College Freshmen Have Family Income 60% above National Average, UCLA Survey Reveals,” *UCLA News*, http://heri.ucla.edu/PDFs/PR_TRENDS_40YR.pdf.

113. Wilson, “By Study and Also by Faith,” 157–70, especially 168.

114. Alan Wilkins and A. Jane Birch, “Spiritually Strengthening and Intellectually Enlarging Faculty: What Students Want,” BYU Faculty Center Report, June 2011, 3, available at <http://bystudyandfaith.files.wordpress.com/2010/10/spiritually-strengthening-intellectually-enlarging-faculty.pdf>.

115. Lyon, Beaty, and Mixon, “Making Sense of a ‘Religious’ University,” 336–37.

116. Wilkins and Birch, “Spiritually Strengthening,” 2, 6–8.

117. Gordon B. Hinckley, “Trust and Accountability,” BYU devotional address, October 13, 1992, italics added, available online at <http://speeches.byu.edu/index.php?act=viewitem&id=735>.

118. Albert and Whetten, “Organizational Identity,” 271.

119. Boston College and other Catholic universities have been discussing Catholic identity and mission and how that is reflected in the hiring of Catholic faculty. See, for example, John Langan, “Reforging Catholic Identity,” *Commonweal*, April 21, 2000, 20–23. Such discussions are thoughtful and complex. They suggest that since the 1960s Catholic institutions of higher education have engaged in efforts to develop significant professionalization of their faculty that have been

associated with increased independence from the Catholic Church, greater efforts to provide plurality of views within their institutions, and more focus on faculty in philosophy and theology carrying the discussion of faith and learning within a Catholic tradition. Several voices are calling for administrators to require at least some of the faculty who are hired (whether or not they are Catholic) to have the skill and interest to continue that conversation in scholarly ways across the other disciplines as appropriate. However, such discussions suggest that most, if not all, of these institutions have moved toward more ideographic approaches, where most faculty members are not expected to qualify for or engage in this dialogue or to involve their students in it.

120. Brigham Young, cited in Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser: A Biography* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1928), 79.

121. Spencer W. Kimball, "Education for Eternity," address given at an annual BYU faculty workshop, September 12, 1967, published in *Educating Zion*, ed. John W. Welch and Don E. Norton (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1996), 54.

122. Samuelson, "BYU Way."

When Was Jesus Born?

A Response to a Recent Proposal

Lincoln H. Blumell and Thomas A. Wayment

Editor's note: We are pleased to publish this article, which pushes forward the conversation about what is known and not known about the dating of the birth of Jesus Christ. This article responds to the article by Professor Jeffrey R. Chadwick on this subject, which appeared in 2010 in our volume 49, number 4, available on the BYU Studies website. The goal of the Chadwick article was to harmonize as much of the evidence, both scriptural and historical, as possible, sometimes using new or uncommon interpretations in order to reconcile apparent disparities in the sources. By contrast, Professors Wayment and Blumell prefer a more cautious approach, placing less weight on positions that cannot be established with historical or textual certainty. While both of these articles agree on many points, this new analysis urges readers to adopt a less precise time frame in thinking about when the birth of Jesus might have occurred. We welcome this rigorous and respectful give-and-take, and we hope that all readers will enjoy drawing their own conclusions about the evidences and approaches advanced by both of these articles.

Determining an exact date (year, month, and day) for many events from antiquity is fraught with difficulties and challenges. Though modern society tends to implicitly associate “important” events with a specific date (or dates), like September 11, 2001, or December 7, 1941, ancient societies did not always feel compelled to remember such events by reference to the actual date on which they occurred. Therefore, even good primary sources from antiquity will not always describe a particular event by reference to the exact date that it actually happened. On the other hand, some ancient societies did at times keep rather specific chronological or calendrical records

that can be converted into our modern system of reckoning, thereby allowing us to assign a specific date to a particular event. But because we possess very little documentation from the ancient world, and the survival of such records is largely the result of happenstance, our chronological reconstructions of various events are more often than not quite spotty. As a result of these challenges, many events from antiquity can be dated only approximately (within a few years or even decades) or relatively (*ante quem/post quem*—before or after another more securely established event). While this means there are genuine historical limitations involved in precise chronological reconstructions of antiquity, this does not mean that all efforts to date events from antiquity are totally futile.

Keeping these caveats in mind, in a previous issue of *BYU Studies* Jeffrey R. Chadwick proposed a very specific timeline for the date of Jesus's birth.¹ Relying on a wide variety of sources, he argued that Jesus's birth must have occurred sometime during December of 5 B.C. We feel that while some of his conclusions were reasonable, his main argument was based on faulty evidence and that his handling of certain ancient sources, including the Book of Mormon, was problematic. Therefore, this study seeks to reconsider the ancient evidence concerning the timing of the birth of Jesus in light of Chadwick's assertions. We are convinced that the primary evidence does not allow one to pinpoint a year, let alone a month, for the birth of Jesus with any degree of certitude.

Early Christian Speculation on Jesus's Date of Birth

To properly answer the question of when Jesus was born, one must consider whether there is any surviving primary evidence to be gleaned from early Christian writers. Since they had the advantage of having lived shortly after the Nativity, they could have conceivably benefited from information now lost to us. Outside of Matthew and Luke (treated below), no New Testament author gives any attention to the birth of Jesus. When one moves on to the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, traditionally identified as those Christians who were thought to succeed the Apostles and the New Testament writers (c. A.D. 80–110), there is virtually no mention about the precise date of Christ's birth. The *Didache*, 1 and 2 *Clement*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians*, and the extant fragments of Papias of Hierapolis say nothing at all about the timing of the birth of Jesus.² The first reference to Christ's birth in the Apostolic Fathers that potentially provides a minor detail about the timing of Jesus's birth can be found in Ignatius of Antioch's (c. A.D. 35–107) *Epistle to the Ephesians* where he reports that at the birth of Jesus a new star appeared:

Now the virginity of Mary and her giving birth were hidden from the ruler of this age, as was also the death of the Lord—three mysteries to be loudly proclaimed, yet which were accomplished in the silence of God. How, then, were they revealed to the ages? A star shone forth in heaven brighter than all the stars; its light was indescribable and its strangeness caused amazement. All the rest of the constellations, together with the sun and moon, formed a chorus around the star, yet the star itself far outshone them all, and there was perplexity about the origin of this strange phenomenon, which was so unlike the others.³

Unfortunately, Ignatius's statement does not give any additional insight into the birth date of Christ since he says little more than what is already found in Matthew 2:2–10, where it is reported that a new “star” appeared at Jesus's birth.

Moving ahead a few years, the Christian apologist Justin Martyr (c. AD 100–165) similarly remarks on the birth of Christ.⁴ Like Ignatius of Antioch, he does not disclose details about its timing but simply repeats what had been said by Luke, namely, that Jesus was born when Quirinius (King James Version “Cyrenius” [Luke 2:2]) was taking his census in Judea in AD 6 and 7. While he states that “Christ was born one hundred and fifty years ago under Quirinius,” it should not be supposed here that Justin is promoting a specific date for his birth.⁵ Rather, we can reasonably assume his lack of detail and his use of a round number indicates that he is simply giving an approximate date for when Christ was born.⁶ Accordingly, this reference cannot be used with confidence to determine a specific year for Jesus's birth.⁷

The first Christian writer to make a specific claim about the timing of the birth of Jesus is the second-century bishop and heresiologist Irenaeus of Lyons (c. AD 130–200). In his work *Against Heresies*, written against various gnostic Christian sects, when discussing the translation of the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) into Greek (Septuagint) under the patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus II and the fidelity of this translation, he makes the following remark concerning the timing of Jesus's birth: “For our Lord was born about the forty-first year of the reign of Augustus; but Ptolemy [Philadelphus II] was much earlier, under whom the Scriptures [Septuagint] were interpreted.”⁸ The reference to the “forty-first year” should not be calculated from the Battle of Actium in 31 BC, when Augustus effectively became sole ruler of the Roman Empire, but rather from the time that Augustus, or more appropriately Octavian, was adopted by his great uncle Gaius Julius Caesar in 44 BC.⁹ Alternatively, Irenaeus could have also been counting from the time Augustus was elevated to the consulship (*consul suffectus*) in August of 43 BC. Allowing for both possibilities, the year of Jesus's birth

proposed by Irenaeus would be either 4 or 3 B.C. However, it also needs to be recognized here that Irenaeus was not providing an absolute date for the birth of Jesus, since he prefaced his commentary with the word “about” (Latin *circa*). It seems probable that Irenaeus was simply relying on the Gospel accounts, particularly Luke’s, and was attempting to connect the birth with the reign of Augustus.¹⁰

Nearly half a century later, at either the close of the second century or beginning of the third century, Clement of Alexandria (c. AD 150–215) reported with some disapproval and skepticism that he knew of certain Alexandrian Christians who had attempted to work out the exact date of Jesus’s birth: “And there are those who have determined not only the year of our Lord’s birth, but also the day; and they say that it took place in the twenty-eighth year of Augustus, and in the twenty-fifth day of Pachon. . . . Further, others say that He was born on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of Pharmuthi.”¹¹ Because Clement was writing from Egypt, the reference to the “twenty-eighth year of Augustus” is not to be reckoned from Augustus’s adoption or first consulship (44 and 43 B.C.) so that Clement is thought to be saying that Jesus was born in either 17 or 16 B.C.—much too early. It is relatively well known that in Egypt, in contrast to other provinces in the Roman Empire, the “reign of Augustus” was counted from August of 30 B.C.—the time when Egypt was annexed and officially became a Roman province.¹² Therefore, Clement’s reference to the “twenty-eighth year” corresponds to the year 2 B.C. The additional reference to the “twenty-fifth day of Pachon,” Pachon being the Egyptian month that roughly corresponds with May, means that certain Christians were alleging that Christ was born on the equivalent of May 20, 2 B.C. Alternatively, Clement also relates that there were others who argued that Jesus was born on either “the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of Pharmuthi,” Pharmuthi being the month of the year that most closely corresponds to April. Assuming that he was still referring to the “twenty-eighth year of Augustus,” this would mean that others were alleging that Jesus was born on a date corresponding with either April 19 or 20 of 2 B.C.

From the larger context of this reference, it is evident that Clement cites these speculations with disapproval, and it is relatively clear that he himself is not convinced by them. Nevertheless, they are intriguing because they represent the earliest known specific dates set forth by any Christians for the birth of Jesus that are also independent of the Gospels.

At roughly the same time that Clement reported these speculations, the Latin Church Father Tertullian of Carthage (c. AD 160–225) also weighed in on the matter. In his treatise *Against the Jews*, a largely rhetorical work in which Tertullian attempts to persuade Jews of the truthfulness of the

Christian faith, he discusses the reality of Jesus of Nazareth and speaks about his birth in very specific chronological terms: "Let us see, moreover, how in the forty-first year of the empire of Augustus, when he has been reigning for xx and viii years after the death of Cleopatra, the Christ is born. (And the same Augustus survived, after Christ is born, xv years; and the remaining times of years to the day of the birth of Christ will bring us to the xl first year, which is the xx and viiith of Augustus after the death of Cleopatra)."¹³ Like Irenaeus before, Tertullian argues that the date of the birth occurred in the "forty-first year of Augustus." However, it becomes evident from the remainder of the reference that Tertullian intended a year coinciding with 3 BC, or perhaps even early 2 BC, and therefore began his reckoning when Augustus was elevated to the consulship in August 43 BC. This is conveniently confirmed, since Tertullian also adds that Jesus was born twenty-eight years after the death of Cleopatra (August of 30 BC) and fifteen years before the death of Augustus (August of AD 14).

Two other Christian writers of relatively early date who also discuss the birth date of Jesus and who offer relatively specific dates are Julius Africanus (c. AD 180–250) and Eusebius of Caesarea (c. AD 260–340). In Julius Africanus's chief work, which was entitled *History of the World* and is no longer extant except in fragments, he attempts to set forth a history that spanned from creation to the year AD 221, arguing that the temporal duration of the world would last 6,000 years and that Christ was born in the year 5,500. There is a short section in one of the extant fragments of the work that allows for this reference to be readily converted to a date according to our modern system of reckoning: "But I am amazed that the Jews deny that the Lord has yet come, and that the followers of Marcion refuse to admit that His coming was predicted in the prophecies when the Scriptures display the matter so openly to our view. . . . The period, then, to the advent of the Lord from Adam and the creation is 5531 years, from which epoch to the 250th Olympiad there are 192 years, as has been shown above."¹⁴ Though this passage may seem to imply that Africanus was alleging that Jesus was born in the year 5531, and not 5500, the year 5531 actually has reference to the "coming" of Jesus or more specially to the beginning of his ministry—which Africanus places about AD 29.¹⁵ That this passage refers to the beginning of Christ's ministry, and not his birth, is evident since Africanus goes on to state that from the year 5531 about 192 years had passed until the commencement of the 250th Olympiad (the time in which Africanus lived and completed his history).¹⁶ Since the first year of the 250th Olympiad was AD 221, by subtracting 192 years one arrives at a date of about AD 29.¹⁷ To arrive at the timing of Jesus's birth from this passage, all one needs to do is go back about 31 years from year AD 29. This is done because elsewhere

Africanus maintains that Jesus was born in the year 5500, and so if he started his ministry in the year 5531 (AD 29), 31 years need to be subtracted to arrive at his birth date (year 5500). This means that Africanus alleges in his work that Jesus was born in or about the year 2 BC.¹⁸

Lastly, let us turn to Eusebius, who argues in both his *Ecclesiastical History* and his *Chronicle*, which was based in part on Africanus's *History of the World*, that Jesus was born about 2 BC:

And now, after this necessary introduction to our proposed history of the Church, we can enter, so to speak, upon our journey, beginning with the appearance of our Saviour in the flesh. And we invoke God, the Father of the Word, and him, of whom we have been speaking, Jesus Christ himself our Saviour and Lord, the heavenly Word of God, as our aid and fellow-laborer in the narration of the truth. It was in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus and the twenty-eighth after the subjugation of Egypt and the death of Antony and Cleopatra, with whom the dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt came to an end, that our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea, according to the prophecies which had been uttered concerning him. His birth took place during the first census, while Cyrenius was governor of Syria.¹⁹

The references to the “forty-second year of the reign of Augustus” and the “twenty-eighth [year] after the subjection of Egypt” affirm a date corresponding to about 2 BC. The “forty-second year” may be counted from 44 BC, when Augustus (Octavian) was adopted by Julius Caesar, and the “twenty-eighth [year]” reference is to be counted from 30 BC, when Egypt was annexed by Rome. In his *Chronicle*, Eusebius also maintains a birthdate for Jesus corresponding with 2 BC, but he puts it in terms of the Olympiad cycle. Here he reports that “Jesus Christ son of God is born in Bethlehem of Judea” (*Iesus Christus filius Dei in Bethleem Iudae nascitur*) in the third year of the 194th Olympiad (2 BC).²⁰

Though other later Christian writers could be cited here, such as Epiphanius of Salamis (c. AD 315–403) or Paulus Orosius (c. AD 385–450), who both give specific dates for the birth of Christ, it is clear that they are dependent on the writings of these earlier fathers and do not bring anything new to the debate.²¹ While later Byzantine chroniclers like John Malalas (c. AD 490–575) will begin to argue that Jesus was born on December 25, 2 BC, and will even give the time of day when Jesus was allegedly born, such statements are clearly the result of much later Christian tradition that does not begin to develop until the fourth century.²²

From this brief survey of early Church Fathers (Irenaeus, Clement, Tertullian, Julius Africanus, and Eusebius), a few observations should be highlighted. First, it was not until well into the second century that any

Christian writer began to address the issue of the specific date of the birth of Jesus in any detail, and by and large, based on their reticence to address this subject, it would seem that early Christians had very little primary evidence independent of the Gospels. Even the writers who rendered a specific date often did so only in passing, typically as part of another argument. Second, it is important to note that these writers were typically concerned with the year of Jesus's birth but rarely offered information concerning a month or day. Third, although it is not impossible that these early writers were relying on unknown sources or oral traditions that are otherwise lost to us, it seems most likely, based on the details they do render, that they were simply reliant on the Gospel accounts given in Matthew and Luke. This seems likely, since the only chronological details they tend to mention in connection with the birth all come from sources known from the Gospels: Augustus (Luke 2:1), Cyrenius (Luke 2:2), Herod (Matt. 2:1), new star (Matt. 2:2), wise men (Matt. 2:1), regnal year of Tiberius (Luke 3:1), and the approximate age of Jesus when he began his ministry (Luke 3:23). Lastly, it should be emphasized that while these writers place the birth of Christ within three years of each other (anywhere from 4 BC to 2 BC), there is no general agreement on the actual year of Jesus's birth.

Dates Proposed by Various Early Christian Writers for the Birth of Jesus

Irenaeus of Lyons	forty-first year of the reign of Augustus, reckoning from either 44 or 43 BC	= 4 or 3 BC
Clement of Alexandria ²³	twenty-eighth year of Augustus, 24/25 Pharmuthi and Pachon 25, reckoning from 30 BC	= April 19 or 20, 2 BC, and May 20, 2 BC
Tertullian of Carthage	forty-first year of the empire of Augustus, reckoning from 43 BC	= 3 BC or possibly 2 BC
Julius Africanus	5500 years since creation	= 2 BC
Eusebius of Caesarea	forty-second year of the reign of Augustus and the twenty-eighth after the subjugation of Egypt / third year of 194 Olympiad	= 2 BC

The Gospels on the Timing of Jesus's Birth

As the previous section has shown, early Christian interest in the birth date of Jesus cannot be pressed beyond identifying an estimation of the year, which parallels the interest of the Gospel authors. Moreover, Matthew 2 and Luke 3 emerge as the most important primary sources for the

birth of Jesus. Matthew and Luke specifically link the birth of Jesus with the tenure of Herod, who died in the spring of 4 B.C. In many respects, the death of Herod provides a solid *terminus post quem* for Jesus's birth since, according to Matthew 2:15, 19 and Luke 1:5, Herod was alive when Christ was born and died sometime thereafter when Jesus was still a child.²⁴ Since there is compelling evidence that Herod died sometime in the spring of 4 B.C., Jesus's birth must be placed sometime before this event.²⁵ Though this date may come as a surprise to some because it implies that our modern calendar that reckons from the "year of the Lord" (*anno domini* or A.D.) is actually off by a few years,²⁶ it has long been recognized that Dionysius Exiguus, the sixth-century Scythian monk who invented reckoning according to the *anno domini* era that later served as the basis for the current Gregorian calendar, miscalculated and did not correctly begin with the actual year of Jesus's birth.²⁷

In Matthew 2:1, it is asserted that Jesus was born in Bethlehem when Herod was king. In the same chapter, Matthew reports that "wise men" from the east came to visit Jesus. After stopping at Jerusalem, where their intention was made known to Herod, they proceeded on to Bethlehem, where they found Jesus. Verse 9 reports that the wise men came and stood over the "young child." The Greek word used here is *paidion* (Greek παιδίον) and should be interpreted as a "young child" as opposed to "infant" or "newborn," which are different Greek words (*nēpios*, νήπιος or *brephos*, βρέφος). Matthew's intent with the use of *paidion* is uncertain, but the fact that elsewhere he refers to "babies" makes it more likely that he intended a young child in 2:9.²⁸ The slaughter of the children in Matthew 2:16, where all children (Greek *pais*, παῖς) from "two years old and under" were slain according to the timing of the encounter with the wise men, also encourages the idea that Jesus was a young child when the wise men appeared. Combined with the evidence of Herod's death in spring 4 B.C., it seems reasonable to conclude that the date of Jesus's birth should be pushed back into the previous year, if not more, to account for Jesus being "two years old and under."

In combination with Herod's death date is the reign of Tiberius, which Luke mentions in connection with the beginning of Jesus's ministry and thus provides a means of calculating backward to Jesus's birth date. Tiberius's reign as emperor of Rome is well attested (ruled A.D. 14–37), and, according to Luke, "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar" John the Baptist began to minister (Luke 3:1–3). Sometime shortly thereafter, and possibly during the fifteenth year of Tiberius's reign, "Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age" (Luke 3:23).

The Roman senate proclaimed Tiberius sole emperor in AD 14, shortly after Augustus's death (19 August). By adding fourteen years to this date (in order to arrive at the fifteenth year of Tiberius), we should be able to determine the date of the beginning of John's ministry, which in turn can be broadly applied to the beginning of Jesus's ministry. That beginning date should also correspond to Jesus's age of about thirty years old (Luke 3:23). This calculation results in the mortal ministry beginning in about AD 28 and Jesus being born in roughly 3 BC. The evidence, unfortunately, is not entirely straightforward, because Tiberius was granted tribunician powers in 4 BC, which essentially gave him power equal to the emperor Augustus in the region of Gaul and the provinces. While the first granting of tribunician power was for a ten-year period, all limitations to his power were removed by vote on October 23, AD 12, and a consular decree in AD 13 gave Tiberius power equal to Augustus.²⁹

The issue is determining which year Luke had reference to, because both AD 13 and AD 14 could legitimately be considered as beginning dates for Tiberius's reign, particularly in the provinces where Tiberius had the same power as the emperor at the earlier date. Luke would almost certainly have recognized the date in AD 13 as the beginning of Tiberius's reign.³⁰ Augustus himself used the date he was granted tribunician powers as the beginning of his reign.³¹ If the earlier date was used for Tiberius's reign, then the Savior's mortal ministry would have begun in about AD 27 and Jesus would have been born in about 4 BC. If, however, Luke was estimating Jesus's age at the beginning of the mortal ministry, and it is likely that he was, then the connection to Tiberius's reign can offer us little more than a broad estimation.

Luke 2:2 connects the birth of Jesus with the census carried out by Publius Sulpicius Quirinius: "And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria" in about AD 6–7.³² The association of the birth of Jesus with the census, referred to as a taxation in the KJV (Greek *apographē*, ἀπογραφή), is considered by many scholars to be an erroneous statement by Luke.³³ Clearly, a birth date under Herod the Great (before his death in 4 BC) that was also during the census of Cyrenius (AD 6 or 7) is not historically possible unless some further evidence is brought to light that would indicate an earlier census of which we are currently unaware or some other piece of evidence that would resolve the issue.³⁴

John 2:20 may also be important to determining the dates of Jesus's birth and death, where the Jews claim, "Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days?" The building of the temple in this verse is certainly the expansion and enlargement of the temple that

was initiated under Herod the Great. According to John, this statement was made in the first year of Jesus's ministry. Josephus records two different dates for the beginning of the construction on the Jerusalem temple, the fifteenth year of Herod's reign (23–22 BC) and the eighteenth year of Herod's reign (20–19 BC).³⁵ The earlier date may refer to the planning stages of the temple reconstruction or when building materials were being brought to the site in preparation.³⁶ When the date of 20–19 BC is considered, a date of about AD 27–28 emerges as the first year of Jesus's ministry, which, although quite early, places the beginning nearly in the same time frame, but not exactly, as the fifteenth year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius.

The Gospel evidence is certainly important to deriving a date for Jesus's birth, but the evidence is again ambiguous. Each piece of evidence must be weighted, while some of the evidence likely has to be excluded as inaccurate or too broad for specific calculations (such as the census of Luke 2:2). In other words, the pieces of evidence cannot be fitted together seamlessly, and they do not allow one to arrive at an unambiguous determination for the year of the birth of Jesus.

Can the Book of Mormon Provide a Date for Jesus's Birth?

A single passage in the Book of Mormon has direct bearing on Jesus's birth year, because it appears to designate a fairly exact length of his mortal life. Verse 5 in 3 Nephi 8 states, "And it came to pass in the thirty and fourth year, in the first month, on the fourth day of the month, there arose a great storm." The storm mentioned in this passage may coincide with the calamities mentioned in Matthew 27:51–52 and thus on the very day of the death of Jesus. Therefore, if the death date of Jesus can be ascertained with any degree of certainty, then a birth year designation might also be possible. However, before considering the year of Jesus's death, we must look at the Book of Mormon evidence to determine its probative value.³⁷ It should be mentioned at the outset of any discussion of the Book of Mormon that it can only provide evidence for the death date, and by implication the birth date, if one knows for certain the length of a Nephite year. Chadwick recognizes this problem when he states that we can be "virtually certain that the years referred to in 3 Nephi were 365 days long."³⁸

Ideally, the Book of Mormon evidence could be of some help, but unfortunately the evidence is simply too imprecise to provide anything more than approximate figures. The statement recorded in 3 Nephi is based on the Nephite calendar, which could have been either a solar or lunar calendar.³⁹ Despite the best scholarly efforts, no one can claim with any degree of certainty which ancient American civilization the Nephite calendar should

be tied to.⁴⁰ We must, therefore, proceed with caution, and rather than attempting to explain the Book of Mormon through external references to Mayan or other calendars, we feel it is wise to restrict the evidence to what appears internally in the Book of Mormon.

A survey of the existing literature on this subject reveals quite contradictory results. For purposes of the discussion, we have provided a brief summary of the primary evidence regarding the death date of Jesus, which in turn Chadwick used to calculate a birth date.

1. We cannot be certain of the number of months in a calendar year: eleven is the highest number of months mentioned in a single year (Alma 49:1). We are also uncertain on the number of days in a Nephite month.

2. The Book of Mormon people used Lehi's departure date for some purposes, which probably indicates that the 600-year prophecy of Jesus's birth from the time of Lehi's departure functioned independently of their official calendar (Jacob 1:1), unless Lehi happened to leave on or around New Year's Day.⁴¹

4. The Book of Mormon counts 600 years between Lehi's departure and the birth of Jesus, which according to our modern calendar occurred in less than 600 years.⁴²

5. The Book of Omni uses moons as a means of determining the duration of an event (Omni 1:20–21).

6. In the Book of Mormon, the sign of the star appeared on the night of Jesus's birth. This star was in addition to Lehi's 600-year prophecy, indicating that a further celestial sign was possibly needed to narrow the date of the birth (Hel. 14:5; 3 Ne. 1:21).

7. The Book of Mormon authors referred to time using recognizable terms: days, weeks, months, and years, but without any indication of how many days there were in a year or month, both of which are crucial to determining the use of a lunar or solar calendar.

8. The dates at the bottom of the page in the printed edition of the Book of Mormon are often approximations. Because certain datable events are mentioned (for instance, the first year of the reign of Zedekiah in 597 BC), we realize that there are discrepancies between our calendar and theirs. For example, 597 BC in our calendar equates to 600 BC in theirs, and the birth of Jesus had to have occurred prior to 4 BC, whereas it occurs between 1 BC and AD 1 in the Book of Mormon.

The complexities of the Book of Mormon calendar are obvious. In a world where calendar issues may have been decided in roundabout calculations, one should remain cautious in making specific claims built upon general evidence. For example, when Nephi declared the coming of Jesus to be

“in six hundred years from the time my father left Jerusalem” (1 Ne. 19:8), he may have intended “about six hundred years.”⁴³ Additionally, the Nephite authors were aware that mistakes may have arisen in their own calendar, as indicated in such statements as “if there was no mistake made by this man in the reckoning of our time” (3 Ne. 8:2), which advise caution.⁴⁴

From these considerations, two distinct possibilities arise. If the Nephites used a lunar calendar that was purely lunar and not corrected by the cycle of the sun, then the average month would have lasted 29½ days, and therefore seasons would actually shift by eleven to twelve days per year because of the shortened cycle of the moon. In a twelve-month lunar year, there are approximately 354 days. If the Nephites rigidly followed a lunar calendar, then the actual number of years in Jesus’s lifetime in a solar calendar would be thirty-two years. If the Nephites either adjusted their lunar calendar to the solar cycle or followed a true solar calendar, then the sign indicates a lifetime for Jesus of roughly thirty-three years and a few days. The problem with both of these figures is that they must also account for the fact that in the year when the Nephites began counting from the sign of Jesus’s birth, it is not clear that they actually started their calendar anew. If they did, then the dates are fairly precise. If they did not, then the lunar and solar calculations must also account for the period of time when the sign was given and the beginning of the new year for the Nephites, and additional months must be added to the number of years. Therefore, the safest conclusion seems to be that we are dealing with a prophecy that indicates Jesus lived between thirty-two and nearly thirty-four years. It cannot be stated with any degree of certainty that he died on or around his birthday because of the possibility of the lunar calendar, which shifts the seasons over time.⁴⁵

The Gospels on the Timing of Jesus’s Death

One method used to determine the birth date of Jesus is to calculate the precise year of Jesus’s death and then work backwards roughly thirty to thirty-three years. As discussed above, Chadwick employs this methodology because of a conviction that the Book of Mormon evidence precisely determines the length of Jesus’s mortal life.⁴⁶ Therefore, while this section may seem like a detour in the present analysis, because Chadwick’s argument hinges extensively on his conviction that Jesus could have died on either a Thursday or a Friday corresponding to April 6 or 7, AD 30, it is necessary to consider the date of Jesus’s death in some detail.⁴⁷

According to all four canonical Gospels, Jesus died sometime during the prefecture of Pontius Pilate, whose tenure lasted from approximately AD 26 to 36, and his death coincided with the Jewish spring festival of Passover.⁴⁸

However, the four Gospels do vary slightly concerning the day on which Jesus died. While the Gospel of John clearly has Jesus crucified on the day of Passover preparation (Nisan 14), in Matthew, Mark, and Luke (the synoptic Gospels) this is not the case. In these Gospels, Jesus is crucified the day after the Passover preparation (Nisan 15), which was the day of Passover. This is proven rather definitively because these Gospels report that the “Last Supper” eaten by Jesus and his disciples was a Passover meal (Matt. 26:17; Mark 14:12; Luke 22:7–8, 15). It necessarily follows that if the Last Supper was a Passover meal, Jesus could not have been crucified on the day of Passover preparation, which preceded the Passover meal. In contrast, John places the death of Jesus on “the preparation of the passover” prior to the eating of the Passover meal (John 19:14–16; compare John 18:28). The consequence of the difference between the synoptics and John is that the former understood that Jesus died on Nisan 15 (the actual day of Passover) while the latter clearly indicates that Jesus died before Passover on Nisan 14 (Passover preparation). Thus, within the Gospels themselves two different dates are put forward for Jesus’s death.⁴⁹

Chadwick disregards this discrepancy in the Gospel accounts and incorrectly claims that all four Gospels place the Crucifixion on the day of Passover preparation.⁵⁰ Additionally, Chadwick argues that the day of the week that Jesus was crucified was Thursday, instead of the traditional Friday, and his grounds for doing so are problematic.⁵¹ In the synoptics, it is absolutely clear that Jesus was crucified on a Friday before the Sabbath. This is evident since there is some urgency in these Gospels to get Jesus’s body off the cross⁵² because the Sabbath evening was approaching and it was the preparation for the Sabbath.⁵³

In the Gospel of John 19:31–33, there is also much urgency to get Jesus’s body off the cross because the Sabbath was approaching: “The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the *sabbath day*, (for that sabbath day was an high day,) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away. Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the first, and of the other which was crucified with him. But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs” (emphasis added). While the most obvious implication of this passage is that in the Gospel of John Jesus was also crucified, as in the synoptics, on a Friday since the Sabbath evening was fast approaching, some scholars have raised the possibility (regarding only the Gospel of John) that Jesus could have been crucified on a Thursday. John 19:31 gives a parenthetical comment that the approaching Sabbath “was an high day” (KJV), and some have therefore wondered if it is possible, since in the Gospel of John Jesus was crucified on the day

of Passover preparation, that this reference could be taken to refer to the festival of Passover and not necessarily the actual Sabbath (Saturday). The thinking here is that since certain festivals were treated as holy days or Sabbaths, perhaps this is what is being implied in John 19:31. Therefore, they have wondered whether it might be possible to move the day of Crucifixion back to a Thursday in the Gospel of John.

While this suggested interpretation cannot be completely ruled out (for the Gospel of John but not for Matthew, Mark, and Luke), such an interpretation is highly unlikely. The most logical and straightforward way to take this reference in the Gospel of John is that Jesus was crucified on a Friday, in agreement with the synoptics, but that the Sabbath day following the Crucifixion was “an high day” or doubly holy if you will, because it was both a regular Sabbath and a festal day (Passover).⁵⁴ Additionally, there is absolutely no evidence that the Passover was ever called “an high day” or High Sabbath when it occurred on any day of the week besides the actual day of Sabbath (Saturday).⁵⁵ Finally, by moving the Crucifixion to Thursday, instead of Friday, a number of additional problems are brought to bear on the Passion narrative, not least of which is that Jesus would have been dead not for three days but for effectively four days (Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday).⁵⁶

Returning to the issue of the death date, based on the evidence from the Gospels, what can be said with some certainty about the timing of Jesus’s death is that it occurred on either Nisan 14 (day of Passover preparation) or Nisan 15 (day of Passover) and that the day of the week was Friday.⁵⁷ Knowing the date of Jesus’s death within two days, and even being able to determine the day of the week, we can then attempt to calculate the year of Jesus’s death. Some ambitious scholars have attempted in the past to narrow this window by invoking the aid of astronomy. They have argued that if one knows the month (Nisan), day of the week (Friday), and the day of the month (14th or 15th) Jesus was crucified on, then it would be possible to determine the year by astronomically calculating when the new moon (start of a month) would have occurred for that month (Nisan) and thereby determine the year (or years), since not in every year would the 14th or 15th of the month have fallen on a Friday. One fairly recent attempt, invoked by Chadwick, was done by two astrophysicists who argued that Jesus died on a date coinciding with Friday, April 3, AD 33, given what can be retroactively calculated using ancient lunar cycles.⁵⁸ They selected this date since they argued that Jesus was probably crucified on Nisan 14, thereby preferring the account given in John, and chose it over AD 30, a year in which Nisan 14 also fell on a Friday, since on this date there was also a lunar eclipse.⁵⁹

**Theoretical dates for 14th and 15th Nisan, AD 26–36,
based on Lunar Calculations⁶⁰**

<i>Year</i>	<i>14th Nisan</i>	<i>15th Nisan</i>
AD 26	Sunday, April 21	Monday, April 22
AD 27	Thursday, April 10	Friday, April 11
AD 28	Tuesday, March 30	Wednesday, March 31
AD 29	Monday, April 18	Tuesday, April 19
AD 30	Friday, April 7	Saturday, April 8
AD 31	Tuesday, March 27	Wednesday, March 28
AD 32	Sunday, April 13	Monday, April 14
AD 33	Friday, April 3	Saturday, April 4
AD 34	Wednesday, March 24	Thursday, March 25
AD 35	Tuesday, April 12	Wednesday, April 13
AD 36	Saturday, March 31	Sunday, April 1

Theoretically, such precise calculations should enable us to accurately determine the date of Jesus's Crucifixion and, when combined with the other available evidence, ought to permit a reasonable estimation of the year of Jesus's birth. However, there is at least one very significant problem with this methodology.⁶¹ Astronomical calculations cannot help us arrive at the actual date on which Passover preparation, or Passover, for that matter, would have been celebrated in any given year during the life of Jesus; they offer only the date that it *should* have been celebrated based on astronomical observations derived with modern technologies, which the ancients did not have. It must be remembered that at the time of Jesus, the Jewish calendar was governed by observation, not calculation; there is no indication that the Jews began to calculate the date of Passover astronomically until at least the fifth century AD, and therefore until this point their calendar was susceptible to observational errors.⁶² This means that at certain times festivals would have periodically been observed on days that were, strictly speaking, incorrect by the standards of modern astronomical reckoning. While astronomy might be able to provide us with a theoretical date for Passover in any given year, based on our modern knowledge of the lunar cycle and its fluctuations, it cannot provide the actual date on which it was celebrated because first century Jews did not have access to the precise means of calculation that we have access to today.⁶³

To be clearer on this point, according to the Law of Moses, which was governed by a lunar, and not a solar, calendar,⁶⁴ the spotting of a new moon signaled the beginning of a new month.⁶⁵ However, as is clear from

a number of ancient sources, this was not always a straightforward task. Observation of the new moon was complicated by such factors as poor weather conditions that obfuscated the appearance of the new moon, interruptions in society caused by war or natural crisis, and the unreliability of witnesses. For example, if it was cloudy for an extended period, or even a few days near the end/beginning of a month, it would have been very difficult to determine when exactly the new month should commence, since witnesses would not have been able to observe the new moon. Likewise, as the new month was based on human observation, it was always susceptible to error. According to the *Mishnah*, a new month would be declared by the priests and Sanhedrin when they were satisfied that a credible witness had actually seen the new moon and accurately described it upon questioning.⁶⁶ In some cases, witnesses were shown different pictures of the moon and asked which one they saw: “A picture of the shapes of the moon did Rabban Gamaliel have on a tablet and on the wall of his upper room, which he would show ordinary folk, saying, ‘Did you see it like this or like that?’”⁶⁷ Not surprisingly, given the less than scientific manner in which the new moon was determined, the *Mishnah* also records that there were at times spirited debates and arguments over whether or not the new moon had actually appeared, whether the testimony of the witness could be trusted, and whether the new month should be announced and commence.⁶⁸

The most common observational error affecting the calendar in the first century (as well as previous and subsequent centuries when its reckoning was based on observation and not calculation) was the false sighting of new moons. That is, there was a tendency for witnesses to claim they had seen a new moon one day or potentially even two days early.⁶⁹ Accordingly, if the witnesses’ testimony was believed and a new month announced, all the days in the month would have been moved forward one or two days, and if a festival were to occur in that month, it too would have been celebrated early. Alternatively, due to poor weather conditions it is equally possible that the new moon could be missed and the month would start a day late.

