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INVOLVING READERS  
IN THE LATTER-DAY SAINT  
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*Streams of mercy  
never ceasing call for  
songs of loudest praise*

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## From the Editor



This issue of *BYU Studies Quarterly* proudly leads off with the 2015 Karl G. Maeser Distinguished Faculty Lecture by political science professor David Magleby. I am confident that all current readers will enjoy and benefit from the timely insights that this speech offers regarding the persistent pressures on political parties to justify their existence and to seek opportunities for mutually beneficial accommodations and compromises.

Magleby's Maeser Lecture stands in an illustrious tradition now reaching back over half a century at Brigham Young University. Fifty years ago, the second Maeser Lecture was given by Professor Hugh W. Nibley on March 17, 1965, when I was a freshman at BYU. Like many of these annual faculty lectures, Nibley's was promptly published in *BYU Studies*, entitled "The Expanding Gospel." Its opening lines read, "The expression 'expanding Gospel' is not a contradiction of terms." While "no *man* may add to the scriptures, . . . that imposes no restriction on God." "Where has God imposed any limits on His own prerogative of imparting His word to man?" (vol. 7, no. 1, p. 3; emphasis in original). For twenty-five pages, Nibley then goes on to show how the revealed details in the plan of salvation known distinctively to Latter-day Saints can be found by careful analysis of dozens of ancient sources that "follow along familiar grooves to the end and then continue onward into new territory" (4). Although these ancient sources are often only "shattered remnants of a forgotten structure," behind them stands "a solid reality" (26–27). In many ways, Nibley's quest for further light and knowledge

has been the guiding hermeneutic of BYU Studies, in search of those solid realities, as this current issue attests.

Political applications of gospel principles such as unity, love, humility, shared objectives, reconciliation, unselfishness, and community well-being are boldly brought forward and expanded in David Magleby's wise advice on politics and compromise.

Second, as Nibley also laid out, in dealing with historical writings and gospel texts, "our first obligation is to inform ourselves" about what they actually teach (4). In this regard, the groundbreaking decipherment and analysis by LaJean Purcell Carruth and Gerrit Dirkmaat of shorthand transcriptions of early addresses by General Authorities that were eventually published in the *Journal of Discourses* expands our knowledge of the unfolding of Latter-day Saint doctrines and practices.

The picture above shows me seated on a bench with a statue of William Tyndale in Bristol, England, which memorializes the importance of translating scripture clearly and correctly. In this spirit of understanding scripture, linguistic research by Brent Schmidt into the ancient meanings of the Greek and Hebrew words that stand behind the vital gospel term *grace* expands the familiar understandings of that biblical term, showing that the authors who contributed to the Book of Mormon likely understood the original, but now usually overlooked, covenantal and relational dimensions of grace.

And finally, the detailed examination by Jeffrey Chadwick of the chronology of the death of Jesus expands our understanding of that key event in the Father's eternal plan. Using scriptural, historical, astronomical, and archaeological evidence, Chadwick arrives at what he feels is a definite date for the crucifixion. In the process, he proposes a different interpretation of the timing of events in Jesus's final week, an interpretation that seeks to harmonize seeming discrepancies between the synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of John.

In Nibley's words, "Israel escaped both pessimism and fatalism by being constantly reminded by the prophets of the great pre-existent plan that lies behind everything that happens. This we believe to be the most significant element in the expanding Gospel" (27). That Good News continues today to expand in ways that God has chosen to impart his knowledge and reassurance to all who will listen to and learn of him.



David B. Magleby, BYU's 2015 Karl G. Maeser Distinguished Faculty Lecturer, presenting the forum address on May 19, 2015, in the de Jong Concert Hall. Photo courtesy of Brigham Young University.

# The Necessity of Political Parties and the Importance of Compromise

*David B. Magleby*

*BYU Studies has a long history of publishing the annual lecture given by the recipient of the Karl G. Maeser Distinguished Faculty Lecturer Award, BYU's highest faculty honor. It is with great pleasure that BYU Studies Quarterly publishes this year's lecture by Dr. David B. Magleby, a professor of political science. His speech was delivered as a forum address on May 19, 2015, at Brigham Young University.*

Vice President Webb, other members of the administration, deans, colleagues, friends, and students, I am honored and humbled to be recognized in this way. The occasion invites introspection and appreciation.

I have been greatly blessed by the opportunity to study, teach, and write for now thirty-three years on the faculty at Brigham Young University. There is a sense of mission about teaching at BYU, which for me is personified by you students and your predecessors—those I have known and taught in classes, those I have worked with as teaching or research assistants, and those who have been members of BYU wards or stakes in which I have served. You are smart and good. You have lifted me and my family. You motivate me to be a better person. You will do remarkable things in your families, church, community, and occupation. I hope my remarks today will encourage you to make civic engagement a part of who you are.

I teach in a discipline whose name some find presumptuous: political science. Politics seems so disorganized, messy, personal, and sometimes even evil that it can hardly be seen as science. Politics can be all



of that, but as Alexander Hamilton put it in Federalist Paper no. 9, “The science of politics, however, like most other sciences, has received great improvement.”<sup>1</sup> Similarly, James Madison wrote in Federalist no. 37 of “political science” and “science of government.”<sup>2</sup> Or as John Adams wrote to his wife Abigail in 1780, “I must study Politicks and War that my sons may have liberty to study . . . Mathematicks and Philosophy, Geography, natural History, Naval Arichitecture, navigation, Commerce and Agriculture, in order to give their Children a right to study Painting, Poetry, Musick, Architecture, Statuary, Tapestry and Porcelaine.”<sup>3</sup> To Adams, Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and the other framers of our grand experiment with self-government, the data for their science came from their *experience* in colonial legislatures and the Continental Congress; and from their *study* of religion, history, and science. Think of the Constitution as an engineering blueprint for the design of a functioning and enduring government. By that standard, their blueprint has stood the test of time—and they were remarkable social scientists.

Today, I would like to address two seemingly contradictory elements of politics that are relevant to our times; indeed, I would argue they will always be relevant: the necessity of political parties and the importance of compromise.

### The Necessity of Political Parties

With respect to political parties I will argue an idea widely accepted in political science: that political parties are essential to modern democracy. This view runs counter to popular opinion, which is often anti-party. Concerns about parties include that they corrupt participants, foster contention, and turn their supporters into unthinking followers rather than informed citizens. Today, I hope to persuade you that parties serve important functions and that you should not only vote in

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1. Alexander Hamilton, Federalist, no. 9, “The Union as a Safeguard against Domestic Faction and Insurrection,” available online at [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/fed09.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed09.asp).

2. James Madison, Federalist, no. 37, “Concerning the Difficulties of the Convention in Devising a Proper Form of Government,” January 11, 1788, available online at [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/fed37.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed37.asp).

3. John Adams to Portia [Abigail Adams], May 12, 1780, Adams Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, available online at <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/archive/doc?id=L1780o512jasecond>.



elections but become involved in political parties. So, how do parties facilitate democracy?

First, parties organize democracy. They recruit and nominate candidates and structure the competition. Without them, voters would face the daunting task of choosing from among scores of candidates. In this sense, parties simplify democracy and voting.

Second, parties in a broad sense stand for a particular view of the role of government. They stake out positions on issues like health care, energy, the environment, foreign and defense policy, and at times issues like civil rights. The orientation of parties can change, and it is easier to change a party's direction than to start a new party. Parties also play an important role for citizens in a democracy by providing important cues to voters about the electoral competition.

Political scientists use the term "party identification" to describe how citizens identify with parties. The enduring, subjective identity people develop with a political party helps explain their voting behavior. It is not the same as party registration, the legal process where you declare a party for purposes of voting in primaries. Nor is it a reflection of how a voter feels about parties in a particular election. Rather, we measure party identification with a series of questions that first ask people to identify themselves as Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else. Those who answer Republican or Democrat are then asked if they consider themselves strong or not so strong in that attachment. For purposes of simplification, scholars label the not-so-strong partisans as weak partisans. Those who answered Independent to the first question are asked if they consider themselves as closer to the Republican or Democratic party. There are then three types of Independents: those who lean Democratic, those who lean Republican, and pure Independents. Respondents who say "other" to the initial question are typically about 2 percent of the American voting-age public.

Looking at the distribution of party identification using the KBYU-Utah Colleges Exit Poll shows this to be the case in Utah since 1982 (see fig. 1). In this figure, I have combined Independent leaners with the party toward which they lean. I will demonstrate why in a moment. Note the stability of the response. National data is similarly stable but with Democrats outnumbering Republicans.

Party identification is important because it is the single best predictor of how we vote. Figure 2 illustrates this with voting in the 2012 presidential election, but the same generalization applies to voting in partisan candidate elections generally.

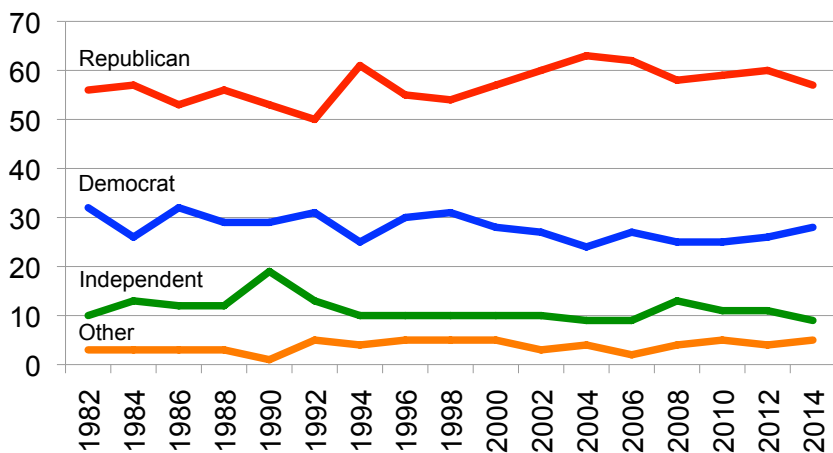


FIGURE 1. Utah party ID (1982–2014). KBYU–Utah Colleges Exit Poll Data.

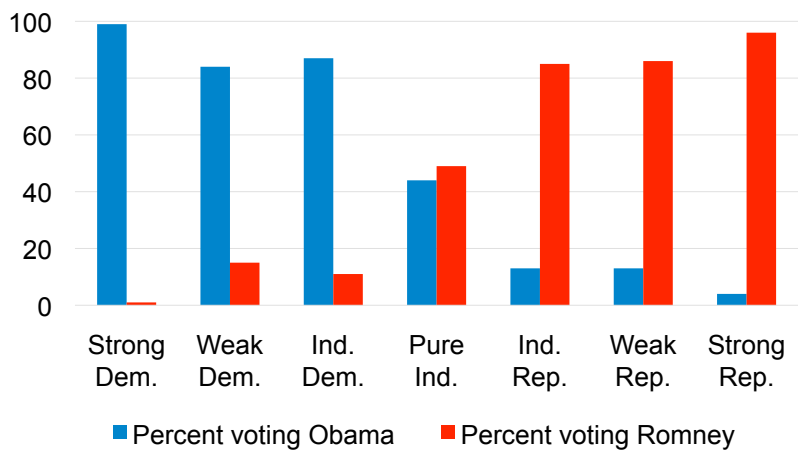


FIGURE 2. 2012 presidential vote. 2012 American National Election Study Data.

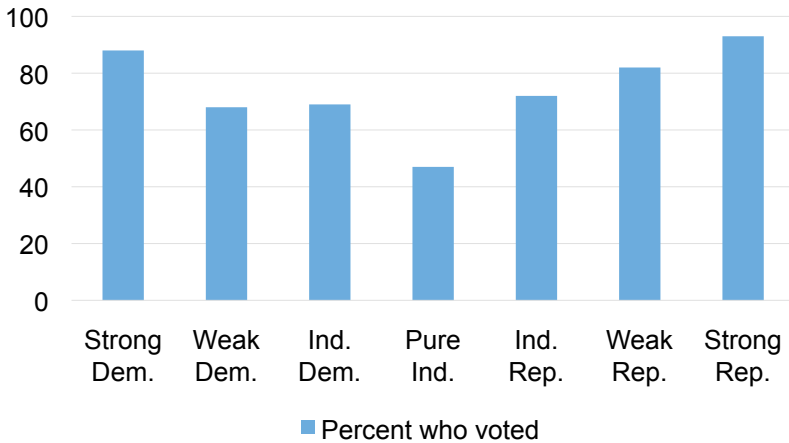


FIGURE 3. Party ID and turnout in 2012 election. 2012 American National Election Study Data.

Note that very nearly 100 percent of strong Democrats voted for Barack Obama and very nearly 100 percent of strong Republicans voted for Mitt Romney. Over 80 percent of weak partisans voted for their preferred party nominee. What my colleagues and I discovered in the 1970s is that the Independent leaners are as loyal to the party toward which they lean as are the weak partisans, and sometimes they are more predictably partisan. Only the pure Independents appear without partisan moorings, what we titled “The Myth of the Independent Voter.”<sup>4</sup>

It is important to emphasize that the strong partisans are the most informed and interested citizens, who vote more frequently than others, as shown in figure 3. But it is also true that the Independents with party leanings are more informed, interested, and participatory than the weak partisans or pure Independents. Let me illustrate this with data from recent elections.

Strong partisans have been consistently the most interested in politics and presidential campaigns. In 2012, as seen in figure 4, 63 percent of strong partisans said they pay attention to politics and elections always or most of the time. On this measure of civic virtue, strong partisans are the most attentive citizens. Just under half of Independent leaners pay attention all or most of the time, while 39 percent of weak partisans do

4. Bruce E. Keith and others, *The Myth of the Independent Voter* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

so. Pure Independents have always been the least interested in politics and campaigns.<sup>5</sup>

Another characteristic of civic virtue is the extent to which Independents and partisans are knowledgeable about politics. Data from 2012, as seen in figure 5, show that strong partisans are the most likely to know which party has a majority in the House of Representatives. Leaners are more knowledgeable than weak partisans. Pure Independents were notably the least knowledgeable; only one in four answered correctly.

Many think that being a partisan means a person is unthinking or uninformed, but the opposite is true. The most active and attentive citizens are strong partisans. While Independent leaners shun the party label in their personal self-identification, they behave much more like strong partisans than pure Independents.

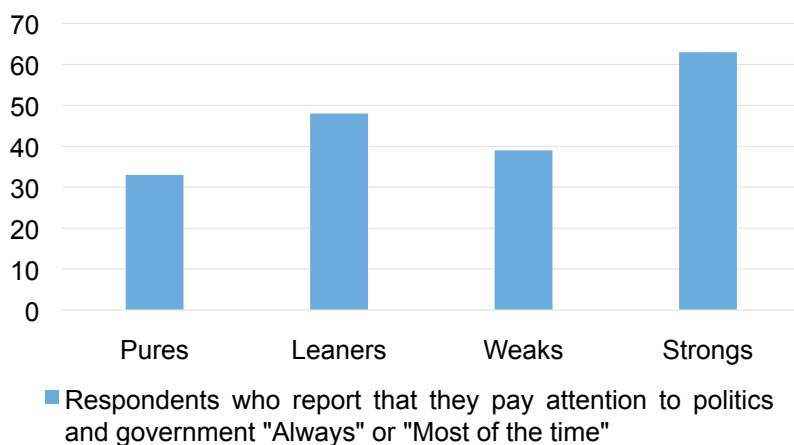
A widely held misconception is to view strong partisans, or any partisan, negatively while viewing an Independent positively. The data we found in the 1970s, which I have shown remains unchanged, leads to a different conclusion. Independent leaners are behaviorally partisans and exhibit positive citizenship traits, while pure Independents are the least active and engaged citizens. It is part of our national mythology that Americans vote for the person and not the party. The reality is that the person we prefer is from our party, and about 90 percent of Americans have a party preference. While many are aware of our findings, others, like the Gallup Poll, continue to release reports, as recently as January of this year, claiming a “New Record 43% [of Americans] Are Political Independents.”<sup>6</sup> Buried in the Gallup release was the datum that 11 percent of their 2014 sample were pure Independents, while the other 32 percent were “leaners,” who—as research done by my colleagues and me has shown—are consistently partisan in their behavior and attitudes.