Though it may seem hard to believe that there could have been fluctuations in the Jewish calendar of one or potentially even two days due to observational error, such discrepancies are attested in the ancient world.⁷⁰ Without going into all the examples, two instances that relate directly to the timing of Passover should suffice. During the Council of Nicaea in May–June AD 325, one of the central issues of debate was the timing of Easter. In the course of the debate, Constantine remarked that Christians should not follow the Jewish system for determining Easter, since it was faulty. His reasoning, which is most significant, was that Jews did not often agree among

themselves on the correct date of Passover: “Thence it is, therefore, that even in this particular they [Jews] do not perceive the truth, so that they, constantly erring in the utmost degree, instead of making a suitable correction, *celebrate the Feast of Passover a second time in the same year*. Why then should we follow the example of those who are acknowledged to be infected with grievous error?”⁷¹ Though this passage has been interpreted in a couple of different ways, all interpretations agree that Constantine was alluding to the fact that since the Jewish lunar calendar was readily susceptible to errors, Jews often did not agree even among themselves on the precise day Passover was to be celebrated. This does not mean that they did not know that it was to be celebrated on Nisan 15 but that they could not agree on what day this actually was. The implication is that sometimes Passover was either being celebrated on different days in different communities, thus the “Jews” as a group were celebrating Passover “twice,” or that they were celebrating it on back-to-back days, since they were unsure which day was truly Nisan 15 and so by celebrating it twice they would hope to get it right.⁷²

The second piece of evidence that the celebration of Passover specifically was susceptible to calendrical corruption comes from the Council of Sardica in AD 343.⁷³ The proceedings of this conference list the dates of Jewish Passover for the years AD 328–343 according to the Julian reckoning. What is significant is that when these dates are compared with the theoretical dates for Passover derived from astronomical calculations, it becomes evident that Passover was periodically celebrated on the incorrect day; some years it was early by a day and other years it was late by a day.⁷⁴

Keeping in mind the problematic nature of how the ancient Jewish calendar was determined and how it was periodically off, it becomes evident that modern astronomical calculations for when a new month or Passover ought to have occurred cannot determine when it actually occurred. Furthermore, every few years an intercalary month was added to preserve the seasonal nature of the months, since the lunar calendar employed by the Jews was short by about eleven days per year (354 days); because we know very little about which years the intercalary month was added and the exact ramifications this had on the overall calendar, this is yet another obstacle to modern astronomical reconstructions. The implication of this is that we cannot know for certain when exactly Passover preparation or Passover would have been celebrated in any given year between AD 26 and 36. Therefore, we cannot know with any degree of certainty in which year Jesus died. If the month of Nisan in which Jesus was crucified was early by a day, or even two, or late by just one day, then a number of possibilities emerge (assuming the day of the week was Friday, or possibly even Thursday, allowing for Chadwick’s argument).

Year	Theoretical date for 14th Nisan (Following Gospel of John date for Crucifixion)	Possible dates of Actual 14th Nisan (allowance made for up to two days early or one day late observational error)	Years when Crucifixion could fall on Friday or Thursday
AD 27	Thursday	Tuesday to Friday	✓
AD 28	Tuesday	Sunday to Wednesday	✗
AD 29	Sunday	Friday to Monday	✓
AD 30	Friday	Wednesday to Saturday	✓
AD 31	Tuesday	Sunday to Wednesday	✗
AD 32	Sunday	Friday to Monday	✓
AD 33	Friday	Wednesday to Saturday	✓
AD 34	Wednesday	Monday to Thursday	✓

With the exception of AD 28 or 31, every other year between AD 27 and 34 cannot be decisively ruled out. If we link this finding with the Book of Mormon evidence that Jesus lived between thirty-two and thirty-four years (compare Gospel of John) or the synoptic Gospels that present a roughly one-year ministry for Jesus and presuppose a lifespan of about thirty-one years, and subtract this from the above dates to arrive at his birth date, we have the following possible dates:

Death Year	Birth Year Based on Book of Mormon evidence (compare Gospel of John), assuming a 33-year life span) ⁷⁵	Birth Year Based on synoptic life span of roughly 31 years
AD 27	8–9 BC	6 BC
AD 29	6–5 BC	2 BC
AD 30	5–4 BC	1 BC
After AD 31 ⁷⁶	4–3 BC	AD 1

The implications of this should be clear. If the calendar was early by one or two days, or late by only one day, then the dating of Christ’s death by reference to modern astronomical calculations of when 14 Nisan should have occurred is not very helpful. The combined evidence of the Book of Mormon and the Gospels seems to prefer a death date around AD 29 or 30 and the beginning of the ministry around AD 27, thus pushing the birth date to approximately 6–5 BC.

Two Final Issues:

Elizabeth's Pregnancy and Doctrine and Covenants 20

Chadwick interpreted Luke 1:26—"And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth"—in a unique way that has implications for the birth date of Jesus. He understood it to refer to the sixth month of the year.⁷⁷ Based on this unique reading, Chadwick claims he is able to determine the precise month of the birth of John and ultimately Jesus. He argues that Luke 1:26, which reports that "in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God," coincides with the month of Adar (February/March) in the spring and reinforces a December birth for Jesus because it would be either nine or ten months until December (the typical length of a birth).⁷⁸ However, there are a couple of very significant problems with this interpretation. First, during the time of Christ the "sixth month" in the Jewish calendar did not correspond to the month of Adar; the "sixth month" most often corresponded to Elul (August/September).⁷⁹ Josephus identifies the "sixth month" as Elul, and the *Megillat Ta'anit* (Scroll of Fasting), which was written in either the first or second century AD and is the earliest document listing all the Jewish months in succession, also marks the "sixth month" as Elul.⁸⁰ Furthermore, from these same sources it is clear that Adar was regularly regarded as the "twelfth month" in the first century.⁸¹ Therefore, if we are to suppose that the reference here to the "sixth month" indeed refers to the actual month of the year, then Jesus would have been born in June and not December.⁸²

Far more importantly, however, the reference to the "sixth month" in Luke 1:26 does not actually refer to a month of the year but rather has reference to the fact that Elizabeth was six months pregnant when Mary was visited by Gabriel (Luke 1:24–26): "And after those days his wife Elisabeth conceived, and hid herself *five months*, saying, Thus hath the Lord dealt with me in the days wherein he looked on *me*, to take away my reproach among men. And in the *sixth month* the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth" (emphasis added). It is relatively obvious that the reference in verse 26 is a follow-up from the reference to "five months" in verse 24. This interpretation becomes even more apparent when one reads to verse 36, where the "sixth month" being referred to has nothing to do with the month of the year but rather to the timing of Elizabeth's pregnancy: "And, behold, thy cousin Elisabeth, she hath also conceived a son in her old age: and *this is the sixth month with her*, who was called barren" (emphasis added).

A final piece of evidence that is sometimes popularly used to indicate the birth year of Jesus is the statement made in Doctrine and Covenants 20:1: "The rise of the Church of Christ in these last days, being one thousand eight

hundred and thirty years since the coming of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ in the flesh, it being regularly organized and established agreeable to the laws of our country, by the will and commandments of God, in the fourth month, and on the sixth day of the month which is called April.” To Chadwick’s credit, he treats this verse, and the potential implications it has for Jesus’s birth date, carefully and discusses the various interpretations offered by LDS scholars with specific attention paid to how D&C 20:1 has played into the discussion.⁸³ In his analysis, he makes the important observation that whenever April 6 is mentioned as being the birth date of the Lord, it is almost certainly based on D&C 20:1. However, based on new evidence published as part of the Joseph Smith Papers Project, Chadwick further observes that verse 1 “is not part of the revelation proper.”⁸⁴ From the surviving evidence, it appears that verse one was added at a later date and possibly in the wording of John Whitmer, to reflect the date the Church was organized rather than as a revealed statement on the Lord’s day of birth.⁸⁵

Conclusion

As stated previously, extraordinary claims require extraordinary evidence, and perhaps the only thing that can be agreed upon with respect to the evidence concerning Jesus’s birth date is that it is extraordinarily complex. To offer a compelling case regarding the date of Jesus’s birth, one must exclude certain pieces of information as well as weight some pieces of evidence as more important than others. While we appreciate Chadwick’s attempt to untangle this Gordian knot, we ultimately feel that the argument that Jesus was born in December of 5 BC is flawed and does not adequately take account of all the diverse evidence. In all likelihood, the evidence supporting Jesus’s birth probably cannot justify more than to say that Jesus was born before Herod “the Great” passed away in the spring of 4 BC and probably not any earlier than 6 BC, and that he died under the prefecture of Pontius Pilate. An ambiguous solution is at times frustrating to many readers, but until further evidence comes forward, our current sources will permit only opinions beyond those boundaries.

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State University Collection,” *Tyche* 26 (2011): 33–39; “A Text-Critical Comparison of the King James New Testament with Certain Modern Translations,” *Studies in the Bible and Antiquity* 3 (2011): 67–127; “A Gold Lamella with a Greek Inscription in the Brigham Young University Collection,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 177 (2011): 166–68.

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We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers of this article for their candid and insightful feedback as well as the editors of *BYU Studies Quarterly* for accepting this article. We have generally resisted using Greek and Latin in this article so as to make it more readable for the lay reader. Whenever such languages do appear, we have provided an English translation.

1. Jeffrey R. Chadwick, “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” *BYU Studies* 49, no. 4 (2010): 5–38.

2. For a convenient compilation of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, see Michael W. Holmes, ed. and trans., *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3d ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2007).

3. Ignatius, *Epistle to the Ephesians* 19.1–2, in Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 197–99.

4. Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 77.4–78.7, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 10 vols. (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1994), 1:237–38, hereafter cited as ANF; Justin, *First Apology* 34, in ANF, 1:174.

5. Justin, *First Apology* 46, in ANF, 1:178.

6. On interpreting this reference generally and not specifically, see Leslie William Barnard, ed. and trans., *St. Justin Martyr: The First and Second Apologies*, in *Ancient Christian Writers*, no. 56, ed. Walter J. Burghardt, John J. Dillon, and Dennis D. McManus (New York: Paulist Press, 1997), 158 n. 291.

7. Even if one were to suppose that Justin was using “one hundred and fifty years” very precisely to refer to the birth date of Jesus, it would still be a problematic reference, since the date of his *First Apology* cannot be determined with precision. On internal evidence, Justin’s *First Apology* cannot be dated any more securely than between AD 151 and 155. See Barnard, *St. Justin Martyr: The First and Second Apologies*, 11.

8. Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3.21.3, in ANF, 1:452.

9. On calculating regnal years of Roman emperors, see Elias J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, 2d ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982), 66–67.

10. Information about the reign of Herod will be given shortly, since his death provides a solid *terminus post quem* for the birth date of Jesus.

11. Clement, *Miscellanies* 1.21, in *ANF*, 2:333.

12. Livia Capponi, *Augustan Egypt: The Creation of a Roman Province* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 5–12.

13. Tertullian, *Against the Jews* 8, in *ANF*, 3:159–60.

14. Translation taken from *ANF*, 6:137–38.

15. The translation provided in the *ANF* is a little misleading since it speaks of the “advent of the Lord,” which could give the impression that this passage was referring to the year Jesus was born. The word translated here as “advent” is the Greek *παρουσίαν*, which means “coming” or “presence” and does not necessarily imply birth.

16. Olympiads were four-year cycles used for reckoning that commenced in the year 776 B.C. The first Olympiad would thus be 776–773 B.C.

17. For a list of all the Olympiad cycles converted to modern reckoning, see Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, 115–22.

18. The year 1 B.C. was intended to designate the year before Jesus was born. There was no year designated as “0.”

19. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1.5.1–2, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. and trans. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, Second Series, 14 vols. (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890), 1:88, hereafter cited as *NPNF*.

20. Eusebius’s *Chronicle* survives only via a later Latin translation by Jerome. For this reference, see Jerome, *Ab Abr.* CXCI, taken from Iohannes K. Fotheringham, ed., *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones* (London: Oxford, 1923), 251.

21. Both Epiphanius (*Panarion* 51.22.22, in *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Books II and III*, trans. Frank Williams [Leiden: Brill, 1994], 53) and Orosius (*Seven Books of History against the Pagans* 1.1, ed. and trans. Roy J. Deferrari [Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1964], 6) date the birth to 2 B.C.: the forty-second year of Augustus.

22. John Malalas, *Chronicle* 10.1: “In the 42nd year and the fourth month of the reign of Augustus our Lord God Jesus Christ was born, eight days before the Kalends of January, on 25th December, at the seventh hour of the day, in a city of Judaea named Bethlehem, which is near Jerusalem.” Translation taken from Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger Scott, trans., *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation*, Australian Association for Byzantine Studies 4 (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1986), 121.

23. Notwithstanding the title of this table, Clement did not actually propose a date for the birth of Christ but merely related what certain other Christians had been proposing.

24. Matthew 2:15, 19: “And was there [Egypt] until the death of Herod: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son. . . . But when Herod was dead, behold, an angel of the Lord appeareth in a dream to Joseph in Egypt.” Luke 1:5: “There was in the days of Herod, the king of Judaea, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abia: and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elisabeth.” All biblical quotations will come from the KJV unless otherwise noted.

25. There is compelling evidence, at least by ancient standards, to believe that Herod did indeed die no later than the spring of 4 B.C. See Emil Schürer, *The History*

of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ, 3 vols., rev. and ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Matthew Black (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973), 1:320–29; P. M. Bernegger, “Affirmation of Herod’s Death in 4 B.C.,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 34 (1983): 526–31; Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 166–67; T. D. Barnes, “The Date of Herod’s Death,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 19 (1968): 204–9. In Josephus’s account of Herod’s death, he reports that Herod died shortly after a lunar eclipse and a little while before Passover. A partial eclipse took place on a date coinciding with March 13, 4 BC, which would have been about 28–29 days before the Passover.

26. Notwithstanding the inaccuracy, this article will employ AD chronology to avoid confusion.

27. Much ink has been spilled on this subject. For an up-to-date analysis of Dionysius’s reckoning according to the *anno domini* era with pertinent bibliography, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, *The Oxford Companion to the Year* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 772–82, 801–28.

28. On the meaning of παιδίον as “little or young child,” deliberately distinguished from “baby” or “newborn,” see Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), s.v. παιδίον.

29. Barbara Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 63; Victor Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 54; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 20.1; 21.1; Velleius, 2.121; Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto* 2.1; 2.2; 3.3, 85.

30. Clearly, Tertullian used the date of Tiberius’s reign to calculate a date. See Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 1.15, in *ANF*, 3:282. See Rainer Riesner, *Paul’s Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology*, trans. Doug Stott (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 39–40; Dio Cassius, *History* 56.28, in *Dio’s Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary, 9 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), 7:63.

31. P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore, eds., *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 10; Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 336.

32. The peculiarity of the language (“was first made”) raises some question concerning what Luke intended. Luke probably intended to convey the datum that this was the first census of Judea and that it was carried out like the others. Compare Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:406–17. See also Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 412–18.

33. François Bovon, *Luke 1* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 83–84; Brook W. R. Pearson, “The Lucan Censuses, Revisted,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (1999): 262–82.

34. P. Benoit, “Quirinius (Recensement de),” *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément* 9 (1979): 693–720, wrestles with the possibilities of harmonizing the two accounts. For scholarly discussion of resolving Luke’s seemingly difficult reference to Cyrenius, see J. M. Rist, “Luke 2:2: Making Sense of the Date of Jesus’ Birth,” *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 56 (2005): 490–1; compare Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 4.19, in *ANF*, 3:377–78.

35. Josephus, *War of the Jews* 1.21; *Antiquities of the Jews* 15.11, in William Whiston, trans., *The Works of Josephus* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1987), 575, 423.

36. Karl P. Donfried, “Chronology,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman, 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1:1014.

37. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 18–20, 25, also sees the Book of Mormon as a key piece of evidence in determining the birth year of Jesus. The weakness in Chadwick's argument is that he fails to account for the many variables in Nephite chronology.

38. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 18.

39. According to Brant Gardner, *Second Witness: Analytical and Contextual Commentary on the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2007), 1:362–63, the consensus of Mesoamericanists looking at the Book of Mormon (Sorenson, Clark, Gardner) is that the Nephite calendar is in some way related to the Mesoamerican *tun* year rather than the *haab* year. Sorenson argues this because the six-hundred-year prophecy works in *tun* years but does not work in *haab* years. John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1985), 272–73. Clark argues this because four-hundred-year prophecies work out in *tun* years but not in *haab* years. John E. Clark, "Archaeology, Relics, and Book of Mormon Belief," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 14, no. 2 (2005): 46–47. Chadwick appears confused on this issue. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 35, n. 51, 52.

40. Jay H. Huber, "Lehi's 600-Year Prophecy and the Birth of Christ," FARMS Preliminary Report, 1983, 11–35; J. Pratt, "Book of Mormon Chronology," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:169–171; R. F. Smith, "Book of Mormon Event Structure: The Ancient Near East," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 5, no. 2 (1996): 98–147; D. R. Seely, "Chronology, Book of Mormon," in *Book of Mormon Reference Companion*, ed. Dennis L. Largey (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 196–204; See John L. Sorenson, "Seasonality of Warfare in the Book of Mormon and in Mesoamerica," in *Warfare in the Book of Mormon*, ed. Stephen Ricks and William Hamblin (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1990), 445–77; John L. Sorenson, "Seasons of War, Seasons of Peace in the Book of Mormon," in *Rediscovering the Book of Mormon*, ed. John L. Sorenson and Melvin Thorne (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1991), 249–55; John L. Sorenson, "The Nephite Calendar in Mosiah, Alma, and Helaman" in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 173–75; Randall P. Spackman, *Introduction to Book of Mormon Chronology: The Principal Prophecies, Calendars, and Dates* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1993); Randall P. Spackman, "The Jewish/Nephite Lunar Calendar," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7, no. 1 (1998): 48–59, available online at <http://maxwellinstitute.byu.edu/publications/jbms/?vol=7&num=1&id=170>.

41. Spackman, "Jewish/Nephite Lunar Calendar," 51, 54, resolves this discrepancy through recourse to a lunar calendar: "If the Nephites measured the 600-year period preceding Christ's birth with a lunar calendar composed of twelve 'moons,' there is no discrepancy at all in the counting of 600 years. A twelve-moon calendar averages only 354.367 days per year, eleven days fewer than a solar calendar, which averages 365.2422 days per year. Between 597 BC and 5 BC, ample time existed for this lunar calendar to measure all 600 years." Spackman does note some problems with this solution as well: "There were not enough days to count all 600 years prophesied by Lehi unless the twelve-moon calendar was maintained religiously for nearly 275 years before the change was adopted."

42. To definitively appreciate the complexity of this issue, one must decide the first year of the reign of Zedekiah (see 1 Ne. 1:4; Mormon's introduction to 3 Nephi),

which is usually dated to 597 BC, and the birth of Christ, which must have taken place between 7 and 5 BC. This would mean that 600 Nephite years would correlate to roughly 591 modern years.

43. Chadwick criticizes such a loose assessment of the evidence when he states, "Thomas A. Wayment maintains that 'the time period between the sign of Jesus's birth and the signs of his death was thirty-four years,' and then adds parenthetically 'thirty-three years if counted inclusively.' . . . But a thirty-four year count is not correct. A thirty-fourth year could not be counted unless the year had passed away, but the text of 3 Nephi 8:5 specifies that the thirty-fourth year had just barely begun and also specifies that thirty-three years had passed away (3 Ne. 7:23, 26). Therefore, the number of years that had passed was not 'thirty-three years if counted inclusively,' as Wayment suggests, but simply thirty-three years." Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 35 n. 50. Because the 3 Nephi 8:5 reference may be built upon an adjustment of the Nephite calendar to accord with the birth of Christ, it seems prudent to be cautious because the thirty-fourth-year reference may include a portion of the original Nephite year. In other words, if the sign happened in the sixth month of the Nephite calendar, the reckoning may actually be made to the first month of the calendar and not the moment of the sign. See Thomas A. Wayment, "The Birth and Death Dates of Jesus Christ," in *The Life and Teachings of Jesus Christ: From Bethlehem through the Sermon on the Mount*, ed. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Thomas A. Wayment (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 393.

44. It seems that Chadwick also uses caution with some Book of Mormon calendric evidence: "A flexible reading of the Book of Mormon regarding the length of Jesus's life, one that does not arbitrarily impose the idea that Jesus lived exactly thirty-three years and no more, would allow for his birth to have occurred in December of 5 BC." At other times, the Book of Mormon evidence is exact. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 21.

45. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 17–18, fails to account for the evidence in his assertions: "It must be noted, however, that . . . the Book of Mormon may be relied upon for accuracy in its report for the length of Jesus's life" and "Jesus lived thirty-three full years, not a year more or a year less."

46. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 25.

47. Ancient Christian authors typically stated that Jesus's death coincided with the consular year of Rubellius Geminus and Fufius Geminus, which corresponded to AD 29. See Tertullian, *Against the Jews* 8, ANF, 3:160; Lactantius, *Of the Manner in Which the Persecutors Died* 2.1, in *The Works of Lactantius*, trans. William Fletcher, 2 vols. (Edinburg: T & T Clark, 1872), 2:165. Estimates in modern scholarship for the exact timing of Jesus's death range anywhere from AD 27 to AD 36, with the years AD 30 and 33 receiving preference. See J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1998), 353–69.

48. For a list of Roman prefects, see Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:357–98.

49. Though the discord in the Gospels on this point will not be treated here, some have speculated that perhaps John thought Jesus was crucified on the day of Passover preparation because he portrays him as the "lamb of God," and so it would be fitting that the true "Lamb of God" would die at the very same time that the lambs for the Passover meal were being slaughtered on the day of Passover preparation (see John 1:29, 36).

50. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 15: "All four New Testament gospels appear to report that Jesus's death occurred on the day of the Passover preparation, when lambs for the festival were being sacrificed."

51. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 15, 25, largely argues against the evidence when he claims, "Tradition holds that Jesus died on a Friday, but alternative models have suggested Thursday as a more probable day." In order to make this type of claim, one would have to completely discount the historical accuracy of the synoptic Gospels. Chadwick moves everything backward one day so the Last Supper is now held on Wednesday evening, instead of Thursday evening, and Jesus is crucified on Thursday, an alleged day of Passover preparation, instead of Friday. The reasoning behind this move is so that he can argue that Jesus died on a date coinciding with Thursday, April 6, AD 30. Chadwick's selection of this date is based on the work of Colin J. Humphreys and W. G. Waddington, who point out, based on modern astronomical calculation, that the day of 14 Nisan (the day of Passover preparation) would have fallen on Thursday, April 6, in AD 30. See Colin J. Humphreys and W. G. Waddington, "Dating the Crucifixion," *Nature* 306 (December 22, 1983): 743–46. Chadwick, p. 16, reproduces the table of possible dates for 14 Nisan between AD 26 and 36 based on astronomical calculations given on p. 744 of the article. Interestingly, in contrast to Chadwick's conclusion of AD 30, Humphreys and Waddington settle for a death date of AD 33 since it was the only year during Pilate's tenure that Passover preparation (theoretically) fell on a Friday, and since Jesus died on a Friday, according to the Gospels, this must have been the date of his death. Humphreys and Waddington here prefer the timing given in John at the expense of the evidence from the synoptics.

52. The reason for the urgency here is based on Deuteronomy 21:22–23, where bodies hung on a tree (interpreted as a cross here) should not remain overnight but should be taken down and buried before nightfall.

53. Mark 15:42–43: "And now when the even was come, because it was *the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath*, Joseph of Arimathaea, an honourable counsellor, which also waited for the kingdom of God, came, and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus." Luke 23:53–54: "And he took it [Jesus's body] down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid. And that day was the *preparation, and the sabbath drew on*" (emphasis added).

This interpretation for "preparation" in the synoptics becomes even more evident when one realizes that in these Gospels the Passover meal has previously been eaten (see above Matthew 26:17; Mark 14:12; Luke 22:7–8, 15). On this point see the excellent discussion in Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 2:1173–74. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 33 n. 42, erroneously argues that the "preparation" referred to in the synoptics has to do with the preparation for the Passover, but this is impossible as the Passover has already been eaten by Jesus and the disciples on the previous night.

54. Whenever the term Sabbath is used in John, it always refers to the actual day of Sabbath (Friday sundown to Saturday sundown) and not to the beginning of a festival held on another day of the week: John 5:9–10, 16, 18, 7:22–23, 9:14, 16. However, in the Old Testament, "Sabbath" is occasionally used as a reference for some festivals: Feast of Trumpets, Feast of Tabernacles (see Leviticus 23). Passover

is described as a day on which no work/labor should be performed (Sabbath-like). This does not mean, however, that Passover was necessarily referred to as a "Sabbath" regardless of the day of the week it occurred, such as a Thursday or a Friday.

55. This designation (High Sabbath) is without precedent in Jewish literature. See Israel Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, 2 vols. (New York: KTAV reprint, 1967), 2:68.

56. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 33 n. 44, makes a rather tenuous argument that a Thursday death for Jesus is more convincing since it would more directly fulfill a prophecy uttered by Jesus in Matthew 12:40: "For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Chadwick contends that if Jesus died on Friday then he would be dead only three days (technically but not fully) but would not be dead three nights (only two). However, since Matthew 12:40 is a partial quote of Jonah 1:17 (LXX Jonah 2:1), wherein it is reported that Jonah was "in the belly of the fish three days and three nights," the reference here need not be pushed so hard that the actual timing has to be taken literally. This is the only reference in the Gospels to Jesus being dead "three nights." Here Jesus draws an analogy between his death and Jonas's time in the belly of the fish: it is not overtly an exact statement of the number of hours that Jesus would spend in the tomb. The point of an analogy is not that it has to be absolutely congruent in every respect but that an adequate comparison can be made and recognized by the audience. Furthermore, it has long been noted in scholarship that Matthew's Gospel had a tendency to find any reference in the Old Testament that might relate to Jesus and cite it, whether or not it was a perfect fit. The classic study on this front is by Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew, and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968).

57. We are inclined to agree with Chadwick in preferring Nisan 14 instead of Nisan 15 for the day of Crucifixion, since it seems less likely that Jesus would have been crucified on Passover, which would have been a profanation of a holy day (see Ex. 12:16; Lev. 23:5–8). As do most scholars, however, who favor Nisan 14 (John's chronology), we also favor a Friday death.

58. Humphreys and Waddington, "Dating the Crucifixion," 743–46.

59. In a rather convoluted argument, they attempt to connect this lunar eclipse with Acts 2:20 (quote of Joel 2:31), where it states that the moon will be like "blood," and then try to relate this to the Crucifixion. At the Crucifixion, the synoptic Gospels report that there was darkness for the space of three hours (sixth to ninth hour = 12:00 PM to 3:00 PM; see Matt. 27:45; Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44). Lunar eclipses do not create darkness, only solar eclipses do, and the latter only last for minutes (not three hours).

60. Chart adapted from Humphreys and Waddington, "Dating the Crucifixion," 744.

61. H. Kimball Hansen, "Concerning Astronomical References Found in the Scriptures," in *Converging Paths to Truth*, ed. Michael D. Rhodes and J. Ward Moody (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2011), 49–55.

62. Sacha Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar Second Century BCE—Tenth Century CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001),

113; compare B. Z. Wacholder and D. B. Weisberg, "Visibility of the New Moon in Cuneiform and Rabbinic Sources," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 42 (1971): 227–42.

63. For the fallacies associated with relying on astronomical recalculations to determine the absolute dates of Passover festivals during the time of Jesus, see Roger Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Inter-testamental and Patristic Studies* (Brill: Boston; Leiden, 2001), 278–82. Beckwith directly addresses the points raised in Humphreys and Waddington, "Dating the Crucifixion."

64. A lunar calendar is 354 days, whereas a solar calendar is 365. The most common definition of a new moon is when the crescent becomes visible for the first time. Lunar months fluctuate between 29 days and 6½ hours and 29 days and 20 hours.

65. Roger Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology*, 276–96, especially 279.

66. Credible witnesses excluded women, slaves, and persons who played with dice, practiced usury, raced pigeons, and traded produce during sabbatical years. See *Rosh Hashanah* 1:8, in *The Mishnah: A New Translation*, trans. Jacob Neusner (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988), 300–301.

67. *Rosh Hashanah* 2:8, in Neusner, *Mishnah*, 302.

68. *Rosh Hashanah*, 1:3–4:8, in Neusner, *Mishnah*, 300–307.

69. L. E. Doggett and B. E. Schaefer, "Lunar Crescent Visibility," *Icarus* 107 (1994): 388–403.

70. On the evidences for errors and discrepancies occurring in the ancient Jewish observational calendar, see the lucid study by Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 4–154.

71. Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 1.9, in *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates*, trans. Valesius (London: George Bell and Sons, 1892), 33, italics added.

72. Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 80–84; compare Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology*, 69.

73. The codex that contains these proceedings dates to c. AD 700. See W. Telfer, "The Codex Verona LX (58)," *Harvard Theological Review* 36 (1943): 181–82.

74. For analysis of the dates of Passover listed in this document, see Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 124–32, 146.

75. These figures are derived by subtracting 33 to 34 years from the death date. See discussion of Book of Mormon evidence above.

76. All dates after and including AD 31 are too late to account for a birth under Herod (who died in spring of 4 BC). A death date after AD 42 would account for a census under Cyrenius (AD 6–7).

77. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 36 n. 55. Curiously, Chadwick insists that this interpretation is "common" but never cites one example to establish this claim.

78. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 21–22.

79. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:587–88.

80. See Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 13.9.1, in Whiston, *Works of Josephus*, 352, where it is clear from the context of this passage that the "sixth month" is Elul. The *Megillat Ta'anit* is divided into twelve chapters that correspond with the twelve months of the year. Chapter 1 deals with the first month, Nisan, and chapter 12 deals with the last month, Adar. "Megillat Ta'anit ('The Scroll of Fasting')," *Jewish Encyclopedia*.com, <http://www.JewishEncyclopedia.com/articles/10555-megillat-ta-anit/>.

81. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 11.4.7, in Whiston, *Works of Josephus*, 293: “And in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, which is by us called *Adar*, but by the Macedonians *Dystrus*.” Compare *Antiquities of the Jews* 11.6.12–13, in Whiston, *Works of Josephus*, 304. Esther 3:7: “In the first month, that is, the month Nisan, in the twelfth year of king Ahasuerus, they cast Pur, that is, the lot, before Haman from day to day, and from month to month, to the twelfth month, that is, the month *Adar*.” Chadwick seems to be reckoning from *Rosh Hashanah* in the fall to make *Adar* the sixth month. It is not at all apparent, despite Chadwick’s assurances, that the “sixth month” usually corresponded to *Adar* in the first century. Granted, in the Mishnah, a third century AD compilation of Jewish law, in *Rosh Hashanah* 1:1 it states that there could be four different New Years (Nisan, Elul, Tishri, Shebat). See Herbert Danby, trans., *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), 188.

82. For a judicious analysis of the reference to the “sixth month” in Luke 1:26 within the narrative flow of the whole chapter, see the excellent commentary by Bovon, *Luke* 1, 42–53.

83. Chadwick, “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” 6–10.

84. Chadwick, “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” 28 n. 12. See Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Manuscript Revelation Books*, facsimile edition, first volume in the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, ed. Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard L. Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2009), 75.

85. See Chadwick, “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” 28 n. 12.



FIGURE 1. Map showing the location of Torre Pellice, the site of dedicatory prayers by Lorenzo Snow (in 1850) and Ezra Taft Benson (in 1966).

The LDS Church in Italy

The 1966 Rededication by Elder Ezra Taft Benson

James A. Toronto and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

From the early years of Mormon history, Italy attracted the attention of the Church's leadership as a proselyting field. In April 1849, less than two years after the arrival of the first pioneer companies in Salt Lake Valley, President Brigham Young announced plans to open missionary work in non-English speaking countries, and by October of that year the first group of missionaries left the Utah territory bound for continental Europe with the charge to begin preaching in Italy, France, and Denmark. Thus, midway through the "century of missions" (as the nineteenth century has been called), The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints became one of the first religions of the modern era to begin actively proselyting on Italian soil.¹

Upon their arrival in Torre Pellice (figs. 1 through 5), located in present-day northwestern Italy, in July 1850, Apostle Lorenzo Snow and his

1. K. S. Latourette, quoted in A. F. Walls, "World Christianity, the Missionary Movement, and the Ugly American," in *World Order and Religion*, ed. Wade Clark Roof (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY, 1991), 149. English Methodists began missionary work in Italy in 1859, English Baptists in 1863, American Methodists in 1872, and the Salvation Army in 1887. See material on Protestantism in Italy in Hans J. Hillerbrand, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, vol. 2 (New York: Routledge, 2004), 962–63.



FIGURE 2. A view of Torre Pellice, Italy, including in the distance Monte Vandalino (the high mountain) and Monte Castelluzzo (the outcropping), June 4, 1889. From Carlo Papini, *Come vivevano . . . Val Pellice, Valli d'Angrogna e di Luserna: fin de siècle (1870–1910)* (Torino: Claudiana Editrice, 1998).



FIGURE 3. Another view of Torre Pellice, taken April 22, 1908. From Carlo Papini, *Come vivevano . . . Val Pellice, Valli d'Angrogna e di Luserna: fin de siècle (1870–1910)* (Torino: Claudiana Editrice, 1998).



FIGURE 4. A neighborhood piazza in Torre Pellice, Italy. Courtesy James Toronto.



FIGURE 5. The main road through Torre Pellice, Italy, circa 2000. Courtesy James Toronto.

companions, Joseph Toronto² and Thomas (T. B. H.) Stenhouse,³ rented a room in the Albergo dell'Orso, a hotel located in the town's central piazza. Once settled, the missionaries began to consider how best to go about the daunting task of introducing a new faith to a Protestant religious community, the Waldensians (fig. 6), whose devotion to their traditions had been forged by seven hundred years of persecution and isolation. Initially, the missionaries felt that it was "the mind of the Spirit" to proceed "by slow and cautious steps," probably a result of their growing awareness of the religious restrictions imposed by the Sardinian government, including a ban on public preaching, selling Bibles, or publishing works that attack Catholicism. Snow later reported that their low-key approach had been successful in keeping them "from being entangled in the meshes of the law" and that "all the jealous policy of Italy has been hushed into repose by the comparative silence" of the missionaries' activities. "At the same time," he pointed out, the three elders kept busy, "always engaged in forming some new acquaintance, or breaking down some ancient barrier of prejudice."⁴

A priesthood blessing administered by Snow to Joseph Guy (the three-year-old son of their hotel's managers, Jean Pierre Guy and Henriette Coucourde) and the boy's remarkable recovery emboldened the missionaries and helped set the stage for a significant change in strategy.⁵ About the time of the blessing, Snow, having concluded that circumstances were "as favourable as could be expected," decided to send for Jabez Woodard,⁶ whom

2. Toronto, whose Italian name is Giuseppe Taranto, was a native of Palermo, Sicily, who joined the LDS Church in Boston in 1843 and emigrated to Nauvoo. In October 1849 he was called by Brigham Young to accompany Snow on a mission to Italy. See James A. Toronto, "Giuseppe Efsio Taranto: Odyssey from Sicily to Salt Lake City," in *Pioneers in Every Land: Inspirational Stories of International Pioneers Past and Present*, ed. Bruce A. Van Orden, D. Brent Smith, and Everett Smith Jr. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 125–47.

3. Originally from Scotland, Stenhouse was president of the Southampton Conference in England when Snow met him in spring 1850. After accompanying Snow to Italy in June, he was assigned in November 1850 to open the work in Switzerland, and in summer 1851 he was joined by his wife, Fanny, and his daughter as he presided over the Swiss Mission. Though ardent and articulate in defending the Church against anti-Mormon writers in Europe, both T. B. H. and Fanny became disenchanted with Mormonism after emigrating to Utah, wrote scathing exposés of the Church, and became well-known Mormon dissenters. See Ronald W. Walker, "The Stenhouses and the Making of a Mormon Image," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 51–72.

4. Lorenzo Snow, *The Italian Mission* (London: W. Aubrey, 1851), 13–14, 22–23.

5. Snow, *Italian Mission*, 14–15.

6. After having been called by Snow in England, Woodard stayed behind to make arrangements for the care of his wife and two daughters. Eventually he was

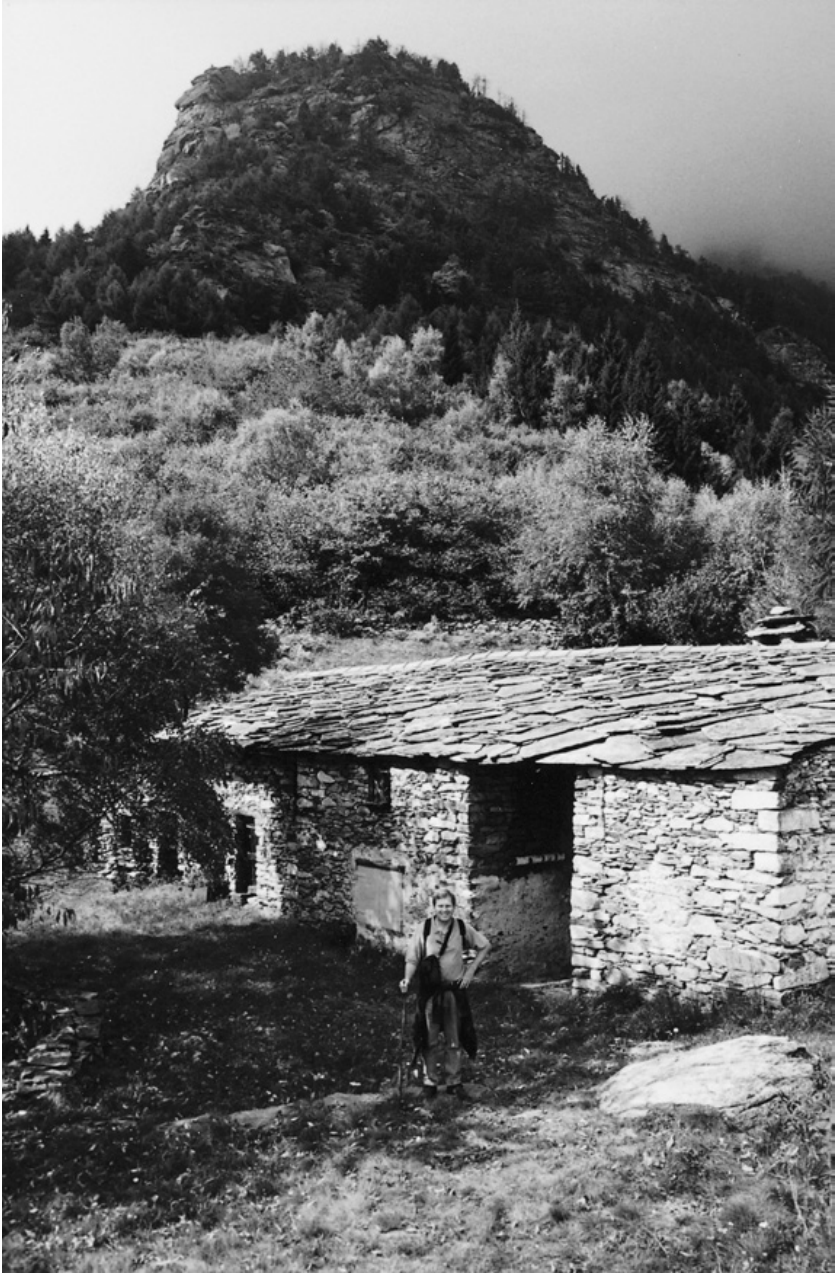


FIGURE 6. Rodney Boynton, of the BYU Italian Department, standing in front of a traditional Waldensian stone house. In the background is Monte Casteluzzo, the bold outcropping of rock that is the likely site of Lorenzo Snow's dedicatory prayer in 1850. Photo courtesy James Toronto.

he had met and called as a missionary while visiting the London Conference several months earlier. On September 19, 1850, one day after Woodard arrived in Torre Pellice, Snow proposed that the missionaries “should commence our public business,” meaning to shift their approach from one of quietly fostering good will to one of openly preaching Mormonism.⁷

To initiate this change, Snow, Stenhouse, and Woodard ascended a high mountain near Torre Pellice, and there on a projecting rock formation, Snow offered a prayer dedicating Italy to the preaching of the gospel and imploring God to prepare the hearts and minds of the Italian people to hear the message of his servants (figs. 7 and 8).⁸ Motions were then made and carried to formally organize the Church in Italy, with Snow as president and Stenhouse as secretary. The three missionaries then sang hymns and took turns praying and prophesying about the future of the Italian Mission.⁹ When they had completed their business, they were reluctant to leave a place of such great natural beauty and rich spiritual outpouring. Snow

counseled (probably by Snow) to “leave them with the Church in London” and proceed to Italy. “After bidding many farewells, I left my family with no other provisions than what might be given at the sacrament meetings of two branches. But this being found insufficient, the sum of ten shillings a week was afterwards allowed them.” Jabez Woodard, “Autobiography” and “On His Mission in the Piedmont Valley, Italy,” in “Writings,” typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

7. Snow, *Italian Mission*, 15.

8. Although Snow’s account suggests that all four missionaries (Snow, Stenhouse, Toronto, and Woodard) participated in this defining event in LDS history in Italy, Snow recorded earlier that Toronto had left Torre Pellice six weeks before. Apparently, Toronto’s health had suffered during the eight-month journey from Utah, but once back in Italy he “became very anxious to visit his friends in Sicily. As I felt it proper for him to do so, he took his departure at the beginning of August.” Snow, *Italian Mission*, 13.

9. Snow’s accounts of this historic meeting are found in *Millennial Star* 12 (1850): 371–73, and *Italian Mission*, 15–17. As far as we know, there is no documentary evidence that Snow ever uttered the phrase, well known and oft repeated by members and missionaries in Italy today, “Italy will blossom as the rose.” However, on several occasions he and other missionaries expressed the same idea but in different language. During the September 19, 1850, dedicatory event, the following prophesies were recorded: Snow: “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, now organized, will increase and multiply, and continue its existence in Italy till that portion of Israel dwelling in these countries shall have heard and received the fulness of the Gospel.” Stenhouse: “From this time the work will commence, and nothing will hinder its progress; and before we are called to return, many will rejoice, and bear testimony to the principles of Truth.” Woodard: “The opposition which may be brought against this Church will, in a visible and peculiar manner, advance its interests; and the Work of God will at length go from this land to other nations of the earth.” Snow, *Italian Mission*, 16.

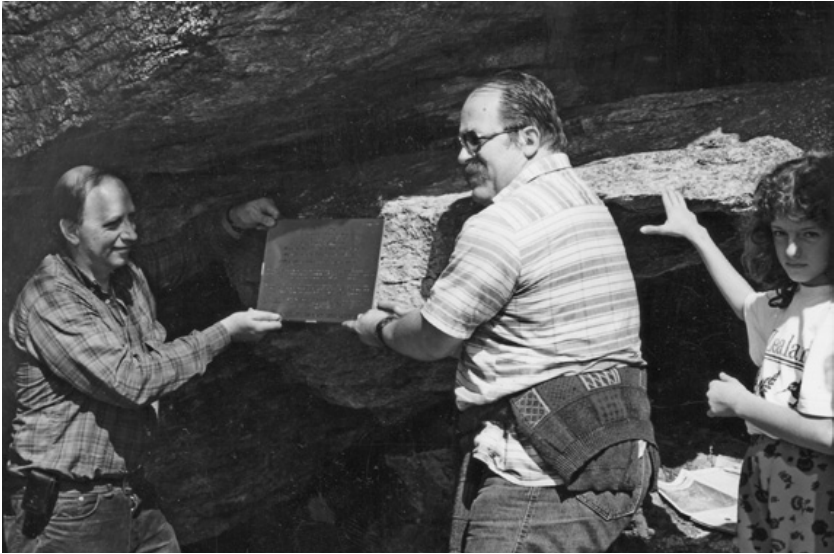


FIGURE 7. Photo of the May 31, 1997, ceremony to place a plaque on a large boulder on Mount Castelluzzo, overlooking Torre Pellice, Italy. It marks the approximate site of Lorenzo Snow's 1850 dedicatory prayer. The site has continued over the years to be a pilgrimage destination for LDS members, missionaries, and tourists. Photo courtesy of the public affairs department of the LDS Church in Italy. Left to right: Sergio Griffa, Gianni D'Amore, and Carolina Cappa.



FIGURE 8. A plaque placed May 31, 1997, marking the approximate site of Lorenzo Snow's 1850 dedicatory prayer. Photo courtesy of the public affairs department of the LDS Church in Italy.

proposed that, in honor of the momentous occasion, they call the high mountain “Mount Brigham” and the bold projecting rock on which they stood the “Rock of Prophecy.”¹⁰

The missionaries descended the steep slopes, reaching Torre Pellice at dusk after a physically exhausting but spiritually exhilarating day. A new chapter was opening in the Italian Mission, and Snow took care to mark the transition from a private to a public posture with a symbolic act: “As a sign to all who might visit us, we nailed to the wall of my chamber the likenesses of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. From that day opportunities began to occur for proclaiming our message.”¹¹ Over the next seventeen years, before the mission closed in 1867, approximately 180 Waldensian converts joined the Church, and about seventy of them emigrated to Utah in three separate companies during the 1850s. Among these Italian settlers were the Beus, Malan, Bertoch, Chatelain, Cardon, Pons, Stalle, and Gaudin families, who became prominent in Utah life.¹²

Intermittent efforts to preach the gospel in Italy were carried out over the next century. In the late nineteenth century, a few missionaries, including some of Waldensian descent, renewed proselyting efforts in northern Italy. Some Italians were converted before World War II by reading LDS publications: the most prominent example is Vincenzo di Francesca, whose conversion story was told in a 1988 Church film, *How Rare a Possession*. During World War II, LDS servicemen’s branches were established in several locations in Italy, but no formal proselyting efforts were undertaken.¹³

10. Though it is impossible to know with certainty where, exactly, these events occurred, anyone who visits the Pellice Valley will find it plausible to assume that the “high mountain” referred to by Snow is the most prominent one overlooking Torre Pellice, Monte Vandalino, and the “bold projecting rock” would likely be the outcropping of cliffs called Monte Castelluzzo, a striking geological feature on the southern slope of Vandalino.

11. Snow, *Italian Mission*, 17.

12. For more on the first Italian Mission and emigration of converts to Utah, see Michael W. Homer, “‘Like a Rose in the Wilderness’: The Mormon Mission in the Kingdom of Sardinia,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 1 (Fall 2000): 25–62; Michael W. Homer, “An Immigrant Story: Three Orphaned Italians in Early Utah Territory,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 70 (Summer 2002): 196–214; James A. Toronto, “‘A Continual War, Not of Arguments, but of Bread and Cheese’: Opening the First LDS Mission in Italy, 1849–67,” *Journal of Mormon History* 31 (Summer 2005): 188–232.

13. For analysis of reasons for the LDS Church’s long absence from Italy, see Eric R. Dursteler, “One-Hundred Years of Solitude: Mormonism in Italy, 1867–1964,” *International Journal of Mormon Studies* 4 (2011): 119–48.

During the 1950s and early 1960s, a number of Italians were baptized through informal LDS contacts with Italians both inside and outside Italy.¹⁴

In November 1964, while serving as president of the European Mission, which consisted of twelve missions and four stakes, Elder Ezra Taft Benson of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles went to Rome to discuss with Italian government officials the prospect of reopening missionary work in Italy. In the 1950s, during his tenure as U.S. Secretary of Agriculture in the Eisenhower administration, Benson had become well acquainted with several Italian diplomats, even receiving a distinguished award for his assistance to the Italian people: "So grateful was the Italian government for Secretary Benson's efforts in helping to solve its food shortages that it awarded him the High Cross of the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic in recognition."¹⁵ These warm relations with key decision makers in the Italian government would prove invaluable in the eventual reestablishment of the Italian Mission. One of Benson's biographers noted that his "stature as a former cabinet member gained him entry [that] might otherwise have proven inaccessible." One of his acquaintances, Minister of Agriculture Mario Ferrari-Aggridi, was especially helpful in arranging appointments with senior officials in the Department of Church Affairs in Rome in late November 1964. During a meeting with the U.S. ambassador and the Italian minister of religion, an LDS observer noted with surprise that Benson was "greeted with open arms. It was evident he had the love and respect of both men and a friendly exchange took place, as well as assurance that our missionaries would be welcome to proselyte in Italy."¹⁶ During this November 1964 visit to Italy, Benson organized the Italian District of the Swiss Mission, and on February 27, 1965, twenty-two Italian-speaking elders from the Swiss Mission (presided over by John M. Russon) arrived in Milan to preach the gospel in the newly formed Italian zone of the mission. Within seven months, the new zone was leading the Swiss Mission in baptisms.

14. James A. Toronto, "Italy," in *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, ed. Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 556–58.

15. Francis M. Gibbons, *Ezra Taft Benson: Statesman, Patriot, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), 210.

16. Sheri L. Dew, *Ezra Taft Benson: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987), 376–77, 380. The observer was Wanda Duns, wife of John Duns Jr., who served as the president of the Italian Mission when it was reestablished in 1966. It is unclear whether the Dunses met with Benson and Italian officials during their years in Italy prior to or after their mission call in August 1966.

After a century-long hiatus from formal missionary work, the Italian Mission was reopened in Florence on August 2, 1966, by Elder Benson. John Duns was called as president and was accompanied by his wife, Wanda, and their daughter, Teri. In December 1966, Benson sent a glowing report to the First Presidency describing the progress of the mission and giving suggestions for further growth:

The missionary work is taking hold and the spirit of the missionaries is most satisfying. They have had eighteen baptisms since the mission was created August 2nd of this year. . . . We now have two Italian branches and seven combined servicemen and Italian branches operating. Three missionary schools are in operation where new missionaries remain for approximately four weeks and are taught the languages, the proselyting lessons and something of the customs and habits of the people. There are 114 missionaries in Italy, with two zones, headquartered in Brescia and Naples. A small Italian branch has been organized at Palermo, Sicily. All halls are being rented for joint use for meetings and quarters for missionaries, with the glass front used for displaying Church literature and exhibit materials. These quarters are proving quite satisfactory and are costing about \$50.00 per month.

He recommended, based on these results, “that the quota of missionaries in Italy be gradually built up to about 180.”¹⁷

In the same report, Benson also gave details of the dedicatory prayer service that he conducted in Torre Pellice on November 10, 1966, a historic event made all the more memorable and dramatic by the fact that the dedication ceremony coincided with devastating floods that had inundated northern Italy one week earlier. The dedicatory ceremony was originally scheduled to be held in Florence at a mission conference, but Benson directed that it be moved to Turin when he heard about the flooding, some of the heaviest in Italy’s history, in and around Florence. Elder Benson’s record and contemporary news accounts in Italy indicate that no gas, heat, light, or water were available in Florence; that the water level in some places reached sixteen feet; that many areas were under three feet of mud; that most of the shops in the downtown area were destroyed; and that damage to art treasures amounted to \$159 million and to the nation as a whole to almost \$3 billion.¹⁸ Under the circumstances, then, it was impossible to hold a meeting in Florence, and even when the ceremonies were

17. Ezra Taft Benson, Report to First Presidency, November 23, 1966, Church History Library.

18. Benson, Report to First Presidency. See also Franco Nencini, *Firenze: i giorni del diluvio* (Florence: Sansoni Editore, 1966); Katherine Kressman Taylor, *Florence: Ordeal by Water* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1967).

moved to the Turin area, many missionaries were unable to travel there because trains and other modes of transportation in northern Italy were inoperable.

Despite the adverse circumstances, a group of thirty-five missionaries from less-flooded areas in the north (the districts of Bologna, Padova, Verona, Vicenza, and Turin and a few of the office staff from Florence) assembled for a conference on Thursday, November 10, at 1:40 p.m. in a rented hall at Via Belfiore 38 in Turin, with Elder and Sister Benson, President and Sister Duns, and their daughter, Teri Duns.¹⁹ President Duns welcomed the group and expressed regret that some of the elders and sisters could not attend because of the flooding. The meeting was opened by singing “Di Profeti Ringraziamo Dio” (“We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet”). Following the invocation, Benson spoke about how the Lord often uses tragedy to bring about blessings and expressed gratitude that the mission home and offices in Florence were above the flood level and not damaged. Several elders then gave talks, describing the progress of missionary work in their districts and exhorting those present to live mission rules and stay dedicated to the work. Benson stood again to address the missionaries, reminding them that it “doesn’t matter where we serve, but how,” urging them not to become discouraged, and expressing his hope to return the following spring to talk personally with each missionary. Duns followed with an admonition to study and work hard, and to refrain from attending Communist functions and Catholic masses. The mini-mission conference closed with a hymn, “Loda l’Uomo” (“Praise to the Man”), and a benediction. Benson stated then that “our big responsibility is to find a suitable place where we can all assemble” and offer the dedicatory prayer for this land. “Our first thing, while it is still light and sunny, is to get up onto some elevation somewhere,” noting that “we have not predetermined any particular spot.” Indeed, from that point on, the afternoon’s events

19. This account of the rededication is based on several sources: “Dedicatory Prayer of Italy,” audio recording of the meetings in Turin and Torre Pellice, Church History Library; Italy Rome Mission (1974–), “Mission Journals 1966–1978,” Church History Library; Teri Duns, Journal, copy of excerpts in author’s possession; and Dew, *Ezra Taft Benson*. The Bensons had flown from Germany, where they had been attending a servicemen’s conference in Berchtesgaden, to Milan, where they were met at the airport by Duns and driven to Turin. Wanda and Teri Duns were already in Turin because, while the family was returning to Italy from the conference in Germany, President Duns learned of the severe flooding in Florence and decided to drop them off in Turin for their safety before he drove on to mission headquarters to check on conditions and deliver clean drinking water to the missionaries.

proceeded in an impromptu fashion: it was clear that neither the location in Torre Pellice nor the agenda for the hillside meeting accompanying the prayer nor the words of the prayer itself were “predetermined” but would emerge as dictated by the Spirit of the Lord.

Benson was anxious that all thirty-five missionaries attend the dedicatory service, despite the challenges of finding transportation during the Italian afternoon break time. After some discussion about logistics—how many people could be accommodated in the mission van and zone car, and whether they could rent another car or two—and in accordance with Benson’s feeling that “the Lord approved of our plans,” the group drove in several vehicles to the mountain village of Torre Pellice, a distance of about forty kilometers southwest of Turin. As the group traveled up into the Pellice Valley, the road became more steep and narrow and the villages more remote. Wanda Duns remembered that “President Benson sat with his lap full of papers, scanning the territory and reading from a historical description of the first dedication. He was anxious to rededicate in as close a proximity to where President Snow had stood as was possible to determine.” Because early mission records indicated that Snow, Woodard, and Stenhouse had given the name “Mount Brigham” to the place of the 1850 dedication, Benson wondered if they might find a sign along the road or a name on the map to guide them to the location of the historical site. But no such clues were found, and after two elders were sent back to a nearby town to inquire about the whereabouts of Mount Brigham and returned with no specific information, the group continued on up the road. Sister Duns described how Benson eventually selected the site for the rededication: “Suddenly President Benson said, ‘Stop here!’ He got out of the car, pointed his finger up the mountain, and said, ‘I think we’ll climb here.’ About three-fourths of the distance to the top [of one of the foothills] President Benson stopped and waited for the rest of us to catch up. Then he announced, ‘This is it, this is the spot!’”²⁰ Teri Duns, age twelve at the time, recalled the crisp feeling in the November air, the crunch of fallen leaves under her feet as she climbed, and the difficulty experienced by her mother and Sister Benson, “who with some strong handed help from their husbands, managed to climb the hillside in their high heeled shoes” and dresses. Although the day was somewhat overcast, the hillside clearing chosen by Elder Benson commanded a spectacular view of the valleys and mountains of the Cottian Alps.

20. Dew, *Ezra Taft Benson*, 390–91.

At 4:30 p.m., after the whole party of missionaries had ascended to the clearing on the hillside where the Bensons waited, they stood close together and sang a hymn, “Come, Come, Ye Saints,” to open the meeting, followed by a prayer offered by President Duns and another hymn, “We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet” (figs. 9–12). Benson, speaking slowly, deliberately, and with great emotion, then began his apostolic prayer rededicating “the great nation of Italy” for the preaching of the gospel, noting that it had been 116 years since a previous Apostle, Lorenzo Snow, had first dedicated the land “in the same vicinity, as nearly as we can determine.” Standing “in this Thy first temple, the great open spaces,” he touched on motives of Christian love that imbue the activities of many missionaries and invoked the blessings of God on Italy, its government, and its people, asking that he soften the hearts of those who meet the missionaries:

We know, Heavenly Father, that Thou dost love Thy children and we have in our hearts a love for the Italian people as we assemble here today, and, Holy Father, we pray Thee that Thy blessings may be showered upon them. . . . Wilt Thou touch their hearts as Thy servants approach them and deliver them in their humility the gospel of salvation. Wilt Thou bless them with believing hearts. Wilt Thou temper their spirits that they may be willing to hear the message.

Italy, he predicted, would prove a productive mission field yielding thousands of converts: “We feel in our hearts under the inspiration of Thy spirit that this Thy work has a great future in this land of Italy. We feel to predict under the authority of the Holy Priesthood and under inspiration of heaven that thousands of Thy children in this land will be brought into the truth and into membership in Thy great church and kingdom that has been restored to the earth.” Acknowledging that the Church “can prosper only in an atmosphere of freedom and liberty,” Benson prayed in behalf of Italy’s national leaders to the end that peace would be maintained, that the land would be shielded from “insidious forces which would destroy the free agency of man,” and that religious liberty would be promoted in order to allow new faiths in Italy the “freedom to present their cause and their beliefs.” The new Italian converts to the Church received specific apostolic benediction:

Some have accepted the truth, Holy Father, wilt Thou be close to them; wilt Thou bless them that they may be true to their covenants. . . . We pray that Thou wilt bless the Saints with a spirit of missionary service that they may join with the missionaries in giving them referrals and leading them to their friends and neighbors and associates and loved ones that the message of the gospel may spread.

Benson also implored the Almighty to temper the natural elements in Italy so “that there may be no further severe tragedies” and asked that “the



FIGURE 7. At the rededication service on November 10, 1966. *Left to right:* Elder Ezra Taft Benson, Sister Benson, Sister Duns, President Duns.



FIGURE 8. Leaders at the service rededicating Italy on November 10, 1966. *Left to right:* Flora Benson, Ezra Taft Benson, Wanda Duns, John Duns Jr.



FIGURE 9. Group at the rededication of Italy on November 10, 1966, near Torre Pellice, Italy. Included in the group are Ezra Taft Benson, Flora Benson, John Duns Jr., Wanda Duns, John Duns III, Teri Duns, and other missionaries including Edward Hunter, Charles Vance, Tom Capece, John Grincer, John Newman, Robert Bishop, Irwin Jacob, Merilee Swift, Dennis Broadbent, Martin Neal, Thomas DiMarco, Brent Payne, Robert Gibson, Howard Anderson, Robert Smythe, David Rohde, Elder Layton, and Elder Vezzani. The authors thank Jim Jacobs and Rodney Boynton for identifying some of the missionaries in the photo.



FIGURE 10. Group at the dedicatory prayer service on a hillside near Torre Pellice, Italy, November 10, 1966. Elder Ezra Taft Benson is in the middle of the group. See *Italy Rome Mission (1974–)*, Scrapbook 1966–1974, Church History Library, for more photographs.

sunshine of Thy Sweet Spirit spread over this land that there may be a resurgence of spirituality, a desire to seek for the truth.” The prayer ended with a vow, spoken on behalf of all the missionaries in Italy, to “rededicate our lives unto Thee and all that we have and are to the upbuilding of Thy Kingdom in the world and the furtherance of truth and righteousness among Thy people.”²¹

At the conclusion of the prayer, Teri Duns recalled, Elder Benson continued for a few moments to look “solemnly into the heavens as tears streamed down his face.” As rain began to fall, the group sang one verse of two hymns that Benson selected from among suggestions he solicited from the missionaries—“I Need Thee Every Hour” and “God Be with You”—and a closing prayer was offered. Benson then assigned the mission secretary to “make a minute” of the dedication, as he did of the meeting in Turin. President Duns stated that they would write the account first in shorthand, then compose a complete version and send it to Benson in Salt Lake City. Benson replied that there was no hurry to receive the dedicatory prayer itself, but that he would like a minute of the meeting by Monday morning in his office in Frankfurt, if possible. Before translating the prayer into Italian, the mission staff should send it to him for review and approval. He directed that the mission prepare a “story with pictures” to be sent to him later in Salt Lake City: three copies of the minute, the dedicatory prayer, and the photos—two for the Historian’s Office, and one for the *Church News*. Benson then underscored the significance of the occasion by observing: “This is history—really history. It’s wonderful. Be sure you all enter this in your journals.”

Benson’s official report to the First Presidency describing the momentous occasion in Torre Pellice was succinct:

There we climbed the mountain side and as near as we could determine, stood in approximately the same area where Elder Lorenzo Snow had dedicated the land [in 1850]. It was a beautiful setting, overlooking the lovely green valley—the moan of the beautiful, clear river reaching us from the distance and two mountain ranges beyond, with snow-capped mountains. Tears were shed as we received the witness that many of our Father’s children, long in darkness, would now receive the Gospel. Songs of praise rang through the valley as villagers watched, curiously. It was a memorable and inspirational occasion.²²

21. Italy Rome Mission, Manuscript history and historical reports, Quarterly Historical Report ending December 31, 1966, 4, Church History Library.

22. Ezra Taft Benson, Report to First Presidency, November 23, 1966, Church History Library. It is noteworthy that Benson, in both his prayer and his report, refrained from referring to the location he selected as the exact site where Lorenzo

The twice-dedicated land of Italy has produced much spiritual fruit for the LDS Church during the past half century of renewed missionary labors. Benson's rededication of the land seemed to mark a watershed event for the Church in southern Europe, with Spain (1969), Portugal (1974), Greece (1978), and Yugoslavia (1978) being opened to full-time missionary work shortly after Italy. Though the number of Italian converts has been unspectacular, the Church has expanded steadily and solidified its place in Italy's religious landscape. By June 1971, Church growth necessitated the formation of two missions, and by 1977 four missions had been organized, with headquarters in Catania, Rome, Milan, and Padova. Continuing growth (total membership is about twenty-four thousand with an activity rate of 25 to 30 percent in most Church units) and maturation of the Italian membership have created the conditions for greater autonomy and self-reliance. After years of groundwork, a milestone was achieved in February 1993 when Italian President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro signed papers granting formal legal status to the Church. A more advantageous but difficult-to-obtain level of full legal recognition (called an *Intesa*) by the Italian state was approved on July 30, 2012, when the president of Italy, Giorgio Napolitano, signed the *Intesa* into law, making the Church a "partner of the state."²³

As of 2010, the number of missions was reduced to two (in Rome and Milan), but seven stakes functioning under local Italian leadership (in Palermo, Puglia, Rome, Alessandria, Milan, Verona, and Venice) have strengthened the image and presence of the Church. Since the reopening of the mission, many descendants of the first converts and missionaries have returned to Italy as missionaries. Italian converts have served as missionaries in Italy and abroad, as mission and temple presidents and Area Seventies, as full-time coordinators and part-time teachers in the seminary and institute program, as well as contributing to the worldwide Church in leadership and education. The Rome temple and visitors' center were

Snow had offered the first dedicatory prayer. Instead, he mentioned that the missionaries who assembled on November 10, 1966, stood "in the same vicinity" and "in approximately the same area" as Mount Brigham (most likely Monte Vandalino) and the Rock of Prophecy (most likely Monte Castelluzzo) where Snow and his companions had previously gathered. The actual site of the 1850 dedication is a remote, rocky location much higher up the rugged slopes of Vandalino that requires a strenuous hike of two or three hours' duration to reach.

23. The new legislation was officially published in the Supplement of the Official Journal (*Gazzetta Ufficiale*) on August 7 and took full legal effect beginning August 22, 2012. Available at <http://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/guridb/dispatcher?service=1&datagu=2012-08-07&task=dettaglio&numgu=183&redaz=012G0146&tmstp=1344374712391>.

announced by President Thomas S. Monson at the October 2008 general conference, and ground was broken on October 23, 2010. Due for dedication in the latter half of 2014, the temple will provide a tangible symbol of how prophetic vision, missionary perseverance, and convert resilience have combined over time to root Mormonism in Italian soil.

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“As a Bird Sings”

Hannah Tapfield King, Poetess and Pioneer

Leonard Reed

*“I write as a bird sings, free as the air and untrammelled;
I care not who blames or praises, I sing my song for love of singing.”¹*

Hannah Tapfield King was an intimate of many of the prominent early leaders—both men and women—of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Utah in the nineteenth century. She was one of the most popular LDS poetesses and writers of her time and the last woman sealed to LDS President Brigham Young in his lifetime—and yet relatively little is written or commonly known about her today. King made an important literary contribution to early Utah society and was also one of a small percentage of English converts who were of middle-class status; she emigrated to Utah with her husband and children even though her husband was not a Mormon.

King’s writings earned her many friends and enlarged her reputation in Utah as a poetess, author, and woman of sensitivity, refinement, and learning. Her work educated and informed her readers, touched deep emotional chords, and engendered a feeling of intimate personal address. Verse poured from her pen in all manner of poetic forms and rhyming schemes. Her prose included articles on practical subjects as diverse as good manners, speech, procreation, political comment, and historical material (although the latter was never her forte), plus reviews of the lives and works of famous novelists, playwrights, and poets. She wrote a beautifully crafted, intimate, and comprehensive life story in the late 1850s, and her poems and articles appeared regularly in many of the Utah newspapers and magazines of the period: the *Salt Lake Telegraph*, *Deseret News*, the *Woman’s Exponent*, the *Juvenile Instructor*, *Tullidge’s Quarterly Magazine*, the *Mountaineer*, the *Contributor*, and the *Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star*.



Hannah Tapfield King (*right*), with her friends Elizabeth Anderson Howard (*left*) and Eliza R. Snow (*center*). Courtesy Church History Library.

She received many letters of support and gratitude during her lifetime, a number of poems were composed and published in her honor, and upon her death she was eulogized by her friends.² Her gift of expression along with her own personal charisma endeared her to many, particularly the women of the LDS Church. A group of women including Emmeline B. Wells, Rachel Grant, Helen M. Whitney, Louise L. Richards, Emily H. Woodmansee, M. Isabella Horne, and Zina D. Young, as well as King's daughter Louisa Spencer, met to memorialize her in an annual social gathering for a decade or more after her death in September 1886.³

Life in England

King was born Hannah Tapfield in the university town of Cambridge, England, March 16, 1807, the third of four siblings (two older sisters and a younger brother, Samuel). Her father was the trusted land steward and house agent to Baron Francis Godolphin Osborne, second son of the fifth duke of Leeds, and when Hannah was very young the family moved a few miles south of Cambridge to live within the grounds of his country mansion, Gog Magog House in Stapleford, Cambridgeshire.

King's autobiographical description of her early years and upbringing provide a useful insight into the development of her character. Although she had very little formal schooling, having been largely tutored at home by an intelligent mother, she was well read for a woman of her time and able to express her ideas and feelings extremely adeptly on paper, both

in prose and poetry, from a young age. One of her poems, *Letter to My Younger Brother*, written when she was thirteen, demonstrates an excellent command and use of language and meter, and a maturity of thought—particularly of moral and religious ideas—that one would not automatically associate with a girl of her age. One of her earliest books of poetry, *Poetic Flowerets*, was published when she was twenty. She was an avid diarist throughout the majority of her life and a prolific, almost compulsive letter writer: "At nine and ten I became a letter writer, and the thousands I have written in my long life would form a towering paper pillar."⁴

She was of a particularly sensitive, devoutly religious nature, and although given a thorough grounding by her parents from an early age in the doctrines and practices of High Anglicanism, she took such teachings very much more to heart than one might consider typical, even to her detriment during her adolescence. When a clergyman preached about "Hell and its concomitants," Hannah wrote, "I feared I might be one of those lost proscribed beings! . . . Often would I arise in the night & kneeling by my bed Entreat the Lord." This religious fear along with a natural tendency for "pensive melancholy feelings" led to a lengthy bout of severe depression during her teenage years.⁵

Hannah became engaged at the young age of fourteen and was married in 1824 at age seventeen. This marriage put her comfortably in the middle class: her husband, Thomas Owen King, was the only son of a wealthy tenant farmer. The marriage was as much the product of the planning and contrivance of an ambitious mother as Hannah's own desire for material security and an advantageous match. Hannah married despite her own serious reservations about her personal incompatibility with Thomas, who was seven years her senior. She later wrote:

I think now that had I been associating with One I could have opened my Soul to, & he could have understood something of my feelings what a blessing—what an Eternal cement would have been such communion! But no—he never sought such communications, & I felt he could not understand them should I declare them unto him—so we were two in the regions of the Soul—and so we have Ever remained! yet he was as Kind to me as he Knew how to be, & got everything for me that could be got to do me good—had I asked for the moon I believe he would have made an attempt to get it!!! if looking at it and desiring it could have caused possession!—but I never had a desire that way!! I never thought of telling him my sorrows or my feelings! how strange! & he my Lover!—could I have done so I should have been saved years of suffering & agony & been bound to him by Eternal ties!⁶

Thomas took over the running of his family's 220-acre farm at Sawston, Cambridgeshire, on the death of his father in 1833. Thomas employed agricultural labourers, a shepherd, a gardener, and house servants. Hannah was

financially comfortable but suffered greatly when her first pregnancy ended in a stillbirth after a very difficult labor. She next had a baby girl who died at age fourteen months. Her next child was a girl who also died, and Hannah wrote of that experience:

My next accouchment brought the same struggle for life—but Mother & child lived—she was a splendid infant & was called Charlotte—she died at 4 months in all her beauty, of an affection of the brain—sad, sad was the desolation of my heart at her loss—it seemed torture to give me children & then take them thus—I was doubly Alone—but one may sip poison till it becomes a Kind of nutriment & cannot Kill!⁷

King eventually had nine live births, but only four children—three daughters and a son—survived beyond their early youth. She taught them at home when they were small, objecting to boarding schools for ones so young; she hired a governess to take charge of the girls' education when they were old enough for higher studies. King had progressive educational ideas for her daughters, and besides the girls learning to manage a household, they and their brother were taught dancing, drawing, music, French, and a number of scholastic subjects, the whole described by King in one of her life sketches as “a liberal education with accomplishments.”⁸ Her pride over her children's educational achievements is reflected in her writings, and she noted particular strengths and weaknesses they exhibited. In time, King's children entered boarding schools to complete their education.

While raising her children she did not set aside her literary interests and talent for writing, which were lifelong passions. She became a published author: “After some years of my married life I became a writer for the local papers and also wrote two books, one for my girls and the other for the boys. *The Toilet*⁹ and the *Three Eras*,¹⁰ dedicating them to each. These books were patronized by the aristocracy of England. I also wrote considerable poetry.”¹¹ She also had a substantial correspondence with the English poetess Eliza Cook.

In her personal writings, King described social occasions and functions in her rural environment and the nearby ancient borough of Cambridge. Her brother was a professor of music and church organist in the town, and she reported on concerts and musical events she attended; of agricultural shows in central Cambridge; of a two-day visit to the town in 1847 of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and the celebrated Duke of Wellington; of a visit to Trinity College Library, designed by Sir Christopher Wren, to view a statue of her favorite poet, Lord Byron (“the tout ensemble is very beautiful, I thought it breathed, but I might have been mistaken!!”¹²); and of numerous other social and cultural events. Her literary interests included enjoyment of a whole variety of reading matter, including novels by popular

authors of the day, and storing her mind with knowledge of the arts, history, and the lives of famous men and women, ancient and modern. In addition to reading Byron, she was a great admirer of Milton, Burns, Shakespeare, and Eliza Cook. Being in good financial circumstances, she was able to indulge her literary tastes in full.

During these years, Hannah came to accept her relationship with Thomas, writing, "The first year of my married life was the most unhappy to me—after that I philosophized & Cultivated happiness as a duty, and an imperative necessity, that my nature demanded, and in time I succeeded in a mighty degree!"¹³ But the couple remained deeply incompatible with regard to religion: Hannah with intensely devout feelings, and Thomas with a casual attitude—perhaps allied to a practical, down-to-earth turn of mind concentrating more on things of the here and now—that was much too deeply rooted to change. In later years, King commented in one of her letters to her son that for twenty years she had "left not a stone unturned to get him [Thomas] to be one with me in the Church of England," albeit in this matter he had been "as immovable as the hills!"¹⁴ King's retrospective comment in her autobiography that "we were two in the regions of the Soul"¹⁵ could not have been more aptly expressed.