Parties also play an important role in government. The only state in the U.S. with a nonpartisan state legislature is Nebraska. While the legislature is officially nonpartisan, both major parties endorse candidates.

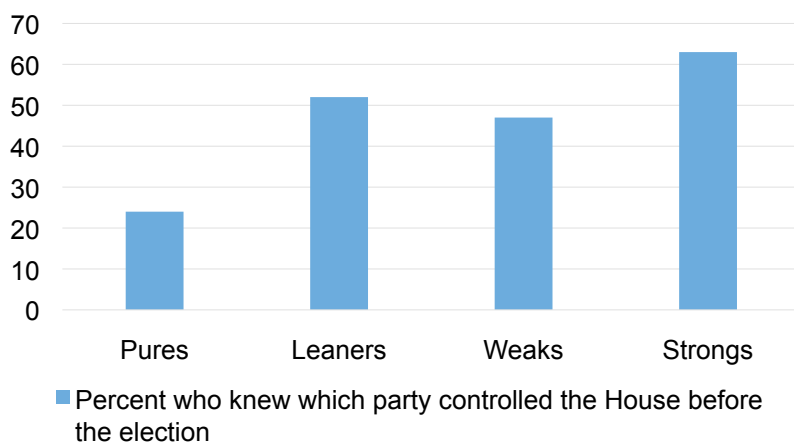
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5. Thomas Patterson conducted weekly interviews with one thousand Americans to tap their interest in the 2000 presidential campaign and found that leaners were no more likely than pure Independents (or weak partisans for that matter) to be interested in the campaign. Thomas E. Patterson, *The Vanishing Voter: Public Involvement in an Age of Uncertainty* (New York: Vintage, 2003), 43–44. Patterson’s findings support our own.

6. Jeffrey M. Jones, “In U.S., New Record 43% Are Political Independents,” *Gallup*, January 7, 2015, available online at <http://www.gallup.com/poll/180440/new-record-political-independents.aspx>.



**FIGURE 4.** Party ID and attention to politics/government. 2012 American National Election Study Data.



**FIGURE 5.** Party ID and political knowledge. 2012 American National Election Study Data.



FIGURE 6. Independents incorrectly seen as one group. Gallup poll, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/180440/new-record-political-independents.aspx>.

Rarely is a legislator not known as a Democrat or Republican, and the news media tallies the number of legislators elected from each party.<sup>7</sup> The absence of parties appears to lessen accountability because voters may not be able to hold a party accountable when they do not like what the legislature is doing.<sup>8</sup> Within government, parties help structure the governing processes and bridge the separation of powers, and they can either lead to more polarized politics or help to moderate policy.

The current reality in the U.S. is that we live in a time of heightened party polarization. The internal cohesion on issues and policies within parties has led to a widening of the ideological gap between the parties. Today, as seen in figure 6, there are relatively few representatives in Congress who are moderate. These data are from Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal, who have developed widely used measures of ideology among elites<sup>9</sup> and the

7. Martha Stoddard, "GOP Pads Majority in Officially Nonpartisan Nebraska Legislature," *Omaha World-Herald*, November 6, 2014, available online at [http://www.omaha.com/news/politics/gop-pads-majority-in-officially-nonpartisan-nebraska-legislature/article\\_9b00ac9d-8910-5e34-a32b-13f98c9a3060.html](http://www.omaha.com/news/politics/gop-pads-majority-in-officially-nonpartisan-nebraska-legislature/article_9b00ac9d-8910-5e34-a32b-13f98c9a3060.html).

8. See John C. Comer, "The Nebraska Nonpartisan Legislature: An Evaluation," *State and Local Government Review* 12 (September 1980): 102.

9. Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal, "The Polarization of American Politics," *Journal of Politics* 46 (November 1984): 1061–79.

mass public over time.<sup>10</sup> The chart shows that since the 1980s members of Congress have become more and more polarized in comparison to those serving in Congress from the 1930s through the 1970s.

The legislative districting process has also led to more and more solidly partisan districts, which means that today's representatives worry more about being "primaried"—that is, being defeated by a fellow partisan in a primary—than they are about a general election opponent from the other party. The result in recent years has been government shutdowns, brinksmanship, and a dwindling number of members of Congress who are willing to work with the other party.

The view of parties I am articulating—that they are vital to the functioning of democracy, that they serve important governmental purposes, and that they are unavoidable—was not shared by many of the Founders at the time of the Constitutional Convention in 1787 or thereafter. In his presidential farewell address, George Washington described parties as a "fire" that could "consume" government, which would elevate candidates seeking "absolute power," thereby endangering "liberty."<sup>11</sup> John Adams wrote in a letter to Jonathan Jackson that parties were "to be dreaded as the greatest political evil under our Constitution."<sup>12</sup>

The Framers, who were visionaries in many respects, were mistaken in assuming their system would work well without parties. Even during Washington's presidency, two parties had organized around competing perspectives on politics and government. John Adams, our first vice president, as noted, dreaded parties but helped form one—his Federalist Party—and ran against Thomas Jefferson and his Democratic Republican Party in 1796. Jefferson, like Alexander Hamilton, saw parties as a natural extension of politics. He wrote, "In every free and deliberating society, there must, from the nature of man, be opposite parties, and

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10. See Royce Carroll and others, "'Common Space' DW-NOMINATE Scores with Bootstrapped Standard Errors," September 2, 2015, *Voteview.com*, [http://voteview.com/dwnomin\\_joint\\_house\\_and\\_senate.htm](http://voteview.com/dwnomin_joint_house_and_senate.htm); see also Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal, *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006).

11. George Washington, "George Washington's Farewell Address," *American Daily Advertiser*, September 19, 1796, available online at <http://www.liberty1.org/farewell.htm>.

12. John Adams, "To Jonathan Jackson," in *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States*, ed. Charles Francis Adams, 10 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1856), 9:511.



violent dissensions and discords; and one of these, for the most part, must prevail over the other for a longer or shorter time.”<sup>13</sup>

James Madison, who also had been averse to parties, later embraced them in his opposition to Hamilton’s proposed First Bank of the United States.<sup>14</sup> Political parties became a means for Madison and other early leaders to check the actions of the opposing party.<sup>15</sup>

Why were parties inevitable? Because we often don’t agree on policies or priorities, and as humans we organize into groups to pursue common aims and interests. As Nancy Rosenblum has written, “Someone must create the lines of division over social aims, security, and justice. Party rivalry is constitutive. It ‘stages the battle.’”<sup>16</sup>

There are also constitutional roots for our decentralized, two-party system. The Framers designed a system with single representative districts where the candidate with the most votes in the election represents the district or state. Such winner-takes-all elections have long been seen as leading to two-party systems. Maurice Duverger, a French political scientist, stated what has come to be known as Duverger’s law. As translated from the original French it is: “1. The plurality (1 winner) voting system tends to lead to a 2-party system. 2. The proportional representation (multiwinner) system tends to lead to many mutually independent parties.”<sup>17</sup>

Our party system is decentralized because of the constitutional provisions for federalism. Elections in the United States are organized around the unit of competition, and most competition is at the state level. U.S. senatorial, gubernatorial, presidential (because of the Electoral College) and even congressional elections (because they do not cross state boundaries) have a state focus. The political culture of the

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13. “Thomas Jefferson to John Taylor, 1798,” in *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford, 12 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1904), 8:430–33.

14. William T. Hutchinson and others, eds., *The Papers of James Madison*, 10 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962–77), 1:197–98.

15. John Ferejohn and Roderick Hills, “Publius’s Political Science,” remarks presented at Empire Lecture Series, Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, April 15–19, 2015, 50–51, available online at <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/csdi/Ferejohn.pdf>.

16. Nancy L. Rosenblum, *On the Side of the Angels: An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 457.

17. Warren D. Smith, “Duverger’s Three Laws of Political Party Development,” *RangeVoting.org*, <http://rangevoting.org/DuvTrans.html>.

state, its history and politics, impacts the kind of Republican or Democratic Party the state has. Oregon Republicans, for example, are likely more liberal than Utah Democrats on at least some issues.

In my view, competitive parties reinforce the Founders' desire to "check ambition with ambition"<sup>18</sup> and provide the accountability intended in free and fair elections. In this sense, parties are an extra-constitutional check and balance, one not intended by the Framers.

Are there negative consequences from a one-party system? In the U.S. case, the region most identified with one-party rule was the South, the eleven former Confederate states once known as the "Solid South" because they were dominated for several decades by Democrats. Some voters in the South were known as "Yellow Dog Democrats," which was understood to mean they would vote for a yellow dog before they would vote for a Republican.

Noted political scientist V. O. Key wrote a book in 1949, called *Southern Politics*, which remains the best summary of a one-party system in operation.<sup>19</sup> Key found that one-party politics tends to be highly personalized or to rely on strong individual leaders rather than ongoing groups, to have limited accountability because there is not a viable electoral alternative, to have erratic and chaotic changes in personnel and policy, to face challenges in disciplining rogue actors, and to experience low levels of voter participation. I would posit that some of our problems in Utah politics in recent years have the same root causes that Key found in the American South, including declining voter participation, serious ethical breaches and possibly illegal acts in the office of attorney general, and a politics organized more around particular political figures than enduring groups. Having two competitive parties moderates outcomes and reduces corruption.

So what do you do as a citizen if you don't like either of the parties? You work to change the one you dislike the least. Parties are permeable organizations. Citizens and leaders can change the orientation of a party. Barry Goldwater and, even more, Ronald Reagan changed the focus and agenda of the Republican Party. Goldwater lost the 1964 election in a

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18. Lance Banning, *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 7; see James Madison, *Federalist*, no. 51, "The Structure of the Government Must Furnish the Proper Checks and Balances between the Different Departments," February 8, 1788, available online at [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/fed51.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed51.asp).

19. V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Knopf, 1949).

landslide, but Reagan, following in his path, built a coalition in California and then the nation that reshaped the Republican Party. Similarly, Bill Clinton reshaped the Democratic Party in 1992 and 1996, moving it more to the center. The most visible example of this was welfare reform, but it was not limited to that.

### **The Necessity of Compromise**

Government is necessary because people need it to resolve their conflicts. If we all agreed with each other, we would not need government. As Madison wrote in *Federalist* no. 51, paraphrasing Locke, "But what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself."<sup>20</sup> Government thus has as one of its primary purposes to ensure basic freedoms and liberties against foreign enemies, against domestic factions, and even against majority tyranny.

Compromise has been and will remain vital to sustaining our two-hundred-year-long experiment with self-government. Compromise is a process of give and take, of blending and adjusting, of accommodating competing interests and views in order to find a position most acceptable to the largest number or, at a minimum, the majority. It is not consensus, for rarely is consensus possible, and to make it the standard makes self-government untenable. The important issues of our time like immigration, taxation, health care, the size of government, and justice are all issues upon which disagreement and divisions are deep.

But compromise is often criticized as being unprincipled, too conciliatory, a slippery slope away from core values. It is important to underscore that not all compromises are good or right. Chamberlain's compromise with Hitler over parts of Czechoslovakia, for example, was a mistake. But to label all compromises as bad is to learn the wrong lesson from history. On many important issues, resolution of a disagreement was only possible with compromise.

The media loves conflict and seeks to reinforce it, so it is not surprising that TV and radio commentators often criticize compromise. We also live at a time when our nation is evenly divided, and both sides are

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20. Madison, *Federalist*, no. 51.

seeking to exploit any weakness in the other side for electoral advantage. The high cost of our campaigns and the pressure to raise lots of money also push politicians to take a hard line on issues in order to appease groups who would spend against their reelection if they were to compromise.

Compromise is not wrong in public life; it is the way we reconcile our differences. To acknowledge the importance of compromise is to recognize that we have different preferences, priorities, and approaches. It is also to acknowledge that everyone knows something and no one knows everything. Nor is it unprincipled. As U.S. Senate Republican leader Everett Dirksen, one of the principal architects of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1965 Voting Rights Act, said, "I am a man of fixed and unbending principles, the first of which is to be flexible at all times."<sup>21</sup>

A good example of how compromise achieved something important is the Great Compromise between the large and small states at the Constitutional Convention in 1787. James Madison had arrived in Philadelphia with a plan for a new and stronger national government. His Virginia Plan set the terms of discussion once the delegates decided to jettison the Articles of Confederation. Madison's plan provided for a bicameral legislature, an executive chosen by the legislature, and a strong judiciary. Power in the new bicameral legislature was proportionate to the population of the states, an advantage for large states and a disadvantage for small states. The Virginia Plan would have given the national government more power than it has today. For example the national government could veto virtually any state law.

Many of the small states were already suspicious of the designs of the large states, and being perpetually outnumbered in the national legislature was not acceptable to them. They proposed a small state plan, known as the New Jersey Plan, with a unicameral legislature, an executive removable by state majority, and a more limited judiciary. This plan did not go nearly far enough for Madison and those seeking a stronger national government.

The debate between the large and small states became so heated that Madison threatened to dissolve the Union if small states insisted on retaining a disproportionate share of power, and these states would be left at the mercy of their large neighbors.<sup>22</sup> Gunning Bedford of Delaware countered

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21. Kenneth Ashworth, *Caught between the Dog and the Fireplug, or How to Survive Public Service* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2001), 11.

22. David Brian Robertson, *The Original Compromise: What the Constitution's Framers Were Really Thinking* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 31.

that the small states would, in that event, find foreign allies.<sup>23</sup> The intensity of the differences in Philadelphia in 1787 prompted George Washington to say, "To please all is impossible, and to attempt it would be vain."<sup>24</sup>

How was this conflict between the large and small states resolved? With what was known as the Connecticut Compromise, or Great Compromise. As David Brian Robertson has recently written:

They compromised on the contentious question of representation by devising one legislative chamber based on population and another based on the states as political units. They constructed a new kind of federalism, in which the national and state governments would share political authority. They also invented the system of presidential electors and the vice presidency to deal with the problem of presidential selection and replacement. They resolved some intractable disputes simply by delaying implementation (the slave trade), by using symbolic language (the House of Representatives' control of money bills), and by writing ambiguous words and phrases to paper over differences about specific powers (with such deliberately imprecise phrases as "general welfare" or "necessary and proper").<sup>25</sup>

What lessons can we learn from the Great Compromise for politics today? First, neither side got all of what it wanted; each had to concede something to achieve a shared objective. It is hard to imagine the delegates accomplishing anything had they been in today's 24-7 news cycle with Twitter and other modern media operating. Had the positions of the large and small states before the Great Compromise been repeatedly aired, it likely would have made it harder for both sides to compromise and would have reinforced negative perceptions of the other side. The Framers needed time and secrecy to carry out their work. They also provide a model for us by not solving every problem. In some areas, like judicial review, they are simply vague. In others, they agreed on what we see today as an unjust solution, the Three-Fifths Compromise, where slaves counted as 3/5 of a person for purposes of apportionment. Sadly, it took decades for the new nation to resolve the issue of states' rights and slavery. Given the intensity of the views on both sides, the Founders made the right political choice to postpone that question.

In our celebration of the Constitution, we forget that the Framers were themselves politicians who recognized the need to compromise to

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23. Robertson, *Original Compromise*, 101.

24. Robertson, *Original Compromise*, 26.

25. Robertson, *Original Compromise*, 14.

achieve the important broader goal to form a more perfect union (note that they do not say they were forming a perfect one), establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, and provide for the common defense. Evidence that the Framers knew there was more work to be done in improving the Constitution is that they provided for a means of amending it. Again, quoting Robertson: “The resulting Constitution—this original compromise—has proved remarkably durable and authoritative. It has anchored the national government through spectacular economic growth, social changes, and expansions of democracy and rights that were inconceivable in 1787. It is easy to forget that politicians produced this remarkable document—talented, often idealistic politicians, but politicians nonetheless.”<sup>26</sup>

There are many examples of compromise in our history. But in recent years our politics has been marked by a resistance to compromise and a view that to compromise is inappropriate.