Conversion and Emigration

It was Hannah's decisions with regard to religion that ultimately determined the whole course and direction of their family's life, when in 1849 she began to manifest an interest in the generally vilified creed of Mormonism. The initial catalyst for her change of religious orientation from High Anglicanism to Mormonism—a monumental, truly radical shift of direction in belief and worship—was a discussion one evening in September 1849 with her dressmaker, Lois Bailey, a working-class Cambridge woman:

She [Lois Bailey] requested me to read one of the books, which I did with much prayer. She brought me "Spencer's Letters", the Book of Mormon, Pratt's "Voice of Warning" and "Divine Authenticity". I read with the spirit and the understanding. I rejoiced daily. She alone was my teacher, my priestess. All went on in this way for fifteen months. At last in September 1850, I met through her agency Elder Joseph W. Johnson, missionary from America. I talked with him in my own house, one whole day. I thought he was the first minister I had ever seen who came up to my idea of a man of God.¹⁶

King and her daughter Georgiana were baptized on November 4, 1850, an act that brought upon them the immediate and entire opposition of the rest of their family and subsequently of most others who knew them. Daughter Louisa later wrote, "My Father nearly broken-hearted and our connections shamed and filled with grief—our old associates in life said 'that the most



Hannah Tapfield King, circa 1850, the year she was baptized into the LDS Church. Courtesy Dorothy Brewerton and Carolyn Gorwill.

merciful verdict they could give was that Mrs. King and my sister had gone insane.”¹⁷ King’s parents were equally shocked, as King’s journal was not slow to report:

[Undated—latter part of November 1850] Had a letter from My Mother full of complaints about changing my religion, “had I become a roman Catholic she could have forgiven me—but these low people!—Was not the Savior and His deciples [*sic*] what the world would call low people no matter, he was the Son of God—and our Elder B^r and Redeemer!—What can you say to that mother.”¹⁸

Despite this opposition, in the next few years all four of King’s children became convinced and joined her in her new faith.

With regard to the pressing imperative for nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints to leave home

and emigrate to the new Zion in Utah territory, King’s situation differed somewhat from most LDS converts of the time. The vast majority of them—80 to 90 percent—were poorer, working-class people¹⁹ who hoped for an improved standard of living once they arrived in the New World. By contrast, the King family were well-to-do, with a capacious farmhouse, land, an elevated position in society, and a well-established economic base generating an adequate income to provide many of the luxuries of life. In addition, King came from a particularly affectionate, close-knit family and had aged parents to whom she had extremely strong filial ties. Her brother was appalled by his sister’s change of faith and completely severed their formerly close relationship. Any move to emigrate would likely entail considerable financial loss and emotional upheaval, and Thomas King was entirely opposed to giving up the tenancy his family had farmed for generations. King, her children, and other Saints fasted and prayed that he would agree to emigrate. Under pressure from his wife and children to relinquish his farm and then being stricken with a serious illness, Thomas was “humbled and weakened as a child and gave consent to sell out and move to Utah.”²⁰ When King informed her parents of her plan, she noted their reaction:

April 8th [1852]. . . . My Father and Mother are apprized of our intended emigration, and my mother wrote to me this morning about it—such a letter!!!—Heighho! these letters cloud my Soul!—tho' they do not bow me down quite as much as they used to do—that shews I am stronger—well I must leave all in the Hands of God—it is His business—I Know I mean to be right, and Know that Right is the motto of my Soul!—and ever has been—tho' of course I am not perfect.²¹

The family uprooted and embarked in 1853 (with King then age forty-five) on the hazardous and lengthy journey to Utah, and hardship, sickness, and death dogged their path: the trip took the best part of a year of continuous travel; the vessel on which they made their transatlantic crossing was nearly shipwrecked midocean; Thomas and Hannah's thirteen-year-old son was reduced by illness to a near-death state while crossing the plains; and their eldest daughter died of mountain fever eight days after their arrival in Salt Lake City. Both of King's parents passed away in England within two years of her arrival in Utah—her mother reportedly of a broken heart—and, as far as can be ascertained, the breach with her brother never was repaired.

Settling in Utah

Thomas bought a small house in Salt Lake City and started building a larger one; he also invested in farmland, but their funds dwindled over the years, and Thomas was unsuccessful in generating much income from farming in the challenging, arid climate. Throughout these upheavals and a complete reversal of fortunes in her life, King remained firm to the course she had chosen, uncomplaining and thankful for her lot:

Janry 7th 1855 I have Journalized but little the past year—Time being at a premium with me here in this place, but I bear my testimony here in writing that I am rejoicing as Ever in the work of the Lord—I feel indeed and in truth that He has been my Father and my God, and never has the thought crossed my mind, that I wish I had not Given up my Home & come here or a regret that I have entered into covenant with him—no I rejoice that I had so much of His Spirit that I was enabled to see truth & embrace it, and tho' I have daily laid upon the Altar of Sacrifice yet "All is well"—and tho' I have been afflicted in many ways & have lost those who were formally around & about me & who aided in making my Heaven yet He has surrounded me with the purest & truest friendships that have been my solace—& has made a "silver lining" to the Clouds that have hovered over me.²²

Her dedication is evident in an incident during the Utah famine in 1856, when a failed harvest the previous year led to a severe dearth and a general shortage of food for settlers in the territory. Although King was suffering privations that only a few years before would have seemed impossible ("On

my birthday 16th of March 1856—I had no breakfast, nor supper the previous night having no flour or bread”²³), she donated most of her inheritance from her late father’s will: “Apl 14th 56 Went to Br Young—and gave the Legacy my Father left me to the Church reserving a small portion to make presents to my children—he was a good man and his money had a blessing in it to all.”²⁴ It is certain that King and her family needed this money desperately at this time. But in the same spirit of self-sacrifice for the latter-day gospel that had led her to leave her affluent situation in England, King, now in the days of her extreme poverty, demonstrated once more that she was willing to lay her all on the altar of her religious faith.

Personal Relationships

King’s commitment to her beliefs led to friendship with Church leaders who provided practical assistance and moral support. Brigham Young took a particular interest in her well-being and sent supplies to help ameliorate her situation. On one of several such occasions, King wrote, “The Early part of this month (June 1856) B^r Young sent me 30 lbs of flour by his daughter Alice . . . she came lugging it in saying ‘Father had sent it.’”²⁵ And in 1860, Young intervened on their behalf when the return on Thomas’s farming was not enough to cover his tax bills.²⁶

Heber C. Kimball provided moral and spiritual support to lift King’s spirits and sense of self-worth, which she particularly appreciated in absence of a devout husband:

Monday May 5th 1856 Went quite unexpectedly to B^r Kimball’s with Sister Spiking . . . B^r Kimball talked Good and Kind to me. . . . I then rose . . . and was walking towards the door but he called me back—he stood in the middle of the room, and as I returned to him when he called me—he said in his Earnest way fixing those Eyes of his upon me, and slightly raising his Voice “Sister King, You shall walk right strait [*sic*] into the Celestial Kingdom—you shall wear a Celestial Crown, and I will be there and see it on your head”!!! Of course I was struck, and melted.²⁷

Kimball also reassured her about the situation of her late father, with whom she had enjoyed a particularly close and loving relationship:

Saturday Aug. 1st 1857—B. r Kimball sent for me to Sister Groesbecks, and spent 2 & ½ hours with me & her—we had a great talk he told me I was a daughter of Abraham and that my Father must have been a noble Man—I told him he was one of the nobles of the Earth—a good and pure man asked him if he thought my Father would be where I would be—he considered a few moments and then said—“Sister King, Your Father will Embrace the Gospel in the spirit world, and will be where you are, his words came with

power, and I burst into tears—he told me to dry my tears every thing would be right, he was Very Kind, even polite.²⁸

Not all of King's feelings toward Church leaders were as positive as those for Young and Kimball, however: she wrote thinly veiled criticism of Young's other counselor, Salt Lake City Mayor Jedediah M. Grant. Grant, a straight-speaking, often openly judgmental man, provided the main momentum for the Mormon "Reformation" in 1856–1857. King wrote:

B^E Grant has done some strong preaching lately . . . After this Conference—"The reformation" was instituted—principally by B^E Grant thinking the people had become adulterous—Thieves, &c&c—it fairly raged—every Bishop had the "cue" given to him—and he rose up and lashed the people as with a Cato nine tails, the people shrunk—shivered—wept. groaned like whipt children—they were told to Get up in meeting & confess their Sins—they did so till it was sickening—and brought disease! . . . in the midst of it B^E Grant was seized with a fearful sickness[.] [An] evil spirit seemed to be let loose upon him and had the Mastery—the Priesthood seemed powerless when they administered to him—he raved—had Visions, &c&c and at last "passed to that bourn from whence no traveller Returns"²⁹ . . . I do believe many in those times were frightened into praying & confessing sins they never committed—it was a fearful time for all—whether it did Good—or was instituted by the spirit of God is not for me to Judge I leave an open Verdict even in my heart of hearts—Only I Know it was a fearful Ordeal—and Fear is a slavish passion & is not begotten by the Spirit of God!—³⁰



Thomas King, husband of Hannah King.
Courtesy Dorothy Brewerton and Carolyn Gorwill.

In the midst of this period of reformation, Thomas King was finally baptized, on March 14, 1857, and Hannah was rebaptized on March 21. But little in Thomas's life changed: he did not attend many meetings and evidently was not ordained to the priesthood. Over the following years, Hannah recorded relatively little of his personal and business activities, being more concerned with her children, Church, and social activities.

King was not by nature a critical person, although she was impatient at times with some people, particularly women, whom she saw as social aspirants trying unsuccessfully to ape the ways of the English upper classes. She was proud of her English middle-class credentials and felt that some of the people were attempting a subterfuge they could not sustain. On one occasion she revealed her prejudices:

[There is] of course a little Vanity and Folly—and that one sees in the Tabernacle and every where—for the bulk of this people have been raised in poverty and ignorance they Emigrate here—and haveing [*sic*] been the Servants—& working people of the lands they came out of—they can begin on the first step of the Ladder—for that is where they have always stood—they gain wealth—and being ignorant—they are filled with Vanity & foolishness . . . yet they are perhaps not wicked—but they “feel their Oats” as the Grooms say—and they think dress & money makes Men & Women Ladies and Gentleman [*sic*]—out of such a stock grows a “shoddy” aristocracy—no more like the true one “than I to Hercules.”³¹

King’s strong feelings about such matters were demonstrated again one afternoon during a social visit where she encountered two women who were critical of her native countrymen, giving rise to further observations about English Latter-day Saint immigrants in Utah:

Ap.l 22nd [1857] Spent the afternoon at Sister Orson Spencers’—met there, Sisters Benson and Sarah Pratt . . . but did not like the feeling of these Women—they want to be something—if they would be content to be what they are, or might be, they might be intelligent agreeable Women—They seem to hate the English but I felt, I was a check upon them—they dared not come out on that strain before me—so they Kept hinting—and dabbing—Silly Women they only exposed their ignorance, and ill-manners—and what do they Know of the English—or English society—One has never been in England—and the other—from her very position as a Mormon Elder’s wife could not move in that society that develops the National character—and the mass of the English that come here do not represent the Nation—they feel I am different and are rather in awe of me.³²

King retained more than a vestige of the class-consciousness of her native land and culture, a situation that led a number of her contemporaries to view her as “aristocratic” in bearing and disposition,³³ although King was not a member of the aristocracy in England. Whatever her prejudices with regard to class, this in no way limited her ability to form friendships with people of every social status. She was by nature gregarious and warm-hearted, and for her the principle of friendship—especially with an inner circle of close confidantes—was one of the main supports and joys of her life.

One of many articles that Hannah Tapfield King wrote for her fellow Saints. This appeared in Woman's Exponent 11 (November 15, 1882): 89.

MEMORY THE CURSE OR BLESSING OF EXISTENCE.

BY HANNAH T. KING.

November the fourth, 1882. Evening—as usual I am alone, and yet, not by any means alone, or lonely; my brain is all alive with a vision of the PAST, memory by her mystical power draws back with soft and gentle hand a curtain, and a marvelous panorama opens to my view. I behold a river, yes the classic waters of the Cam roll at my feet; a group of kind and watchful friends are around me not the friends of my youth, not my blood relations, no, they are away; afar off in every sense of the word; they are not cognizant of the step I am about to take. 'Twould have been vain to apprize them, they would not have condescended even to listen to me; so after mature reflection, I decide to take the step that I feel will revolutionize my life.

Alone! Yet no, not all alone, one loving, clinging spirit—"bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh," and far more still, twin spirit of my soul holds my hand and whispers, "let me go with you, I desire with all my heart to go with you." I knew that request was not made lightly, or unadvisedly, and at that awfully grand moment of my life, when about to pass into the womb of waters it felt so sweet to have something of my own, on which to press even a finger, that I assented and we two entered the waters of baptism together. This is the scene that memory holds up to me this night; and all is as vivid to my mind, as when it actually took place. Every word, every look, the whole scene is as it were photographed upon my heart and brain, NEVER to be erased.

An American Elder administered the rite of baptism by immersion, we were verily buried in the liquid grave, and came forth most certainly to a new life, temporally, spiritually and eternally! Then appeared the Holocaust, but strength was given, the sacrifice was laid upon the altar! and the ordeal was passed! Thirty-two years this day have revolved over me since these scenes were enacted, during which I have passed the "changes and chances" that inevitably follow:

dark days, privations, bereavements, sickness almost unto death, and all the ordeals that a true Latter-day Saint has to pass through. Yet I have never seen the first moment, that I regretted the step I then took or wished that I could recall the act, or go back to my former state or associations. My former life had decidedly been a happy and a prosperous one, yet through all there was a vacuum, but through all the reverse of scenes described above, I have never felt a vacuum! even when I could not help suffering under reverses, still there was no sigh, no groan of regret, or the least desire to return. The language of my soul was on! on! there is sunshine behind this cloud. I felt a power sustaining me, softening the rough path to me, raising up friends to comfort and support me, even to a romance; I met them on the ship, on the steamer, in the encampments, crossing the wild prairies, met them In the city, they walked and talked with, me, comforted and invigorated my weakened system, and were to me as “An angel in the way.” If one was taken, another came to supply the vacant place, and so life progressed till like a child learning to walk,—I walked out of “leading strings,” and felt I could stand alone with my God! Death took some. of the most efficient, but I grasped “the rod of iron,” and found I was “coming up from the wilderness leaning on the arm of the Beloved.” Him, whose name I took upon me at the waters of baptism, and hence all was well—is well to-day. The kind and loving voices of other days are away in the eternities; but still kind friends are around me; and I am happy and contented. I have grown out of babyhood, childhood, and youth, and have attained a degree of maturity, being thirty-two years old at six o'clock this evening in the Church of Jesus Christ, and the embryo kingdom of God upon the earth. I rejoice in this grand Latter-day work, when “all things shall be gathered in one.” “One Lord, one faith, one baptism.” The Lord said, “gather me together a people who have made a covenant with me, by sacrifice.” Yes, sacrifice is the sign of the covenant, but “the oil of gladness” is ever round, and about the altar—and the Spirit of the living God sustains and animates the votary of Latter-days. There is through all, a peace, joy, a satisfaction that the religions of the world cannot give, or their recipients enjoy. Many that have come into the Church poor; have become rich, but if they still retain their “first love” of the Gospel of Christ, they would lay all down as dust on the

balance, if such became an impediment in their path to the eternal riches promised the faithful, faithful even unto the end—even unto death.

This is my testimony living or dying. This is the language of my heart, and brain. I have tried to be an apt pupil in the school of the Lord, for verily "Mormonism" is the school of the Lord, in which all are prepared for that higher school, into which all will be received who can present credentials that will procure for them the higher forms of the House of God, which is eternal in the Heavens.

Let us as Latter-day Saints, walk cautiously, quietly, calmly, with our eyes lifted up above the riches of the earth, which perish even in the using; that when the summons arrives for our departure, we may feel ready, and the voice of our heart exclaim Gloria in Excelsia Dei.

Friendship with Brigham Young

It is clear from King's journal that once she learned of the LDS doctrine of sealing, she was concerned because her husband was not willing to meet the requirements for participation in a sealing ceremony. On October 7, 1855, she wrote:

I took a review of my situation—still linked with the Husband of my childish days—the Father of my children—One who has ever loved me—whose love brought him here with us—who in this Very sickness was my watchful Nurse procuring all for me—his limited means allowed him—performing many of the menial offices of the House—and doing all he could for my comfort—Can I forsake this Man? No—my heart, with all its feelings & sentiments answers No! . . . if need be I am ready to wait for his sake—till the way opens—I am ready to fullfill my Church of England covenant "till death us do part" then I am free as air—but I do not feel to lose one jot or tittle of my salvation! No I must make my calling and Election Sure—I must have the sealing ordinance abiding upon me—then I shall be at rest so far—but Who?—and when—and how shall these things be? "God will provide["]—and I throw Myself into His Hands!³⁴

With this dilemma in the back of her mind, it is possible she looked to Church leaders for a solution from her early days in Utah, but it was not until 1872 that she was sealed to Brigham Young.³⁵ This sealing was to provide a connection in the next life only, and she never lived with Young, even after Thomas died. The sealing was probably known only to those

who were present at the ceremony in the Endowment House,³⁶ and it is uncertain how much Thomas King knew about it.

King's relationship with Brigham Young developed over the years from an initial friendship into mutual respect and affection. As noted above, King donated money to the Church, and Young helped the King family at times. Hannah recorded social events that she attended at which Young was present, for example:

July 4th [1856] Grand Celebration here—in the Evening a Ball & supper—I went with Claudius & Louisa—At supper B^r Young arose, as we entered the supper room, and asked me to “honor him by sitting beside him”—I did so—and became “the observed of all observers” . . . I[n] the course of the Evening B^r Young asked me to dance with him—of course I accepted—home at 1 OC—This day to be remembered as a happy One.³⁷



A photo of Brigham Young found in Hannah King's photograph album. Courtesy Dorothy Brewerton and Carolyn Gorwill.

She wrote a considerable amount, mostly poetry, about Young during his life and continued with tributes on his death in 1877. A poem published in 1883 is likely a private reminiscence about Young:

LORD THOU KNOWEST!

There is a love that God may see,
But must be hid from mortal eyes,
Because it human law defies;
Because of earth it cannot be.

.....

Wisdom, prudence, veneration too,
All mingled in that humble friend,
Whose sole appointment was to tend
His queen!—for such devotion love was due.

He served her husband, by reflection, he
Shone into her heart—until
He earned a niche that he himself should fill,
That by her gratitude unveiled should be.

.....
For queenship, who would sigh! to be
Watched and judged, the inner life to scan,
And all within the court of erring man!
Thou knowest Lord! we wait for thy decree.³⁸

Latter Years

Over the next decades, King was busily involved with her children (including her son, Thomas Owen King, who was a Pony Express rider and served a mission to England), and she continued to write prolifically. Hannah's husband Thomas King died in 1874, and during the remaining twelve years of her life, King continued to write poetry and essays and also joined with others in defending polygamy. Among her better known works is a pamphlet, *The Women of the Scriptures*, which appeared in 1878; a book of poetry, *Songs of the Heart*, published a year later; and a long poem about the history of the Church, *An Epic Poem*, written in 1884, although by far the greatest bulk of her work that popularized her and so endeared her to people appeared in the pages of newspapers or magazines:

It has been my delight to write for the Saints since I have lived in Salt Lake City, and my reward has been their love and rich appreciations of my writings. I have been a constant writer for the *Woman's Exponent*, a paper got up and entirely carried on by the women of our people. President Young desired me to write for it and I have done so with pleasure to the best of my ability in prose and verse.³⁹

King died on September 25, 1886, at the age of seventy-nine. Although few would recognize the name of Hannah Tapfield King today, her life story is indeed one worth knowing. Her descriptions of her early years, conversion to the Latter-day Saint gospel, and subsequent events that were to revolutionize her life and thinking



Hannah Tapfield King, circa 1870. Courtesy Dorothy Brewerton and Carolyn Gorwill.

form a fascinating chronicle of an LDS convert willing to relinquish everything of worldly value and a life of relative comfort to emigrate to a distant and challenging environment in ardent pursuit of deeply held religious convictions.

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1. "In Memoriam. Hannah Tapfield King," *Woman's Exponent* 15 (October 1, 1886): 69.

2. King's friend Evan Stephens, the noted LDS hymn writer, composer, and director of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, wrote a long poem, "Lines of Appreciation to my Kind and Esteemed Friend, Sister Hannah T. King," which was published in the *Woman's Exponent* 12 (October 1, 1883): 67. Another poeticized tribute to King, "A Tribute to Hannah T. King," appeared in the columns of the same newspaper, *Woman's Exponent* 11 (April 15, 1883): 171. In summer 1884, many of her readership put their signatures on a letter of appreciation for her literary contributions. See "An Open Letter," *Woman's Exponent* 13 (August 1, 1884): 37; see also "Home-spun Letter, to Mrs. Hannah T. King," *Woman's Exponent* 11 (October 15, 1882): 80.

3. This gathering, held on the afternoon of August 15, 1898, was reported in "Hannah T. King Remembered," *Woman's Exponent* 27 (September 1, 1898): 34.

4. "My Story—Hannah T. King," in *Treasures of Pioneer History*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1952–1957), 3:46.

5. Hannah Tapfield King, "Autobiography of Hannah Tapfield King," Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, 11–12; King's handwritten autobiography, completed in 1858, includes quotations from her numerous journals, letters, and other documents (extremely few of which have survived). Citations preserve the original's spelling, punctuation, and grammar. Excerpts of the autobiography are published in Dorothy Brewerton, Carolyn Gorwill, and Leonard Reed, *The Songstress of Dernfold Dale: The Life of Poetess, Diarist and Latter-day Saint Pioneer Hannah Tapfield King* (privately published), this one on page 29.

6. King, "Autobiography," 22–23.

7. King, "Autobiography," 28; Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernfold Dale*, 33.

8. "My Story—Hannah T. King," 3:46.

9. Hannah King, *The Toilet; or a Dress Suitable for Every Station, Age, and Season* (Sawston, Cambridgeshire: privately published, 1838). Among the names of subscribers listed at the front of the work are Lady Broadhead, Honorable Lady Catharine Palace, Honorable Miss Beresford, The Lady Godolphin, academics, several clergymen, and many others.

10. Hannah King, *The Three Eras; or, a Mother's Gift* (Sawston, Cambridgeshire: privately published, 1846).

11. "My Story—Hannah T. King," 3:46.
12. King, "Autobiography," 63; Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 43.
13. King, "Autobiography," 30; Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 31.
14. Quoted from a partially surviving letter, written c. 1862. The first page (perhaps others) is missing and the exact date unknown. It is currently in the possession of King's great-great-granddaughter Dorothy Brewerton of Bountiful, Utah.
15. King, "Autobiography," 23; Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 31.
16. Carolyn Gorwill, ed., *The Journals of Hannah Tapfield King* (Kingston, Ontario: privately published, 1984), from the section in appendix, p. 36, entitled "Brief Memoirs from the Life of Hannah Tapfield King"; Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 47.
17. Louisa K. Spencer, "Biography of Louisa King Spencer Written in Memoriam to Her Sons," 1–2, an original handwritten document currently in the possession of a great-great-granddaughter of Hannah King, Carol Catlin of Bountiful, Utah, quoted in *The Journals of Hannah Tapfield King: Supplementary Information on the Pioneer Lives of Her Three Children*, ed. Carolyn Gorwill (Kingston, Ontario: privately published, 1985), 8. On the idea of conversion to Mormonism being seen as a sign of insanity, see J. Spencer Fluhman, "A Peculiar People": *Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), chapter 2.
18. King, "Autobiography," 184; Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 49.
19. A statistical breakdown of British Latter-day Saints social status, based on LDS shipping records, is in Phillip A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), 149–51. Taylor's study found that approximately 11 percent of British LDS emigrants during the years 1840–69 were middle class; the remainder were mainly working class. Taylor's study does not include every year during this time, however. He states that the "years usefully covered are 1841, 1843, 1848–57, 1859–69" (150).
20. Spencer, "Biography of Louisa King Spencer," 3–4.
21. King, "Autobiography," 199; Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 62.
22. Spencer, "Biography of Louisa King Spencer," 248.
23. Spencer, "Biography of Louisa King Spencer," 282.
24. Spencer, "Biography of Louisa King Spencer," 283. The actual will of Peter Tapfield, Hannah King's father, has never been found.
25. Spencer, "Biography of Louisa King Spencer," 285.
26. On March 16, 1860, Hannah wrote to Brigham Young that they were planning to sell their home to meet the tax bill and wondered if he would purchase it. Young arranged matters so that they could retain ownership in the home and continue to reside there. Brigham Young, Office Files 1832–1878, Incoming General Correspondence, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, cited in Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 119.
27. Spencer, "Biography of Louisa King Spencer," 283.

28. Spencer, "Biography of Louisa King Spencer," 293.

29. While touring the northern settlements of Utah preaching the Reformation message, Jedediah M. Grant contracted pneumonia and died on December 1, 1856. Grant was nicknamed "Brigham's Sledgehammer" because of his fiery speeches during the Reformation, in which inordinately condemnatory language was used. Hannah's negative feelings about him are somewhat reminiscent of her horror caused by the sermons of John Charles Williams, an Anglican low church curate who during her teenage years had petrified her and contributed significantly to a period of intense depression with his "hellfire and damnation" sermons. Grant may well have spirited up some of these fears again with the type of language he used, which would hardly have endeared him to Hannah.

30. King, "Autobiography," 288–90; Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 112–13.

31. King, "Autobiography," 289; Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 118.

32. King, "Autobiography," 266–67; Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 118.

33. A newspaper at the time of Hannah's death referred to her "naturally aristocratic disposition." "Obituary of Sister Hannah T. King," *Deseret News*, September 29, 1886, 13. Other contemporaries viewed her similarly. In remarks made at Hannah's funeral Orson F. Whitney stated that she was "possessed of a refined soul, a cultivated mind, and surrounded by the comforts and luxuries of life . . . numbering among her acquaintances many in the upper walks of society in her native England." "Sister King's Funeral," *Woman's Exponent* 15 (October 15, 1886): 76.

34. King, "Autobiography," 275–76; Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 106.

35. Hannah recorded in her *Book of Common Prayer and Bible* the following: "Received my Second Endowments Sunday Decr 8th 1873 [probably 1872, since December 8, 1873, was a Monday]—Br Wells anointed & blest me President Young officiating—Sister Lucy D. and Sister Zina Young Present—Joseph F [initial uncertain] and Br Woodruff Present [—] Hannah Tapfield King." She did not record her sealing to Brigham Young and only once in known extant documents used the name "Hannah T. K. Young": in a letter to President Young on June 30, 1875. Brigham Young, Office files 1832–1878, Incoming General Correspondence, Church History Library, cited in Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 137. Hannah's obituary makes no mention of her sealing to Brigham Young.

36. A sealing of a married woman to a Church leader was not unheard of in polygamist days. Such a sealing did not necessarily imply any marital relationship but rather a desire to be sealed in heaven. See the discussions in Richard Lloyd Anderson and Scott H. Faulring, "The Prophet Joseph Smith and His Plural Wives," *FARMS Review* 10, no. 2 (1998): 67–104; and Brian C. Hales, "Joseph Smith and the Puzzle of 'Polyandry,'" in *The Persistence of Polygamy: Joseph Smith and the Origins of Mormon Polygamy*, ed. Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster (Independence, Mo.: John Whitmer Books, 2010), 99–151.

37. King, "Autobiography," 275–76, cited in Brewerton, Gorwill, and Reed, *Songstress of Dernford Dale*, 109.

38. Hannah T. King, "Lord, Thou Knowest," *Woman's Exponent* 12 (August 15, 1883): 43.

39. "My Story—Hannah T. King," 47.

Engel's Law

Rulon Pope

BYU Studies has a long history of publishing the annual lecture given by the recipient of the Karl G. Maeser Distinguished Faculty Lecturer Award, BYU's highest faculty honor. In past years the journal has published lectures given by such wide-ranging luminaries as Hugh W. Nibley, Arthur Henry King, Allen E. Bergin, L. Douglas Smoot, William A. Wilson, and Jerald S. Bradshaw. In addition, over half of the fifty recipients of this award have published other works of various kinds in BYU Studies. And so it is with great pleasure that BYU Studies Quarterly publishes this year's lecture by Dr. Rulon Pope of the BYU Economics Department, this year's Maeser Lecturer. His speech was delivered as a forum address on May 15, 2012, at Brigham Young University.

In 2007, *Time* magazine presented a photo essay from *Hungry Planet: What the World Eats* by Peter Menzel and Faith D'Aluisio.¹ It was beautifully photographed and depicted families from around the world and their expenditures on food. Though not a random sample, it is instructive to consider how food consumption varies throughout the world. For the United States, there is substantial variation in weekly food expenditures between the Revis household of North Carolina spending \$341.98, the Cavens from California spending \$159.18, and the Fernandez family from Texas consuming \$242.48. One notes that convenience or prepared foods are displayed prominently in the Revis family's food budget, while the Cavens' and the Fernandezes' expenditures suggest more intensive household production of food. Household size and composition and perhaps ethnicity seem to matter as well.

As to expenditures elsewhere around the world, it is interesting to look into these beautiful and beautifully photographed faces and the food they

eat. To mention a few, the weekly sums vary from \$5.03 by the Namgay family of Bhutan and \$25 by the Aboubakar family in Chad to \$500 per week consumed by the Melander family of Germany.

These extreme variations in expenditures on food arise from variations in income, prices, and preferences. Economists have spent at least two hundred years sorting out both conceptually and empirically how each of these contributes to the mosaic of variations across individuals and through time. In developed economies, many resources are spent collecting household consumption data. In the U.S., these data are typically the Consumer Expenditure Survey collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The survey is intended to measure how the buying habits of Americans change over time. Today the survey consists of two components, an interview and a diary survey. Over 13,000 households respond to the diary survey alone. Agricultural economists study the demand for food. Agricultural economics, including some of my own work, often focuses on studying the demand for food as it relates to problems of world hunger.

A year after graduating from BYU in economics, I entered graduate school at Berkeley to study agricultural and resource economics. From my fellow students, I learned much about their intense desire to understand and alleviate poverty and malnutrition. In today's policy parlance, my fellow students were interested in contributing to "food security." As followers of Christ, we all wish for the well-being of the world's poor. Developed economies have their own version of food insecurity and programs to ameliorate suffering and malnutrition. Among many in the U.S. are food stamps, which are now called the Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP), and the National School Lunch program.

When I completed my graduate studies in 1976, the times seemed optimistic: the Green Revolution was well underway, improving crop yields in developing countries. Norman Borlaug had received widespread recognition, including the Nobel Peace Prize, for his contributions to the Green Revolution. Many graduates of my program at the time focused on Asia (often India) or Africa. Though extreme poverty reigned in these regions, solutions seemed possible if not rather imminent.

Now, many years later, I suspect that the majority of my graduate school colleagues are both pleased and distressed. Pleased that productivity increases and a focused concern have elevated the number of calories per capita available in the world from 2,435 kilocalories in 1974–76 to about 2,900 today (well above adequacy for men doing moderate activity). Furthermore, much of Asia has had strong economic growth, as illustrated by figure 1, which shows increases in Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, and Vietnam in real gross domestic product per capita, which is a measure of

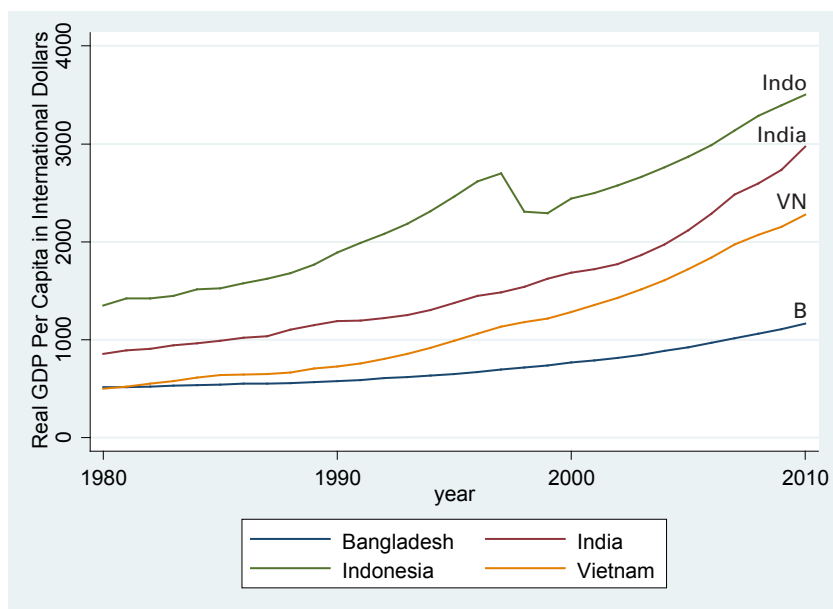


FIGURE 1. Source: Calculated from International Monetary Fund, Economic Outlook Database, September 2011. Available at <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2011/02/weodata/index.aspx>.

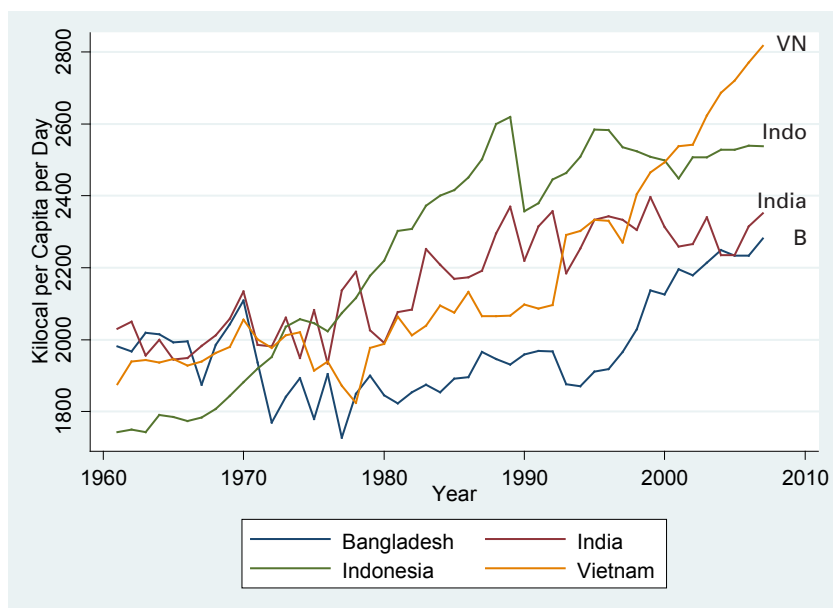


FIGURE 2. Source: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Data and Tables. Available at <http://faostat.fao.org/site/609/default.aspx#ancor>.

income or output per person. This growth has led to increases in food availability in these countries (see figure 2) and, on average, a steady retreat from severe malnourishment. However, “more than three quarters of the population live in households with per capita calorie consumption below 2,100 per day in urban areas and 2,400 per day in rural areas—numbers that are often cited as ‘minimum requirements’ in India.”² Undernutrition levels in India remain higher than most countries of sub-Saharan Africa, a region where 30 percent of the population is hungry. Infant and child mortality rates are high in both sub-Saharan Africa and India.

The United Nation’s Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that there are 925 million people who currently suffer hunger or undernourishment. Indeed, the World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that hunger is the number one killer and threat to health in the world; consequently, WHO has as the first of its Millennium Development Goals for our century to “eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.”³ Adequate nutrition (food security) is surely the most essential component of well-being among the world’s poor.

One can view food insecurity as a production problem, which was the focus of the green revolution. As important and successful as it has been to increase agricultural yields (and hence to increase quantity and reduce prices), many now view the food problem primarily in terms of improving food distribution and economic growth. Landless rural and urban poor may not have sufficient claims on food even though a country has a net surplus of food. The arguments of Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen have been provocative but cogent. As the preface to his remarkable book on famine and poverty states: “The traditional analysis of famines concentrates on food supply. This is shown to be fundamentally defective—it is theoretically unsound, empirically inept, and dangerously misleading for policy. The author develops an alternative method of analysis—the ‘entitlement approach,’ which concentrates on ownership and exchange.”⁴ I interpret Sen’s conclusions on the food problem to mean that people command insufficient resources to purchase enough food. Indeed, it is useful to note that 80 percent of malnourished children come from countries with agricultural surpluses. Although inequality is clearly an important cause of malnourishment, it is apparent that the food security problem is in the long run largely a growth or income issue, with 98 percent of the world’s undernourished people coming from very poor developing countries where the hungry are the poorest among the poor.

For all net consumers of food (those who consume more than they produce), a large increase in food prices implies they will be much worse off. Indeed, in the Bengal famine of 1943, which killed millions of people in India and so shaped Sen’s work, it was likely not food production shortages

but insufficient means to purchase food that caused suffering and death. Food production was up compared to some nonfamine years, but fear of a shortage and market disruptions drove prices upward while wages were declining with widespread unemployment.⁵

Though I have done research on both the production and consumption of food, today for the remainder of my remarks I will emphasize food consumption or demand with a few simple conclusions. Demand is an old topic and demand for food is among the oldest, and I feared it may not make a suitable presentation today, but then I remembered a saying by Jack Handy of *Saturday Night Live* that seems only somewhat appropriate here at BYU: “When you die, if you get a choice between going to regular heaven or pie heaven, choose pie heaven. It might be a trick, but if it’s not, mmm boy.”

Budget Shares

Often budget shares are used to get a sense of the relative magnitude of various consumption categories. For food, this would be the share or percent of your budget or income spent on food. Figure 3 shows roughly what household annual expenditures and budget shares look like for an average U.S. household. Food (excluding tobacco and alcohol) is around 12.4 percent of the average household’s expenditures of \$49,638. Note that almost half of all food expenditures were for food consumed away from the home. This is a remarkable change during my lifetime. Let us turn to how these budget shares compare to people in other countries and times.

Consumption and Income—Engel’s Law

Ernst Engel, born in Dresden, was a businessman, actuary, and government statistician known throughout Germany. As chief of a newly minted statistical office, he became interested in economics, specifically in studying food demand. Though he examined households in other parts of Europe, table 1 shows the simple methods of analysis he used studying (averaging) 199 Belgian households with data provided by Edouard Ducpétiaux. The table shows across the first row decreasing shares of expenditures on food as income increases. The same representation in chart form is shown in figure 4. Though many of these broad classifications of consumption are seen to vary by income, Engel emphasized one result that is now known as Engel’s Law: “The poorer is a family, the greater is the proportion of the total outgo which must be used for food. . . . The proportion of the outgo used for food, other things being equal, is the best measure of the material standard of living of a population.”⁶

Where Does the Money Go?

The Department of Labor's latest survey provides a detailed look into how the average U.S. consumer unit spends their annual paycheck.

U.S. CONSUMER UNIT EXPENDITURES

Average annual expenditures and percent of total:

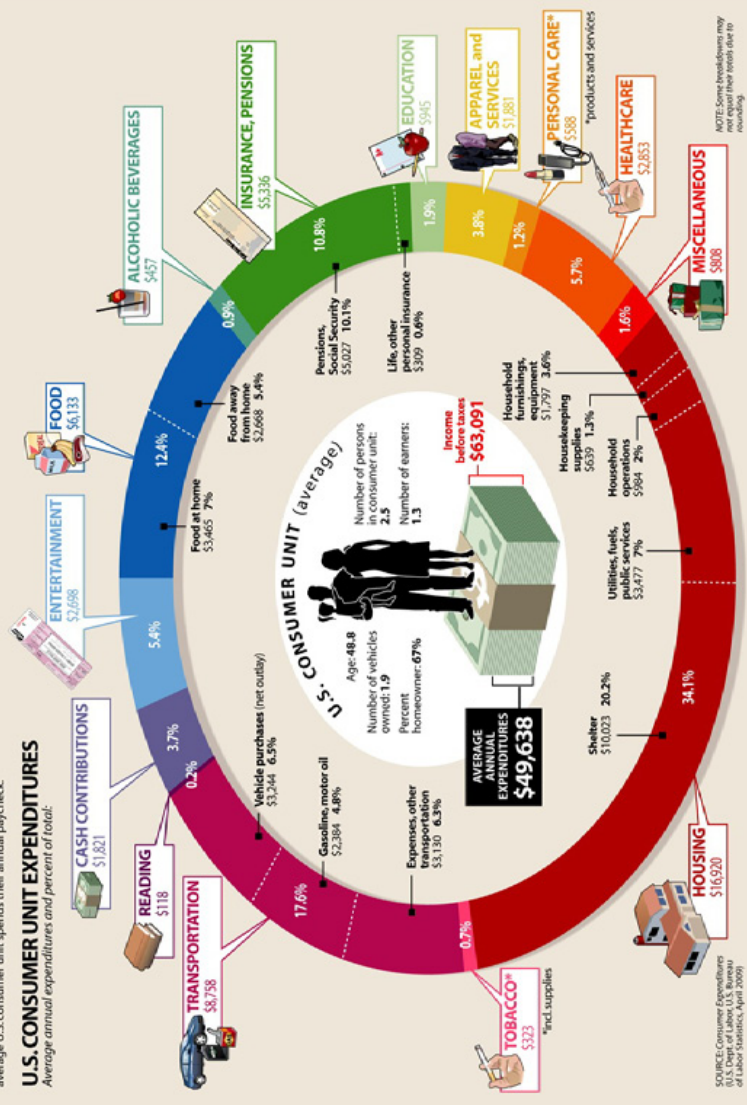


FIGURE 3. Source: <http://visualeconomics.creditloan.com/how-the-average-us-consumer-spends-their-paycheck/>.

Table 1. Percentage Composition of Belgian Workmen's Family Budget

Category of expenditure	Family type		
	1. On relief	2. Poor but Independent	3. Comfortable
Nourishment (<i>Nahrung</i>)	70.89	67.37	62.42
Clothing (<i>Kleidung</i>)	11.74	13.16	14.03
Housing (<i>Wohnung</i>)	8.72	8.33	9.04
Heating and lighting, etc. (<i>Heizung</i>)	5.63	5.51	5.41
Appliances and means for work, etc. (<i>Geräte</i>)	0.64	1.16	2.31
Intellectual education, etc. (<i>Erziehung</i>)	0.36	1.06	1.21
Public safety, etc. (<i>öffentliche Sicherheit</i>)	0.15	0.47	0.88
Health, recreation, self-maintenance, etc. (<i>Gesundheitspflege</i>)	1.68	2.78	4.30
Personal service (<i>Dienstleistungen</i>)	0.19	0.16	0.40
Total on all wants (<i>Bedürfnisse zusammen</i>)	100	100	100
Average income (francs)	565	797	1198
Average expenditure (francs)	679	845	1214
Minimum expenditure (francs)	370	440	541
Maximum expenditure (francs)	1256	1769	2823

Sources: Lines 1–10 from Ernst Engel, “Die Produktions- und Consumtionverhältnisse des Königreichs Sachsen,” *Zeitschrift des Statistischen Bureaus des Königlich Sächsischen Ministeriums des Innern* (1857), 27, table 6; lines 11–14 from G. Stigler, “The Early History of Empirical Studies of Consumer Behavior,” *The Journal of Political Economy* 62 (1954): 98, table 3.

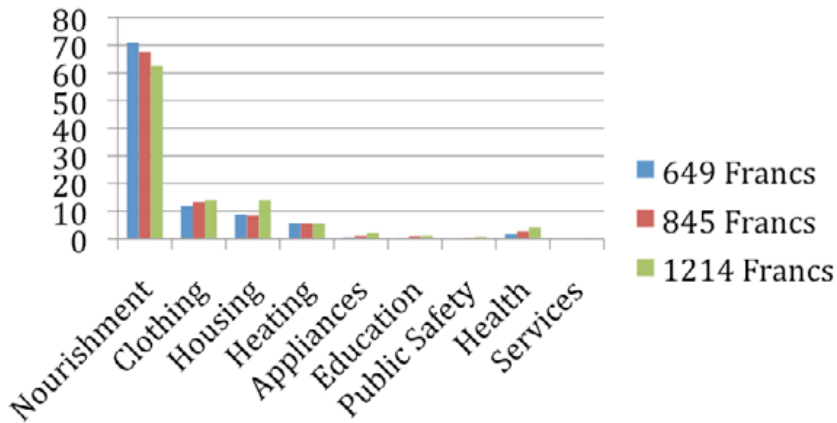


FIGURE 4.

Assuming prices are constant, Engel's Law can be depicted graphically in two equivalent ways. The first shows a declining budget share of food graphed against income on the horizontal axis (figure 5). The second shows a conventional Engel curve, which displays food consumption increasing, but rising less than proportionately to income, holding prices of goods fixed (figure 6).

Engel, having discovered the "law," exclaimed that Ducpétiaux and Frédéric Le Play (who provided a second data set) "had delivered the pearls but not the string," presumably meaning that the pearls were the data but the string was the analysis that illuminated or exhibited the pearls. Engel's Law is a wonderful example of the inductive method in economics. The intuitive and deep empirical regularity of Engel's Law is that the share of resources spent on food falls with increasing income.

Why had Engel emphasized food? Food then, as now, was a prominent and essential part of household budgets. There is some evidence he was concerned about the Malthusian conjecture about population and food: that "the power of population is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man" and that mankind was destined to a life of subsistence living and misery.⁷ Based on his studies of food demand, Engel came to believe that household expenditures on food do not grow at the same geometrical rate as income. He envisioned a society where "resources could be dedicated to the production of other goods unrelated to food," as consistent with his empirical studies, that is, Engel's Law.

The impact of Engel's studies soon became apparent. On this side of the Atlantic, Wright in 1889 noted, "The remarkable harmony in the items of expenditure [between Massachusetts and Europe] shown by percentage

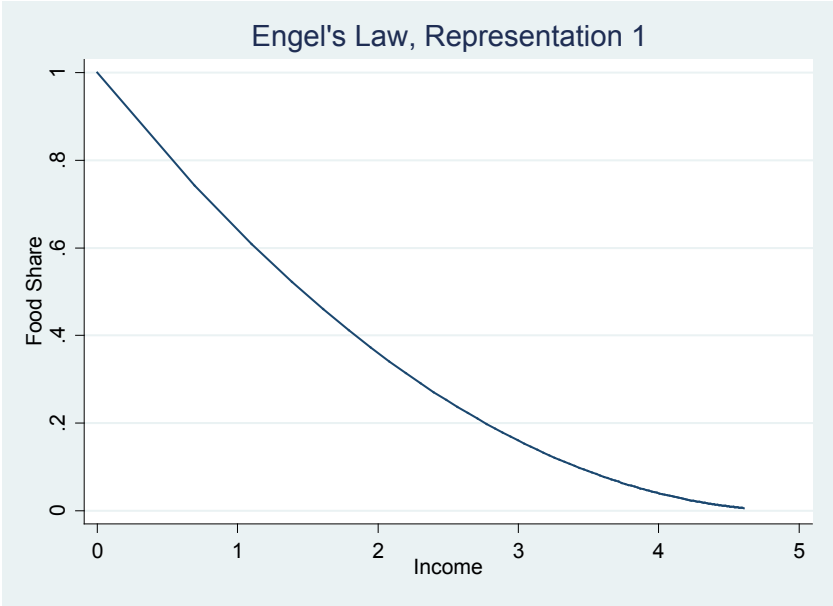


FIGURE 5.

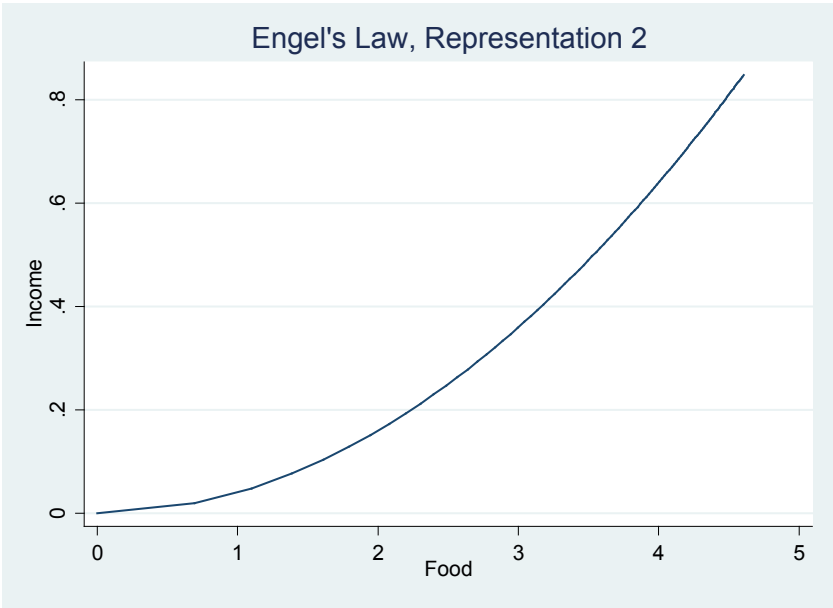


FIGURE 6.

of total expenditure must establish the soundness of the economic law propounded by Dr. Engel.”⁸ There have been accolades with each notable anniversary of Engel’s work. On the centenary of Engel’s publication, Hendrik Houthakker, a prominent Harvard economist, exclaimed, “Of all the empirical regularities observed in economic data, Engel’s Law is probably the best established.”⁹ And just recently there was a sesquicentennial paper lauding Engel’s accomplishment, showing the robustness of Engel’s conclusions across space and time.¹⁰

A few clarifying comments about taxonomy are helpful. Omnivores in the audience might relate to the two goods depicted in figure 7. When consumption of a good increases as income is increased, economists call this a “normal good.” When consumption of a good decreases as income is increased, economists call this an “inferior good.” Engel is arguing that food (nourishment) is a normal good but one whose budget share declines as people have more income or wealth. Economists call such goods “necessities.”

These are not inherent properties of goods but are descriptions of a person’s behavior as income changes. Ramen noodles may be a normal good for a missionary (he would buy more if he had a little more income), but postmission, after selling pest control or security services, he would likely consider ramen noodles an inferior good. That is, at higher income levels, consumption would fall with increasing income. However, if all food consumed behaves according to Engel’s Law, it will be normal throughout the income range and the proportion of one’s income (expenditures) spent on food will fall as one’s real income or purchasing power rises.

Though Engel’s analysis was about individuals or groups of individuals, is it useful to think about applications across countries? The World Bank conducted the International Comparison Project—the largest project of its kind to provide a coherent understanding of international consumption. The Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture has updated this study considering a broad grouping of consumption goods. Countries are classified into low, middle, and high income.

Looking down the first column of table 3, we can observe the kind of data consistent with Engel’s Law. Food expenditures, though higher in wealthy countries, have a much smaller budget share than in poor countries. There are other apparent differences between high-income and low-income countries. High-income countries have larger budget shares for housing, medical care, transportation, and recreation.

Another way of illustrating Engel’s Law is that a 1 percent increase in income should increase consumption of food by less than 1 percent. For countries in table 2, food demand is relatively more responsive to increases



FIGURE 7. Steak would be an example of a normal good, while a hot dog would be an inferior good.

Table 2. Income Elasticity of Food

<i>Country</i>	<i>Income Elasticity for Food</i>
Congo, Dem. Rep.	.85
India	.78
U.S.	.35

Source: USDA Economic Research Service, <http://www.ers.usda.gov/Data/InternationalFoodDemand>, Table 1.

Table 3. Own Price Elasticity, Major Consumption Groups

	<i>Food</i>	<i>Medical</i>	<i>Recreation</i>
Congo, Dem. Rep.	-.863	-1.145	-2.778
India	-.739	-1.170	-1.537
U.S.	-.297	-0.902	-0.930

Source: Updated to 2005 from Seale, Regmi, Bernstein, Economic Research Briefs, October 2003. See also: <http://www.ers.usda.gov/Data/InternationalFoodDemand/DataAndMethodology.htm>.

in income among the poorest of countries (such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo). One interprets these numbers as a 1 percent increase in income would lead to a .85 percent increase in consumption of food in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, .78 percent in India, and .35 percent in the U.S. All of these numbers are less than 1 percent and conform to Engel's Law.

Some Implications of Engel's Law

The implications of Engel's Law are truly profound.

1. *Engel's own finding that the food budget share predicts well-being implies that economic growth is a solution to the calorie- or nutrient-deficit problem.* If used with care, the budget share for food can be used to infer well-being, as Engel asserted.¹¹ Some countries use the food budget share at a point in time, calling it the Engel Coefficient, to measure well-being. In figure 8, convergence of the food budget shares between rural and urban residents of the Xinjiang region of China was used to argue that both groups had become equally well off. This created a flurry of protests, and eventually bloggers began considering whether prices of goods were similar, rural and urban, which is a key issue.

As an aside, many countries use the Engel Coefficient to set national poverty lines. The most common method is to divide the cost of a nutritionally adequate diet by the Engel Coefficient.¹²

2. *Though the law implies that demand for food in a household or a country will rise as incomes rise, it tends to imply that the entire agricultural sector falls as a percent of economic activity as a country grows, because income shares going to food fall with growth.* Increases in farm productivity will often tend to reinforce this conclusion. Suggestive data for this conclusion are that the farm's share of workers in the U.S. fell from 41 percent in 1900 to less than 2 percent a century later, and farm share of GDP fell from 8 percent in 1930 to less than 1 percent in 2002. China has seen a breathtaking change in that most labor was in agriculture in 1960 (about 80 percent) and today is less than half that amount. South Korea is even more striking, with 61 percent labor in agriculture in 1961 and 7.2 percent today. Indeed, one of the significant differences between developed and developing economies is the proportion of the labor force in agriculture. Engel's Law (and labor substitution) means that economic growth will tend to create an exodus of employment from agriculture to other sectors.

3. *For poor countries, having a vibrant agricultural sector will be relatively more important, because agriculture will be a large proportion of the economy.* This conclusion has led international economic organizations like

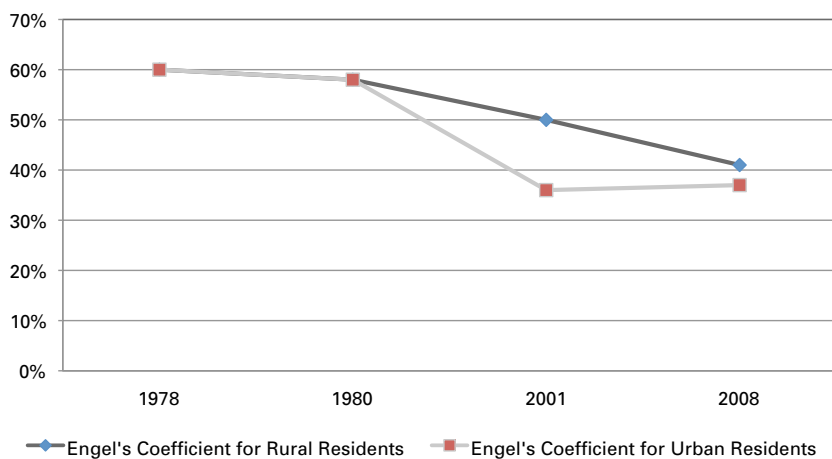


FIGURE 8. Engel's Coefficient for Xinjiang Residents. *Source:* "Development and Progress in Xinjiang," Gov.cn—Chinese Government's Official Web Portal, 2009, http://english.gov.cn/official/2009-09/21/content_1422566.htm.

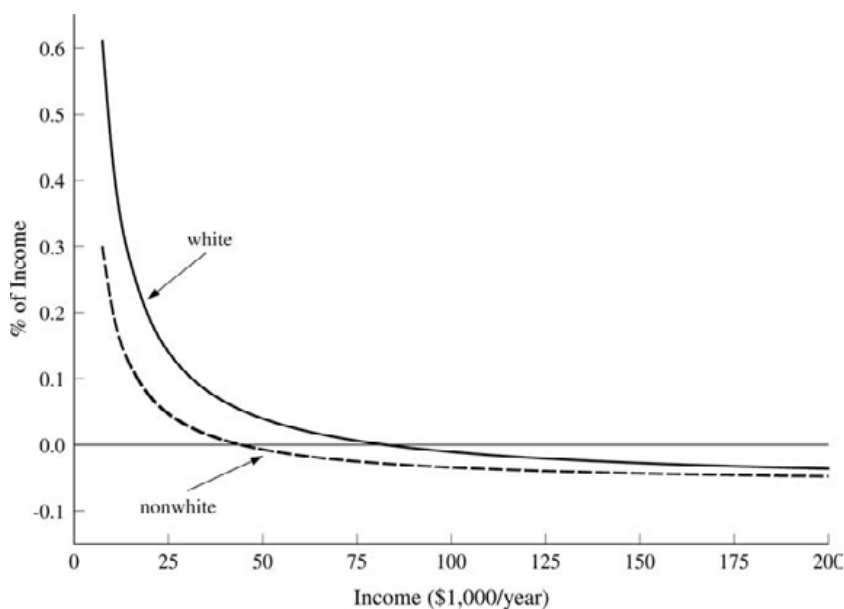


FIGURE 9. *Source:* Hayley Chouinard, David E. Davis, Jeffrey LaFrance, and Jeffrey M. Perloff, "Milk Marketing Orders: Who Wins and Who Loses?" *Choices: The Magazine of Food, Farm, and Resource Issues* 25, no. 2 (2010).

the World Bank to focus more on the development of agricultural markets in recent times as opposed to strategies aimed at development of manufacturing for export.¹³

4. *Policies or market events that raise agricultural prices will tend to have a disproportionately large impact on the poor who are net food consumers compared to the rich, because food is a large portion of their budget.* This implies that policies intended to raise agricultural prices will reduce real incomes proportionately more for the poor than for wealthy individuals. For example, policies intended to raise the price of milk, as the U.S. has, will be regressive in that the poor will suffer proportionately more than the wealthy.¹⁴

Figure 9 shows how the regulatory burden (diminishment of well-being) of the U.S. dairy program disproportionately falls on the poor on the left side of the graph.

5. *The finding by a nineteenth-century lawyer, mathematician, and dabbler in economics, Eugene Slutsky, is significant.* In 1915, he developed a now famous calculus equation that is taught to every major in economics. It predicts that goods with larger budget shares and larger responses to higher incomes will tend to be more price responsive (other things equal). That is, Engel's Law implies that the poor will be more sensitive to price changes of food than the wealthy.

As is clear from table 3, food demand is more responsive to price changes for the poor compared to the rich. That is, a 1 percent increase in the price of food will elicit a .86 percent reduction in food consumption in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, .74 percent in India, but only a .3 percent reduction in the U.S. Thus, when there is a commodity price boom, the poor will, in percentage terms, substantially shift consumption away from food because their purchasing power is severely eroded, whereas the rich will be impacted less and be less responsive.

A recent BBC report that began, "A year of record food prices has forced millions of parents in the developing world to cut back on food for their children, says aid agency Save the Children,"¹⁵ tells of the kind of hardship that occurs for net demanders of food when food prices rise.

You might ask, "How will the poor reduce their food consumption?" This might entail consuming fewer meals, fewer calories, or less expensive calories, perhaps leading to severe malnutrition. Hence, combining with the earlier point, the poor will be particularly impacted by price changes.

Though Engel's Law is so remarkably simple, it might appear that all of the questions were long ago settled regarding its validity and procedures to estimate Engel curves. It depends on what one means by long ago and what one means by settled. I will briefly cover a few additional points to clarify and explain the research journey.

The Hard-Fought Wars to Clarify and Measure

Refining Engel's Law raises the questions: What is held fixed as income varies to create the Engel curve? Does it apply to each individual, countries, or other aggregates? Should income, total expenditure, wealth, or some other measure of consumer resources be used in the calculation in the denominator of the budget share? These and a host of other issues have been systematically investigated, with most of them reasonably resolved.

Briefly, Engel's Law is a statistical relationship best stated as follows: *The expected or average budget share falls with increases in income, holding other things such as prices, education, age, family composition, risk, and other demographic variables constant.* Therefore, Engel's Law does not mean that a family with six children and \$50,000 of annual income will have a lower budget share for food than a family of two with \$40,000 income. Indeed, changes in demographic variables alter the Engel curve as shown in figure 10. Larger family sizes increase food consumption for a given income. Also, it is known that during the human life cycle, consumption expenditures change, even when all of the usual demographic variables and income are held constant, as shown in figure 11. Budget shares for food rise and then fall with age, producing a curve with an inverted U shape. During the life cycle, expenditures in total, expenditures on food, and budget shares rise during mid-life.

One can use straightforward methods to make a correct and consistent statement of Engel's Law for an individual, a household, a state, or a country.¹⁶ Indeed, at a point using country budget shares and income across the world, one will find Engel's Law evident. However, over time, changes in the distribution of income within a country will potentially shift the country's Engel curve.¹⁷

Though the household is usually the unit of analysis, there is relatively new research on what is called a nonunitary view of consumption. For developed economies, three regularities seem prominent: first, interhousehold inequality of incomes has risen; second, the inequality of consumption among households has had a much less dramatic rise; and, third, intra-household inequality of earnings has fallen as more women have entered the labor market, but inequality of consumption is likely more than indicated by the proportion of household earnings earned by women.¹⁸ A number of research papers have shown that changes in female income as a percent of total household income alters food consumption.¹⁹

In terms of explaining consumption by income, it is likely best to include all of the resources available for consumption as income. Borrowing against future income is often possible. Further, future income includes expected

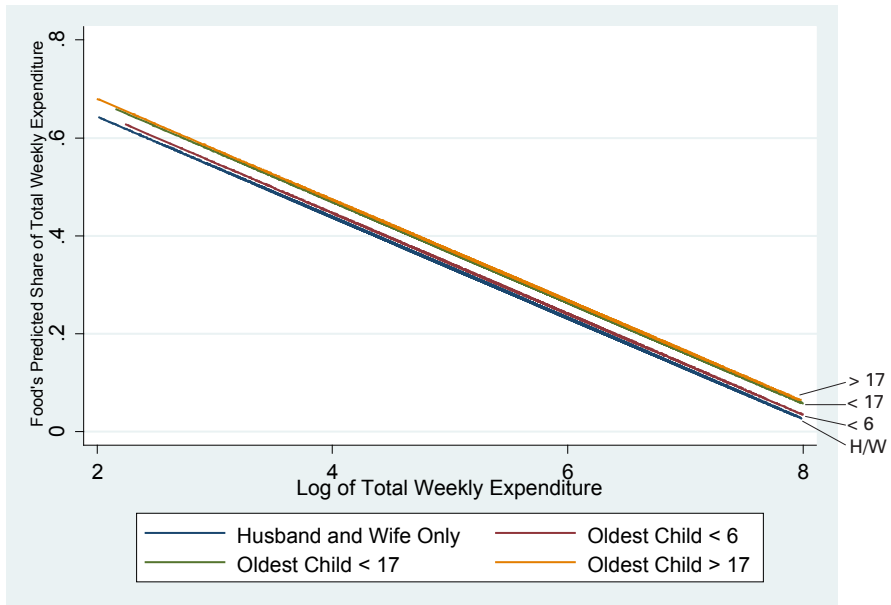


FIGURE 10. *Source:* Consumer Expenditure Survey 2010, provided by ICPSR.

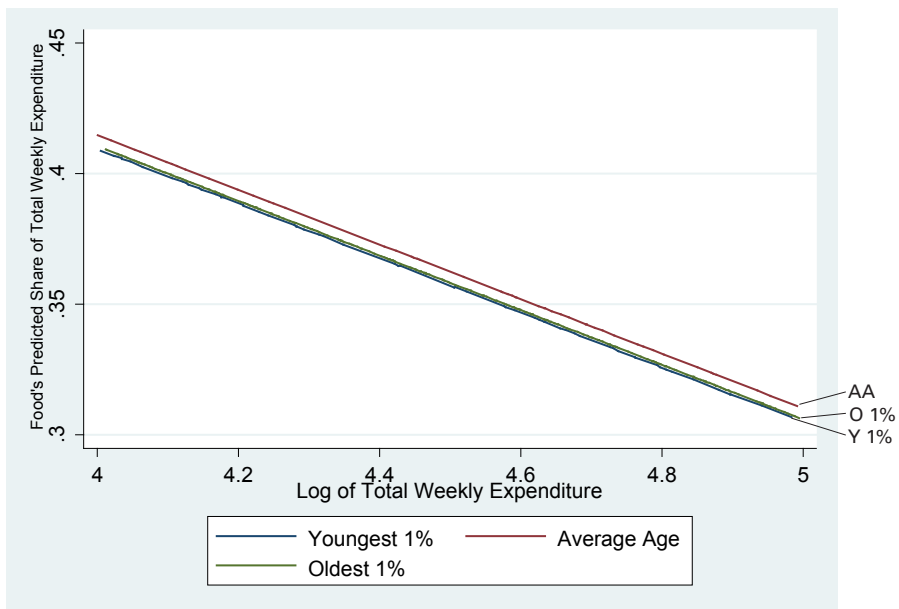


FIGURE 11. *Source:* Consumer Expenditure Survey 2010, provided by ICPSR.

future earned income and the income flow from assets. However, since the future is uncertain, it is sometimes argued that current total expenditure is superior to current income because these expenditures account for a household's expectations of future income. Using total consumption expenditures also obviates the need to consider taxes as well. For those who are credit constrained (consuming only out of cash on hand), it might be very appropriate to use current income at one's disposal as the denominator of the budget share.²⁰

Newer Frontiers

First, economists have verified that, separately, food consumption at home and food consumption away from home are consistent with Engel's Law.²¹ When one considers that leisure is a normal good and that the relative cost of preparing food at home is increasing, it is unsurprising that the proportion of food expenditures that are away from home has grown strikingly in the last four decades to almost half of all food expenditures. This no doubt explains some of the variations in the types of food and also total food expenditures seen among households at the beginning of this presentation. There is a normative side to these changing consumption patterns, because of the concern that food consumed away from home is on average less healthy.²²

Second, one of the significant challenges to Engel's Law actually emerges from researching poverty traps and trying to answer the question, why do people remain poor? One version is called the nutritional poverty trap. The argument goes that the poor, if they received additional income, would wish to spend as much as possible on food, thus increasing the budget share because this would cause them to be stronger and enhance their ability to work in the future, thus increasing future income. To exemplify, a family spending 70 percent of their budget on food might spend 100 percent of an income increase on food, increasing the budget share for food and violating Engel's Law. Some have used this argument to advance short-term food interventions with the hope of elevating nutrition and, hence, future income.

A great body of evidence supports the idea that better nutrition will increase productivity (this may be true for most of the world's population). What is not clear is whether people will choose better nutrition and whether they can escape poverty. Women working in Chinese cotton mills were able to do 14 percent more work for each 10-gram increase in their hemoglobin.²³ Sugar cane cutters were found to reduce work capacity by 50 percent if they were undernourished.²⁴ A very impressive study of small farms in Sierra

Leone found that a 50 percent increase in calories per person was associated with a 16.5 percent increase in farm output. For those with consumption of fewer than 1,500 calories per person per day, the increase was even higher, at 25 percent.²⁵ In 1995, the World Development Report estimated that stunting (small stature) causes an economic loss of \$8.7 billion per year and that a 1 percent increase in height is associated with a wage increase of 1.38 percent.²⁶ Indeed, large increases in food consumption (among other reasons) in Europe and the U.S. explain the increase in labor capacity and subsequent incomes, as documented by Robert Fogel. Fogel estimates that in Europe during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, 20 percent of the potential labor force was excluded from the work force because of poor diet.²⁷ A great deal of additional evidence has been amassed on the importance of nutrition on earnings and other indicators of well-being.²⁸ It is well known that malnutrition can have long and lasting effects. Perhaps one of the most sobering findings from this literature is recorded in a study of Zimbabwe. Alderman, Hoddinott, and Kinsey, after studying the impact of drought on those born in the early 1980s, concluded conservatively that the drought and the accompanying “loss of stature, schooling and potential work experience results in a loss of lifetime earnings of 7–12 percent.”²⁹

Given available evidence, Indian diets still conform to Engel’s Law. There is some puzzling evidence that Engel curves for calories have fallen over time. This indicates that fewer calories are purchased for a given total expenditure. This can occur because people are substituting more expensive calories or are consuming fewer calories because the rigors of manual work have diminished.³⁰ There is accumulating evidence about whether other populations are in a nutritional poverty trap. Kedir and Girma, studying Ethiopian Urban Households, found that food budget share increases with income for the very poor. Budget shares for food began to decline with the thirty-fifth to forty-seventh percentiles of the total expenditure distribution.³¹ Clearly, more and better data and analysis are needed to settle the matter. However, Banerjee and Dufflo, the economists who likely have investigated the matter more than others, are hesitant to conclude that there is a poverty trap or that income (nutrition) shocks can lead to an escape from poverty.³²

Third, an area of interest to me is the effect of uncertainty on food demand. Not only expected wealth but also wealth risk is an important determinant of consumption. Therefore, it is not just what one expects future labor income and housing and other investments are going to be worth, but the entire distribution (chances of each scenario occurring) of future income and income from wealth. The 2008 downturn may provide the basis for an empirical strategy to identify these effects. Recall

that employment was substantially at risk, wealth values were uncertain, and a number of grocery stores went out of business during this time.³³ It is well known that expected wealth in the future affects demand.³⁴ It is becoming more clear that the variability or uncertainty about future wealth affects consumption as well.³⁵ To the extent that this variability affects food demand, one might call this effect the precautionary motive for food consumption. As counseled by Church leaders, we may stock up on food items and liquid wealth (cash) to deal with contingencies. Thus, increased uncertainty may temporarily increase food purchases in order to prepare for the vagaries of life. Nearly every natural disaster is accompanied by “runs on grocery stores” by the imprudent and ready storage of food by the prudent. However, prudent behavior is also to be self-reliant, frugal, and flexible—being able to adapt our consumption behavior to our economic circumstances. If a family is uncertain about the future, then purchases in the short run may increase as stocks of food are expanded, but consumption of food will diminish because of the uncertain future. LDS Church leaders have emphasized these and other behaviors as wise, usually stressing that one should plan for eventualities and be prepared for them. Note that on the Church's Self-Reliance and Family Well-Being website,³⁶ the four main link headings are “Preparing for Emergencies,” “Finances,” “Home Storage,” and “Becoming Provident Providers”—with the latter discussing the idea of “discerning between needs and wants.” Therefore, one expects that prudent consumers would eventually reduce consumption of food during a downturn, because expected wealth diminishes and wealth at risk rises. A number of anecdotal headlines during the last four years suggest that this has occurred, and, more importantly, in recent Consumer Expenditure Survey data, there seems to be some preliminary evidence that this prudent counsel is consistent with behavior. In particular, the level and composition of food consumed away from the home changed so that more modest expenditures resulted.

Conclusions

Since Engel, economists have struggled to improve concepts, data, and procedures for estimating Engel curves. Engel's Law remains intact after these 150 years of study. However, economists today are not likely to respond, as did the jubilant Engel, that we have found the string (Engel's Law) which illuminates the pearls (the data). We can always wish for more. Perhaps, congruent with economics being the dismal science, one recent expert commented, “Engel curve and demand function models still fail to explain most of the observed variation in individual [household] consumption

behavior.”³⁷ As long as individual tastes are not observed directly, then we are destined to miss some of the richness of behavioral responses to more income. Yet, it is clear, Engel was really onto something important for understanding our changing world.

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Nauvoo Neighbor

The Latter-day Saint Experience at the Mississippi River, 1843–1845

Susan Easton Black

The *Nauvoo Neighbor* is a significant key to understanding the Latter-day Saint experience at the Mississippi River from 1843 to 1845. Although only three volumes were published, the newspaper contains 127 issues, each spanning four pages in length, with each page divided into six columns. This translates into approximately 4,000 single-spaced pages on 8½" x 11" paper. From the first issue on Wednesday, May 3, 1843, to the last issue on Wednesday, October 29, 1845, its masthead proudly proclaims, "OUR MOTTO—THE SAINTS' SINGULARITY—IS UNITY, LIBERTY, CHARITY." The new book *The Best of the Nauvoo Neighbor* and the accompanying searchable DVD-ROM of all 127 issues surpass on many fronts local news printed in the official Nauvoo LDS paper, the *Times and Seasons*.

The *Neighbor* played a significant role in the national discussion of Mormonism, the presidential election of 1844, and perceptions of the martyrdom of Joseph Smith. The paper printed an unrelenting defense of Mormonism against a backdrop of exaggerated reports and sensational claims that stemmed from Hancock County to newspapers in the East. Senior editor John Taylor did not hesitate to confront politician, newspaper columnist, or the governor of Illinois on issues of the day that distorted the Mormon faith. His words were written in defense of Joseph Smith and thousands of Mormons, who had gathered on the banks of the Mississippi River and built Zion in Nauvoo. Among those who had come were Latter-day Saint exiles seeking refuge from unchecked persecution in the state of Missouri and English converts pushed westward by black clouds of war, poverty, and promises of a glorious new day in an American Zion. Nauvoo welcomed and embraced such immigrants, hoping that, as the town's population swelled, there would be strength in numbers to face multiplying local



Engraving of Nauvoo as seen from across the Mississippi River with the partially completed temple on the bluff, a steamboat in the river, and a log cabin in the foreground.

and national foes. By 1843, what had once been a fledgling community of Mormon believers huddled near the Mississippi was a bustling metropolis. As such, the city of Nauvoo could support more than one LDS newspaper, especially a paper focused on local news.

After touching on LDS newspaper history and briefly examining John Taylor's role as editor of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, this article will analyze the historical significance of the *Neighbor*, which played such an important role in the national press with articles on the kidnapping of Joseph Smith, his presidential bid of 1844, and anti-Mormon meetings in Carthage that threatened to destroy Joseph and beautiful Nauvoo. This will be followed by an overview and analysis of other topics that frequently appeared in the newspaper columns.