In addition to the Great Compromise, which I have already discussed, I will point to a more local and quite recent compromise, one that has gained national attention and is labeled by some as the “Utah Compromise.” The law that passed by overwhelming majorities in both houses of the legislature bans employers or landlords from discriminating against employees or tenants on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity while simultaneously excluding religious organizations and their affiliates, such as colleges and charities, from the law. More broadly, the law protects employees from being fired for discussing their religious beliefs, so long as such speech is nonharassing and not disruptive.

The Utah legislature had previously debated and voted on bills banning discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered individuals, but those efforts had not won passage. What was different here was a series of compromises and a willingness to include in the Utah compromise protections both for religious freedom and for housing and employment rights regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity.

I would like to share with you a couple of quotes from President Hugh B. Brown’s 1968 commencement address at BYU. President Brown was called as an Apostle in 1958 and served in the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints between 1961 and 1970. The quotes are from a talk you may know as the “God Is the Gardener” talk. If you have not listened to it, I urge you to do so. Here is what President Brown said about politics in May 1968:

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26. Robertson, *Original Compromise*, 8.



President Hugh B. Brown speaking at Brigham Young University in 1972. Courtesy of Brigham Young University.

You young people are leaving your university at a time when our nation is engaged in an abrasive and increasingly strident process of electing a president. I wonder if you would permit me—one who has managed to survive a number of these events—to pass on to you a few words of counsel.

First, I'd like you to be reassured that the leaders of both major political parties in this land are men of integrity and unquestioned patriotism. Beware of those who feel obliged to prove their own patriotism by calling into question the loyalty of others. . . .

Strive to develop a maturity of mind and emotion and a depth of spirit that will enable you to differ with others on matters of politics without calling into question the integrity of those with whom you dif-

fer. Allow within the bounds of your definition of religious orthodoxy a variation of political belief. Do not have the temerity to dogmatize on issues where the Lord has seen fit to be silent.

I have found through long experience that our two-party system is sound. Beware of those who are so lacking in humility that they cannot come within the framework of one of our two great parties.

. . . Strive to develop that true love of country that realizes that real patriotism must include within it a regard for the people, for the inhabitants of the rest of the globe. Patriots have never demanded of good men hatred of another country as proof of one's love for his own.<sup>27</sup>

The advice of President Brown seems as timely today as it was in 1968. The Framers left us with a remarkable structure, one that has been improved through amendment and application. By design, the Constitution fostered a two-party system and the need for compromise.

My talk today has emphasized that political parties play an important role, one that should be celebrated rather than ridiculed. I also speak today in defense of sensible and principled compromise. The reality in life is that we do not get everything we want. Part of resistance to compromise

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27. Hugh B. Brown, "God Is the Gardener," Commencement Address, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, May 31, 1968, available online at [https://speeches.byu.edu/talks/hugh-b-brown\\_god-gardener/](https://speeches.byu.edu/talks/hugh-b-brown_god-gardener/).



comes from a lack of mutual respect and a false sense of confidence in our very real human fallibility. President Brown added that we have a tendency to “dogmatize” where we have no basis to do so. Mutual respect is necessary for a democracy to function, and denigrating another’s patriotism, misrepresenting an opponent’s positions, and refusing to cooperate even on matters on which there is agreement undermine the relationships needed to resolve differences. Such actions not only deny the country the benefit that would result from accommodation but also diminish the prospects for future compromises and rigidify conflict.

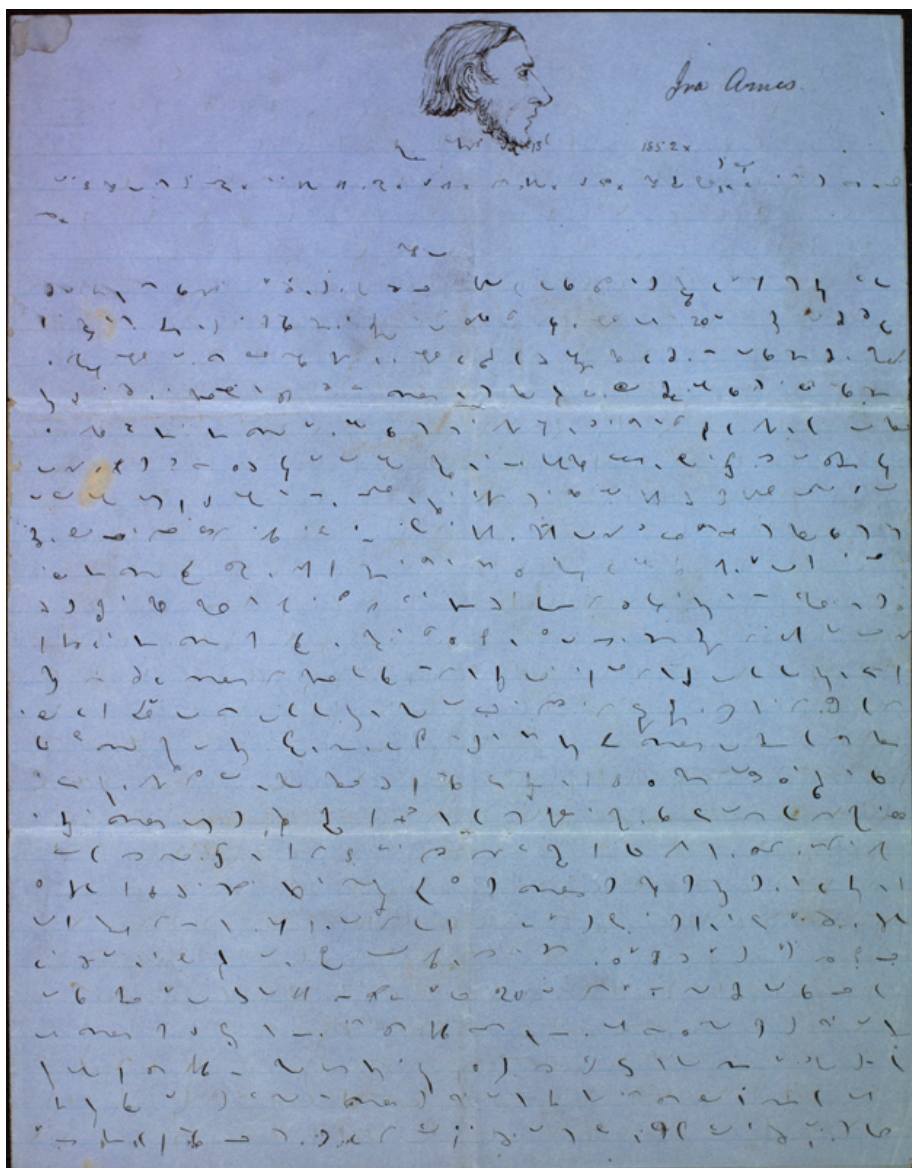
But the inspired structure of the Constitution is insufficient if we do not appreciate it and use it through our own engagement in politics and government. Soon after the drafting of the Constitution was complete, a lady asked Benjamin Franklin as he left Independence Hall, “Well Doctor what have we got, a republic or a monarchy?” ‘A republic,’ replied the Doctor, ‘if you can keep it.’”<sup>28</sup>

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David B. Magleby is nationally recognized for his expertise on direct democracy, voting behavior, and campaign finance. He received his BA from the University of Utah and his PhD from the University of California, Berkeley. He is currently Distinguished Professor of Political Science. Prior to coming to BYU, Professor Magleby taught at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and the University of Virginia. From 1982 to 2000 and again from 2012 to 2014, Professor Magleby organized and directed the KBYU–Utah Colleges Exit Poll, a statewide poll involving the coordinated efforts of hundreds of students from several Utah colleges and universities. His books include *Direct Legislation* (1984), *The Money Chase: Congressional Campaign Finance Reform* (1990), *The Myth of the Independent Voter* (1992), and several editions of *Government by the People*, an American government textbook. He has edited or coedited eleven books and published numerous articles in political science or law journals. He is a former Congressional Fellow of the American Political Science Association, Fulbright Scholar at Oxford University, and past president of Pi Sigma Alpha, the national political science honor society. Professor Magleby is the recipient of many honors, including the BYU Karl G. Maeser Distinguished Teacher Award, the 1990 Utah Professor of the Year award from the Council for Advancement and Support of Education and Carnegie Foundation, and the Rowman & Littlefield Award for Innovative Teaching in Political Science. At BYU he served as chair of the Political Science Department and dean of the College of Family, Home, and Social Sciences. As has been the case with much of his work at BYU, he was assisted by BYU undergraduates in preparing this lecture. He expresses appreciation to Caroline Black, Geoff Cannon, Andrew Jensen, Kirsten Hinck, and Madeleine Read for their assistance.

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28. Robertson, *Original Compromise*, 229.



First page of George D. Watt's shorthand notes of Brigham Young's speech on June 13, 1852. A transcript of this page begins on page 46. Papers of George D. Watt, Church History Library, Salt Lake City; © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

# The Prophets Have Spoken, but What Did They Say?

## Examining the Differences between George D. Watt's Original Shorthand Notes and the Sermons Published in the *Journal of Discourses*

*Gerrit Dirkmaat and LaJean Purcell Carruth;  
Shorthand transcriptions by LaJean Purcell Carruth*

On a summer day in August of 1867, Brigham Young delivered a powerful sermon to the residents of Tooele, Utah. He urged the assembled Saints to more faithfully live the principles of the Word of Wisdom and cease their attempts to parse out the words of the revelation, seeking a loophole. Young responded directly to such thinking, telling the congregation:

Many try to excuse themselves because tea and coffee are not mentioned, arguing that it refers to hot drinks only. What did we drink hot when that Word of Wisdom was given? Tea and coffee. It definitely refers to that which we drink with our food. I said to the Saints at our last annual Conference, the Spirit whispers to me to call upon the Latter-day Saints to observe the Word of Wisdom, to let tea, coffee, and tobacco alone, and to abstain from drinking spirituous drinks.<sup>1</sup>

The practicality and straightforward manner of the explanation is often seen as a reflection of not only Young's position on the doctrine, but of the man himself. Direct, clear, brief. Indeed, it is easy to imagine Young speaking those sentiments to a congregation anxiously waiting upon every word.

However, while Young certainly expressed these sentiments, he apparently did not speak these words as they have come down to us in published form. The shorthand notes that reporter George D. Watt took that day in Tooele read as follows:

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1. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 12:117 (August 17, 1867).

Some of the sisters and some of brethren will say tea and coffee is not mentioned in the Word of Wisdom but hot drinks [as] if this doesn't refer directly perfectly absolutely definitely and truly to that that we did drink hot[.] What does it allude to[?] What did we drink hot[?] Tea and coffee[.] When we made milk porridge it was food[.] We could not wash it red hot as we drank down tea[.] It alludes to tea and coffee or whatever we drank[.] I said to the Latter-day Saints at the annual conference 6 of April the spirit whispers to me for this people to observe the Word of Wisdom[.] Let the tea and coffee and tobacco alone whether they smoke take snuff and chew let it alone[.] Those that are in the habit of drinking liquor[.] cease to drink liquor[.]<sup>2</sup>

While the overall sentiment remains similar, the specification of the forms of tobacco in use, the cadence of the speaker, and rhetorical devices he used were lost as this speech was transcribed from the original shorthand notes to its published version found in the *Journal of Discourses*.

Speeches published in the *Journal of Discourses* and *Deseret News* are often viewed as principal primary sources by which historians and members of the LDS Church can access the teachings, ideas, and personalities of apostles and prophets during the second half of the nineteenth century. The sermons sometimes provide the only insights we have on the particular thoughts and words of Church leaders from specific time periods. LaJean Purcell Carruth, an employee of the Church History Department, has returned to the original shorthand notes taken by scribe George D. Watt during these meetings, painstakingly transcribing them to illuminate the spoken words vis-à-vis the published text. Carruth's new transcriptions have revealed that extensive editorial alterations were often made during the process of transcription and publication as Watt and others prepared the sermons for publication in the *Journal of Discourses* or the *Deseret News*. The differences between the shorthand record and the published versions are often quite extensive. Nearly every sermon for which we have compared the shorthand and the published versions demonstrates the same level of revision shown in Young's Tooele speech above, and in many cases the changes are far more pronounced.

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2. Brigham Young, speech, Tooele, August 17, 1867, Papers of George D. Watt, Church History Library, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as CHL), transcribed from shorthand by LaJean Purcell Carruth.

This article provides a generalized look at the scope and form of some of the changes. Through examples of some of these variations between the initial shorthand and the published word, the reader will get a sense of the potential changes inherent in all of these texts. We will complete the analysis by providing side-by-side comparisons of two prominent sermons by Brigham Young as examples so that readers can clearly see the differences between what Watt recorded in shorthand and what he eventually published in the *Journal of Discourses*. These sermons were selected from the dozens examined because they reflect the range of changes that are found between the shorthand and the published sources.

This article is far from an exhaustive study of changes in the *Journal of Discourses*. While Watt is the best known among the early scribes of sermons given by Church leaders, he certainly was not the only one taking dictation of sermons that were later published in the *Journal of Discourses*. Unfortunately, very little shorthand created by these other reporters is extant, and most of the shorthand that does exist has not yet been transcribed and compared to the published versions. Nor does this study examine every sermon recorded by George Watt that was later published in the *Journal of Discourses*. A complete study is also not possible because many of the published sermons do not have extant shorthand with which to compare. Instead, the authors of this study examined dozens of the published sermons that have been transcribed from extant shorthand in order to give researchers a glimpse into the difficulties inherent in using the published *Journal of Discourses* as a verbatim source. This study is therefore limited to sermons reported, transcribed, and published by George D. Watt and is further limited by the sermons the authors examined closely among those surviving records. Despite these limitations, enough of these sermons and the types of variations have been examined that preliminary conclusions can be made about the likelihood that published forms of speeches in this era are verbatim transcriptions. Historians using the *Journal of Discourses* as a source should do so with an understanding that the examples given below preclude reasonably assuming a verbatim account for any of the published sermons.

### **Changes Made in the Publication Process**

The process by which a sermon came to be published in the *Journal of Discourses* involved numerous steps, only a few of which historians can make definitive statements about because of the dearth of

associated sources. George D. Watt began recording sermons in shorthand almost immediately after his arrival in Salt Lake City in September 1851.<sup>3</sup> Willard Richards, editor of the *Deseret News*, urged Watt to record sermons of Church leaders for publication in the paper. Though Watt recorded several sermons in 1852, he received no compensation for his efforts, a situation that led to several acrimonious exchanges between Watt and Richards. In 1853, Church leaders authorized Watt to publish accounts of the sermons he had recorded as the *Journal of Discourses* in England as a private venture, in order to provide a living for his family.<sup>4</sup>

Watt recorded the sermons in Pitman shorthand, which allowed him to record individual words and sometimes phrases quickly and thus capture the words of the speaker with significant accuracy as they were spoken. To prepare the sermon for publication, Watt had to first transcribe his shorthand record into longhand, and he edited and altered the content as he transcribed. Further editing was apparently then performed on this longhand version in preparation for publication, usually by Watt himself.

The result of this transcription and editing process is a published version of the speech that often has significant differences from the originally spoken words. In some cases, the variations are only slight, and the thoughts and expressions, and indeed many of the words, published are very close to the way that they were initially recorded. In most sermons recorded by Watt and published in the *Journal of Discourses* or *Deseret News*, however, there are significant variations. Some of these variations are in fact so different from the initial record that historians and other users should carefully re-evaluate the way they use these sources. While the topic of the sermons and some of the general points can be garnered from the published version of these speeches, the precise wording and exact examples and phrases used by the speaker cannot be relied upon with any degree of certainty.

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3. George Watt recorded a few sermons in Nauvoo, beginning in April 1845. Ronald G. Watt, *The Mormon Passage of George D. Watt, First British Convert, Scribe for Zion* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2009), 50. Watt served an extended mission in England and Scotland between 1846 and 1851.

4. For a detailed examination of Watt's initial efforts to record sermons and the circumstances that led to the publication of the *Journal of Discourses*, see Ronald G. Watt, "The Beginnings of *The Journal of Discourses*: A Confrontation between George D. Watt and Willard Richards," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 75 (Spring 2007): 134–48.



The variations between the shorthand transcription and what was eventually published in the *Journal of Discourses* or the *Deseret News* take several forms but can be roughly categorized as omissions, summarizations, insertions,<sup>5</sup> and rephrasings.

**Omissions and Summarizations.** It might be tempting to assert that Watt felt comfortable making changes to the sermon text because as he went over his notes, he remembered phrases and points that were not actually in the notes themselves. Students taking notes during a university class, for instance, often use key words and ideas to help them remember the larger point when they begin to study for the exam. Was Watt simply remembering additional portions of the speech when he examined his notes? For each of these sermons, it is not precisely known at what point Watt proceeded to create his longhand version of the sermon from his shorthand notes, information that is crucial in trying to discern whether or not at least some of the variations in the longhand could be reasonably attributed to his own recollection of the original words spoken. In the example given above, the original speech was given on August 17, 1867. The speech was not published, however, until December 25, 1867.<sup>6</sup> We cannot tell when during this four-month interim Watt created the longhand transcript from his shorthand. In any case, the argument that Watt was simply trying to fill out the speech using his memory to insert things he recalled being spoken does not seem viable in light of the evidence we do have. On the contrary, in the sermons examined for this study, the majority of the changes to the original sermons take the form of excision as Watt cut out portions of the sermon. Clearly Watt was not making these changes because he remembered that those words had never been spoken when his notes reflect the contrary. Furthermore, Watt would often transcribe his shorthand in longhand correctly, then cross out the original transcription and insert text that differs from the shorthand—clearly a deliberate act showing his own editorial intervention.

While the extent of the omissions made varies from speech to speech, these deletions often can have a great impact on the way a reader understands the context of the sermon. For instance, in one 1865 sermon by

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5. Many of the scripture references in the published sermons in the *Journal of Discourses*, for instance, are simply editorial insertions, without any specific reference to them in the shorthand whatsoever.

6. "Remarks," *Deseret News*, December 25, 1867, 362.



Brigham Young that was eventually published in the eleventh volume of the *Journal of Discourses*, the shorthand indicates that prior to beginning the sermon in earnest, Brigham Young railed against the book *Joseph Smith the Prophet*, written by Lucy Mack Smith.<sup>7</sup> Young publicly reviled the text and excoriated Orson Pratt for his connection with the book, which he considered to be riddled with factual and doctrinal errors. Referring to a portion of the book that had been read to the congregation, Young had exclaimed, according to the shorthand notes:

This article been read to congregation so very tedious that I expect they will forget all about it[.] This is the result of false doctrine[.] Read over pages of these books and a person will forget all they ever did know all they had desired to know with regard to the true religion that has been revealed from heaven[.] There is quite a number of people went to sleep[.] I don't wonder at it[.] It is virtual darkness the light disappears the night goes on and that is the time to sleep[.] We have said all we can say in favor of Brother Orson Pratt[.] had this transpired in the days of Joseph he would have been cut off from the church but we have held [illegible] him and still feel to hold on to him to save him forcibly and we want to be charitable as we possibly can be towards him and wherein we have said that he is a man of integrity and truth and honesty and all this[.] Skin the fig closely and you will find we have had to use a tremendous large mantle of charity.<sup>8</sup>

When Watt came to transcribe his shorthand notes into longhand, he eliminated these words from the transcript entirely. Well over two hundred words that Brigham Young had opened his remarks with, words that the assembled congregation at general conference had heard, were omitted from the longhand transcription of the speech and were therefore also not a part of the sermon that was later published in the *Journal of Discourses*.<sup>9</sup> Those sentiments of Young on that occasion were, for all intents and purposes, lost to history until now.

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7. *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations*, by Lucy Smith, Mother of the Prophet, printed in 1853. See Church Historian's Press, "Lucy Mack Smith, History, 1844–1845," *The Joseph Smith Papers*, <http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummarylucy-mack-smith-history-1844-1845>.

8. Brigham Young, speech, Salt Lake City, October 9, 1865, Papers of George D. Watt, CHL, transcribed from shorthand by LaJean Purcell Carruth.

9. Historian's Office Reports of Speeches, 1845–1885, CHL; Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 11:137–47 (October 9, 1865).

While this omission may have resulted from Watt's attempt to determine what was and was not part of the sermon he intended to record, many other such omissions are much more difficult to explain and apparently reflect Watt's own efforts to edit the speech either for readability or for content. In this same October 9, 1865, sermon noted above, Watt's shorthand records Young as saying:

The first item that we have to lay before the [saints] now that is on my mind is to call upon the sisters[.] You know we are all led by the women more or less should be and my discourse upon this subject is directed to the ladies of the kingdom of God upon the earth wishing them and requiring and saying to them that this is the will of God concerning you that should to go now first in the manufacture of our own barley and make your bonnets of straw or grass such as is grown in the valleys of these mountains manufacture your bonnets from material that grows here in our midst and not sell the oats the barley the wheat.<sup>10</sup>

When he rendered this passage into longhand, Watt summarized by way of omission and hence lost some of the spoken details. He wrote:

The first item that presents itself to me is, to call upon the sisters—and you know they form an important element of the kingdom of God in the last days—to listen to the will of God concerning them—that they go to now and manufacture from straw, grass or any other fitting material that grows in these valleys, their bonnets and hats, and cease to sell the barley, the oates, the wheat, etc.<sup>11</sup>

Several differences in what was spoken and what was transcribed are clearly evident, including the depth and personality reflected in Young's originally spoken words. Watt cut some of Young's statements out and inserted words that Young never spoke.

Some of the sermons were so heavily edited and summarized by the time they were printed in the *Deseret News* or the *Journal of Discourses* that they only scarcely resemble the words and thoughts of the speaker, and most of the details, both religious and historical, have been omitted. For example, in one Heber C. Kimball address, Watt's shorthand notes of the sermon total nearly six thousand words. The published version of this same sermon features just over twenty-six hundred, and many of the words that are included are summarizations and inserted phrases that

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10. Young, speech, October 9, 1865.

11. Historian's Office Reports of Speeches, 1845–1885, CHL.

Kimball apparently never uttered. Notice the extent of the omitted material in a brief comparison of this sermon below:

**Transcription of Shorthand  
Taken at the Time of Speaking<sup>12</sup>**

when a man tells a lie that is a crime  
when he steals that is a crime can you  
get rid of it except he repent and  
make restitution no can President  
Young forgive him no the man has  
got to make a restitution that satisfies  
the demands of justice or it stands  
against him in time and eternity and  
until he takes a course to redeem  
it that applies to me as well as you  
that is a sin for a man or a woman to  
violate forfeit their covenant which  
they made when they received their  
endowments you promised you  
would not lie would not steal that  
you would not bear false witness  
what is a false witness for a man to  
go and tell a lie when not a word of  
truth in it and then have a tendency  
to prejudice his neighbors against his  
neighbors and crush him down that  
is a crime who is wrong the man that  
is wrong and the restitution  
has got to be made to the man that  
is wronged that is what we have to  
do and that is according to the law of  
God which Jesus gave to his people  
and that same law is renewed unto  
us given to Joseph by Jesus to this  
people and for us to live by it

**As Published in  
*Journal of Discourses*<sup>13</sup>**

When a person bears false witness,  
it is a sin; or when a person steals,  
it is a sin; and these sins must be  
accounted for, either in time or in  
eternity, by the person who commits  
them.

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12. Heber C. Kimball, speech, Salt Lake City, October 6, 1865, Papers of George D. Watt, CHL, transcribed from shorthand by LaJean Purcell Carruth.

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13. Heber C. Kimball, in *Journal of Discourses*, 11:144 (October 6, 1865).

Few of the same words or statements contained in Kimball's speech on this point are represented in the published version. The tone is strikingly different. The end result of the editing is that dozens of spoken thoughts and words were lost to excision, and other words that were never spoken were inserted as though they had been.

**Rephrasings.** The following excerpt from an 1859 Brigham Young sermon provides another example of great variations from the spoken to the published word, although a few similar phrases and words are retained.

**Transcription of Shorthand  
Taken at the Time of Speaking<sup>14</sup>**

I might go on and enumerate many more instances and say they are all right many of us perhaps have been in habit of hearing lectures on the free agency of man upon the destiny of man have heard lecture after lecture and sermon upon sermon proving from holy writ that Christ has died for the world for all the sons and daughters of Adam and so far are we from believing that he will not accomplish his errand for which he came into the world that we believe that all will be saved you hear this doctrine in opposition to this you hear the doctrine declared from the pulpit publically to the world that God has foreordained a certain portion of the human family family [*sic*] to life everlasting the residue to damnation and that infants not a span long weltering in the flames of hell that is one item of doctrine that is not

**As Published in  
*Journal of Discourses*<sup>15</sup>**

I might enumerate many more instances, and say that they are all right so far as they go in truth. The doctrine of freewill and conditional salvation, the doctrine of free grace and unconditional salvation, the doctrine of foreordination and reprobation, and many more that I have not time to enumerate, can all be fully and satisfactorily proved by the Scriptures, and are true. On the other hand, many untrue doctrines are taught and believed,

such as there being infants, not a span long, weltering in the flames of hell, there to remain throughout the countless ages of eternity, and the

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14. Brigham Young, speech, Salt Lake City, October 9, 1859, Papers of George D. Watt, CHL, transcribed from shorthand by LaJean Purcell Carruth.

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15. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 7:283 (October 9, 1859).

true      you take certain portions  
of the Bible you can prove all this  
doctrine with exception of this last  
one that is not in any revelation God  
ever gave nothing like it but to the  
reverse you hear others exclaim that  
the fall of man placed all mankind in  
a totally depraved condition that they  
are deprived of every means of light  
intelligence grace knowledge of the  
power of action or will but they are  
totally depraved in every particle that  
is within them about them the spirit  
within them their reflections prayers  
their sacraments and all their devo-  
tions are [in/n?] abominations in the  
sight of God some of us used to get  
so religious would believe all this

doctrine of total depravity.

**Insertions.** Watt frequently expanded upon the words originally spoken, as shown in the following examples from Brigham Young's sermon of April 17, 1853. At some point before these sermons were printed, these words were greatly expanded upon and were published with much more detail. Entire sentences and thoughts, explanations, and key details that were not originally spoken to the congregation were added, as the comparison below demonstrates.

**Transcription of Shorthand  
Taken at the Time of Speaking<sup>16</sup>**

let a person contemplate the works  
of God be honest with themselves be  
acquainted

we see the

**As Published in  
*Journal of Discourses*<sup>17</sup>**

If people would contemplate the stu-  
pendous works of God, and be hon-  
est and candid in their investigations,  
there is much to be learned that  
would show them how comparatively  
worthless are earthly things.

We see the spangled vault of the

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16. Brigham Young, speech, April 17, 1853, Papers of George D. Watt, CHL, transcribed from shorthand by LaJean Purcell Carruth.

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17. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 2:122 (April 17, 1853).

starry heavens we know but  
little about them our astronomers  
give us something of idea of them  
they tell us great stars

what are these worlds

who lives there who governs them  
people there intelligent beings there

light glory and power and the enjoy-  
ments that would satisfy the hearts of  
an angel or intelligent person upon  
the earth

contemplate these things and let  
reason good judgment be with you  
guide you and what will it tell you I  
tell state to you what it tells me

there the Lord Almighty himself  
reigns there is people there is intel-  
ligence there are worlds and

there is eternity as old Enoch said  
and thy curtains stretched out still

starry heavens stretched over us; but  
little is known of the wonders of the  
firmament.

Astronomers have, by their  
researches, discovered some general  
facts that have proved useful and  
instructing to the scientific portion  
of mankind. The phenomena of the  
motions of the heavenly bodies, and  
their times and seasons are under-  
stood pretty accurately.

But who knows what those distant  
planets are? Who can tell the part  
they play in the grand theater of  
worlds?

Who inhabits them, and who rules  
over them? Do they contain intel-  
ligent beings, who are capable of the  
happiness, light, glory, power, and  
enjoyments that would satisfy the  
mind of an angel of God? Who can  
tell these things? Can they be dis-  
covered by the light of science? They  
cannot. Let every intelligent person  
seriously

contemplate this subject, and let the  
true light of reason illuminate the  
understanding, and a sound judgment  
inspired by the Spirit of Christ be your  
guide, and what will be your conclu-  
sions? They will be what mine are—  
that the Lord Almighty reigns there;  
that His people are there; and that  
they are, or have been, earths to  
fulfil a similar destiny to the one we  
inhabit; and *there* is eternity; and as  
Enoch of old said—“Thy curtains are  
stretched out still.”

In addition to these types of changes, scriptural references were apparently added by Watt as he created his transcription. Many scrip-  
tural citations in the versions of the speeches published in the *Journal of Discourses* do not appear in the original shorthand notes.

## Editorial Involvement of Speakers

Changes so extensive and stark naturally lead to historical questions about the endorsement of the revised transcripts either by the General Authority who gave the sermon or by Brigham Young exercising editorial control over the final product. Young was certainly cognizant that many sermons were being published in the *Deseret News* and in the *Journal of Discourses*. Watt recorded Young's statement at the beginning of his sermon on October 9, 1865: "I commence now my few discourses I have to tell to the saints it matters not I suppose which sermon I preach first because they will all be written printed published to the saints and they can read the first one last one first to suit themselves."<sup>18</sup> Young was likely also aware of, and possibly even condoned, Watt's general practice of editing the sermons in order to present the speakers in a more polished, erudite light. Indeed, Watt's efforts certainly portrayed to the public much more refined discourses, and Young may have expressly charged Watt to make such changes.

Others were also aware of the changes regularly made from the spoken to published word. Heber C. Kimball, seemingly somewhat annoyed at the extent of the revisions, noted the presence of Watt and John V. Long to record his sermon on April 4, 1864, but flatly told them, as Long recorded, "Do not stick in your own stuff put in words said."<sup>19</sup>

An unidentified reporter in Utah at the time of the Utah War (1857–1858) asserted his belief that Brigham Young's spoken words were heavily edited before publication. This antagonistic writer claimed that "no sermon preached by B.Y. was laid before the public as delivered. The <Mormon> reporters[,] some of whom are competent[,] can by always correcting the prophet put good instead of bad grammar into his mouth, soften his rashness, smooth his sentences[,] in short[,] rein his discourses before they were placed in the hands of the printers." The reporter went on to claim that the knowledge of his presence in the territory had caused Brigham Young to receive a "revelation from the Lord commanding him to hold his jaw for a season" so unvarnished speeches would not be reported to the outside world. With self-satisfaction he declared that Young could not any longer "go on in his vulgar abusive treasonable talk against our people and government as he did of late"

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18. Young, speech, October 9, 1865.

19. Heber C. Kimball, speech, April 6, 1864, Papers of John V. Long, CHL, transcribed from shorthand by LaJean Purcell Carruth.



because there was finally someone in Utah to “give the world truthful report of his surroundings.”<sup>20</sup>

Brigham Young's understanding that the sermons were being edited for publication does not necessarily mean that he was involved in the editorial decision making. Still, with at least some of Watt's earliest published sermons there is evidence of an editorial review undertaken by the Church Historian's Office and Brigham Young directly. In the May 25, 1853, entry in the Historian's Office journal, Thomas Bullock wrote that among his other duties that day he was “reading sermons to Gov. Young.” The following day, the review process continued and Bullock spent the day “hearing more sermons read and revised.” In a reference to a very hands-on approach to the publication of the speeches, Bullock included a note that the office was “recopying such pages as would not do to go to England,” where the *Journal of Discourses* was being published.<sup>21</sup> At least at this early stage, enough editorial control was exercised over some sermons that major revisions were apparently undertaken under Brigham Young's supervision prior to publication.