Brief Review of Official LDS Newspapers

The *Nauvoo Neighbor* took its lead from earlier Mormon newspapers, although the *Neighbor* was never an official LDS paper. The first LDS paper was *The Evening and the Morning Star*, edited by William W. Phelps and published in Independence, Missouri. Religious doctrine, history, hymns, instruction, revelation, and missionary letters were printed in the *Star*. From June 1832 until July 1833, this eight-page, double-columned paper

was applauded by Latter-day Saint readership as informative and inspiring. Although a mob destroyed the press, in some respects *The Evening and the Morning Star* survived the attack. Under the able editorship of Oliver Cowdery, ten new issues of the *Star* were printed in 1833 and 1834 in Kirtland, Ohio. These new issues included some doctrinal writings of Sidney Rigdon and commentary describing problems faced by the Saints in Missouri. Cowdery then reprinted all twenty-four of the original issues between January 1835 and October 1836. Differences between the reprinted issues and the originals were a new sixteen-page format, fewer grammatical errors, and the deletion of a few articles.¹

In 1834, the *Star* was succeeded by the *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, a paper whose very name suggests its purpose—a messenger of the restored gospel and an advocate of true principles. Under Cowdery's lead, first issues of the *Messenger and Advocate* were printed from October 1834 to May 1835. Editors John Whitmer and Warren Cowdery replaced Oliver Cowdery, then in February and March 1837 Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon became senior editors. Although the paper had multiple editors, neither its purpose nor its tenor changed through the years. In a sixteen-page, double-column format, the paper printed doctrinal addresses, missionary letters, poetry, hymns, minutes of Church conferences, local events (such as marriages and deaths), and an annual index (in the last issue of each volume).²

In late 1837, nearly four months after the final issue of the *Messenger and Advocate*, another Mormon newspaper commenced in Kirtland. This paper was the *Elders' Journal of the Church of Latter Day Saints*, with Joseph Smith as editor and Thomas B. Marsh as publisher. (This was the first time that two LDS newspapers were printed in the same community.) Although the concept of an *Elders' Journal* had merit—to keep traveling elders informed of Church affairs—after two issues (October and November 1837) the run of the paper stopped. Its small run in Kirtland was repeated in Far West, Missouri, where two additional issues were printed before the paper again ceased publication.³

In many respects, the next paper, *Times and Seasons*, was more successful than other Church periodicals, with a long print run of 135 issues. Similar to its predecessors, the sixteen-page, double-column paper contained Church doctrine, history, local events, missionary letters, and minutes of meetings, as well as general contemporary news. The paper was printed monthly in Nauvoo between November 1839 and October 1840, before becoming a biweekly publication, appearing on the first and fifteenth of each month through February 15, 1846. The first editors of the *Times and Seasons* were Don Carlos Smith and Ebenezer Robinson. In 1842, Joseph

Smith became the senior editor. Under his editorship, documents such as the translation and facsimiles of the Book of Abraham and the Wentworth Letter were published. Between November 1842 and January 1844, John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff edited and published the paper. From February 1844 until mid-February 1846, Taylor was the sole editor and proprietor.⁴

The *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* was the fifth newspaper recognized as an official organ of the Church. The *Millennial Star* began in England in 1840 with Parley P. Pratt as editor and had a continuous print run until 1970. Pratt and subsequent editors printed doctrinal addresses of Church leaders and excerpts from Church history. The inclusion of conference minutes, missionary letters, local news, and poems mirrored the content of other LDS periodicals.⁵ The dramatic difference between the *Millennial Star* and other Mormon newspapers was the inclusion of emigration statistics, news of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, and ship departures.⁶

Unofficial LDS Newspapers in Nauvoo

The *Nauvoo Neighbor* was never an official LDS publication. The *Neighbor* was a replacement for a proposed weekly newspaper entitled the *Nauvoo Ensign and Zarahemla Standard*. Unfortunately, plans to begin printing the *Ensign and Standard* were abruptly halted in August 1841 at the untimely death of Don Carlos Smith, proposed editor of the publication. The decision to halt the *Ensign and Standard* before it commenced was fraught with complications, the largest being subscribers who had prepaid for copies of the newspaper. Strong solicitation of subscribers or “friends,” as Don Carlos Smith’s brother William Smith called them, “induced us to engage” in another newspaper.⁷ The *Wasp*, first printed on April 16, 1842, was begun to appease subscribers.⁸

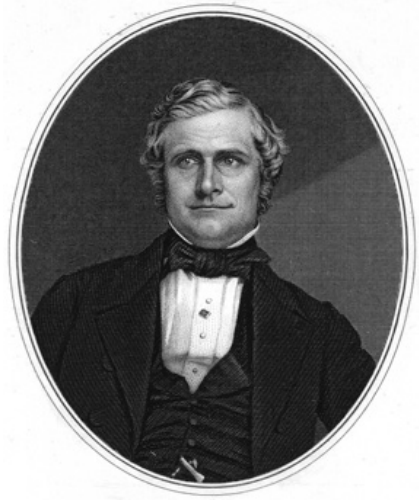
From the first issue to the last, the *Wasp* masthead proudly displayed a saying of William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878), editor of the *New York Evening Post*: “Truth crushed to earth will rise again.” Editor William Smith envisioned the *Wasp* as a public journal that carried rising truth of local and general interest. He did not see the *Wasp* as a vehicle for disseminating truths on religious matters. Smith held such matters were the domain of the *Times and Seasons*, the official LDS newspaper.⁹ In his “Proposal for Publishing the *Wasp*,” Smith (editor from the first issue on April 16, 1842, to the thirty-first issue on December 3, 1842) assured subscribers that his newspaper would disseminate truth of “useful knowledge of every description—the Arts, Science, Literature, Agriculture, Manufacture, Trade, [and] Commerce.”¹⁰ Smith saw his role as guiding the editorial staff to manifest a “spirit

of boldness and determination that shall become our station,” not as defending the Mormon faith.¹¹

John Taylor, who succeeded Smith as editor in chief for issues 32 (December 10, 1842) through 52 (April 26, 1843), disagreed. Taylor, a native of England, was not willing to leave religious matters to the *Times and Seasons*. Taylor’s religious stance was well known to subscribers of the *Wasp*. Several were aware that Taylor had seen a vision of an angel “holding a trumpet to his mouth, sounding a message to the nations” long before becoming senior editor.¹² Some knew that he had been taught the gospel by Parley P. Pratt and had said, “If I find his religion true, I

shall accept it, no matter what the consequences may be; and if false, then I shall expose it.”¹³ Only a few were aware that Taylor had “made a regular business” of listening to Pratt’s sermons and on May 9, 1836, accepted baptism. But all knew Taylor never doubted any principle of Mormonism and was not constrained to neglect Mormonism in the *Wasp*. After all, his testimony of the work was evident in his call to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles (see D&C 118:6). Of his apostolic appointment, Taylor said, “I felt my own weakness and littleness; but I felt determined, the Lord being my helper, to endeavor to magnify it.”¹⁴ Undaunted by poverty, he crossed the ocean to share truths of the Restoration with countrymen in Great Britain. He was instrumental in opening a mission in Ireland, assisting migrating Saints to America, and baptizing hundreds. Returning to Nauvoo, he became prominent in civic affairs, being elected to the Nauvoo City Council and being named a regent and trustee of the University of the City of Nauvoo and judge advocate in the Nauvoo Legion before becoming senior editor of the *Wasp*.

The *Wasp* was published every Saturday from May 1842 through January 1843. (Beginning on February 1, 1843, the paper was published on Wednesdays.) The *Wasp* was printed at the northeast corner of Water and Bain Streets. (The foundation of the building is still visible.) Ebenezer Robinson said of the printing facility, “A small, cheap frame building [was] put up,



Steel engraving of John Taylor by Frederick Hawkins Piercy, 1853. Courtesy LDS Visual Resources Library.

one and a half stories high, the lower room to be used for the printing office” and the upper room to be used as his family residence. Robinson reported the lower room “had no floor, and the ground was kept damp by the water constantly trickling down the back side.”¹⁵ This room was known as the office of the *Times and Seasons*.

John Taylor took over as editor in chief of the *Wasp* under the partnership name of “Taylor & Woodruff.” As to Wilford Woodruff’s role in the partnership, on January 1, 1845, Parley P. Pratt penned, “We have now three departments, duly appointed by the presidency of the church, viz: the Nauvoo office, under the management of Mr. J. Taylor, the English department, under Brother W. Woodruff, and the New York publishing department [*The Prophet*], now committed to my charge.”¹⁶

Although historians insist that the *Nauvoo Neighbor* was a replacement for the *Wasp*,¹⁷ neither the purpose nor the content of the two papers support this conclusion. For example, the *Neighbor* contained much religious news about general conferences, meetings of priesthood quorums, and epistles from the Twelve Apostles, whereas the *Wasp* ignored religious matters.¹⁸ In addition, size and distribution of the two newspapers varied. In the “Prospectus of a Weekly Newspaper, Called the Nauvoo Neighbor,” Taylor wrote of enlarging the *Neighbor* to double the size of the *Wasp*. Taylor described the *Wasp* as “small in stature, dressed in a very humble garb, and under very inauspicious circumstances.” He recognized “the little *Wasp* has held on the even tenor of his way the untiring, unflinching supporter of integrity, righteousness and truth,” but assured subscribers that the *Neighbor* had put “on a new dress, and [doubled in] size, that he may begin to look up in the world, and not be ashamed of associating with his older brethren [*Times and Seasons*]; and as he acted the part of a good samaritan, we propose giving him a new name.—Therefore his name shall no longer be called THE WASP, but the NEIGHBOR.”¹⁹

The *Neighbor* devoted column space to a banknote table corrected weekly, a listing of current prices for merchandise, a weekly record of deaths in Nauvoo, and ordinances passed by the Nauvoo City Council. Above all, the *Neighbor* advocated “the principles of Gen. Joseph Smith, and pursue[d] such a course as shall be best calculated to secure his election to the presidency.” Unlike the *Wasp*, which never had more than fifteen agents ranging from Illinois to Ohio and from there to New York, the *Neighbor* had agents throughout the states and in Great Britain. Even solicitors to the *Neighbor* were advised, “Every individual desirous to secure the election of Gen. Smith, should use every effort in his power to procure as great a number of subscribers to the *Neighbor* as possible.”²⁰ Terms of the *Neighbor* were reasonable and creative, allowing neighborhoods to club together to purchase

the paper for a cheap price. Advertisements were “conspicuously inserted on reasonable terms.”²¹

Success of the *Neighbor* was evident from the outset in May 1843. Taylor boasted, “The young gentleman [meaning the *Neighbor*] has grown in one short week to double his former size.” Taylor was pleased with subscription success and its immediate acceptance by competing editors in Hancock County. “Amidst the warring elements that are disturbing the world,” Taylor printed, “we are glad to find so amiable and friendly a spirit manifested to us at the present time by the press, and we can assure them that so long as they let us alone we shall not interfere with them.” Yet Taylor added, “We shall always contend for our religious rights. In short the liberty of the press, liberty of conscience and of worship, free discussion, sailors rights, we shall always sustain.”²²

After a few short months in the editor’s chair, however, Taylor’s friendly tone changed. When the *Warsaw Message* threatened to go belly up, Taylor suggested a reason: “It keeps up a continuous yelp about Mormonism.” Taylor advised the *Warsaw Message* to “apply to us we will furnish [the editor] with a bundle [about Mormonism] that will keep his paper going for twelve months; we always wish to accommodate our friends.”²³ Taylor’s sarcasm was noted by Joseph Smith. On February 19, 1844, Joseph wrote, advising Taylor to “cultivate peace and friendship with all; mind our own business and come off with flying colors, respected, because, in respecting others, we respect ourselves.” Taylor responded, “We certainly approve very highly of the above sentiment; we have pursued this course ever since we have had any charge of the editorial department of the papers of Nauvoo.”²⁴

A dramatic increase in subscriptions to the *Neighbor* led Taylor to search for better accommodations for the office of the *Times and Seasons*. By 1845, Taylor had purchased brick buildings on the west side of Main Street between Kimball and Parley Streets. The lot on which the buildings stood was once the property of Joseph Smith. Joseph sold the lot on April 27, 1842, to James Ivins,²⁵ who built three red-brick structures on the site. The corner structure was operated as a store by Ivins. Next to it on the north was Ivins’s residence, and beyond the residence stood a third building similar to the corner structure. (The purpose and use of the third building is unknown.)²⁶ On May 3, 1845, when Ivins moved to Keokuk, Iowa, he sold the lot and buildings to Elias Smith in a very unusual property transaction that ultimately transferred the property back to Ivins.²⁷ John Taylor’s journal entry of April 13, 1845, details his purchase of the lot and buildings:

A man of the name of James Ivins has considerable property, and wished to part with it, for the purpose (as he said) of placing his sons at some business, not having an opportunity in this place. . . . He had a first rate large

brick house, brick store, and large pine board barn, on a half acre of land on Main street, corner of Kimball, which he had offered to me for three thousand two hundred dollars although the buildings had cost twice that sum. I asked the brethren what their counsel was upon the subject; they said go ahead and get it. I took measures forthwith to procure it, not that I wanted to build myself up; but my idea in getting it was to keep it out of the hands of our enemies, as it was offered so cheap; and I thought the store would suit us for a Printing office. My feelings after I had traded for this were the same as ever, I felt like sacrificing all things when called upon, my heart is not set upon property, but the things of God: I care not so much about the good things of this life, as I do about the fellowship of my brethren, and to fulfilling the work the Lord has called me to do; and the favor of the Lord, and securing to myself, my family, and friends an inheritance in the Kingdom of God. Moved into the house May 10, 1845.²⁸

The print shop on the corner housed a large press on which the *Times and Seasons* and *Nauvoo Neighbor* were printed, plus smaller presses for custom print jobs, handbills, and flyers. The number of men employed depended on the work to be done. “Compositors” were employed to compose copy, one paragraph at a time, using a composing stick. “Daubers” were employed to ink type with lever balls, while “pullers” yanked press handles to lower the platen and apply pressure necessary to create an impression on newsprint. All worked to meet deadlines no matter the hour or wage. Taylor advised subscribers to pay in advance so that he could distribute wages: “Whether eatables, drinkables, wearables, or pocketables, (in the form of money,) will now be more acceptable than any other time because *them fellows what work off the Neighbor* are quite as keen for the good things of the earth, as you are for the *great news* of the world.”²⁹ Believing his advice not enough, fictional stories were added as a reminder to subscribers to pay the printer. One such anecdote begins, “Father, what does the printer live on [when] you hadn’t paid him for two or three years and yet you have his paper every week?”³⁰

Subscribers were leery about advance payments, especially when printers couldn’t guarantee papers would arrive in a timely manner, if at all. On January 29, 1845, Brigham Young wrote to John Taylor, “While I have been preaching abroad in the world from place to place, the question being asked of me so many times by the saints: Why do not my papers come? I sent the monies long ago to pay my subscription for the year, and have received but two or three numbers. Why is it that I do not get them?” Young confessed, “I have not had courage to ask men to pay their money: fearing they would never get their papers.”³¹

There were several reasons why subscribers did not receive issues of the *Neighbor*. Too often subscribers read, “Owing to the extreme lowness

of the Mississippi, which detained our paper on the sand bars between this and St. Louis several days, we were unable to issue the *Neighbor* on last Wednesday.”³² They also read, “The *Neighbor* has been delayed a few hours, in order to say that *the last shingle* has been laid upon the roof of the Temple.”³³ Then there was the proverbial explanation, “In consequence of the sickness of some of our hands, we have been a little behind.”³⁴ Having enough paper on which to print the *Neighbor* also posed problems: “Our paper has been delayed beyond its proper time, for want of paper.”³⁵ Such an admission was often followed by apologetic words: “We issued no paper last week for the all sufficient reason, that our supply of paper to print on was carried past Nauvoo, up the Mississippi, we know not how far.”³⁶

Historical Significance of the Nauvoo Neighbor

More than any other paper of the day, the *Neighbor* promoted Joseph Smith’s run for the presidency of the United States. Correspondence between Joseph Smith and presidential hopeful John C. Calhoun received full coverage in the paper. In the correspondence, Joseph asked Calhoun, “What will be your rule of action relative to us as a people, should fortune favor your ascension to the chief magistracy?”³⁷ Calhoun responded, “The case does not come within the jurisdiction of the federal government, which is one of limited and specific powers.”³⁸ Joseph’s fiery rebuttal to Calhoun included the query “Why, tell me why, are all the principle men, held up for public stations, so *cautiously careful* not to publish to the world that *they will judge a righteous judgment*?”³⁹ and the prophecy that such a stance would not please Almighty God. Joseph’s answer as to whether “Missouri filled with negro drivers, and white men stealers, [should] go ‘unwhipped of justice’” was clear: “No! verily no!”⁴⁰

The above correspondence was a precursor to Joseph entering the political arena. The *Neighbor* was the first paper to announce support for Joseph Smith’s presidential candidacy. Editors of the *Neighbor* encouraged subscribers and Mormon faithful to follow their lead: “It becomes us, as Latter Day Saints, to be wise, prudent, and energetic, in the cause that we pursue.” After all, to the editors and many Latter-day Saints, “[Joseph was] the most able, the most competent, the best qualified, and would fill the Presidential Chair with greater dignity to the nation” than other presidential hopefuls.⁴¹ The editors, in the context of Joseph’s candidacy, declared, “Executive power when correctly wielded, is a great blessing to the people of this great commonwealth. . . . It watches the interests of the whole community with a fatherly care” and never allows citizens to be “driven from their homes, and left to wander as exiles in this boasted land of freedom and equal rights,

and after appealing again and again, to the legally constituted authorities of our land for redress, [to be] coolly told by our highest tribunals, 'we can do nothing for you.'"⁴²

The editors portrayed General Joseph Smith as "a man of sterling worth and integrity and of enlarged views. . . . [He is] honorable, fearless, and energetic."⁴³ Predicting the result of the boastful words or at least Mormon support, the *Missouri Republican* printed, "[Joseph's run for the presidency] will be death to Van Buren, and all agree that it must be injurious to the Democratic ranks."⁴⁴ The *Lee County (Iowa) Democrat* printed, "If superior talent, genius, and intelligence, combined with virtue, integrity and enlarged views, are any guarantee to General Smith's being elected, we think that he will be a 'full-team of himself.'"⁴⁵ By early spring 1844, straw polls taken aboard steamers plying the Mississippi showed Joseph with a commanding lead over other presidential hopefuls. For example, on the upward voyage of the "Osprey" from St. Louis to Nauvoo, Joseph received the votes of twenty-six gentlemen and three ladies, whereas Henry Clay received eight votes and Martin Van Buren only two.⁴⁶ Another "Osprey" poll showed Joseph leading the presidential race with seventy-one votes and Clay with only thirty.⁴⁷ "Hurrah for the General!" and "Elect our General Joe!" the *Neighbor* printed.⁴⁸ In late spring 1844, when the *St. Louis Republican* reported a straw poll taken aboard the steamer "Die Vernon" showing Joseph with six votes and Henry Clay with fifty-eight, John Taylor had no comment.⁴⁹

The *Politician* in Belleville, Illinois, was the first newspaper to join the *Neighbor* in advocating Joseph's bid for the presidency.⁵⁰ Confident that the *Lee County Democrat* and other fair-minded newspapers would lend support, the editors of the *Neighbor* printed "General Smith's Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States." By publishing the full text of "Views," the editors hoped to inform the voting public that, if elected president, Joseph Smith would "reduce Congress at least one half. . . . Pay them two dollars and their board per diem; (except Sundays)." The editors wanted voters to know that Joseph would "petition your state legislature to pardon every convict in their several penitentiaries: blessing them as they go, and saying to them in the name of the Lord, *go thy way and sin no more.*" The editors supported Joseph's plan to "abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now, and save the abolitionist from reproach and ruin, infamy and shame."⁵¹

The editors' support for Joseph ran deeper than politics. They saw in Joseph a man of extraordinary ability—a man who served Nauvoo as mayor and lieutenant general of the Nauvoo Legion. They sought for and reported any news of his whereabouts. When he gave notice of an upcoming dinner party held for young ladies and gentlemen, the editors noted with delight,

"The General and his lady will also be present on the occasion."⁵² When the editorial staff learned that "a great number of our citizens [for two days] turned out, for the purpose of chopping and hauling wood for the Prophet," they hailed the brethren for doing "honor to themselves on the occasion," and remarked, "They certainly did honor to the Prophet."⁵³

But nothing, not even the reporting of other folksy and heartwarming events, captured more column space than editorials written in defense of Joseph Smith. When Joseph was arrested on Illinois soil by Sheriff Joseph Reynolds of Independence, Missouri, the *Neighbor* gave unlimited coverage to what editors defined as "illegalities." The editors published the full text of Governor Thomas Ford's letter to Missouri Governor Thomas Reynolds. In the text, Ford explained his reason for not "ordering out a detachment of militia to assist in retaking Joseph Smith, jr., who was said to have escaped from the custody of the Missouri agent."⁵⁴ Editors praised Governor Ford and thanked God that Latter-day Saints could look to him to "magnify his office" and not "prostitute it to the base principles of mobocracy." The editors derided Missouri officials for conduct unbecoming public servants. "Great God! is it not enough that they carry out their bloody designs at home?" editor Taylor penned. "Shall they pursue their victims to the State of Illinois, and pollute her free soil with their diabolical acts? Never! No never!! No never!!!"⁵⁵

In a December 1843 issue of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Taylor called upon Missouri officials to "let the Latter-Day Saints 'breath awhile like other men' and enjoy the liberty guaranteed to every honest citizen" of this country.⁵⁶ Taylor called upon Carthaginians to reconsider the worth of asking heavenly powers to destroy Joseph Smith and Mormonism. Recognizing his calls were largely ignored, Taylor kept subscribers abreast of anti-Mormon activities in Missouri and at the county seat of Hancock. For example, he reported news of a convention held in Carthage on March 17, 1844, in which it was resolved that "'Saturday, the 9th of March next, [be] a day of fasting and prayer,' wherein the '*pious of all orders*' [be] requested to 'pray to Almighty God, that he would speedily bring the false prophet, Joseph Smith to deep repentance for his presumption and blasphemy.'"⁵⁷ Hoping that growing hostility in Missouri and Carthage could be curtailed, Taylor asked local enemies, "Why this excitement, why this confusion and uproar, about nothing?" especially when under the leadership and guidance of Joseph Smith, "we have raised up a large city where it was a wilderness; we have observed due respect and courtesy towards all, and have never been found the aggressors."⁵⁸ Yet when Joseph, acting as mayor of Nauvoo, issued an order to destroy the *Nauvoo Expositor*, anti-Mormons found reason enough to validate their hatred and hostility towards Joseph and all things Mormon.

The editorial staff of the *Neighbor* did not shrink from the escalating opposition. They gave full coverage to the *Expositor* affair, printing the entire text of Joseph's executive order:

You are hereby commanded to destroy the printing press from whence issues the "Nauvoo Expositor" and pi the type of said printing establishment in the street, and burn all the Expositors and libelous hand bills found in said establishment, and if resistance be offered to your execution of this order, by the owners or others, demolish the house, and if any one threatens you, or the Mayor, or the officers of the city, arrest those who threaten you, and fail not to execute this order without delay and make due return hereon.⁵⁹

The editors justified Joseph's order by claiming the intent of the *Expositor* was to repeal the Nauvoo Charter and slander the Nauvoo City Council. The editors united behind Joseph in denouncing the "Expositor as a nuisance" and printing statements assuring subscribers that the destruction of the press was "sanctioned by legal proceedings, founded upon testimony."⁶⁰

The *Neighbor*, more than the *Times and Seasons*, printed significant events leading up to the Martyrdom and events stemming from the tragedy. Without comment, the editors reported that Joseph Smith and sixteen others were arrested on the charge of riot, "in the destruction of the Nauvoo Expositor printing press and types."⁶¹ When Joseph and Hyrum Smith were murdered and senior editor John Taylor brutally wounded at Carthage Jail with "three wounds in his left thigh and knee and one in his left wrist,"⁶² full columns of newsprint were devoted to dozens of testimonials decrying such brutality. Willard Richards's "Two Minutes in Jail" was printed in its entirety so that subscribers could read a moment-by-moment account of the tragedy.⁶³ In the *Nauvoo Neighbor—Extra* of June 30, 1844, the editors decried the "Awful Assassination! The Pledged faith of the State of Illinois stained with innocent blood by a Mob!"⁶⁴

The *Neighbor* then reported that residents of Carthage and the neighboring town of Warsaw were fearful that "the Mormons will come out and take vengeance" upon the assassins and others in their communities.⁶⁵ They gave a colorful description of the funeral processional honoring Joseph and Hyrum Smith and reported that an "assemblage of some 8 or 10,000 persons with one united voice resolved to trust to the law for a remedy of such a high handed assassination."⁶⁶ The editors praised Willard Richards for his resolute call for calm amid a backdrop of fear and hostility: "I have pledged my word the Mormons will stay at home as soon as they can be informed, and no violence will be on their part, and say to my brethren in Nauvoo, in the name of the Lord—be still—be patient."⁶⁷ The *Neighbor* named Colonel Levi Williams, Thomas C. Sharp, Mark Aldrich, and Jacob C. Davis, a

senator in the legislature of Illinois, and indicted them for the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, suggesting that William and Wilson Law, Robert and Charles Foster, and the Higbee brothers should also be indicted.⁶⁸ The editors reported the trial of the indicted, hoping for a conviction. When a conviction was not forthcoming, they consigned the perpetrators to “*merited infamy and disgrace*.”⁶⁹

In addition to full coverage of the life and death of Joseph Smith from 1843 to 1844, the *Neighbor* served as voice for the Nauvoo city government. For example, the *Neighbor* was the only newspaper to publish each ordinance passed by the Nauvoo City Council and signed into law by Mayor Joseph Smith and his successors. Ordinances covered a wide variety of issues ranging from bathing and marriage to mad dogs and brothels. A few sections from selected ordinances follow:

That if any person shall bathe or swim in any waters, within the limits of said city, whereby such person shall be exposed to public view, in a state of nudity, such person shall be subject to a fine of three dollars.⁷⁰

All male persons over the age of seventeen years, and females over the age of fourteen years, may contract and be joined in marriage; Provided, in all cases where either party is a minor, the consent of parents or guardians be first had.⁷¹

All dogs or other animals known to have been bitten or worried by any rabid animal shall be immediately killed or confined, by the owner, under a penalty not exceeding one thousand dollars, at the discretion of the court.⁷²

All brothels or houses of ill fame erected or being in the city of Nauvoo, be, and the same hereby are henceforth prohibited and by law declared public nuisances.⁷³

Each ordinance appeared without editorial comment.

The *Neighbor* was the only newspaper to give full coverage to Sidney Rigdon's claim to Church leadership and his excommunication. On September 11, 1844, the editors reported the proceedings of a trial held on Sunday, September 8, to determine the membership status of Rigdon before six to seven thousand people assembled in Nauvoo. They told of the Quorum of the Twelve presiding and of Brigham Young laying before the assemblage Rigdon's “secret plan to divide the church, by false prophecy and false pretences: blessing the church and people while on the stand before them, but secretly cursing the authorities, and the present course of the church, and many other matters derogatory to men of God.” Following Young's comments, other LDS leaders expressed opinion on the matter. The issue of Rigdon's membership, however, rested with Bishop Newel K. Whitney. It was not until near the conclusion of the meeting that Bishop Whitney announced his decision that

Rigdon “*be cut off from the church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints, and the twelve high priests, sanctioned the decision by a unanimous vote. The congregation also (excepting some few whom Sidney had ordained to be prophets, priests, and kings among the Gentiles) sanctioned these proceedings by a unanimous vote.*”⁷⁴ Rigdon, who was in St. Louis at the time of these proceedings, wrote, “Any attack [LDS Church leaders] can make upon my character, I fear them not. I feel myself at their defiance, though they should assail me by falsehoods.”⁷⁵ Rigdon moved to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he resuscitated the *Latter-day Saint’s Messenger and Advocate* and gathered such characters as John C. Bennett to his religious cause.⁷⁶ Of Bennett and others who supported Rigdon, Americus (a pseudonym for an LDS Church leader) penned, “[I have] examined the records at the Temple, and learn that very few, if any of those persons who have apostatized from the church and gone after Rigdon, have ever paid any tithing for the purpose of erecting that edifice.”⁷⁷

The *Neighbor* was the only paper to give details of the legislative proceedings leading up to the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter,⁷⁸ printing in its entirety the speech of Representative Backenstos before the Illinois Congress. In the speech, Backenstos said, “Mr. Speaker, one very important reason in my mind why we should not repeal the city charter of Nauvoo is, that you strip the largest and most populous city in this state of all her police regulations. Why not amend the charter in all its objectionable features? why not leave them powers sufficient to maintain an efficient city organization?”⁷⁹ His speech failed to persuade a majority in congress that day. The *State Register* reported, “On Tuesday last the House took the final vote on repealing the charter; which passed in the affirmative—yeas 76, nays 36. Every vote cast in the negative, was by a Democratic member.”⁸⁰ In spite of predictions of civil upheaval in Nauvoo stemming from the repeal, the *Neighbor* reported, “About twenty thousand inhabitants live week after week in Nauvoo, without a charter, and no lawsuits. ‘Ain’t that a wonder?”⁸¹ What the editors saw as even more wondrous was the fact that citizens of Nauvoo “can build the city; maintain the supremacy of the law; preach the gospel, and keep the peace just as well without a charter as with.”⁸²

The mob element in Hancock County was not pleased with this turn of events. The *Neighbor* reported, “A meeting of a number of the *mob*, was held on Tuesday evening last, at a school house, near Baker’s, in Green Plains precinct”; it also reported that houses were set ablaze in the Morley Settlement.⁸³ The *Neighbor* named Isaac Morley’s cooper shop as being burnt and Edmund Durphy’s house as being torn down. The editors wrote, “We have not been the aggressors, nor will we be; and we appeal to the law and the testimony, to shield us from such ‘outbreaks’ of rioters.”⁸⁴ They

credited the county sheriff with “doing all in his power, to quell the insurrection, and disperse the mob”⁸⁵ by demanding that “the said rioters and other peace breakers . . . desist forthwith, disperse and go to their homes, under the penalty of the laws.”⁸⁶ Taylor praised Governor Thomas Ford for warning citizens of Hancock County “that if taken in any act of war or mischief, they will be chastised in a most summary manner.”⁸⁷ In spite of the sheriff’s demands and the governor’s warning, rioters destroyed about 150 LDS homes and other properties:

Suppose we put the number of houses destroyed by the mob in Hancock county, at 150, *these*, and the furniture and grain, destroyed at the same time, at \$500 each, the lowest possible estimate, will amount to *seventy five thousand* dollars. Add to this the cost of the Sheriff’s posse, and incidental expenses, at about \$25,000, and we have the enormous sum of *one hundred thousand dollars* saddled upon the mob of Hancock county and the State of Illinois.⁸⁸

Upon learning of these outrages, the *New York Tribune* printed, “We begin almost to fear that the terrible scenes of cruelty, devastation of peaceful homes and indiscriminate hunting down of men, women and children, which disgraced Missouri a few years since, during the expulsion of the Mormons from that State, are to be re enacted in Illinois.”⁸⁹ Within days, the *Tompkins (New York) Democrat* reported, “A battle had been fought between the Mormons and anti-Mormons, in which some five hundred were slain.”⁹⁰ Another rumor had Mormons casting a cannon in “St. Louis, so large that it will require all the powder and lead that can be manufactured for five years to come to charge it once.”⁹¹ With such unfounded rumors circulating throughout the country, John Taylor admonished subscribers, “Under all the trials of life stand fast! Would you wish to live without a trial? . . . Without trial you cannot guess at your own strength. Men do not learn to swim upon a table. They must go into deep water and buffet the surges.”⁹²

Analysis of the *Neighbor’s* Content

General Conference. Contrary to what some historians claim, the *Neighbor* was filled with news, proceedings, and minutes of general conferences held in Nauvoo. For example, the *Neighbor* reported, “The Semi-Annual Conference of the Elders and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, commenced on Saturday the 6th inst. [April 1844], and continued four days.” The editors wrote, “We do not remember that we ever saw so large an audience before, any where in the western country. The number that composed it is variously estimated from fifteen to twenty thousand. . . . The good order that was preserved, when we consider the immense

number that were present, speaks much in favour of the morality of our city.”⁹³ Information on conference proceedings followed.

At the April 1845 general conference, the editors were pleased to report that a non-Mormon visitor observed, “So large a body could not be so perfectly united *unless God be with them*.”⁹⁴ The editors invited those planning to attend the October 1845 general conference to bring “provisions to sustain yourselves while you stay here, and also some to give to your brethren.”⁹⁵ At that conference, five thousand people listened as “President Young opened the services of the day in a dedicatory prayer, presenting the Temple, thus far completed, as a monument of the saints’ liberality, fidelity, and faith,—concluding, ‘Lord, we dedicate this house, and ourselves unto thee.’”⁹⁶ Following his dedicatory prayer, the remainder of the conference was devoted to preparing “a list of all the buildings and property belonging to our brethren which had been burned [or destroyed] by the enemies” and removal plans from Nauvoo to an unknown destination in the West. The editors reported the unanimous vote to move from Nauvoo “en masse, to the West”⁹⁷ and the appointment of men to sell LDS property in Hancock County. (L. A. Bingham was appointed to sell land in Camp Creek, Hancock County, and Eleazer Miller and Jesse Spurgin were appointed to sell land in Montebello, Hancock County.)⁹⁸ The *Neighbor* also reported that captains of companies were appointed for the removal to the West, including Alpheus Cutler, Isaac Morley, Joseph Fielding, Charles C. Rich, and Erastus Snow.⁹⁹ The editors told of a “Bill of Particulars. For the Emigrants Leaving This Government Next Spring” being presented to the assemblage. In the bill, a family of five persons was given instructions about provisions needed for the westward journey, such as a “good strong wagon, well covered with a light box,” seed grain, fish hooks and lines, nails, cinnamon, and cloves.¹⁰⁰

Epistles from the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. The first epistle, addressed to Latter-day Saints scattered throughout the United States, told of “the exodus of the Nation of the only true Israel from these U. S. to a far distant region of the West.” The epistle called upon LDS brethren to “wake up, wake up dear brethren we exhort you, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and from Canada to Florida, to the present glorious emergency in which the God of heaven has placed you, to prove your faith by your works.” Blessings promised for heeding the westward call were “the approbation of generations to come, and the hallowed joys of eternal life.”¹⁰¹ The second epistle, addressed to Latter-day Saints throughout the world, assured the faithful that “the work in which we are engaged is great and mighty, it is the work of God and we have to rush it forth against the combined powers of earth and hell.”¹⁰²

Local News. The most interesting local news had religious overtones. For example, the editors wrote of days being set apart by Church leaders for “fasting and prayer for the benefit of the poor, and to supplicate our Father in Heaven for such blessings as we need to carry on his work according to the revelations.”¹⁰³ They also wrote of William Pitt’s Brass Band ascending “the steeple of the Temple, [giving] a chant as the congregation dispersed from the grove, and being so high, the effect was as near heavenly as any thing we can think of.”¹⁰⁴ They reported that *Kish ku kash*, one of the chiefs of the Sac and Fox tribes, spoke of Nauvoo being a “sacred land, where our nation once worshipped [God], and this is the good ground, where rests the dust and bones of our brave fathers, in peace. *Oohoo!*”¹⁰⁵

The most unusual religious reporting was of public censures and reprimands. The most damning was hurled at William and Wilson Law for advertising that they had set aside “Thursday of every week, to grind TOLL FREE” for the poor until the “grain becomes plentiful after harvest.” In response, the editors printed, “When thou givest alms, *don’t sound a trumpet! . . . Wo unto you scribes, pharisees, hypocrites!* half faced, half eyed, with hearts of stone to grind the poor *toll free!*” The editors added, “Read your doom in the 69th section and 5th paragraph of the Book of Doctrine and Covenants.”¹⁰⁶ The most creative censure was written by Joseph Young, one of the presidents of the Quorums of the Seventies:

Some month since, I was walking on the margin of the river, and met Mr. William Nicswanger, whom I reminded of an old promise he had made me for some Lime; which he instantly renewed by saying, he “*would fetch me some next week, if he was alive.*” This he twice repeated.

What may I expect sir, if you do not fetch it? I said.

“*That I am dead!*” Was his reply.

Shall I publish you, I said, if you do not bring it?

Yes Sir, if you please, said he. I told him I would. The Lime did not come.

I hasten therefore to inform you, that Mr. Wm. Nicswanger is dead! Good speed attend him on his tour to the next world: and, as he doubtless will suspend all the business of lime burning and grocery keeping: it is hoped he may have a chance to pause and reflect upon the principles and worth of truth.