Despite this early reference, however, we do not have ongoing and later evidence of Young's systematic examination of every sermon before they were published. Even when Young's review was generally intended, anecdotal evidence suggests that things were sometimes published in the *Deseret News* of which Young did not approve. For instance, an August 18, 1854, entry in the Historian's Office Journal records Brigham Young's anger at a recent publication of the serialized “History of Joseph Smith” because there were some items he had wanted cut out and others he had wanted to insert.<sup>22</sup> Ostensibly, every part of the “History” was reviewed and approved before it was published, but this entry demonstrates the contrary.

Another stark example of Brigham Young and others exercising editorial control over a spoken sermon that was being readied for publication is found in the events of late 1859 and early 1860. On December 11, 1859, Orson Pratt delivered a sermon in the tabernacle that focused on the attributes of God. Pratt went so far as to argue that he worshiped

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20. Undated, unidentified document located in the Papers of George D. Watt, transcribed from Pitman shorthand by LaJean Purcell Carruth. Crossed-out words are silently omitted. The author's description of Governor Cumming's first meeting with the Mormons and other events date the notes as during the Utah War.

21. Historian's Office Journal, May 25 and 26, 1853, CHL.

22. Historian's Office Journal, August 18, 1854, CHL.

the attributes God possessed, not the personage, at one point explaining to the congregation, “I never considered that we were to worship a thing that had no life intelligence for Jesus possesses flesh and bones I don’t worship them any more than I would you or Brother Brigham or Adam’s flesh and bones but I worship the attributes that dwell in [them].”<sup>23</sup> George Watt was present for this sermon and recorded it in shorthand notes.

A month later, as it was being prepared for publication in the *Deseret News*, its contents were taken to Brigham Young for review. Young objected to what he considered to be false doctrine and called a special meeting which included the First Presidency, the Twelve, the Presidency of the Seventy, and others to discuss the matter on January 27, 1860. Young opened the meeting by announcing that “the object of the Meeting was to Convers upon Doctrinal Points to see if we see alike & think alike. I Pray that we may have the spirit of God to rest upon us that our minds may be upon the subject & that we may speak by the Holy spirit.” He then requested Albert Carrington to read Pratt’s December 11, 1859, sermon that had been recently prepared for publication in the paper but without telling the assembled group the identity of the author of the remarks. Certainly recognizing that the cause of the meeting was Young’s disapproval of the sermon, John Taylor spoke out against the content of the sermon, and when Young called for a vote of those that supported it, not one person raised his voice. Young then explained, “This is O[rson] Pratt’s Sermon prepared for the Press. I do not want to have it published if it is not right.”<sup>24</sup> While the meeting continued as the particular points of the sermon were debated and exchanges between Pratt and Young became quite pointed and acrimonious, the end result was that the sermon was never printed, and the full content of it was thus unknown prior to the retranscription of the shorthand notes by LaJean Carruth. In this case, Young was not only reviewing but making editorial decisions about sermons prepared for the press.

Though Pratt had doggedly refused to state he had been in error during the meeting, he came to Young’s office the next day and of the contentious exchange the night before apologetically “admitted he had been

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23. Orson Pratt, December 11, 1859, Papers of George D. Watt, CHL, transcribed from shorthand by LaJean Purcell Carruth.

24. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript*, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature, 1983–84), 4:420–21 (January 27, 1860).

excited" and promised to confine his teaching "to the first principles of the Gospel" in the future.<sup>25</sup> Two days later on January 29, he delivered another sermon in the tabernacle in an attempt to close the public rift that had opened up between himself and Brigham Young over their doctrinal disputes, which dated back to 1853 and Pratt's publications in the *Seer*.<sup>26</sup>

The treatment of this sermon provides another example of the editorial influence at times manifested by Brigham Young but also suggests the relatively sporadic nature of it. While the shorthand notes of Pratt's apology sermon are no longer extant, the sermon was slated for inclusion in the February 22 edition of the *Deseret News*, ostensibly because Brigham Young had approved the content. On February 21, however, Young examined the proof sheets that contained Pratt's January 29 apology sermon and ordered the *Deseret News* office to take out Orson Pratt's sermon on the first side of the newspaper and put in another sermon instead and "gave a reason for <so> doing."<sup>27</sup> The sermon had not only been typeset for publication in the February 22 issue of the *Deseret News*, but the second page containing much of the sermon had already been printed in large numbers. News items were made to fill the space of the hastily redacted sermon on the first page, but the second half of Pratt's January 29 sermon remained on the second page, unattributed and only explained by a notice that read, "Through some inadvertency, part of a sermon that had not been intended for publication in this number got inserted on the second page and that side of the paper was struck off before the mistake was discovered."<sup>28</sup>

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25. Brigham Young, Office Journal, January 28, 1860, CHL.

26. Wilford Woodruff, who was in attendance as Pratt spoke, was struck by the surprise public confession of Orson Pratt, given his obstinance two days earlier. Woodruff recorded, "Orson Pratt was in the stand and Quite unexpected to his Brethren he arose before his Brethren and made a vary humble full Confession Before the whole assembly for his oposition to President Young and his Brethren and He said he wished all the Church was present to hear it. He quoted Joseph Smiths revelation to prove that President Brigham Young was right and that all was under obligation to follow the Leader of the Church. I never herd Orson Pratt speak better or more to the satisfaction of the People than on this occasion. He would not partake of the sacrament untill he had made a Confession. Then he partook of it." Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:430 (January 29, 1860).

On the Young-Pratt dispute, see, for example, Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, November 4, 1853, Brigham Young Collection, CHL.

27. Young, Office Journal, February 21, 1860, CHL.

28. *Deseret News*, February 22, 1860, 401.

This was not the end of the sermon or the controversy with Pratt. After further attempts to correct Pratt's teachings in March, Young had become convinced that the apology sermon was problematic enough that a council was convened to determine what to do with what he deemed to be Pratt's, however well-intentioned, misguided attempt at a public confession. In particular, he felt like the sermon reflected the continuing problem with Pratt's theology; it merely acknowledged Brigham Young's leadership and right to declare doctrine, but did not disavow the doctrine Pratt had taught that Young deemed incorrect.

In an apostolic meeting held on April 4, 1860, Young explained to Pratt that they were assembled because his "late sermon had/like to got into the paper" and that he objected because Pratt made "no [con]-fession of his errors, but [only] a confession to me. As though a confession was to be made to me." Young felt that if no public correction of such doctrines was made it would have long-lasting consequences.<sup>29</sup> After another tension-filled meeting in which Wilford Woodruff described Orson Pratt as seeming "vary dark in his mind upon many points of Doctrin," the decision was made to have the Quorum of the Twelve edit the sermon prior to its publication.<sup>30</sup> The heavily redacted sermon was finally published on July 25, 1860, and was introduced with the following explanation: "On the 29th of January, in the Tabernacle, Elder Orson Pratt, sen., addressed the Saints; and, through an oversight, a portion of his remarks was printed in Vol. ix, No. 51, of the Deseret News, previous to being carefully revised. Since then those remarks have been examined by br. Pratt and the Council, and are now printed as agreed upon by them, as follows."<sup>31</sup>

While that announcement suggested to the readers that each sermon went through a careful vetting process before publication, evidence suggests that such hands-on editorial control was very much the exception. Despite the starkness of these two examples of prophetic and apostolic editorial intervention prior to publication, both involved the ongoing difficulty between Brigham Young and Orson Pratt over the matter of correct doctrine. It is likely that such strict editorial control was not normally the rule, and certainly this collaborative editing of a spoken

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29. Young, Office Journal, Minutes, April 4, 1860, as published in Fred C. Collier, *The Office Journal of President Brigham Young, 1858–1863, Book D* (Hanna, Utah: Collier's Publishing, 2006), 419, 421, 422.

30. Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:445, 446 (April 4, 1860).

31. "Instructions to the Saints," *Deseret News*, July 25, 1860, 162.

sermon by one of the Quorum of the Twelve has no other known equivalent. In fact, the April 4 discussion with Pratt suggests that in general sermons were not so carefully vetted. Brigham Young even declared to the group, "I never look at my sermons," apparently indicating that he did not study the published versions of his sermons either for consistency or error, and certainly not for editorial flourishes potentially added by Watt.<sup>32</sup>

Nevertheless, even if every one of the edited sermons was examined prior to publication, because the speakers generally spoke extemporaneously they would have had nothing to compare Watt's longhand transcription of the speech to. Separated as they were by weeks and even months from a particular sermon, and having given sometimes dozens of other sermons in the interim between the time it was given and the time of publication, it would have been difficult if not impossible for any of the speakers to notice with certainty either omissions or additions in what they had originally spoken. They may have been able to change the content to what they wished they had spoken or what sounded better upon reflection, but the resulting publication would have been even further afield than from the extemporaneous discourse they had actually delivered. Most problematic, however, is that Watt's own initial longhand transcription differs greatly at times from the shorthand notes he took, even prior to the possibility of editorial examination of a Church authority or the speaker themselves. This means that in many cases the document that was under review by the speaker or other authority already included substantial changes introduced by Watt in the transcription phase.

In any case, available evidence suggests that it was not the usual practice for the original speaker to review the longhand transcription before publication. Among the dozens and dozens of longhand transcripts, on only one are the insertions and editing marks known to be in the handwriting of the original speaker, in this unique case Orson Pratt in his well-known 1852 sermon on plural marriage.<sup>33</sup> At least according to the currently available evidence, it seems that the substantial edits made to the longhand manuscripts prior to publication were likely not

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32. Young, Office Journal, Minutes, April 4, 1860, as published in Collier, *Office Journal of President Brigham Young*, 423.

33. Watt's longhand transcript is found in CR 100 317 at the CHL and is available online at [https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps\\_pid=IE2343768](https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE2343768).

personally made by the speakers themselves and most were made by Watt as he created the transcript.

### A Caution Regarding Use of Published Sermons

Even if the content of the published sermons was consistently reviewed by either Brigham Young or the original speaker prior to publication and was therefore at the very least tacitly approved because there is no record of Young's objection, those speakers' potential after-the-fact acceptance of the heavily edited text does not absolve the historian from the necessity of treating the published versions of the sermons with very specific and special care. The published text in the *Journal of Discourses* simply cannot be relied upon to represent the actual words delivered by the speaker. The edited, published versions may represent ideas similar to what the speaker intended and may occasionally represent the speaker's own editorial changes, but they do not represent a word-for-word echo. In fact, they often would not be recognizable when compared to the originally spoken words.

The differences between originally recorded shorthand and published versions of a particular document, however, are not unique to the *Journal of Discourses*. Indeed, in most other instances of nineteenth-century shorthand studied and transcribed by Carruth—ranging from trial testimony in the John D. Lee trials to Quaker sermons delivered in 1850 and 1851—similar editing can be seen between the shorthand and the published versions.<sup>34</sup>

Further complicating the issue of discovering the differences in any given sermon, some sermons have the longhand transcription but no shorthand notes, thus making it impossible to determine what Watt had originally recorded at the time the speech was given. For most sermons, the published version is the only version that has survived. In fact, there are no known Watt shorthand reports of sermons delivered in 1856, 1857,

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34. For alterations in John D. Lee's 1875 and 1876 trials for his participation in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, see LaJean Purcell Carruth, "Introduction to John D. Lee Trial Transcripts," in Richard E. Turley Jr., ed., *Mountain Meadows Massacre: Collected Legal Papers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, forthcoming). Publication of the trial transcripts, compared with contemporaneous transcriptions, is also forthcoming at [mountainmeadowsmassacre.org](http://mountainmeadowsmassacre.org). Comparison of Carruth's transcription of the shorthand record for Quaker sermons from 1850 to 1851 in the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, with the published versions shows editorial changes similar, in many instances, to sermons published in the *Journal of Discourses*.

or 1861. There is an extant shorthand record from only one day in 1855. Thus, for hundreds of published sermons there is no way of knowing how the well-known, published version compares to what the speakers actually said. And, for many of the published speeches, there are no extant longhand transcriptions from Watt, only his untranscribed original shorthand notes and what was published in the *Deseret News* or in the *Journal of Discourses*. In these cases, determining in any way the process by which an altered version of the speech was published is essentially impossible. Conversely, Carruth's recent transcriptions of previously untranscribed shorthand notes has brought to light sermons that had been lost to history.<sup>35</sup>

### The Value of the Shorthand Transcriptions

Perhaps the most important and revealing aspect of the shorthand transcriptions, aside from resurrecting thousands of previously lost words spoken by prophets and apostles, is the way the shorthand notes reflect the character and personality of the speakers. Watt's editing for concision and clarity might have made for a cleaner transcript but also obscured the personalities and humanity of the speakers. Placing more elegant words and well-rounded thoughts into the published transcript may have made the sermons more acceptable to nineteenth-century ears, but many of the beautifully crafted sentences bore little resemblance to the originally spoken words. Reading the shorthand transcripts reveals a picture of these apostolic speakers that is often far removed from the more static and one-dimensional images that are often painted as the result of the published versions of the discourses. The re-creations of these men in the modern mind based upon their apparent patterns of speech, their apparent directness, and their apparent choice of words found in the *Journal of Discourses* are in fact hollow representations of the words and attitudes actually reflected by the speakers. Those published sermons often reflect the content but not the emotion of the speech. They reflect the purpose of the sermon, but

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35. For examples of some of these "lost sermons" that have now been transcribed and made available to read by the Church History Department, go to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Lost Sermons Introduction and Explanation: Where They Came From, What They Are," April 23, 2013, <https://history.lds.org/article/lost-sermons-editorial-method>; Matthew S. McBride, "Lost Sermons," *Ensign* 43 (December 2013): 54–57, available online at <https://www.lds.org/ensign/2013/12/lost-sermons?lang=eng>.



not the purposeful way the preacher grappled with the subject. Historians and members alike should be aware of these often important, often unknowable, differences between the originally spoken words and those that were published. Anyone referencing particular ways in which ideas were stated from sermons published in the *Journal of Discourses* should especially be mindful of the differences between the shorthand and the published text.

### Introduction to the Two Brigham Young Sermons Presented Here

Differences between Watt's shorthand, his longhand transcripts, and the published sermons in the *Journal of Discourses* are most evident when the different versions are placed in parallel columns, as they are here. There are very few sermons for which Watt's shorthand and his longhand transcript are both extant. From these, we selected two sermons by Brigham Young to illustrate the differences between Watt's shorthand, his longhand transcript, and the sermon as published in the *Journal of Discourses*. These sermons were delivered on June 13, 1852, and on October 6, 1853. Though Watt altered both sermons as he made his longhand transcription, the *Journal of Discourses* version of Young's sermon of October 6, 1853, is closer to the shorthand than is the case of his sermon of June 13, 1852. The interlineations on the longhand transcript of these two sermons are in Watt's handwriting. Watt's transcript of the latter shows significant editing, at least some of which was done after the original transcript. A third draft version of this sermon, a copy made by Jonathan Grimshaw,<sup>36</sup> introduced new editorial changes.

Watt altered the text of both sermons as he transcribed them; he later made additional editorial changes, most notably in the June 13, 1852, sermon. Changes in the flow of the text were apparently made at the time of longhand transcription, while changes made to the resulting longhand transcript itself, such as deletions (either crossed out, wiped out, or scraped from the page), words written over other words, and interlineations could have been made at the time of transcription or as later editorial alterations.<sup>37</sup> The shorthand record contains almost no punctuation. Occasionally, the ink in the alteration differs from the ink in the original transcript, indicating that Watt made the change after he wrote the original transcription.

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36. Jonathan Grimshaw worked in the Church Historian's Office until 1856.

37. Occasionally, differences in ink indicate later emendations.



The reader will note some of the types of changes reflected in these sermons. For instance, Watt in these and other sermons regularly changed questions posed by Brigham Young to the congregation into statements made by the speaker, changes that alter how Brigham Young's sermons depict the man himself. In the June 13, 1853, sermon, an important "if" is removed from Brigham Young's conditional statement "if I am as perfect in my sphere as is God." The resulting sentence became declarative rather than conditional. Such changes make Young appear to be more dogmatic and assertive on this point than the original shorthand notes demonstrate. Text in both sermons is at various instances omitted or greatly expanded, and the sentence structures changed from the short, direct statements of Brigham Young to much more complicated and longer sentences. Not only are sentences restructured, but at times particularly important words are changed that can greatly alter the perceived meaning. The concluding portion of Young's October 6, 1853, sermon, for instance, includes changes in tense, the restructuring of statements from active to passive voice, and other emendations. In particular, the reader will note that Watt changes the originally spoken "heart" to "mind," a change that could carry with it several new implications to a reader.

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Gerrit Dirkmaat is an assistant professor of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University. He is a coeditor of volumes in the Documents and Administrative series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, which includes the forthcoming Council of Fifty records. He received his PhD in American history from the University of Colorado, Boulder, in 2010, where he studied nineteenth-century American expansionism and foreign relations. His dissertation was titled "Enemies Foreign and Domestic: US Relations with Mormons in the US Empire in North America, 1844–1854." He is the co-author, along with Michael Hubbard MacKay, of *From Darkness Unto Light: Joseph Smith's Translation and Publication of the Book of Mormon*. He served as the senior assistant editor of *Diplomatic History* from 2003 to 2009.

LaJean Purcell Carruth is a historian/writer at the LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, with over forty years' experience transcribing documents written in Pitman shorthand, Taylor shorthand, the Deseret alphabet, and Pernin shorthand.

## Speech by Brigham Young, June 13, 1852, in four parallel columns

### George D. Watt's Shorthand<sup>38</sup>

[Sketched profile of Ira Ames]

Tabernacle  
Sunday morning

June 13<sup>th</sup> 1852 On the stand President  
Young Heber C. Kimball. Of the Twelve  
George A. Smith. General Rich. Wilford  
Woodruff. General Wells. President Daniel  
Spencer. [Inserted above line: Z. Snow].  
The meeting was crowded to excess almost.  
President Young  
There is yet time  
to be improved this  
morning  
I arise to say a few  
words [to the] congregation feeling  
thankful for this as well as all other  
privileges I enjoy from day to day

we have had the privilege  
of hearing declared to us  
the truth of this work and

the testimony of one [of the] servants [of  
the] Lord that has had an experience  
now of 20 years<sup>39</sup>  
there are [--?] many others [--?] who have  
a lengthy experience  
not a mere six months trial but

an experience that tells  
them  
upon natural principles  
that there is a God in this work  
there is a Supernatural Power attending  
the rise and the progress of the gospel of

### Watt's Longhand Transcript<sup>48</sup>

1

A Discourse or Testemoney  
By Pres<sup>t</sup> Young  
delivered in the Tabernacle in G S. L City

June 13<sup>th</sup> 1852. after <Elder> Ira Ames had  
addressed the congregation.  
Reported by G D Watt

There is ~~not much~~ <a little more> time  
~~that~~ <which> remains to be improved this  
morning. <In which>  
I ~~arise however to say~~ <will offer A> A few  
words to the Congregation; feeling thank-  
ful for this ~~as well as~~ <and> for all other  
privileges that I enjoy from day to day.

We have ~~have~~ had the ~~privilege~~ <pleasure,  
this morning,> of hearing ~~declared to us~~  
~~this morning~~ the truth of this the work  
<of the last days declared>; ~~and~~ <with>  
the testemoney of one of the servants of  
the Lord ~~that~~ <who> has had an experience  
<of 20 years> in this Church ~~of 20 years~~.<sup>49</sup>  
There are many others who <also> have  
A lengthy experience, and some <have>  
not had more than 6 month's trial; but <in  
that short time> they have <obtained> an  
experience ~~that~~ <which> has ~~informed~~  
<given> them <sufficient information>  
~~upon natural principles~~ <to satisfie them>  
that there is A God in this work,—that A  
supreme power has attended the ~~rise and~~  
~~progress of~~ the Gospel of salvation, or what

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript<sup>64</sup>**

1<sup>65</sup>

Discourse  
by President Brigham Young, delivered in  
the Tabernacle, G. S. L. City,

June 13<sup>th</sup> 1852

<As> T<t>here is a little more time  
which remains to be improved this  
morning,  
I will offer a few  
words <remarks> to the congregation, feel-  
ing thankful for this and for all other  
privileges that I enjoy from day to day.

We have had the pleasure  
this morning of hearing  
the truth of the work of ~~this work~~  
of the last days declared, with  
the testimony of one of the servants of  
the Lord <(Ira Ames.)> who has had an  
experience of twenty years in this church.  
There are many others who also have  
had a lengthy experience, and  
some who have not had more than six  
months trial, but who have, in that short  
time, obtained an experience which  
has given them sufficient information  
to satisfy them  
that there is a God in this work—that a  
supreme power has attended  
the gospel of salvation, or what

***Journal of Discourses 1:88–94***

A Discourse Delivered  
by President Brigham Young, in  
the Tabernacle, Great Salt Lake City,

June 13th, 1852.

As there is more time  
which remains to be improved this  
morning,  
I will offer a few  
remarks to the congregation, feeling thank-  
ful for this  
privilege, and for all others that I enjoy  
from day to day.

We have had the pleasure  
this morning of hearing  
the truth of the work  
of the last days declared, with  
the testimony of one of the servants of the  
Lord (Ira Ames), who has had an experi-  
ence of twenty years in this Church.  
There are many others who also have  
had a lengthy experience, and  
some who have not had more than six  
months' trial, but who have, in that short  
time, obtained an experience which  
has given them sufficient information  
to satisfy them  
that there is a God in this work, that a  
Supreme Power has attended  
the Gospel of salvation, or what

### Watt's Shorthand

salvation what is called Mormonism

to every person both saint and  
sinner there is not an individual that has  
heard the sound of this work and  
reports of that  
book the Book of Mormon not an indi-  
vidual that has ever heard the report of it  
but what the Spirit of Lord attended that  
report to them  
no person  
no matter who ~~they~~ they are  
what character has been

they had not  
knowledge  
enough previous to  
the coming forth of the priesthood  
calculated to save the children [of]  
men in celestial kingdom  
they had not knowledge enough never had  
attained enough of God and godliness to  
pass the ordeal where the spirits could not  
operate upon their feelings any longer  
or in other words to sin against  
the Holy Ghost consequently the righteous  
the wicked the  
good the evil the upright and froward  
no matter what class characters  
every person that has ever heard  
the sound Book [of] Mormon  
Joseph Smith and latter day work  
the spirit of Almighty has convicted  
that individual it is true and I know it  
the kings upon their thrones the princes  
princes of earth the lords [of the] land  
beggar upon the dung hill has felt the  
power of God witness  
to their hearts at times that the Book  
Mormon true Joseph  
a prophet  
the Lord has set about his hand again

### Watt's Longhand Transcript

is called Mormonism, ~~from the beginning~~  
~~to today~~ from <its> the rise of the Church  
to this day.

I say to ~~every person~~ <all,> both saint and  
sinner, that there is not an individual who  
has ~~ever~~ heard the sound  
of this work, and the ~~reports~~ report of that  
Book, (the book of Mormon,)

but ~~what~~ the spirit of the Lord ~~attended~~  
<accompanied> that report ~~to them~~ <in  
power to them.> There is no person,  
no matter ~~who~~, <as to his ~~charractor~~> or  
~~what kind of A carracter, he has been,~~

if he <has heard the truth, and, has not  
been made to> ~~does not~~ <ac>knowlege that  
there is enough of proof to <substantiate>  
the coming forth of the Holy Priesthood,  
which is callculated to save the children of  
men in the Celestial kingdom,  
he must have

passed the ordeal, where the spirits could not  
operate upon his feelings,  
or in other words <have> sin<n>ed against  
the Holy Gohest. Consequently the relei-  
geous, and the irrileigeous, the  
good and the evil, <it makes>  
no matter what class of carracters you  
refer to, every person who has ever heard  
the sound of the Book of Mormon, ~~and~~ of  
Joseph Smith, and of the Latterday work,  
the spirit of the Allmighty has convicted  
that individual of its truth, and I know it.  
The kings upon their throwns, the princes  
of the earth, the Lords of the land, with the  
beggar upon the dung hill ~~has~~ <have all>  
felt the power of God <at times> wittness-  
ing to their hearts, ~~at times~~; that the Book  
of Mormon is true, [And?]<sup>50</sup> Joseph Smith  
A prophet, <and that> the Lord has set to  
his hand <the second time>

### Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript

is called Mormonism,  
from its rise  
to this day.

I<sup>66</sup> say to all, both saint and  
sinner, that there is not an individual who  
has heard the sound  
of this work, and  
the reports of that book (<laying his hand  
on> the Book of Mormon)  
but the Spirit of the Lord  
accompanied that report with power to  
them. There is no person,  
no matter as to its <his> character,

if he has heard the truth, ~~had~~ has not been  
made to acknowledge that  
there is enough of proof to substantiate  
the coming forth of the Holy Priesthood,  
which is calculated to save the children of  
men in the Celestial Kingdom,  
he must have

passed the ordeal where the Spirit could not  
operate upon his feelings,  
or in other words have sinned against  
the Holy Ghost: consequently the  
religious and the irreligious, the  
good and the evil—  
no matter what class of character you  
refer to—every person who has ever heard  
the sound of the Book of Mormon, of  
Joseph Smith, and of the Latter day work,  
the Spirit of the Almighty has convicted  
that individual of its truth, and I know it.  
The Kings upon their thrones, the princes  
of the earth, the lords of the land, with the  
beggars upon the dung hill, have all felt the  
power of God at times, witnessing  
to their hearts that the Book  
of Mormon is true, Joseph Smith  
a prophet, and that the Lord has set to  
his hand the second time

### Journal of Discourses 1:88–94

is called "Mormonism,"  
from its rise  
to this day.

I say to all, both Saint and  
sinner, that there is not an individual who  
has heard the sound of the Gospel of Salva-  
tion, the report of this work of the last days,  
of the coming forth of the Book of Mor-  
mon, and of the mission of Joseph Smith,  
but the Spirit of the Lord in a greater or  
less degree accompanied that report with  
power, and with the testimony of its truth,  
no matter as to the character of the indi-  
vidual, nor yet whether he admits and  
embraces the truth.

If he has heard it

in its simplicity and purity, the weight of  
testimony which it bears along with it, car-  
ries conviction to his mind that it may be  
true, although, through the influence of  
the world, of evil associations in life, or the  
instigations of the enemy of all righteous-  
ness, those convictions and impressions  
may be swept away, which, if exercised at  
the time, in sincerity, with full purpose  
of heart to know the truth, would have  
substantiated the matter to his entire sat-  
isfaction. A weight of testimony always  
accompanies the promulgation of the Gos-  
pel of Salvation.

## Watt's Shorthand

to redeem Israel let the world fight  
no matter

Brother Ames says that Mormonism  
will progress if doesn't God will  
be dethroned when [he/the?] [the day/he  
do?] [things?] will be done

when they have power to blow out  
the sun that it shines no more when  
they have power to bring in conclusion  
the elements of whole planetary system and  
mash up the whole season

they may then stop  
Mormonism perhaps

not before they will have  
to make a foot stool of throne  
of Almighty before check  
Mormonism  
one particle  
they may persecute the people  
publish and report  
lies in order to bring persecution  
upon head of those  
believe doctrine

but it  
stands as firm unconcerned  
as the pillars of  
heavens the doctrine of Mormonism never  
was opposed driven out [what by?]  
they may persecute the prophet and those  
believe in him  
they may drive the saints kill them men  
women and children

but it will stand while the elements  
melt with fervent heat  
heavens wrapped up [as] a scroll  
and while the earth is dissolved

## Watt's Longhand Transcript

to redeem Israel. ~~Then let the world fight, it  
is no matter.~~

Bro. Ames ~~says~~ <has said> that "Mormon-  
ism" will progress." If it does not God will  
be dethroned, for when he undertakes to  
do anything [page] 2 it will be done <in  
spite of every opposing influence>.

When the wicked have power to blow out  
the son sun that it shines no more, when  
they have power to bring to A conclu-  
sion the operations of the elements, ~~and~~  
suspend the whole system of Nature, <and  
make A footstool of the thrown of the  
Allmighty> they may then think to ~~stop~~  
<stay check> Mormonism <in its course>,  
and thwart the <unalterable> purposes of  
heaven. <but> ~~not before. They will have  
to make a foot stool of the thrown of the  
thrown of the Almighty before they check  
Mormonism in its onward course p one  
particle.~~

They may persecute the people <who  
beleive its doctrine,>; report and publish  
lies ~~in order~~ to bring tribulation <and  
disstress> upon their heads ~~of those who  
beleive the docterine,~~  
<earth and hell may unite in one grand  
league against, it, and exert their ~~pow~~  
<malicious> power to the utmost> but it  
will stand as firme, and as unmoved <in  
the midst of it all> as the pillars of ~~heaven~~  
<eternity>.

They may persecute the prophet, and those  
who beleive in, and uphold him;  
they may drive the saints, and kill ~~them~~,  
men women and children;  
but ~~this~~ <that> does not affect <the truths  
of> Mormonism <on iota>;  
for it <they> will stand when the Elements  
melt with fervant heat, ~~and~~ <when> the  
heavens are <w>raped up like A scrowl,  
and the Solid earth <is> dissolved.

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

to redeem

Israel. [page] 2<sup>67</sup>

Bro. Ames has said that "Mormonism will progress". If it does not, God will be dethroned; for when he undertakes to do anything it will be done ~~in spite of~~ <notwithstanding> every opposing influence. When the wicked have power to blow out the sun, that it shines no more—when they have power to bring to a conclusion the operations of the elements, suspend the whole system of nature, and make a footstool of the throne of the Almighty;—they may then think to check mormonism in its course, and thwart the unalterable purposes of heaven.

**Journal of Discourses 1:88–94**

Brother Ames has said that "'Mormonism' will progress." If it does *not*, God will be dethroned, for when He undertakes to do anything, it will be done, notwithstanding every opposing influence. When the wicked have power to blow out the sun, that it shines no more; when they have power to bring to a conclusion the operations of the elements, suspend the whole system of nature, and make a footstool of the throne of the Almighty, *they may then think to check "Mormonism" in its course, and thwart the unalterable purposes of heaven.*

They may persecute the people who believe its doctrines, report and publish lies to bring tribulation upon the their heads:

earth and hell may unite in one grand league against it and exert their malicious power to the utmost; but it will stand as firm and immovable in the midst of it all as the pillars of eternity.

They may persecute the prophet and those who believe and uphold him— they may drive the saints and kill them;

but they do not affect the truths of Mormonism one iota; for they will stand, when the elements melt with fervent heat, ~~an~~ the heavens are wrapt up like a scroll, and the solid earth is dissolved.

Men may persecute the people who believe its doctrines, report and publish lies to bring tribulation upon their heads,

earth and hell may unite in one grand league against it, and exert their malicious powers to the utmost, but it will stand as firm and immovable in the midst of it all as the pillars of eternity.

Men may persecute the Prophet, and those who believe and uphold [end of 88] him, they may drive the Saints and kill them,

but this does not affect the truths of "Mormonism" one iota, for *they* will stand when the elements melt with fervent heat, the heavens are wrapt up like a scroll, and the solid earth is dissolved.