Will some of Mr. Nicswanger’s friends who may be alive, have the goodness to inform the public who his Executors are, that his honest creditors may get their last dues.¹⁰⁷

Nearly every summer issue of the *Neighbor* contained news of Mormon immigrants arriving on steamers at Nauvoo ports. Typical entries read: “The Maid of Iowa arrived with a number of passengers from St. Louis, on Tuesday last”;¹⁰⁸ “Upwards of one hundred and fifty emigrants arrived at this place, this morning, May 31st, per steamer Amaranth, from England”;¹⁰⁹ and “We

have the pleasure to announce the safe arrival in Nauvoo, on Monday the 20th inst. of another company of Latter Day Saints from the east, by the steamer Maid of Iowa numbering 62 souls all in good health and spirits.”¹¹⁰ Building construction was a natural outgrowth of the influx of immigrants. The *Neighbor* reported, “Buildings are being erected on every side, and many excellent brick houses have lately been finished”¹¹¹ and “tradesmen of all kinds seem to be full of employment.”¹¹² The *Neighbor* boasted of the Nauvoo Water Power Company starting a dam in the Mississippi after dedicating “the land, water, men, and means, to Almighty God”¹¹³ and of plans to build the University of Nauvoo at a cost of “three to five millions.”¹¹⁴

Newspaper Exchanges and Telegraph Dispatches. As with other papers of the day, the *Neighbor* was a composite of exchanges, clippings, and telegraph dispatches. The *Neighbor* exchanged with papers printed in London, Edinburg, Dublin, and Liverpool as well as “most of the principal papers in the United States, both east, west, north and south.”¹¹⁵ The *Neighbor* also had access to prominent individuals. For example, editors acknowledged “Hon. Stephen A. Douglas; the Hon. Sidney Breeze; the Hon. Joseph P. Hodge; and the Hon. J. J. Hardin; for Congressional documents and papers, which they have had the kindness to forward to us.”¹¹⁶

Once documents, dispatches, and summaries were available to the editorial staff, editors were at liberty to clip items of interest and reprint. Often reprinting was followed by editorial comments, such as giving the reason for fires and great calamities in the United States as “a just God is vexing his prodigal sons.”¹¹⁷ After reporting an earthquake in Independence, Missouri, and Cincinnati, Ohio, editors wrote, “We believe many large cities merit a few *shocks* to arouse them from m-o-b-o-c-r-a-c-y.”¹¹⁸ When editors reprinted a clipping about spots visible on the sun, they added, “Several large *black spots* have also appeared in the United States, about the same time, visible in Hancock county and in the city of Philadelphia, in the form of a *mob*; distance unknown.”¹¹⁹ When the sentiment of the clipping matched that of the editors, no comment was given. For example, the following clipping from the *New Hampshire Statesman* was printed without comment: “Gen. John C. Bennett, the notorious scoundrel who has been excommunicated by two wives (both of whom are now living) and the Mormons to boot, is, we understand, at present in Plymouth, Mass, where he is about to ‘*halve his heart*,’ for a third time. We think the lady must want.”¹²⁰ When a clipping reported an unfounded rumor about Mormons in Nauvoo, the editorial staff corrected the wrong. For example, when the *Cincinnati Philanthropist* published, “The Mormons in Nauvoo lately lynched a colored man, to make him divulge the names of persons who stole goods, which were found in his possession,” the editors assured the *Philanthropist* that “Mormons tried the

wretches for their brutal treatment to a poor black man.”¹²¹ When the *New York Herald* printed cartoonlike drawings of tragic scenes in Carthage, editors wrote, “There is no *fact* connected with these *caricatures*, they evidence a *catch penny* spirit, that adds only insult to outrage.”¹²² When the *St. Louis Era* reported, “Joe Smith has risen from the dead, and has been seen in Carthage and in Nauvoo, mounted on a white horse, with a drawn sword in his hand,” editors printed, “All fools are not dead yet’—nor will they be as long as such editors gulp down falsehood, and *spue slander* upon the people: or, filthify the community with a *diarrhea* of verbosity.”¹²³

Poetry. Most poems appearing in the *Neighbor* captured events significant in Latter-day Saint history. “The Capstone of the Temple” told of the final stone being placed atop the Nauvoo Temple.¹²⁴ “To a Ringleader in the Late Missouri Persecution” described past wrongs against Latter-day Saints in the state of Missouri.¹²⁵ “Quill-Wheel Rhapsodies” disclosed character flaws of Thomas Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*.¹²⁶ “Thou persecuted of Nauvoo” encouraged the Twelve Apostles to lead Mormon faithful to a new Zion.¹²⁷

Fiction. Fabricated stories played a minor role in the *Neighbor*. However, the dialogue “Joe Smith and the Devil” became a classic. In the dialogue, the Devil says to Joseph, “The fact is, you go in for the wheat, and I for the tares. Both must be harvested; are not we fellow laborers?” Joseph rebukes the Devil by saying, “Here’s to his Satanic Majesty; may he be driven from the earth, and be forced to put to sea in a stone canoe with an iron paddle, and may the canoe sink, and a shark swallow the canoe and its Royal freight, and an alligator swallow the shark, and may the alligator be bound in the north west corner of hell, and the door be locked, and the key lost, and a blind man hunting for it.”¹²⁸

Marriages and Deaths. It was customary to announce upcoming marriages in the *Neighbor*. The names of the bride and groom, the wedding date, and place of the wedding made up a typical entry. Occasionally, a poetic phrase promising happiness for the couple appeared next to the marriage entry.

Weekly death notices written in a brief, matter-of-fact manner appeared in the *Neighbor*. Notices told the name, age, and cause of death of the deceased: “August 27th 1845, Sarah Gould, daughter of David H. & Fanny M. Redfield, aged 10, months, and 17 days, of the canker.” An occasional eulogy or poem followed the death notice:

Sweet precious babe alas how dearly loved,
Thrice blest and yet too soon from us removed,
To heavenly joys yet to thy Fathers will,
We will submit, resign thee, and be still.¹²⁹

Wise Sayings. Short pithy sayings were popular in nineteenth-century newspapers. Sayings were printed as fillers in the *Neighbor* rather than as

weekly insertions. The following are examples: “He who always speaks the truth is respected”;¹³⁰ “No man ever prospered who defrauded a printer or abused his wife”;¹³¹ and “If the best man’s faults were written on his forehead, it would make him pull his hat down over his eyes.”¹³²

Humor. The editors touted good humor as “the most exquisite beauty of a fine face—a redeeming grace in a homely one. It is like the green in a landscape, harmonizing with every color.”¹³³ The *Neighbor* printed humor that had spiritual and relational components, perhaps revealing as much about the editorial staff as the humor itself:

Why are the printer’s bills like faith? Because they are the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen.¹³⁴

“Pa,” said a little fellow the other day, “was not Job an editor?” “Why Sammy?” “Because, the Bible informs us that he had much trouble and was a man of sorrow all the days of his life.”¹³⁵

A gentleman rode up to a public house in the country, and asked, “Who is the master of this house?” “I am, sir,” replied the landlord; “my wife has been dead about three weeks.”¹³⁶

A bad woman told her husband that he was related to the devil. Only by marriage said he.¹³⁷

Advertisements. Discounted rates for favorable reporting of Mormonism were extended to merchants as far away as St. Louis. The most reasonable rates, however, were given to Nauvoo merchants. But when merchants complained of advertising costs, editors assured them that “the first thing the business man refers to, is the advertising page.”¹³⁸ To alleviate complaints, the editors informed subscribers needing a buggy, a cook stove, ready-made clothing, straw hat, or a ferry ride to look no farther than Nauvoo. Whether they needed a watchmaker, jeweler, tailor, dentist, doctor, shoe maker, gunsmith, tin maker, music teacher, or attorney, such services were available in Nauvoo. To support merchants manufacturing goods in town and to “establish a uniformity in the prices,” the *Neighbor* printed a weekly price list for “all kinds of produce, groceries, &c. &c.”¹³⁹ When the editors noted exorbitant prices for specific products, they printed, “Let not such a sin *spot* Nauvoo.”¹⁴⁰

Conclusion

For Latter-day Saints on the front lines of verbal assault, the *Neighbor* was an outlet for sharpening skills of debate. The Saints needed to be armed with reason, rationale, and logic as well as the Spirit to combat county and state officials determined to end their faith, if not their lives. The wide distribution of the newspaper informed an outraged public of Mormonism

and Latter-day Saint frustrations in defending their religious practices. In addition, the *Neighbor* did much to prepare Latter-day Saints to leave their homes and journey west. Yet the paper stopped publishing in the middle of the third volume on October 29, 1845, three months before the Nauvoo exodus began. Senior editor John Taylor explained to subscribers the reason for stopping the paper: "Because we are compelled by mobocracy, on account of the weakness of the law and the stupidity or hypocrisy of its executors, to quit the 'asylum of the oppressed,' we have thought it advisable to discontinue the Neighbor at this number." Taylor advised subscribers to "flee from a liberty so terrible that it allows murder and arson to be committed with impunity by a portion of citizens, because they are a mob." He pled with subscribers to "abandon the estates and tombs of our fathers because the glory of American liberty has been singed by the blaze of fools in a frolic of enthusiasm to the devil." Such rhetoric seemed premature in October 1845. "But when it is understood that the people of the United States gloat themselves upon *public opinion*," Taylor penned, "it will be considered a wise move, for why need we expend money and time, to warn a nation that already is grating its teeth at us."¹⁴¹ For subscribers who had paid in advance for the entire third volume, Taylor advised them to look to the *Times and Seasons*, the official Latter-day Saint newspaper.

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1. See Ronald D. Dennis, "The Evening and the Morning Star," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:477.

2. See J. LeRoy Caldwell, "Messenger and Advocate," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:892.

3. See Lyndon W. Cook and Milton V. Backman Jr., eds., *Kirtland Elders' Quorum Record, 1826–1844, December 6, 1837* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 1985), 35–36.

4. See Reed C. Durham Jr., "Times and Seasons," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1479–80; Robert T. Bray, "Times and Seasons: An Archaeological Perspective on Early Latter Day Saints Printing," *Historical Archaeology* 13 (1979): 53–119; Parry D. Sorensen, "Nauvoo Times and Seasons," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 55, no. 2 (1962): 117–35.

5. See Stanley A. Peterson, "Millennial Star," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:906; James P. Hill, "Story of the Star," *Millennial Star* 130 (December 1970): 10–13.

6. See Hill, "Story of the Star," 10–13.
7. "Introductory," *Wasp* 1, no. 1 (April 16, 1842): p. 2, cols. 2–3.
8. William Smith, "Proposals for Publishing the Wasp," *Wasp* 1, no. 1 (April 16, 1842): p. 4, col. 3.
9. "Introductory," *Wasp* 1, no. 1 (April 16, 1842): p. 2, cols. 2–3.
10. Smith, "Proposals for Publishing the Wasp," *Wasp* 1, no. 1 (April 16, 1842): p. 4, col. 3.
11. "Introductory," *Wasp* 1, no. 1 (April 16, 1842): p. 2, cols. 2–3.
12. B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor, Third President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1963), 28.
13. Roberts, *Life of John Taylor*, 34.
14. Roberts, *Life of John Taylor*, 38, 47–48.
15. Ebenezer Robinson, "Items of Personal History of the Editor including some items of Church history not generally known," 81–82, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
16. Parley P. Pratt, "Regulations for the Publishing Department of the Latter-day Saints in the East," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 38 (January 22, 1845): p. 3, col. 2.
17. See Jack A. Nelson, "Newspapers, LDS," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1011.
18. See Hayes, "Nauvoo Neighbor," in Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:999.
19. "Prospectus of a Weekly Newspaper Called the Nauvoo Neighbor," *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 10 (April 1, 1843): 145–46.
20. "Prospectus of the Nauvoo Neighbor," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 7 (June 12, 1844): p. 1, col. 1.
21. "Prospectus of a Weekly Newspaper Called the Nauvoo Neighbor," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 1 (May 3, 1843): p. 3, col. 1.
22. "The Neighbor," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 1 (May 3, 1843): p. 2, col. 2.
23. "The Warsaw Message," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 30 (November 22, 1843): p. 2, col. 5.
24. Joseph Smith, "To the Editor of the Neighbor," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 43 (February 21, 1844): p. 2, col. 6.
25. On April 27, 1842, Joseph Smith, trustee-in-trust, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, acting as grantor, sold to James Ivins, acting as grantee, town parcel Lot #4, Block #117, Nauvoo Plat, Town of Nauvoo for \$1,000.00. See Hancock County Deeds, Book K, 433–34, entry #4923; Susan Easton Black, Harvey B. Black, and Brandon Plewe, *Property Transactions in Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois, and Surrounding Communities, 1839–1859*, 7 vols. (Wilmington, Delaware: World Vital Records, 2006), 3:2003. See also Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 270.
26. Bricks in the existing buildings bear the imprint of Isaac Hill, a brick maker who managed the Law Brickyard in 1842. See "Times & Seasons Buildings—Tract 117–4: The James Ivins, Elias Smith Printing Complex," Nauvoo Lands and Records Office; Hancock County Bonds and Mortgages, Book 2, 52–53, entry #6959; Black, Black, and Plewe, *Property Transactions in Nauvoo*, 3:2005.
27. On May 3, 1845, Elias Smith (grantor) sold to James Ivins (grantee) for \$825, town parcel South/2, Lot #4, Block #117, Nauvoo Plat, Town of Nauvoo. Legal

description of the property reads, "Exchange of 40 Acres in Adams County, Illinois deeded by James Bean to Elias Smith for \$325 on which the Brick Store is situated on the Southeast corner of the South/2 Lot 4; said Lot sold by Ivins to Smith for \$3,200.00." See Hancock County Bonds and Mortgages, Book 2, 52–53, entry #6959; Black, Black, and Plewe, *Property Transactions in Nauvoo*, 3:2005.

On May 3, 1845 (the same date), James Ivins and wife Mary S. (grantors) sold to Elias Smith (grantee) for \$3,200.00 town parcel South/2, Lot #4, Block #117, Nauvoo Plat, Town of Nauvoo (same land). See Hancock County Deeds, Book N, 410, entry #6968; Black, Black, and Plewe, *Property Transactions in Nauvoo*, 3:2005–6.

In May 1846, the brick buildings and equipment were transferred to the LDS trustees to sell. Trustee Almon W. Babbitt was appointed postmaster and continued mail service from the corner structure until fall 1848. It appears Babbitt lived in the center building. Some of the equipment left in the buildings was used to print the *Hancock Eagle* (April–August 1846), the *Nauvoo New Citizen* (December 1846), and the *Hancock Patriot* (1847–1850). Renovation of the two remaining buildings was begun in 1954 by the LDS Church. See "Times & Seasons Buildings—Tract 117–4: The James Ivins, Elias Smith Printing Complex."

28. "The Journal of John Taylor," ed. Dean C. Jessee, *BYU Studies* 23, no. 3 (1983): 47–48, entry April 13, 1845.

29. "How D'Ye Do!" *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 15 (August 13, 1845): p. 2, col. 4.

30. "A Bright Boy," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 28 (November 8, 1843): p. 3, col. 1.

31. Brigham Young, "Br. Taylor," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 40 (February 5, 1845): p. 2, col. 5.

32. "Owing to the extreme lowness of the Mississippi . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 16 (August 20, 1845): p. 2, col. 3.

33. "The Last Shingle," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 15 (August 13, 1845): p. 2, col. 3.

34. "In consequence of the sickness . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 23 (October 4, 1843): p. 3, col. 1.

35. "Delay," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 29 (November 13, 1844): p. 2, col. 3.

36. "Apology," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 30 (November 27, 1844): p. 2, col. 3.

37. Joseph Smith, "Correspondence of Gen. Joseph Smith and Hon. J. C. Calhoun," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 37 (January 10, 1844): p. 2, col. 5.

38. J. C. Calhoun, "Hon. J. C. Calhoun's Reply," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 37 (January 10, 1844): p. 2, col. 5.

39. Joseph Smith, "SIR:—Your reply to my letter . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 37 (January 10, 1844): p. 2, col. 5.

40. Joseph Smith, "SIR:—Your reply to my letter . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 37 (January 10, 1844): p. 2, col. 6.

41. "For President, Joseph Smith," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 44 (February 28, 1844): p. 2, col. 3.

42. "Who Shall Be Our Next President?" *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 42 (February 14, 1844): p. 2, col. 3.

43. "Who Shall Be Our Next President?" *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 42 (February 14, 1844): p. 2, cols. 3–4.

44. "A New Candidate for the Presidency," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 47 (March 20, 1844): p. 2, col. 2.

45. "A New Candidate for the Presidency," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 47 (March 20, 1844): p. 2, col. 2.

46. "Steam Boat Election," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 6 (May 22, 1844): p. 2, col. 6. Note: numbers 6, 7, and 8 in volume 2 were mistakenly used twice, so this issue should be number 4.

47. See "Gen. Smith Goes Ahead," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 8 (June 5, 1844): p. 2, col. 3. Note: numbers 6, 7, and 8 in volume 2 were mistakenly used twice, so this issue should be number 6.

48. "Steam Boat Election," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 6 (May 22, 1844): p. 2, col. 6; "Do It," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 7 (May 29, 1844): p. 2, col. 1. Note: numbers 6, 7, and 8 in volume 2 were mistakenly used twice, so these two issues should be numbers 4 and 5.

49. See "The Steamer Die Vernon came down from the rapids . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 52 (April 24, 1844): p. 3, col. 1.

50. See "A new paper has been started in Belleville . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 3 (May 15, 1844): p. 2, col. 6.

51. "General Smith's Views," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 2 (May 8, 1844): p. 2, col. 1; Joseph Smith, "General Smith's Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 2 (May 8, 1844): p. 2, cols. 1-6.

52. "Dinner Party," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 33 (December 13, 1843): p. 2, col. 4.

53. "Wood Chopping," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 38 (January 17, 1844): p. 2, col. 3.

54. Thomas Ford, "To His Excellency Thomas Reynolds, Governor of the State of Missouri," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 18 (August 30, 1843): p. 2, cols. 1-2.

55. "Numerous reports are in circulation . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 34 (December 20, 1843): p. 2, col. 5.

56. "Public Meeting," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 33 (December 13, 1843): p. 1, col. 5.

57. "A Day of Fasting and Prayer," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 44 (February 28, 1844): p. 2, col. 4.

58. "Carthage Warsaw and Green Plains," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 39 (January 24, 1844): p. 2, cols. 4-5.

59. Joseph Smith, "You are hereby commanded to destroy the printing press . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 8 (June 19, 1844): p. 3, col. 4.

60. "Retributive Justice," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 7 (June 12, 1844): p. 2, col. 3; "To the Public," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 7 (June 12, 1844): p. 2, col. 3.

61. "Further Proceedings concerning the Destruction of the Nauvoo Expositor," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 8 (June 19, 1844): p. 2, col. 3.

62. "Goodness Shall Be Rewarded," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 11 (July 10, 1844): p. 2, col. 3.

63. See Willard Richards, "Two Minutes in Jail," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 13 (July 24, 1844): p. 3, cols. 1-2.

64. "Awful Assassination! The Pledged Faith of the State of Illinois Stained with Innocent Blood by a Mob!" *Nauvoo Neighbor—Extra* (June 30, 1844): p. 1, col. 1.

65. Willard Richards, John Taylor, and Samuel H. Smith, "To Mrs. Emma Smith, and Maj. Gen. Dunham, &c.," *Nauvoo Neighbor—Extra* (June 30, 1844): p. 1, col. 5.

66. "Awful Assassination! The Pledged Faith of the State of Illinois Stained with Innocent Blood by a Mob!" *Nauvoo Neighbor—Extra* (June 30, 1844): p. 1, cols. 1-2.

67. Richards, Taylor, and Smith, "To Mrs. Emma Smith, and Maj. Gen. Dunham, &c.," *Nauvoo Neighbor—Extra* (June 30, 1844): p. 1, col. 5.

68. See "The Murders at Carthage," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 27 (October 30, 1844): p. 2, col. 5.

69. "Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet and His Brother Hyrum Murdered in Prison," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 11 (July 10, 1844): p. 2, col. 5.

70. Daniel H. Wells, prest. pro. tem., and James Sloan, recorder, "An Ordinance concerning Bathing and Swimming," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 10 (July 5, 1843): p. 2, col. 6.

71. John C. Bennett, mayor, and James Sloan, recorder, "An Ordinance concerning Marriages," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 21 (September 20, 1843): p. 3, cols. 3-4.

72. Joseph Smith, mayor, and James Sloan, recorder, "An Ordinance respecting Mad Dogs and Other Animals," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 6 (June 7, 1843): p. 3, col. 4.

73. Geo. W. Harris, president pro. tem., and Willard Richards, recorder, "An Ordinance concerning Brothels and Disorderly Characters," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 16 (August 14, 1844): p. 3, cols. 2-3.

74. "Trial of Elder Rigdon," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 20 (September 11, 1844): p. 2, col. 5.

75. Sidney Rigdon, "Letter of Sidney Rigdon, Esq.," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 23 (October 2, 1844): p. 1, col. 2.

76. See "Sidney Rigdon Esq," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 28 (November 6, 1844): p. 2, col. 5.

77. Americus, "Mr. Editor: I have enquired of the Temple Committee . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 3 (May 21, 1845): p. 3, col. 2.

78. See "Illinois Legislature," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 39 (January 29, 1845): p. 1, cols. 1-5.

79. "Remarks: Of Mr. Backenstos, in the House of Representatives, January 1845, against the Senate Bill . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 45 (March 12, 1845): p. 1, cols. 1-2.

80. "Nauvoo Charter," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 39 (January 29, 1845): p. 2, col. 4.

81. "A Wonder," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 1 (May 7, 1845): p. 3, col. 2.

82. "Business," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 21 (September 24, 1845): p. 3, col. 2.

83. "Mobbing Again in Hancock!" *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 19 (September 10, 1845): p. 2, col. 3.

84. "List of Houses Destroyed," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 19 (September 10, 1845): p. 2, col. 3.

85. "The Latest from the Burning Mob," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 19 (September 10, 1845): p. 2, cols. 3-4.

86. J. B. Backenstos, sheriff of Hancock County, Ills., "Official Proceedings in Hancock, Proclamation: no. 1. To the Citizens of Hancock County, Illinois," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 21 (September 24, 1845): p. 2, col. 1.

87. Thomas Ford, governor, and Thompson Campbell, sec[retary] of state, "A Proclamation by the Governor of the State of Illinois," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 22 (October 1, 1845): p. 2, col. 6.

88. "Cost of Mobbing," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 21 (September 24, 1845): p. 3, col. 1.

89. "The Troubles at Nauvoo," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 13 (July 24, 1844): p. 2, col. 5; see also "Mob! Mob!! Mob!!!" *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 13 (July 24, 1844): p. 2, col. 4.

90. "The report that a battle had been fought . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 15 (August 7, 1844): p. 2, col. 4.

91. Americus, "Mr. Editor—Mr. Sharp of the 'Warsaw Signal' has been inspired with new fears . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 50 (April 16, 1845): p. 3, col. 2.

92. "Stand Fast," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 38 (January 17, 1844): p. 2, col. 3–4.
93. "Conference," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 50 (April 10, 1844): p. 2, col. 2.
94. "The Conference," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 50 (April 16, 1845): p. 2, col. 5.
95. Willard Richards, recorder, "General Conference," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 16 (August 20, 1845): p. 3, col. 4.
96. "First Meeting in the Temple," *Nauvoo Neighbor* Circular: To the Whole Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (October 1?, 1845): p. 1, col. 1.
97. "Extract from the Minutes of a General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Held in the House of the Lord in the City of Joseph, Oct. 6th, 7, & 8, 1845," *Nauvoo Neighbor* Circular: To the Whole Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (October 1?, 1845): p. 1, cols. 1–2.
98. "List of Committees," *Nauvoo Neighbor* Circular: To the Whole Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (October 1?, 1845): p. 1, col. 4.
99. See "Captains of Companies: For Removal in the Spring," *Nauvoo Neighbor* Circular: To the Whole Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (October 1?, 1845): p. 1, col. 4.
100. "Bill of Particulars. For the Emigrants Leaving This Government Next Spring," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 23 (October 29, 1845): p. 3, col. 1.
101. Brigham Young, pres. and Willard Richards, clerk, "To the Brethren of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Scattered Abroad throughout the United States of America," *Nauvoo Neighbor* Circular: To the Whole Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (October 1?, 1845): p. 1, cols. 2–4.
102. "An Epistle of the Twelve, to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in all the World," *Times and Seasons—Extra* (January 22, 1845): col. 1.
103. "Fast," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 6 (June 11, 1845): p. 2, col. 6.
104. "Chant," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 15 (August 13, 1845): p. 2, col. 4.
105. "A Word from the Redman," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 7 (May 29, 1844): p. 2, col. 2. Note: numbers 6, 7, and 8 in volume 2 were mistakenly used twice, so this issue should be number 5.
106. "Grinding the Poor," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 7 (June 12, 1844): p. 2, col. 4.
107. Joseph Young, "Mr. Editor, Sir, Publicity to the following announcement . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 52 (April 24, 1844): p. 3, cols. 4–5.
108. "Phonography," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 1 (May 3, 1843): p. 2, col. 3.
109. "Upwards of one hundred and fifty emigrants . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 5 (May 31, 1843): p. 2, col. 3.
110. "We have the pleasure to announce the safe arrival . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 6 (May 22, 1844): p. 2, col. 6. Note: numbers 6, 7, and 8 in volume 2 were mistakenly used twice, so this issue should be number 4.
111. "Nauvoo," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 17 (August 23, 1843): p. 2, col. 3.
112. "Our City is progressing rapidly . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 26 (October 25, 1843): p. 2, col. 5.
113. "Commencement," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 44 (March 5, 1845): p. 2, col. 4.
114. "Still They Build," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 16 (August 20, 1845): p. 2, col. 6.
115. "Prospectus of a Weekly Newspaper, Called the Nauvoo Neighbor," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 1 (May 3, 1843): p. 3, col. 1.
116. "We tender our acknowledgements . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 44 (February 28, 1844): p. 2, col. 5.
117. "Independence," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 10 (July 9, 1845): p. 2, col. 4.

118. "An Earthquake," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 15 (August 7, 1844): p. 2, col. 5.
119. "Spots in the Sun," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 15 (August 7, 1844): p. 3, col. 1.
120. "Gen. John C. Bennett," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 2 (May 10, 1843): p. 4, col. 1.
121. "Lynching among the Mormons," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 6 (May 22, 1844): p. 2, col. 6. Note: numbers 6, 7, and 8 in volume 2 were mistakenly used twice, so this issue should be number 4.
122. "Catch Penny," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 15 (August 7, 1844): p. 2, col. 5.
123. "More Humbuggery and Priestcraft," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 18 (August 28, 1844): p. 2, col. 6.
124. "The Capstone of the Temple," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 4 (May 28, 1845): p. 2, col. 2.
125. "To a Ringleader in the Late Missouri Persecution," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 6 (June 7, 1843): p. 1, col. 1.
126. "Quill-Wheel Rhapsodies," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 9 (June 28, 1843): p. 3, col. 3.
127. G. W. M., "Thou persecuted of Nauvoo . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 10 (July 9, 1845): p. 4, col. 1.
128. "Joe Smith and the Devil: A Dialogue," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 22 (September 25, 1844): p. 1, col. 6.
129. "Died," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 18 (September 3, 1845): p. 3, col. 4. Sarah Gould Redfield was born on October 10, 1844.
130. "He who always speaks the truth . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 40 (January 31, 1844): p. 3, col. 4.
131. "A Solemn Truth," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 41 (February 7, 1844): p. 3, col. 3.
132. "True," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 2, no. 25 (October 16, 1844): p. 2, col. 1.
133. "Good Humor," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 15 (August 9, 1843): p. 2, col. 3.
134. "Apt Reply," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 3 (May 17, 1843): p. 3, col. 1.
135. "'Pa,' said the little fellow . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 45 (March 6, 1844): p. 3, col. 1.
136. "The Latest," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 15 (August 9, 1843): p. 2, col. 3.
137. "A bad woman told her husband . . .," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 43 (February 21, 1844): p. 1, col. 5.
138. "Read and Understand," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 8 (June 21, 1843): p. 2, col. 5.
139. "List of Prices in Nauvoo," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1, no. 50 (April 10, 1844): p. 2, col. 4.
140. "Houses and Rent," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 4 (May 28, 1845): p. 2, col. 3.
141. "To Our Patrons," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 23 (October 29, 1845): p. 2, cols. 5-6.

Andreas J. Köstenberger and Michael J. Kruger.
*The Heresy of Orthodoxy:
 How Contemporary Culture's Fascination with Diversity
 Has Reshaped Our Understanding of Early Christianity.*
 Wheaton: Crossway, 2010.

Reviewed by Noel B. Reynolds

Readers interested in the ongoing debate over the reliability of the New Testament texts will find this new book to be an excellent contribution to the defense of those texts. Authors Köstenberger and Kruger are both allied personally and professionally with the contemporary movement that defends the inerrancy of scripture. Andreas J. Köstenberger is Professor of New Testament and Greek and director of PhD and ThM studies at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Wake Forest, North Carolina. He is the editor of the *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* and is the author of books and articles on biblical texts and theology. Michael J. Kruger is Associate Professor of New Testament and academic dean at the Charlotte campus of the Reformed Theological Seminary, which is explicitly and institutionally committed to “The Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy.”¹

Over the last half century, the academic battle over Christian origins and the historical Jesus has focused increasingly on diverging characterizations of the New Testament texts and other related texts from the early Christian centuries. Ironically, some of the most determined critics of traditional Christian understandings are themselves former Evangelicals. An outsider watching these developments over the last half century could easily conclude that the evangelical passion for biblical inerrancy has spawned many of the Bible scholars who are engaged most passionately on the two sides of this war. It seems bright young Evangelicals who commit themselves to a life of Bible study arrive at leading graduate programs, where they quickly discover a wide range of textual discrepancies and changes that are hardly deniable. Some seem to react by saying something like, “I should

1. International Council on Biblical Inerrancy, “The Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy” (1978), http://65.175.91.69/Reformation_net/COR_Docs/o1_Inerrancy_Christian_Worldview.pdf (accessed November 11, 2011).

have recognized this all along, and it is probably not an unsolvable problem for biblical faith.” Others, like Bart Ehrman, feel that they have been lied to all their lives. And, like Professor Ehrman, they react by compiling and promoting every conceivable criticism of the texts and the traditional Christian self-understanding.²

Latter-day Saints can find themselves in the strange position of cheering on both sides. The LDS tradition from Joseph Smith to the present has always recognized that the Bible as we have it today may suffer from errors in translation and errors of transmission—both deletions and insertions—among other possible textual problems. So when Walter Bauer and now Bart Ehrman challenge the standard approach in biblical studies, LDS readers sometimes find these writings supportive of their own reservations regarding scriptural inerrancy. But the Bible is also at the center of the LDS canon, and for the first century and a half of the Restoration it was clearly treated as the most authoritative and fundamental scripture, if only because ongoing missionary work in largely Christian cultures made this a common point of dialogue. Since the LDS Church’s correlation program was undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s, emphasis on the Book of Mormon has increased, and that scripture perhaps can now be seen as having supplanted the Bible in position of primacy.³ Even so, the Bible continues to be

2. Ehrman discusses his fundamentalist upbringing and the shattering of his inerrantist presumptions in the introduction of *Misquoting Jesus: The Story Behind Who Changed the Bible and Why* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 1–15. Of particular interest is his initial realization that Mark may have misidentified the high priest Abiathar in 1 Samuel 21:1–6: “Once I made that admission, the floodgates opened. For if there could be one little, picayune mistake in Mark 2, maybe there could be mistakes in other places as well. . . . If [God] wanted his people to have his words, surely he would have given them to them. . . . The fact that we don’t have the words surely must show, I reasoned, that he did not preserve them for us. And if he didn’t perform that miracle, there seemed to be no reason to think that he performed the earlier miracle of inspiring those words. . . . This was a seismic change for me. . . . My faith had been based completely on a certain view of the Bible as the fully inspired, inerrant word of God. Now I no longer saw the Bible that way. . . . What if God *didn’t* say it? What if the book you take as giving you God’s words instead contains human words? What if the Bible doesn’t give a fool-proof answer to the questions of the modern age—abortion, women’s rights, gay rights, religious supremacy, Western-style democracy, and the like? What if we have to figure out how to live and what to believe on our own, without setting up the Bible as a false idol—or an oracle that gives us a direct line of communication with the Almighty? There are clear reasons for thinking that, in fact, the Bible is not this kind of inerrant guide to our lives” (9–14, emphasis in original).

3. See Noel B. Reynolds, “The Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon in the Twentieth Century,” *BYU Studies* 38, no. 2 (1999): 6–47.

a fundamental scripture and a deeply valued source of prophecy, history, and inspired teaching for Latter-day Saints.

The twentieth-century challenge to Christian orthodoxy arose principally in the work of German scholar Walter Bauer and swept through the academic world after the 1971 publication of the English translation of his study *Orthodoxy and Heresy*.⁴ Bauer built on the Enlightenment's doubts about the supernatural origins of Christianity and on the comparative religion approach being taken by historians of religion, important studies of the Gnostic movement and other heresies, and new scholarly emphasis on the apparent early conflict between Pauline and Petrine forms of Christianity. Bauer's dramatic conclusion, based on the work of his predecessors and his own studies, was that mainstream Christianity was in fact a late coalescence of diverse earlier forms—that heresy preceded orthodoxy:

According to Bauer, the orthodoxy that eventually coalesced merely represented the consensus view of the ecclesiastical hierarchy that had the power to impose its view onto the rest of Christendom. Subsequently, this hierarchy, in particular the Roman church, rewrote the history of the church in keeping with its views, eradicating traces of earlier diversity. Thus what later became known as orthodoxy does not organically flow from the teaching of Jesus and the apostles but reflects the predominant viewpoint of the Roman church as it came into full bloom between the fourth and sixth centuries AD. (24–25)

The Bauer thesis soon became the standard view of the academic world, as exemplified in the theological writings of Rudolf Bultmann,⁵ the Christian histories of Helmut Koester and James M. Robinson,⁶ and the New Testament textual studies of James D. G. Dunn.⁷ In spite of a growing wave of journal articles attacking and refuting specific assumptions and claims of Bauer's initial work, the overall assumption that diversity preceded unity in the formation of Christianity became the standard assumption of the academic world well before the end of the twentieth century.

4. Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, ed. Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel, trans. Paul J. Achtemeier (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971). This translation made the 1934 German original available to the full range of scholars and significantly accelerated Bauer's influence.

5. See, for example, Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955).

6. See, for example, James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971).

7. See, for example, James D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1977).

The later decades of the twentieth century saw the emergence of a new breed of competent Bible scholars with personal commitments to the Bible as the foundation of their Christian faith. Köstenberger and Kruger are not the first Bible scholars to respond to the twentieth-century attack on the Bible's scriptural authority or textual reliability. Indeed, their broadly gauged project was possible only because of the more specific, ground-level textual studies conducted by many others. Reading between the lines, I suspect that it was the popularization of the Bauer thesis in the widely publicized writings of Elaine Pagels⁸ and Bart Ehrman⁹ that galvanized Köstenberger and Kruger and inspired them to assemble this systematic response to "the Bauer-Ehrman thesis." Drawing on a multitude of original studies by other scholars, Köstenberger and Kruger not only feature the work of such scholarly giants as Larry W. Hurtado,¹⁰ Richard Bauckham,¹¹ and Darrell L. Bock¹² but also do their readers the favor of documenting their argument with a careful survey that includes the relevant contributions of a host of lesser-known scholars. The introduction does an excellent job of reviewing the literature that leads up to the present volume.

The main body of the book is divided into three parts. The first part shows how all of the key assumptions and claims of Bauer's *Orthodoxy and Heresy* have been refuted over the last half century by more careful and detailed studies of the extant evidences for early Christian teachings and practices in different locations around the Mediterranean. The authors marvel that the Bauer thesis should still have such a hold on the academic mind-set, and they are undoubtedly motivated in their compilation of all these studies to force mainstream academia to recognize that it is operating with a long-refuted set of assumptions. One prominent part of this argument demonstrates that Bauer relied entirely on second-century materials for his generalizations about first-century Christianity. They also review a host of specific studies on early Christianity in different locales to show that Bauer's assumptions about those local areas turn out to be mistaken.

8. See Elaine Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (New York: Random House, 1979); and *Beyond Belief: The Secret Gospel of Thomas* (New York: Random House, 2003).

9. See, for example, Bart Ehrman, *Lost Christianities: The Battles for Scripture and the Faith We Never Knew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

10. See, for example, Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003).

11. See, for example, Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2006).

12. See, for example, Darrell L. Bock, *The Missing Gospels: Unearthing the Truth behind Alternative Christianities* (Nashville: Nelson, 2006).

The second part of the book reviews and rethinks the formation of the canon that came together in the New Testament. Bauer and particularly Ehrman have used the large number of noncanonical texts that are now known to conclude that historical circumstances determined which texts wound up in the Bible. Köstenberger and Kruger have taken up this challenge in ways that are both effective and original, adding new and valuable insights to our understanding of canon formation. They begin by demonstrating that there was actually a notion of canon already functioning in the earliest practices of Christianity and that it persisted up until the orthodox canon was finalized in the late fourth century. They then trace the emergence of a canon in the first century and support this with some previously unrecognized evidence. Finally, they trace the establishment of canon boundaries through the second and third centuries in the context of a growing collection of apocryphal works, many of which were valued by Christians but almost none of which had canonical status in any corner of the Christian world. For many scholars, this part of the book may be the most helpful and original because it provides compelling arguments that powerfully refute many of the basic assumptions promoted by Ehrman in his highly publicized attacks on the canon.