### Watt's Shorthand

it stands upon the everlasting  
basis of omnipotence Jehovah is  
their Mormonism  
their priesthood their power their and all  
that adhere to it in day appointed will come  
up and enjoy it and any will have it

while I was speaking the other day to the  
people I arose and observed that the race is  
not to the swift battle not to strong  
neither riches to men of  
wisdom as I traced around  
I saw Ira Ames  
sitting congregation in this direction  
I know been in church  
great while I known

20 years my eye caught many  
others in this congregation

they know Mormonism true

do not flare up going commit some outra-  
geous crime to  
be come a noted character as many

they are so  
afraid  
not become public enough  
do some outrageous  
act bring name  
before the public as Dutch man wish  
blown up in magazine I [--?] so be talked  
about thousand years so with many  
of Mormonism so afraid not be talked  
[by any?] commit some sin to make them  
noted  
I can pick them out

of this congregation here and there that  
will win at the race  
not very swift but they will win the race

### Watt's Longhand Transcript

It stands upon the ~~ever~~ <eternal> ~~last-~~  
~~ing~~ basis of omnipotence. Jehova is the  
mormonism <of this people,>, ~~he is~~ their  
Preisthood, <and> their power, and all who  
adhere to it, in the day apointed will come  
up into the presence of the King eternal  
and receive A crown of life.

While I ~~was~~ speaking the other day to the  
people, I observed, that the race was  
not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong,  
neither righteousness to men of  
wisdom. ~~It~~ I happened to cast my eyes  
upon Ira Ames,  
~~he~~ <who> was sitting in the Congregation;  
I knew he had been in the Church A  
considerable <length of> time. I have  
~~known~~ <been personally acquainted with>  
him 20 years. My eye <also> caught many  
~~others~~ <more of the first saints> at the  
same time.

These men know that Mormonism is true.  
They have moved steadily forward, and  
have not committed some outrageous  
crime <to make themselves> ~~that they~~  
~~might become~~ A noted carracters, as many  
have, but unseen, as it were,  
they have steadily <mantained their foot-  
ing> ~~kept~~ in the <right> path. There are  
those who are <dreadfully,> afraid ~~that~~  
they will not become public enough, so  
they ~~will do some outrageous~~ <commit  
some wicked> act to bring their names  
before the public; <to be <publicly> talked  
of.>

~~they are~~  
~~so afraid they will not be talked about,~~  
~~they will commit some sin to make them~~  
~~noted.~~

I ~~can point out a~~ <could place my hand  
upon> many of saints [illegible]  
in this Congregation, that  
will win the ~~rasc~~ <race>, though they are  
not very swift

### Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript

Mormonism stands upon the eternal basis of omnipotence: Jehovah is the Mormonism of this people—their priesthood and their power; and all who adhere to it, will in the appointed day come up into the presence of the King Eternal, and receive a crown of life.

While speaking the other day to the people, I observed that “the race was not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong,” neither righteousness <riches> to men of wisdom.

I happened to cast my eyes upon Ira Ames who was sitting in the congregation; I knew he had been in the church a considerable length of time; I have been personally acquainted with him for twenty years. Mine eye also caught many more of the first saints at the same time.

These men know that Mormonism is true: they have moved steadily forward, and have not committed

sought to become noted characters, as many have; but unseen, as it were; they have maintained their footing steadily in the right path.

I could place my hand upon many in the congregation who will win the race, though they are not very swift

### Journal of Discourses 1:88–94

“Mormonism” stands upon the eternal basis of omnipotence. Jehovah is the “Mormonism” of this people, their Priesthood and their power; and all who adhere to it, will, in the appointed day, come up into the presence of the King Eternal, and receive a crown of life.

While speaking the other day to the people, I observed that “the race was not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong,” neither riches to men of wisdom.

I happened to cast my eyes upon Ira Ames, who was sitting in the congregation, I knew he had been in the Church a considerable length of time, I have been personally acquainted with him for twenty years. My eye also caught many more of the first Saints at the same time.

These men know that “Mormonism” is true, they have moved steadily forward, and have not

sought to become noted characters, as many have; but, unseen as it were, they have maintained their footing steadily in the right path.

I could place my hand upon many in this congregation, who will win the race, though they are not very swift,

**Watt's Shorthand**

not very valiant [page break] to outward  
appearance look at them talk with them  
walk in streets come in at meeting attend to  
their own business

they appear not great warriors  
will win the battle in the end possess the  
riches of eternity

what is their character they have  
faith today they are filled with faith  
their voice is not heard  
but full of faith

you find them tomorrow as they were yes-  
terday or to day you go to them

today you find them as  
were yesterday

you go to them

tomorrow they are the same you cross their  
path pick them up a year from now same  
as now and

finally when you have spent your life with  
them you will find they  
are alive alive

like a fine spun thread full of faith  
hope and charity good works

as far as have the ability and their life  
is filled up doing good on earth

hence win the race

conquer in

the battle and possess the  
riches of eternity.

I would like to inquire of congregation if  
they have recollected the text  
that has been presented to the people it is  
the text for the season and

every man gets up here and preaches and  
had he prepared himself

every man and women that gets [and?]  
[hear/here?] and speaks

by [from?] the Spirit of Lord will speak  
from the same text it is impossible  
to ever get out of pales of text if

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

to outward appearance; <or make any great  
pretensions> but ~~you will find them all the~~  
~~time~~ <they are found continually> attend-  
ing to their own business.

They do not appear great warriors [page] 3  
or as if they were likely to win the battle;  
but

what is their true character? They have  
faith to day; they are filled with faith; ~~they~~  
~~are not heard~~ <their words are few,> ~~to say~~  
~~much~~, but they are filled full of integrity.

You find them tomorrow as they were  
yesterday or to day; ~~You go to them~~  
<and> to day, ~~and you will find them~~ <as>  
unchanged as they were yesterday;  
visit them when you will <under any  
<whatever> circumstances>, and you find  
them <unalterably> the same; and

finally when you have spent your life with  
them, you will find that ~~there~~ <their>  
live<fe> throughout has been well spent,  
~~has been~~ full of faith <and> hope And  
charity and good works <as far as they have  
had the ability>,

as far as they have had the ability. ~~there life~~  
~~has been filled in up in doing good on the~~  
~~earth.~~

These are the ones who will win the race;  
~~these are the ones who will conquer~~ in  
<the> Battle, and obtain the peace and  
righteousness of eternity.

I would ~~like to inquire of~~ <if> the con-  
gregation if ~~they have recollected the text~~  
~~that has been presented to the people~~, it  
is the text for the season? and <Let And  
let> every man who preaches it, ~~should~~ act  
according to it himself.

~~Every man and woman~~ <If those> who  
rises here to speak, and ~~speakes~~ <do so>  
by the spirit of the Lord, <they> will speak  
according to the ~~same~~ text, for it is impos-  
sable to ever <to> depart from it <if> they

### Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript

to outward appearance, or make any great pretensions:  
they [page] 3<sup>68</sup> are found continually attending to their own business.  
They do not appear to be great warriors, or as if they were likely to win the battle;  
but  
what is their true character? they have faith to-day—they are filled with faith; their words are few,  
but they are filled full of integrity:  
you <will> find them to-morrow as they were yesterday or to-day;

visit them when you will, or under whatever circumstances, and you find them unalterably the same: and

finally, when you have spent your life with them, you will find that their lives throughout have been well spent, full of faith, hope, charity, and good works,

as far as they have had the ability.

These are the ones who will win the race, conquer in the battle, and obtain the peace and righteousness of eternity.  
I would inquire if the congregation recollect the text for the season?  
Let every man who preaches it, act according to it himself.  
If those who speak do so by the spirit of the Lord, they will speak according to the text; for it is impossible ever to depart from it if they

### Journal of Discourses 1:88–94

to outward appearance, and they make not great pretensions;  
they are found continually attending to their *own business*.  
They do not appear to be great warriors, or as if they were likely to win the battle.  
But  
what is their true character? They have faith today, they are filled with faith, their words are few,  
but they are full of integrity.  
You will find them to-morrow as they were yesterday, or are today.

Visit them when you will, or under whatever circumstances, and you find them unalterably the same; and

finally when you have spent your life with them, you will find that their lives throughout have been well spent, full of faith, hope, charity, and good works,

as far as they have had the ability.

These are the ones who will win the race, conquer in the battle, and obtain the peace and righteousness of eternity.  
I would inquire if the congregation recollect the text for the season.  
Let every man who preaches it act according to it himself.  
If those who speak, do so by the Spirit of the Lord, they will speak according to the text, for it is impossible ever to depart from it if they

**Watt's Shorthand**

remain in truth it is impossible  
 they will always be within the purview of  
 being a son or daughter of  
 Almighty the whole [verse?]<sup>40</sup> and  
 if they live to it to their  
 own preaching their whole lives  
 will point directly at the one  
 object to be sealed  
 up to be wrapped up and to be  
 filled and surrounded to be over whelmed  
 with the power and knowledge of God that  
 will make them one  
 ready to meet the Savior  
 do unto others

and keep the law of Father and  
 Son and all the laws of celestial kingdoms  
 [sic] has been or ever will be revealed

it is not is it not satisfaction  
 brethren to hear men testify that the  
 gospel is true  
 is not a satisfaction to  
 hear men get  
 up and tell their experience it is

it is one of the best sermons  
 ever preached to me

it is the most lively conversation that  
 can be presented to  
 congregation to hear men women  
 relate to each other how the Lord has  
 wrought upon their understandings and  
 brought them unto path of truth  
 life salvation I will say that I had  
 rather hear men get up here and tell their  
 experience and testify Joseph  
 prophet

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

remain in the truth; <and>  
 they will always be within the perveiw of  
 being A son or A daughter of  
 God.<sup>51</sup>  
 and if <If> their <they> live to it, live up  
 to their own preaching their whole lives  
 will point <aim> directly to the one sub-  
 ject, <grand object,> namely, to be sealed  
 <encircled> up, to be wraped up, and to be  
 filled and surrounded  
 with the knowlege of God that  
 will make them one,<sup>52</sup>

prepare them to do unto others as they  
 would that others should do unto them,  
 to keep the whole law of the Father, and the  
 son and all the laws of the Celestial king-  
 doms <which has, or ever will be revealed>,  
 and prepare them <to> to meet the Savior.  
 <at his coming>

Is <It> it <yields> not A <solid> satisfaction  
 Bre<sup>n</sup> to hear men testifie that <of the  
 truth of> the gospel is true? Is it not  
 <It is always particularly> interesting to  
 <me> hear <to hear the saints> men get  
 up and tell their experience.? it is; <An  
 experience>

It is, <to me,> one of the best <of> sermons  
 that ever was preached to me, it <and to  
 hear men and women relate to each other  
 how the Lord has wrought upon their  
 understandings and brought them into the  
 path of truth, life, and salvation,>

is one of the most lively conversations that  
 can be presented <introduced before> to  
 A Congregation, to hear men and women  
 relate to each other how the Lord has  
 wrought upon their understandings, and  
 brought them into the path of life truth, of  
 life, and salvation. I will say that I would  
 rather hear men get up here and tell their  
 experience, and testifie that Joseph was <is>  
 A prophet of the Lord, that the

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

remain in the truth.

If they live to it,  
 their whole lives  
 will aim directly to the one  
 grand object, namely: to be  
 encircled, wrapt up,  
 and surrounded  
 with the Knowledge of God: that  
 will make them one  
 (according to the text)  
 prepare them to do unto others as they  
 would that others should do unto them—  
 to keep the whole law of the Father and the  
 Son, and all the laws of the celestial King-  
 dom which have, or ever will be revealed,  
 and to meet the Saviour  
 at his coming.  
 It yields solid ~~solid~~ satisfaction  
 to hear men testify of the  
 truth of thegospel:  
 it is always peculiarly interesting to me  
 to hear the saints  
 tell their experiences;

it is to me one of the best of sermons,  
 to hear men and women relate to each  
 other how the Lord has wrought upon their  
 understanding, and brought them into the  
 path of truth, life, and salvation.

I would  
 rather hear men tell their  
 experience, and testify that Joseph  
 is a prophet of the Lord, and that the

**Journal of Discourses 1:88-94**

remain in the truth.

If they live to it,  
 their whole lives  
 will aim directly to the one  
 grand object, namely, to be  
 encircled, wrapt up,  
 and surrounded  
 with the knowledge of God; *that*  
*will make them one*  
 (according to the text),  
 prepare them to do unto others as they  
 would that others should do unto them,  
 to keep the whole law of the Father and the  
 Son, and all the laws of the Celestial Kingdom  
 which have been, or ever will be, revealed,  
 and to meet the Saviour  
 at his coming.  
 It yields solid satisfaction  
 to hear men testify of the  
 truth of the Gospel.  
 It is always peculiarly interesting to me  
 to hear the Saints  
 tell their experience.

It is to me one of the best of sermons  
 to  
 hear men and women relate to each other  
 how the Lord has wrought upon their  
 understanding, and brought them into the  
 path of truth, life, and salvation.

I would  
 rather hear men tell their own  
 experience, and testify that Joseph  
 was a Prophet of the Lord, and that the

### Watt's Shorthand

Book of Mormon true this Bible  
true it is the words of Lord and of good  
men included with other matters contained  
in history book  
hear them testify that they know by  
the power of God by the Holy  
Ghost they have conversed with  
angels have had  
the Holy Ghost pour upon them and  
perhaps the administration of angels and  
visions and revelations  
and testify to me and anybody else  
that they know these things and testify by  
the power of Holy Ghost

best preaching ever preached to me ever  
saluted my ears tell you why  
if I had the language of angels  
and the eloquence of angel say nothing  
about [--?] say ~~nothing about~~ if I had the  
eloquence of angel I never could

convince any man women that  
God is true  
by my eloquence that is independent  
of it being clothed by the  
power of Holy Ghost  
it  
is useless to the people  
what convinces it is the  
influence of Almighty enlightening  
the mind give instruction to the  
understanding of the inner man not the  
outer man sensibility that  
every person is endowed with by the power  
of Father that has created ~~that~~

when that  
is enlightened is that came from the  
regions of glory by  
the same influence  
power and spirit that inhabits that part  
swallows up the organization

### Watt's Longhand Transcript

Book of Mormon is ~~true~~, that the Bible  
<and other revelations of God> is are true

and I<sup>53</sup> ~~would rather~~  
~~hear them testify~~, that they know it by  
the <gift and> power of God, ~~by the Holy~~  
~~Ghost, that they have conversed with~~  
angels, have [page] 4 ~~have~~ had the power  
of the holy Ghost upon <them>, ~~and~~  
~~perhapas the administration of Angels,~~  
<giving them> visions and revelations,  
~~testifieng~~  
~~that they know these things by the <that>~~  
~~holy Ghost <power>~~, <than hear any other  
kind of preaching> I say <for> it is the  
best ~~preaching~~ that ever  
saluted my ears. I ~~would tell you why~~. if  
<If> I could command the language,  
and eloquence of the Angels of God  
<I would tell you why>, but if I ~~had~~  
the eloquence of an Angels I never ~~could~~  
<can>

convince any ~~man~~ <person> ~~or woman~~ that  
God is ~~true~~, ~~that he~~ lives, <and makes truth  
the habitation of his thrown> independant  
of its being clothed ~~by the~~ <with>  
power of the holy Ghost, <the absense of  
this> it would be <a mass> <a combina-  
tion> <of> useless sounds. ~~to the people~~.  
What is it that convinces men? it is the  
influence of the Allmighty, enlighten-  
ing their mind, giving instruction to the  
understanding of the inner man, not the  
outer man, touching the sensibility that  
every person is endowed with by the power  
of the Father who has created it <that  
brings conviction to the mind>;  
when that <which inhabits> is ~~enlightened~~  
<this body, that> which came from the  
regions of Gl~~a~~ry <is enlightened> by  
~~the same~~ <its kindered> of influence,  
power, and spirit, ~~is enlightened~~, ~~that part~~  
<it> swallows up the organisation which

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

Book of Mormon, the Bible,  
and other revelations of God are true—

that they know it by  
the gift and power of God—  
that they have conversed with  
Angels, have had the power  
of the Holy Ghost upon them,

giving them visions and revelations—

than hear any other  
kind of preaching  
that ever  
saluted my ears.  
If I could command the language  
and eloquence of the Angels of God  
I would tell you why;  
but the eloquence  
[pages 4 to 7 of the manuscript are not  
extant]

***Journal of Discourses 1:88-94***

Book of Mormon, the Bible,  
and other revelations of God, are true;

that they know it by  
the gift and power of God;  
that they have conversed with  
angels, have had the power  
of the Holy Ghost upon them,

giving them visions and revelations,

than hear any other  
kind of preaching  
that ever  
saluted my ears.  
If I could command the lan-[end of 89]  
guage and eloquence of the angels of God, I  
would tell you why,  
but the eloquence of angels never  
can  
convince any person that  
God lives, and makes truth  
the habitation of his throne, independent  
of that eloquence being clothed with the  
power of the Holy Ghost; in the absence of  
this, it would be a combination  
of useless sounds.  
What is it that convinces man? It is the  
influence of the Almighty, enlighten-  
ing his mind, giving instruction to the  
understanding.