The third part of the book deals with a range of issues that have been of long-standing interest to Latter-day Saints because they concern the significance of errors or textual changes introduced by scribes over time. Using the standard tools of textual criticism, the authors demonstrate rather persuasively that while there are a large number of textual variations that can give rise to doubts about reliability, there are also powerful and reliable methods of identifying erroneous traditions—of determining which manuscripts are most reliable. They argue persuasively that, outside of a short list of obvious problems, there are very few variants that have much significance for Christian history or theology. LDS readers will notice that these authors do not deal with the problem of omissions in the early texts—one of the principal concerns of LDS scholars, arising from the reference in 1 Nephi 13:34 to “plain and precious parts of the gospel of the Lamb which have been kept back.”¹³ Köstenberger and Kruger do not recognize that as a problem because the kinds of New Testament

13. See John Gee’s discussion of this issue in his essay “The Corruption of Scripture in Early Christianity,” in *Early Christians in Disarray: Contemporary LDS Perspectives on the Christian Apostasy*, ed. Noel B. Reynolds (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005), 163–204. Because of Köstenberger and Kruger’s focus on Bauer and Ehrman, many issues raised by LDS studies of early textual problems are not addressed or even recognized in *The Heresy of Orthodoxy*.

omissions emphasized by Ehrman are easily shown to be Gnostic documents of much later origin.

While the extreme positions on biblical inerrancy are not defended in this volume, the authors conclude that the standard tools of textual criticism available to scholars today do support the conclusion that there is not likely much error in modern versions of the Bible that has not been identified and corrected by scholars. While there is always the possibility of errors that crept in so early that no later texts or commentaries could take notice, they see this as a minor problem that in no way offers support for Bart Ehrman's radical questioning of the canon. And they point out tellingly that Ehrman's latest work still ignores Richard Bauckham's pathbreaking study that argues powerfully that the canonical gospels were written by or under the immediate direction of eyewitnesses of Christ's ministry—and that they were in no way distillations of stories passed around in Christian communities over a period of several decades.¹⁴

For LDS readers, Köstenberger and Kruger have performed the invaluable service of bringing together all the major contributions to this eighty-year debate about Christian origins and texts. Latter-day Saints will be comforted by the strong evidence provided that earliest Christianity did have a unified self-understanding. But they will not be nearly so confident as these authors that the orthodox theology established in the late fourth century was unchanged from the first century. On this question, these authors give themselves a pass and assume that they have demonstrated that early and late orthodoxy were the same thing. But they have responded effectively to the attacks from Bauer, Ehrman, and the Jesus Seminar. Their book will be most helpful to LDS readers who are interested in this debate and its implications for an LDS understanding of early Christianity.

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14. Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*. See Thomas A. Wayment, review of *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses* by Richard Bauckham, *BYU Studies* 48, no. 2 (2009): 165–168; and Noel B. Reynolds, “In the Mouths of Two or More Witnesses,” *FARMS Review* 23, no. 1 (2011): 155–56.

Tom Mould. *Still, the Small Voice: Narrative, Personal Revelation, and the Mormon Folk Tradition*.
Logan: Utah State University Press, 2011.

Reviewed by Jacqueline S. Thursby

Tom Mould is an associate professor of anthropology and folklore at Elon University in Greensboro, North Carolina. He is the author of two books on Choctaw narrative: *Choctaw Prophecy: A Legacy of the Future* (2003) and *Choctaw Tales* (2004). He has published articles on varied aspects of generic boundaries and constructed identities and has produced video documentaries for public television on folk art and culture in Indiana, Kentucky, and North Carolina. Mould is particularly focused on the study of oral narrative, and his interest in prophecy and sacred narratives led him to his work with the Latter-day Saints. His book *Still, the Small Voice: Narrative, Personal Revelation, and the Mormon Folk Tradition* will appeal to LDS scholars, general LDS readers, and others interested in knowing more about the shaping power of personal revelation among Latter-day Saints. The book has six chapters and is made further accessible by an introduction, afterword, appendix, extensive chapter notes, works cited, and an index.

In his book, Mould creates a significant scholarly analysis of Latter-day Saint performance-centered personal revelation and presents it with a thoroughly researched folkloric perspective. His work is a long-overdue academic discussion of personal revelation and its importance in Latter-day Saint practice and culture. He has gathered and analyzed both spiritual and temporal revelations by conducting extensive ethnographic fieldwork, researching folklore archives housed in Utah universities, and examining published records of representative LDS experiences involving supernatural revelations. These revelations are more often called impressions or promptings by the LDS people; indeed, Mould mentions that in the Utah archives where he researched, there was surprisingly no specific category called personal revelation (23).

In the introduction, Mould observes that there is a long-ignored “thriving oral tradition [among the Mormons] that puts a contemporary face to

scripture" (2). Mould uses scholarly folkloric theory to deconstruct personal revelation and explain its place in the variable Mormon folk tradition. Using many categorical examples of personal revelation received by LDS people, he seamlessly ties both spiritual influences and temporal guidance to performance theory, an influential theoretical approach in folklore research and scholarship. He states, "For the past three decades, performance theory has dominated the field. The idea of performance shifts the focus from product to process. Folklorists explore the social and cultural contexts of specific performances—storytelling events, ritual acts, throwing pots on a wheel—and the processes by which performers create and present their work and express themselves. . . . Performance is viewed as a social act . . . [and includes] the construction of particular social identities" (6).

Defining performance theory in order to situate the reader in contemporary folkloric discussion as used in his analysis of LDS revelation, Mould cites respected folklore scholars, including Richard Bauman and Burt Feintuch. Based on their research, Mould explains, "Storytelling, joking, dancing, healing, worshiping, woodworking, and painting can all be understood as performance" (60). These are expressed social aesthetics, or "informal, deeply contextualized acts of creation widely shared throughout a community" (60). In the context of the Mormon folklore tradition, telling an experience of spiritual revelation is one form of performance. Mould suggests that sharing spiritual revelation may raise the prestige of trusted members of the Church, but that such an action may risk "accusations of a lack of humility" as well (62). Subsequently, revealing personal revelation is sometimes guarded.

Further discussing folkloric research, Mould explains, "As in all academic disciplines, folklore scholars approach their work with a set of assumptions" (4). By explaining these basic academic perspectives and assumptions, Mould assists the general reader to better comprehend the influence revelatory narrative has on the broad, diverse community of LDS people. The assumptions he covers are that folklorists accept narrative folklore as having elements of truth that carry significant meaning for the teller; that exploring folklore, sometimes called expressive culture, leads to an understanding of the beliefs and values of a community; that folklore—meaning oral, material, and customary lore (things people say, make, do, and believe)—has value as artistic performance; that folklorists value all human beings and their traditions and consider the entire human family as folk; and that the genre employed matters. In relation to the importance of genre, Mould states, "An idea explored through a joke may not emerge in the same way when conveyed in a deeply personal [supernatural] memorate" (4–5).

In addition to folkloric theory, Mould discusses various genres of folklore that can be found in LDS revelations. Addressing earlier studies that covered broad spectra of LDS revelations, Mould observes, "Narratives of personal revelation continued to cross generic lines, appearing primarily under the rubric of faith-promoting stories, stories of dreams, and stories of the still small voice" (22). Now and then, another genre appears, sometimes labeled "faith-promoting rumors." These stories usually have no identifiable origin and few or no elements of truth, but they become transmitted widely among the LDS people. This type of story is also considered a genre of verbal folklore; but when such a story occurs in the Church, Mould explains, the General Authorities step in and issue a statement to be shared with members that immediately squelches the falsehoods.

Mould also distinguishes between two general types of legitimate revelation: spiritual and temporal. Clarifying the basic differences, Mould explains, "Theologically, personal revelation encompasses both spiritual and temporal revelations. In the folk narrative tradition of personal revelation, however, temporal revelations dominate. Ask people for their testimony, and they will respond with spiritual revelation. Ask people about personal revelation, however, and they will typically respond with temporal revelations about the guidance they received in conducting their daily lives on Earth" (40–41). He explains further that at the monthly Sunday meeting called fast and testimony meeting, "testimonies are more frequently shared as declarative statements rather than narratives. . . . Rather than telling full-blown narratives, people may speak generally of their experiences" (41). "A person's testimony is his or her declaration of faith in the church, its leadership, and its principles and derives from personal revelation" (41). Temporal revelations, Mould writes, are given for guidance in life both to aid in Church callings and to use as personal direction. These revelations may guide stewardships in the Church or family, warn of danger, or help resolve personal dilemmas.

After quoting some of the research and analysis of folklorists David Hufford and Christine Cartwright, Mould concludes that "these experiences [with personal revelation] must have some degree of validity outside the confines of cultural construction" (322), because people are frequently unfamiliar with similar tales told by others. He also clarifies that revelations experienced by individual Church members are not "identical to formal scripture" (20). While members are called to serve in various capacities and receive revelations relative to their assignments, declarations by General Authorities are separate and accepted as having more weight and value than those shared by individual Church members around the world. However,

Mould asserts the many stories of personal revelations, promptings, warnings, and impressions transmitted from person to person contribute to the cultural and folkloric shaping of LDS beliefs and practices. Mould insightfully reveals how these revelations and their meanings are firmly “rooted in the pews” (7). These are faith-promoting narratives, and Mould’s text is replete with documented variant examples.

Though the book is sometimes overladen with folkloric theory and examples of revelation, it remains accessible and instructive. Mould develops the intertextuality of the present as being affected by the past and the consequent “social constraints on narrative performance” (138). He suggests that “revelation demands the constant reification of a reciprocal relationship. . . . Express your faith in God, and you open yourself to revelation and blessing” (187). With a plethora of examples gleaned from his research, Mould has succeeded in making known the cornerstone of Latter-day Saint belief—personal revelation.

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Reid L. Neilson. *Early Mormon Missionary Activities in Japan, 1901–1924.*

Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2010.

Reviewed by R. Lanier Britsch

Reid L. Neilson, PhD, the managing director of the Church History Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is well known among LDS Asian and Pacific scholars as a gifted and productive editor and bibliographer. His research and writing on the history of the Church in Japan is informative, enlightening, and enriching. Although the topic of missionary work in Japan has been written about by other authors, Neilson's book adds much to what has already been written.

In *Early Mormon Missionary Activities in Japan, 1901–1924*, Neilson has created one of the few LDS books dealing with Mormon missiology. Protestants and Catholics use the word *missiology* to mean a discipline that combines theology, sociology, history, linguistics, and a smattering of other social science approaches. LDS missiology, on the other hand, has been limited primarily to history and Church history taken to a high, analytical level.

The preface is crucial for readers to understand Neilson's purpose in writing. Neilson touches on several issues that others have not ventured to put on paper. For example, on page x, after introducing the impressive extent of current LDS missionary numbers worldwide, Neilson suggests, "One could argue that Mormon mission history *is* American mission history." This is a very bold assertion and its context has at least two aspects. First, Neilson points out that Catholic and Protestant mission historians have often avoided making reference to the Mormon missionary presence throughout the world. Neilson says, "LDS missionary work is the elephant in the mission studies room that is apparent to all but discussed by few," and explains that one reason the story of Mormon missions is rarely included with other Christian missionary histories is because Latter-day Saints are often considered "marginal" Christians or non-Christians. Many do not acknowledge Mormon missionaries and their history as legitimate Christian history. A second reason for the omission of LDS mission history is the failure of LDS scholars to write in the greater context of worldwide

Christian missionary activity. Neilson quotes David J. Whittaker's lament: "Seldom has the study of Latter-day Saint missionary work been put into a broader historical or cultural context." Neilson hopes to start bridging the chasm by laying some planks of historical understanding.

In Part 1, Neilson provides his readers with background regarding the thinking of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Mormon leaders concerning Asian religions (chapter 1), discusses the first LDS missionary interactions with Asian peoples (chapter 2), and explains the standard Mormon missionary approach in Europe and America (chapter 3).

The first chapter, "Mormon Mappings of Asian Religions," is of special interest to those studying comparative religions. This chapter gives a clear survey of some Protestant and Mormon explanations of how and where the non-Christian religions fit on their eternal truth and salvation scales. The sum total of the discussion is that Mormons have found it easy to be generous and tolerant with all great religions and religious teachers because they believe that the light and spirit of Christ is among all people; they believe that Adam had basic truths regarding Christ's Atonement from the beginning, and those truths have diffused throughout the nations over time. Hence, Latter-day Saints generally respect the inspiration received by religious leaders throughout Asia.

Chapter 2, "Mormon Encounters with Asians," covers a good deal of territory in a few pages. Neilson almost covers the history of missions in a paragraph or two. But the rest of the sections give a serviceable introduction to the initial interchanges of Mormon leaders and missionaries with the peoples of Asia.

In chapter 3, "Euro-American Mormon Missionary Model," Neilson delves into the communication issues that have faced missionaries since the time of Saint Paul. He provides a useful discussion of missiological terminology and discusses the general lack of precision that surrounds any analysis of the "how to's" of bridging the gaps from culture to culture. Until the post-World War II era, Mormon missionaries almost exclusively taught their message to people with a biblical background. Neilson explains how a missionary can communicate effectively with someone who shares no or few religious beliefs or cultural mores. After taking his readers on a tour of the jargon words of evangelism used by missiologists (as in *globalization*, *internationalization*, *localization*, *contextualization*, *incarnation*, and so forth), Neilson devotes most of chapter 3 to a comparison of the Mormon and Protestant missionary systems during the nineteenth century, showing that the contrast between the American Protestant missionary system and that of the Mormons was vast.

He then explains that early Mormon missions (1830 to 1850s) were highly unstructured, often brief, and quite unsystematic. "This corps of

nonprofessional missionaries preached wherever they could get a hearing,” Neilson writes. “Mormon missionaries typically worked through their existing social networks, approaching family and friends, with whom they already had a tie and, therefore, a better chance of being successful” (41). By the 1850s, mission calls had become more formal. Elders of the Church were sent to specific places for extended periods of time. The first LDS missionaries to Asia, specifically China, India, and Siam, received definite appointments and were to remain at their posts until released.

The final part of chapter 3 presents a case study of one of the first Mormon encounters with a non-Christian, non-Euro-American part of the world—China, specifically Hong Kong, in 1852–53. Neilson says the China mission of 1852 (which did not actually begin until 1853) was an Asian first (although India was officially opened on Christmas day, 1851). Neilson points out that the Mormon elders had no training as gospel teachers or as linguists, they were totally without financial support, and their ability to teach depended almost entirely on their ability to communicate in Chinese. The elders were very much “strangers in a strange land,” as they themselves wrote to Church headquarters. “While the contemporaneous Taiping Rebellion and the harsh tropical climate contributed to their despondency,” Neilson summarized, “it was the missionaries’ inability to localize traditional [Mormon] missionary practices that truly led to their retreat [from Hong Kong]” (56).

In Part 2, Neilson starts by giving some narrative history in chapter 4 of the early Japan mission between 1901 and 1924. This includes the only narrative section in Neilson’s work. Perhaps he did not include more narrative because other historians have already told the story. Nevertheless, readers who are unacquainted with the broader outlines of the mission would benefit from knowing more of the story. The book would also have benefited from a deeper discussion of the history of Japanese religious law during the Meiji (1868–1912) and Taisho (1912–26) periods.

Chapters 5 and 6, “Mormon Missionary Practices in Japan” and “Temporary Retreat from Japan” respectively, provide the deepest analysis of how Mormon missionaries did their work in Japan and why the mission was closed. These chapters are Neilson’s finest missiological contribution, explaining how the Church was not really prepared numerically, financially, or culturally to do a successful job of planting itself in a “strange land.”

Early in chapter 5, Neilson states: “From the day they arrived in Japan until the day they returned to America, these men and women were unsure how to evangelize in a non-Christian, non-Western nation” (83). He writes further:

While the Protestants emphasized spiritual and secular education first, social welfare activities second, and Christian literature third, the Mormons’

focus was quite different: they stressed personal contacting first, Christian literature second, spiritual and secular education third, and social welfare activities last. . . . Protestants advanced Christ and culture, while the Mormons underscored primarily proselyting activities, according to the Euro-American missionary model. (84)

After briefly discussing the Protestant missionary approach, Neilson provides a breakdown of exactly how Mormon missionaries in Japan did their work. Chapter 5 highlights aspects of the older LDS missionary system and clearly shows that the missionaries never learned how to artfully adapt their message to the place and culture in which they labored, as evidenced by the chapter's subheadings: Tracting, Street Meetings, Magic Lantern Lectures, Sporting Activities, Christian Literature, Missionary Tracts, English Language Texts, Hymnals, Sunday Schools, and so forth.

"President Grant finally decided to take his church's only Asian mission off ecclesiastical life support in 1924" (120). So begins chapter 6 and Neilson's analysis of why the mission failed and had to be closed, including reasons such as language barriers, cultural differences, few convert baptisms, and feelings of defeat. Furthermore, "international problems, such as the Japanese exclusion laws that were passed in the United States, the near-closing of the Tonga Mission at approximately the same time, the failure to acquire any real property, and the great Tokyo earthquake of 1923 all flared up during the final years of the mission" (121).

To these suggested causes for the closure of the mission, Neilson offers additional interpretations. He suggests that the failure of the mission was "largely the byproduct of its leaders and missionaries imposing or translating their gospel message to the Japanese, in keeping with the traditional Mormon evangelistic practices" (121). Overall, the missionaries did not try to adapt their message to the culture of Japan. In this section, as in others, Neilson again provides useful interpretive material to justify his case.

Some readers may quibble with some of Neilson's interpretations, but in the long run, this book will be of real value to historians who are looking for a solid model of how to study the inner workings of early Mormon missionary work. It may also serve as a beacon to light the path to improving missionary work in foreign lands today.

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George Yancey. *Compromising Scholarship:
Religious and Political Bias in American Higher Education.*

Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2011.

Reviewed by Bruce A. Chadwick

George Yancey, a professor of sociology at the University of North Texas, has focused his research on racial and ethnic bias. His recent books include *Interracial Families: Current Concepts and Controversies* and *Interracial Contact and Social Change*. Yancey's newest study in *Compromising Scholarship* documents the bias of university faculty against members of various groups. Professor Yancey, aware that scientists, just like other Americans, are hesitant to reveal any prejudice or bias, focused his study on "collegiality" in an attempt to distract respondents from the research interest in bias. Yancey conducted his study via Internet survey and blog analyses in the fall of 2008. The survey questioned samples of faculty members in social science, physical science, and humanities departments about their preference for hiring members of twenty-seven different political, religious, sexual, and social groups.

The results make a unique contribution to the bias literature, as the survey data confirm both public suspicion and speculation found in previous studies and anecdotal stories: that university professors in general are somewhat liberal and try to exclude members of conservative religious denominations and conservative political and social groups from joining their university (57). This book will likely appeal most to those who are concerned about the influence that liberal teachers in higher education have on the minds of students. Of particular interest to Latter-day Saint readers is the bias that was expressed against potential colleagues belonging to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Interestingly, Yancey deviates from the focus of the book when he identifies Latter-day Saints as perpetrators of bias as well as its victim. He recounts a story of a colleague who applied for a university position in an area where Mormonism was the dominant religion. During a social function, LDS faculty asked the job candidate if she would like some tea or

coffee. “Since Mormons are not allowed to drink caffeine, the question of beverage choice suggested that members of the search team were interested in whether or not she was a Mormon,” (77) the implication being that a non-LDS candidate would be viewed unfavorably.

The initial study obtained information with an Internet survey of a sample of 1,500 members of the American Sociological Association. Later, samples of 500–750 academics were selected from professional lists of anthropology, philosophy, history, political science, physics and astronomy, experimental biology, and language faculty. Data collection required a working email address, and some individuals in the samples had to be replaced because they did not have one. This replacement may have introduced some bias, as it likely replaced older more conservative faculty with younger more liberal ones.

The email survey was posted twice to respondents in an effort to maximize the response rate. The survey asked seven questions and probed the respondent’s feelings about what personal traits contributed to collegiality and how academic departments could enhance it among colleagues. The all-important bias question asked the respondent, “Assume that your facility is hiring a new professor. Below is a list of possible characteristics of this new hire. . . . Please rate your attitude on a scale in which 1 indicates that the characteristic greatly damages your support to hire a candidate . . . and 7 indicates that the characteristic greatly enhances your support to hire the candidate” (220). The twenty-seven groups or characteristics questioned about in the survey included political groups such as Democrat, Republican, and Libertarian; sexual groups including heterosexual, homosexual, and transgendered; religious groups such as atheist, Evangelical Protestant, Mormon, and Muslim; and lifestyle groups including the National Rifle Association, vegetarian, and those in a cohabiting relationship. Finally, the questionnaire asked the participants nine demographic items about themselves, including their age, sex, type of institution, and academic specialties.

The response rates for all the academic specialties were rather low. Replies were received from 29 percent of the sociologists, 28 percent of the philosophers and historians, 19 percent of the language teachers, 17 percent of the anthropologists, 15 percent of the political scientists and experimental biologists, and 13 percent of the physicists (56, 188–89).

Most of the statistical analysis was done by calculating the mean value on the hiring preference seven-point scale for each of the twenty-seven different groups asked about. A mean score of 3.5 and higher signified a low level of bias while a score lower than 3.5 was evidence of such negative

feelings. In addition, the means were calculated while controlling for factors such as sex, age, and type of institution in which the respondent worked. The book is filled with numerous tables, charts, and figures searching for bias. The sheer number of tables and figures at times causes some confusion, as rather minute differences are discussed in detail. Most of the differences in mean bias scores between the different groups were statistically significant but rather modest. For example, the most favorable score of 4.41 was given to hiring a Democrat, while the most biased score of 3.21 was assigned to hiring a member of a fundamentalist religion (61). It would have helped the reader to follow the unpacking of the data if Yancey had reverse-coded the data so that a high score indicated bias; it was confusing at times to have a low score reveal high bias.

In addition to the survey, Professor Yancey conducted content analysis of blogs of forty-two sociologists. The blogs were filled with family, local, community, and university comments, but negative bias towards conservative political groups, including Republicans, was discovered. Some negative bias towards the religiously conservative was also found.

The sociologists' blogs were a source of qualitative insights into biased attitudes and feelings. Search engines identified several blogging sociologists, and then these blogs were searched for links to others. This snowball sampling identified forty-two blogs, which were searched for twenty postings, if possible, to demonstrate consistency in the feelings expressed.

The reader will be impressed with Professor Yancey's tenacity in his search for bias among academics. He examined the data from a variety of different perspectives. Those interested in evidence of a liberal bias among academics against conservative political parties, religious groups, and social groups will find much in this book to interest them.

A couple of cautions should be raised when examining this work. First, educated scientists are leery of appearing to be prejudiced or biased. Their motivation for social desirability is as strong, if not more so, than that among the general public. Thus there is some doubt as to whether the "rubric of collegiality" actually disguised the purpose of the study from the respondents. Second, the very low response rates are troublesome. Social scientists conducting surveys strive for a 70 percent response rate, but frequently are forced to settle for something in the 60s. Response rates below 30 percent cast serious doubt about generalizing the findings obtained from the respondents to the larger populations of scientists. The author discusses the low response rates and attempts to minimize their impact on his findings. He claims that scientists were too busy to complete the brief questionnaire, and this reduced the response rate (203–8). In spite of such arguments, strong concerns about generalizability linger.

One final limitation of the blog study is that the majority of the blogs were posted during the run-up to the 2008 presidential election, during which time there was considerable venting against the Bush administration. The anti-Bush brush may have tainted conservative political and religious groups as well as created bias that no longer exists.

Yancey himself best summarizes the study reported in his book: “I have substantiated the reality that religious and political conservatives face a level of rejection that other social groups do not experience in academia” (181).

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David Clark. *The Death of a Disco Dancer*.

Provo, Utah: Zarahemla Books, 2011.

Jack Harrell. *A Sense of Order and Other Stories*.

Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2010.

Steven L. Peck. *The Scholar of Moab*.

Torrey, Utah: Torrey House Press, 2011.

Reviewed by Shelah Mastny Miner

As an enthusiastic reader of literary fiction and as someone who is fascinated by Mormon culture, I am always on the lookout for works of literary fiction that contain Mormon themes or Mormon characters. While there are always plenty of new romances on the shelves at Deseret Book, and Mormon authors frequently find commercial and critical success writing science fiction and books for young adults, it is rare to come across works of contemporary fiction written for adults in which the characters are nuanced and well developed and the authors take risks with form and plot. Over the last two years, three books—Jack Harrell’s *A Sense of Order and Other Stories*, Steven L. Peck’s *The Scholar of Moab*, and David Clark’s *Death of a Disco Dancer*—use Mormon themes and characters in their writing while pushing against some of the boundaries of traditional fiction conventions.

A Sense of Order and Other Stories is the first collection of short stories published by Jack Harrell, a fiction writer and essayist who teaches at BYU–Idaho. The collection won the 2010 Association for Mormon Letters Short Fiction Award. Harrell is currently the coeditor of *Irreantum*, a literary journal published by the Association for Mormon Letters. His novel, *Vernal Promises*, won the Marilyn Brown Novel Award in 2000 and was published by Signature Books. The collection *A Sense of Order and Other Stories* contains sixteen stories, including “Calling and Election,” which won first place in the *Irreantum* fiction contest and was later anthologized in *Dispensation: Latter-Day Fiction*.

The stories in *A Sense of Order and Other Stories* take place in settings as varied as rural Illinois; Rexburg, Idaho; the office of the prophet; and the lone and dreary world. Not all of Harrell’s characters are Latter-day Saints, but many are. Some of the stories contain supernatural elements, including characters from other realms of life. But all of the stories, regardless of setting or worldview, feel realistic and grounded. They also contain an element of hope and faith, without being cheesy or overly sentimental. Jack

Harrell's writing shows promise that the LDS tradition does have room for excellent writing and that there is an audience for that writing, even if it is a small one.

One of the most delightful aspects about *A Sense of Order and Other Stories* is the sheer unexpectedness of where the narrative takes the reader. In "A Prophet's Story," Harrell begins with the LDS prophet sitting in his office, dreaming about how nice it would be to get in a truck, drive to Walmart, look at garden hoses, and buy a candy bar without the entourage and adoring crowds that would turn such an excursion into a chore. What readers do not expect is the level of planning that the prophet and his secretary undertake to carry out his wish or the parallel narrative of an apparently unstable motorcyclist who is making a stop in Salt Lake City. Harrell somehow brings the two narratives together, revealing that the motorcycle guy is not altogether crazy and that the prophet's jaunt might be not just a joyride but an inspired journey.

The Scholar of Moab by Steven L. Peck, a biology professor at Brigham Young University, is a recent work that won the 2011 Association for Mormon Letters Novel Award and is published by Torrey House Press, an independent book publisher of literary fiction and creative nonfiction focusing on the environment and culture of the American West. Peck's previous works include the novel *The Gift of the King's Jeweler*, published by Covenant Communications in 2003; he has also published several short stories and poems, including a chapbook of poetry published by the American Tolkien Society called *Fly Fishing in Middle-Earth*. His essays have appeared in *Newsweek* and *Dialogue*.

The ambition of *The Scholar of Moab* is impressive; even though its length, at just under three hundred pages, is not necessarily epic, it feels epic in scope. One reason is that the book encompasses so many different voices. The book centers on the story of Hyrum Thayne, a high school dropout turned "scholar." Readers not only get Hyrum's private journal—misspellings, malapropisms, and all—but they also hear poems from his wife, Sandra; letters and poems from his gal-on-the-side, Dora; letters from an erudite, despairing, conjoined twin who works as a cowboy in the LaSal Mountains outside of Moab; notes from an unnamed redactor; and letters, transcripts, and additional written work from other voices. As a reader, I found myself marveling at Peck's ability to differentiate between so many different voices, although at times I felt a bit too conscious of the effort Peck exerted to create them.

The Scholar of Moab is also a book that manages to walk the fine line between satirizing the people of Moab and embracing them. On the back jacket, Scott Abbott writes that the novel is "satire of the best sort: biting

what it loves, snuggling up to what it hates,” an assessment with which I heartily agree. Sandra and her ward members are both ignorant and tender, and my reaction to Hyrum vacillated from hate to love and back again several times over the course of the narrative.

The Scholar of Moab can be read as realistic fiction where an astounding number of coincidences come together to create delightfully weird and tragic situations; it is also possible to read it as magical realism. I am not sure that Peck comes down decisively on either side of the genre issue. *The Scholar of Moab* is rich, nuanced, and complicated. It expects a lot from its readers, and I appreciate the growing body of books out there by and for (but not exclusively for) Mormons who embrace these complexities.

David Clark wrote *Death of a Disco Dancer* while taking a sabbatical from his job as a corporate attorney. He has published short stories in *Sunstone* and *Irreantum* and has been an award winner in the Brookie and D. K. Brown Memorial Fiction Contest. While an undergraduate at BYU, he served as editor of the *American Studies Forum*. He also served as articles editor of the *George Washington Journal of International Law and Economics*.

Death of a Disco Dancer tells the story of Todd Whitman, an eleven-year-old Mormon living in Mesa, Arizona. Todd's grandmother, who is suffering from dementia, recently moved in with his family. In the daytime, Todd's life is like most eleven-year-old boys on the cusp of graduating from Primary and going to junior high—he's consumed by his first crush, as well as by the social pressure of keeping up with two older siblings. At night, when everyone else is asleep, Granny visits Todd's bedroom, where she proclaims her love for the Dancer (John Travolta from *Saturday Night Fever*), teaches Todd how to dance, and relives her past.

The secondary narrative takes place in the present time and shows Todd, now an adult, working through the waning days of his own mother's life, which provides a subtle reinforcement of how certain patterns cycle through families. This narrative also places the events of Todd's childhood into relief as he looks back at them from a distance of thirty years. The fact that the narrator is in his forties looking back on his childhood experiences might account for why the “young” Todd in the main narrative feels older than eleven. His thoughts and concerns seem more believable as a teenager than as a rising seventh grader. Perhaps Clark sees Todd as an unusually precocious eleven-year-old.

Quibbles aside, in *Death of a Disco Dancer* Clark is able to do something that few LDS authors have achieved so far—like Harrell's and Peck's books, Clark's book is about Mormons but not necessarily for a Mormon audience alone. He talks about Mormon elements in a familiar way, but while the

book is about subjects that are central to the Mormon experience (eternal families, repentance, progression through the ranks of the priesthood), they are presented in a universal way. The book is tight and well edited, rich and complex, and totally compelling. I read the 300-plus page book in less than a day, not because I had to, but because I wanted more. I hope Clark gives us more.

While all three books are worth reading on their own merits, it is also interesting to look at the three in conjunction with each other as possible predictors of trends in Mormon literary fiction. All three books take risks in terms of form and plot. Harrell's stories (notably "Calling and Election") start out in a world Latter-day Saints are familiar with—a church parking lot in Eastern Idaho, for example—but then take them out of the realm of realistic fiction and into something approaching magical realism. Peck's book challenges readers by playing with form (interweaving journals, letters, poems, and traditional narrative), introducing potentially unreliable narrators, and injecting possible elements of magical realism as well. *Death of a Disco Dancer's* alternating chapters require readers to make connections between the worlds of eleven-year-old Todd and forty-year-old Todd. All three books are funny and are not afraid to be strange. These stories might not appeal to all mainstream readers, but they definitely appeal to me, and I think they would appeal to many readers of literary fiction, Mormon or otherwise.

Shelah Mastny Miner (who can be reached via email at byustudies@byu.edu) graduated from BYU with a BA in English Teaching, then went on to receive an MA in American Culture Studies from Washington University in St. Louis and an MFA in Creative Writing from BYU. She works as the features editor for *Segullah*, writes for the *Mormon Women Project* and *Feminist Mormon Housewives*, and keeps a book review blog at *Shelah Books It* (shelahbooksit.blogspot.com). She and her husband live in Salt Lake City with their five children.

Within These Prison Walls: Lorenzo Snow's Record Book, 1886–1897, edited by Andrew H. Hedges and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2010).

Andrew H. Hedges, historian and editor for the Joseph Smith Papers Project, and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, professor of Church history and doctrine at Brigham Young University, present in this volume a window to the thoughts and feelings of Lorenzo Snow during a particularly challenging time in his life. This record book contains some of his writings while he was in prison, having been convicted of three counts of unlawful cohabitation. Although a prison diary written by a polygamist of this time period is not unusual, Snow's record book is particularly interesting because he was an Apostle of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at the time of his conviction. It is also unique because these writings are almost entirely in verse.

Within These Prison Walls begins with an introduction providing background information on Lorenzo Snow's life, as well as the history of antipolygamy laws. This summary of the conflict that existed between the Mormons in Utah and the U.S. government is particularly helpful for those who are not familiar with the details of that struggle. The second section is a transcription of the actual record book, including images of many pages. Although the handwriting belongs to Rudger Clawson, the images share the feel of the original book and demonstrate the quality of the transcription. The third and final section of the book provides biographical information on most of the individuals mentioned in the record book. These details are mostly drawn from biographical collections, such as Andrew Jensen's

Church Chronology and Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia and Frank Esshom's *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*.

While in prison, President Snow wrote to his family and others, benefiting them with his encouragement. While writing to his daughter Lydia Snow Pierce, he expressed the feeling that he had a mission to cheer others, especially those imprisoned with him:

I feel content and happy too
In that my Master's work I do
In coming here within these walls
To help, to cheer, and comfort all. (10)

This work will be of interest to Latter-day Saints, as well as to historians studying this period. Snow's writings provide greater understanding of his personality, his tender feelings for his family, and his testimony of the work of the Lord, regardless of the challenges he faced.

—Jill N. Crandell

Parallels and Convergences: Mormon Thought and Engineering Vision, edited by A. Scott Howe and Richard L. Bushman (Draper, Utah: Greg Kofford Books, 2012).

The essays contained in this text grew from an initial discussion between Richard L. Bushman and NASA engineer A. Scott Howe, a discussion that delved into the ways theology and engineering converge. That conversation led to a subsequent meeting, which was held at Claremont Graduate University in March 2009. There, LDS engineers from a variety of technical backgrounds representing such fields as computer programming, physics, and artificial intelligence presented their views relating to modern scripture and its harmony with science. Though at times the language contains some technical terms,

the articles provide insight into general areas of faith that are also inviting to the nontechnical reader.

The introduction by Terryl L. Givens is both informative and masterfully written and outlines the contrasts between traditional Christianity and the revelations in our time. While traditional theology focuses on the time between the Fall and the Redemption, Mormon theology stretches beyond the Creation and extends after the Resurrection of Christ. Givens touches on modern-day teachings, including the ideas espoused by Parley P. Pratt and by the Prophet Joseph Smith in his well-known King Follet discourse. Givens beautifully expands upon the limited views of traditional Christian orthodoxy to the new understanding revealed in this dispensation by the Prophet Joseph Smith—truths about divinity, the human soul, and our eternal potential.

The remainder of the book is organized into three sections of essays: (1) *Parallels in Mormon Thought: Physics and Engineering*; (2) *Parallels in Mormon Thought: Philosophy and Engineering*; and (3) *Parallels in Mormon Thought: Practice and Engineering*.

The first section ponders the possibilities for convergence between modern revelations and theological models describing the essence of spirit. The essays examine the subject in terms of spirit as matter, spirit bodies, the locality of spirits, and the interaction of physical and spiritual realms. The idea of light as the equivalent of spirit, as well as the idea of truth as light, is given thoughtful and faithful consideration. Aspects of materialism, Mormon thought, and free will are presented, including parallels to the modern technical world.

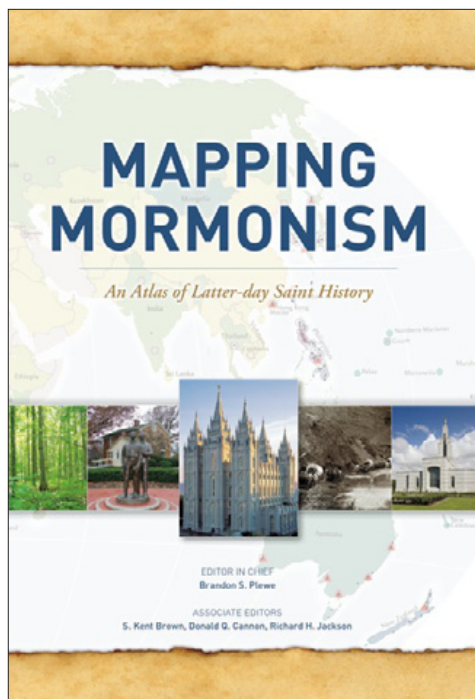
The second section focuses on engineering and philosophy, pondering

such topics as the postulate that God is the perfect engineer who works within existing natural law. A treatment on transhumanism is included, which touches on our future in a world of expansive technology and our capabilities in a millennial era. Finally, a discussion of morality, armed with a scientific view, is presented in terms of decision trees and the entropy of the universe. The question is presented and explored, “With such risks and opportunities at hand, what shall we do?”

The final section deals with views concerning the evolution of the earth into a millennial state and how that evolution relates to the earthly experience God has designed for us. The concept that the earth is a living organism progressing toward a paradisiacal state is explored, as is our role as agents in that evolution. The possibilities of divine inspiration in the space program are pondered, including such issues as the existence of life on other planets.

The final essay welcomes us into the twenty-first century with a brief summary of the breathtaking advances of the past fifty years and the directions and trends of current technology; it then points out the challenges we face in the future. The essay concludes with the revealed thoughts on the law of progression, not only during the millennial period but throughout eternity: “We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God,” states the Ninth Article of Faith. This language is strikingly similar to the definition of the idea of progress as given by Robert Nisbet: ‘Mankind has advanced in the past, . . . is now advancing, and will continue to advance through the foreseeable future’ (171).

—Douglas M. Chabries



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