When that which inhabits  
this body, that which came from the  
regions of glory, is enlightened by  
the influence,  
power, and Spirit of the Father of light,  
it swallows up the organization which



**Watt's Shorthand**

pertaining to this world

they lose sight of all things here  
they are  
convinced by the power of eternity they  
lose sight of time  
all the knowledge wisdom strength and all

pertaining to this organization  
independent of that  
that came here  
is obliterated to them and they hear  
and understand by the same power and  
spirit that clothed the Deity and  
angels

nothing besides that can  
convince any man and woman  
the gospel of salvation  
this is the reason why I like to hear  
men testify for

it is  
delightful and instructive  
when

congregation  
is endowed by power of Holy  
Ghost filled with light of  
eternity let the subject be laid before them  
with all the candor with all the calculation  
and all the custom fashions and manners of  
eloquence of the world they can  
understand it divide it  
place it where it should be placed  
dispose of it  
as should be  
they understand the worth and magnifi-  
cence of it and it is  
interesting  
but the [subjects?] not clothed upon

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

pertains to this world;  
†Those who are ~~under~~ <governed by> this  
influence, lose sight of all things pertaining  
to mortality; they are <wholly> **convinced**  
<influenced> by the power of eternity, **they**  
<and> lose sight of time; all the honor,  
wisdom, strength <and whatsoever is  
considered desirable among men>; yea all  
<that> **ing** to this organs<i>sation  
<which is in any way> independant of that  
which came **here** from the Father,  
is obliterated to them; <and> they hear,  
and understand by the same power, and  
spirit, that cloths the diety, and the  
**Angels** <holy beings> that **adore** are in his  
presence.

Anything besides that influence, will fail to  
convince any ~~man or woman~~ <person> of  
the <truth of the> Gospel of salvation.  
This is the reason why-I **like** <love> to hear  
men testefy to the <various> operations  
of ~~this spirit~~ <the holy Ghost> upon them.  
~~in various ways~~, it is <at once interesting>  
**delightful** and instructive. <There is> **No**  
<When A Subject is ~~laid~~ introduced with  
~~aparent~~ all the callculation, method, tact  
and cunning clothed with the effusions of  
worldly eloquence before a> Congregation  
~~that is~~ endowed with the power of the Holy  
Ghost, <and> filled with ~~with~~ the light of  
eternity, ~~when A subject is laid before them,~~  
~~with all the aparent candor, calculation,~~  
~~method, manners, and effusions of the~~  
~~eloquence of the world but~~ <they> can  
understand it, trace its bearings, ~~divide it,~~  
~~and~~ place all its parts where they the  
belong, and disspose of it <according to the  
unalterable laws of truth,> ~~as it should be,~~  
~~they fully understand it, which~~  
<this ~~makes a~~ makes it <all subjects>  
interesting, and instructive to them. But  
the case is quite different with those  
[page] 6 who<se> ~~are not upon~~ <minds

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

***Journal of Discourses 1:88-94***

pertains to this world.  
Those who are governed by this influence lose sight of all things pertaining to mortality, they are wholly influenced by the power of eternity, and lose sight of time. All the honor, wisdom, strength, and whatsoever is considered desirable among men, yea, all that pertains to this organization, which is in any way independent of that which came from the Father of our spirits, is obliterated to them, and they hear and understand by the same power and spirit that clothe the Deity, and the holy beings in His presence.

Anything besides that influence, will fail to convince any person of the truth of the Gospel of salvation. This is the reason why I love to hear men testify to the various operations of the Holy Spirit upon them—it is at once interesting and instructive.

When a subject is treated upon with all the calculation, method, tact, and cunning of men, with the effusions of worldly eloquence, before a congregation endowed with the power of the Holy Ghost, and filled with the light of eternity,

they can understand the subject, trace its bearings, place all its parts where they belong, and dispose of it according to the unalterable laws of truth.

This makes all subjects interesting and instructive to them. But the case is quite different with those whose minds

**Watt's Shorthand**

by [page break] the power  
of God sermonizing and dividing and

superstructure  
laid before  
the congregation  
will  
never do them good with all the elo-  
quence of world  
this you knew before and you know this  
is my feelings  
this my manner of life  
is to know things  
by the power of the Holy Ghost  
if the world and the wisdom there of  
had been combined in one in one individual  
all the talent and tact of human wisdom  
had have been  
combined in one and that individual  
had have come to me with the Book of  
Mormon and said

true and undertaken to  
prove it by his learning eloquence worldly  
wisdom ~~all that~~ would have been  
like the smoke from the fire rising  
vanishes again it is no more  
but when I could see one man  
an individual no eloquence  
no talent for public speaking  
could just get up and say I know by  
power of Holy Ghost and that voice and  
character should speak a vocal prayer filled  
with the power of Holy Ghost and spirit of  
revelation declare that  
book is true Joseph  
is prophet  
and I know it and  
the Holy Ghost breathing  
through that individual illuminates my  
whole system light glory power  
immortality before me wrapped  
in it filled with it

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

are opened, and instructed> by the power  
of God. Sermonising, ~~and~~ dividing <and  
subdividedig<n>g subjects>, and build-  
ing up A fine superstruc~~ter~~, A fanciful and  
aerial building, ~~to lay before~~ <to fascinate>  
A Congregation <coupled with all the  
<choicest> eloquence of the world> will  
~~never do them~~ <not produce> any good  
<to mortals>.

~~This you knew before; you know these are~~  
~~my~~ <The> sentements <of my mind, and  
the>, ~~this is my~~ manner of <my> life (*viz*)  
<is> to ~~know~~ <obtain knowledge> ~~things~~  
by the power of the holy Ghost.

# If ~~all the world~~, or the ~~the wisdom thereof~~  
~~had been combined in one~~,

if all the talent and tact, and wisdom  
<and refinement> of the world had been  
combined in one individual, and that per-  
son had been sent to me with the Book of  
Mormon, and <had> declared in the most  
exalted <of earthly> eloquence ~~that it~~  
<the> truth of it; ~~had undertake~~<i>n<g> to  
prove it by his learning and worldly  
wisdom; it would have been to me  
like the smoke ~~from the fire~~ <which> aris-  
ing only to vanish away.

But when I saw A man,  
~~an individual~~ <without eloquence>, with  
~~no~~ <or> talents for public speaking who  
could only just ~~get up~~, and say "I know by  
the power of the Holy Ghost,  
by  
the spirit of  
revelation that thate that the  
<Book of> B Mormon is true, that Joseph  
Smith is A prophet of the Lord, ~~and I know~~  
it; and

the holy Ghost ~~breathing~~ <proceeding,>  
from that individual iluminates my System  
<understanding and>, Hlight Glory and  
immortality is before me, I am ~~wrapped~~  
<encircled by> in it, ~~I am~~ filled with it, and

Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript

*Journal of Discourses* 1:88-94

are *not* opened and instructed by the power of God. Sermonizing, dividing, and subdividing subjects, and building up a fine superstructure, a fanciful and aerial building, calculated to fascinate the mind, coupled with the choicest eloquence of the world, will produce *no good* to *them*.

The sentiments of my mind, and the manner of my life, are to obtain knowledge by the power of the Holy Ghost. If all the talent, tact, wisdom, and refinement of the world

had been sent to me with the Book of Mormon, and had declared, in the most exalted of earthly eloquence, the truth of it, undertaking to prove it by learning and worldly wisdom, they would have been to me like the smoke which arises only to vanish away. But when I saw a man without eloquence, or talents for public speaking, who could only say, "I know, by the power of the Holy Ghost,

that the Book of Mormon is true, that Joseph Smith is a Prophet of the Lord,"

the Holy Ghost proceeding from that individual illuminated my understanding, and light, glory, and immortality were before me. I was encircled by them, filled with them, and

**Watt's Shorthand**

I [knew/know?] it myself

but the wisdom of the world I say was  
like the smoke like the fog

like the dew

my own judgment my own discretion  
the endowments

Almighty endowed  
me with  
was enough to obliterate like the rising sun  
gone no more  
there sits the man baptized me  
Book of Mormon  
Brother Miller  
and others it filled my  
system with light my soul with joy  
what is the world  
wisdom of the world what is the  
power  
of  
all the sons of  
man upon the earth what is the glory  
of kings of earth of all the  
potentates of all the gaudy  
show ever was [take?] the secret prayer  
in glory and beauty no

Jesus says  
see the lilies of field  
behold the splendor and  
beauty  
show me the man who  
clothed thus can you bring forth the  
individual clothed thus no  
says he look upon the lilies of fields see  
their beauty  
Solomon the greatest and wisest  
a man swayed his scepter

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

I know <for myself> that the testimonie<y>  
of the man is true for myself.

But the wisdom of the world I say is  
like Smoke, like the fogg <of <the> nigts>  
that dissapears before the rays of the  
Hluminary of day, or like the dew upon the  
grass <ore frost in the warmth of the suns  
ray>.

My own judgment,  
<natural endowments, and> my own edu-  
cation, the endowments of my own mind  
<with which the> allmighty has endowed  
me with,

bowed to this humble <but mighty>  
testemoney.

There sits the Man who Baptised me, and  
who first presented the Book of mormon to  
my notice, Bro Miller.<sup>54</sup>

and <tThere were also> others. It filled my  
System with light, <and> my soul with joy.  
# What is tThe world? what is the <with  
all its> wisdom of the world? What is the  
<and> power <with all the glory and  
guilded show of the <its> kings and  
potentates of the world of all the sons of  
men upon the earth? What is all the glory  
of <the> Kings of the world, of all the  
potentates of earth, <and> of all the Gaudy  
show they manifest? <sinks into perfect  
insignificans compared with the simple  
unadorned testemoney of an A  
servant of God.>

Jesus says <said>

"See <consider> the lilies of the feild,"  
etc. behold the splendor, and <simple>  
beauty who with which they are <of their>  
clothed<ing>, and show me the man who  
is clothed [page] 6 like one of these.  
You cannot do it;  
says he look upon the Lilies of the feild, see  
their beauty;

<Even> Soloman, the greatest, and wisist  
of earthly kings, A man who swade his

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

***Journal of Discourses 1:88-94***

I knew for myself that the testimony  
of the man was true.

But the wisdom of the world, I say again, is  
like smoke, like the fog of the night,  
that disappears before the rays of the  
luminary of day, or like the  
hoar-frost in the warmth of the sun's  
rays.

My own judgment,  
natural endowments, and education

bowed to this simple, but mighty  
testimony.

There sits the man who baptized me,

(brother Eleazer Miller.)

It filled my  
system with light, and my soul with joy.  
The world, with  
all its wisdom  
and power, and with all the glory and  
gilded show of its kings or  
potentates,

sinks into perfect  
insignificance, compared with the simple,  
unadorned testimony of the [end of 90]  
servant of God.

Jesus said,

"Consider the lilies of the field,"  
behold the splendid, yet simple  
beauty of their  
clothing;

even Solomon, the greatest, and wisest of  
earthly kings, who swayed his scepter

**Watt's Shorthand**

and nation [had?]<sup>41</sup> gain over  
 nations of earth at his command but  
 Solomon in all his glory not  
 compared with these lilies  
 you snap off  
 with your fingers  
 look at a little while  
 and toss it away

what is [all/but?] that [every/ever/very?]  
 [dt/dd?] who can shine upon the earth  
 that is made to decay

vanish disappear again  
 and is no more  
 like the shadow of  
 Mormon<sup>42</sup>

when the power of Holy Ghost shines upon  
 a man the whole  
 world before brought before  
 them in truth and light  
 just as it is the glory of man  
 compared to  
 the flower of grass cut down  
 withered it is gone but  
 when the Almighty sheds forth his spirit  
 upon an individual upon a congregation  
 when  
 the mind is opened the whole vision of  
 mind opened  
 by the power [of the] Holy Ghost that they  
 can discern between the things  
 pertaining to this organization to those  
 pertains to the organization and to other  
 bodies are brought forth

all things made new  
 the heavens  
 and earth to  
 endure in presence of Almighty

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

scepter, so as to be admired, and feared by  
 <all> the nations of the earth, and yet  
 Solomon <he> in all his glory could not  
 compare with one of these lilies, which  
 you can snap off <sever> from its native  
 stem with the least effort of your fingers,  
 look at it a little while <admire for  
 A moment>, and then toss it away <from  
 you.> <as you would A thing of no value>.

What is<sup>55</sup> aAll that  
 is considered valuable, precious, or glori-  
 ous, or magnificent among men,<sup>?</sup> <cannot  
 even compare in exelence <with that> lili  
 which you tread under your feet in beauty  
 and exelence.> It <all>  
 vanishes, away,  
 and is no more <it <is> fleeting>  
 like <as> the shadow <twilight of the  
 morning>, or the <a and as> baceless fabric  
 of <as> A dream.

When the power of the H. G. shines upon  
 <illuminates> the mind of man, the whole  
 world is brought before <appears to him>  
 them <him> in its true charracter. it appears  
 to them just as it is. The Glory of man  
 is <fitly> compared <in the scriptures> to  
 the flower of the grass, when it is cut down,  
 it <which> withers, and is gone forever; but  
 when the Allmighty sheds forth his spirit  
 upon an individual, or upon A congrega-  
 tion; <people>, when the vision of the their  
 minds is <are is> opened

by the power of the H. G. they  
 can <so as to> disern between the things  
 pertaining to this organisation, and those  
 pertaining to the organisation of other  
 bodies, <which> are brought forth <in  
 other spheres>.<sup>56</sup>

aAll things are made new to them, for all  
 things, the that <are in the> heavens, and  
 <on> the earth  
 endure in the presence of the Allmighty,

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

***Journal of Discourses 1:88-94***

so as to be admired and feared by all nations—  
he, in all his glory could not compare with one of these lilies, which you can sever from its native stem, with the least effort, admire for a moment, and then toss it from you.

All that is considered valuable, precious, glorious, or magnificent among men, cannot even compare with that lily, which you tread under your feet, for beauty and excellence.

The glory of man is fleeting as the twilight, and like the “baseless fabric” of a dream, it vanishes away.

It is fitly compared in the Scriptures to the flower of the grass when it is cut down, which withers and is gone forever, but when the Almighty sheds forth His Spirit upon an individual, or upon a people, the vision of their mind is opened,

so as to discern between the things pertaining to this organization, and those pertaining to organizations which are brought forth in other spheres, all things are made new to them, for all things in the heavens and on the earth are in the power of the Almighty,



**Watt's Shorthand**

then it appears through to  
creatures in  
true light not until then

while Brother Ames was speaking upon  
his experiences previous to believing and  
embracing the faith of gospel  
a few words of conversation  
passing between  
him and Brother George Curtis  
I felt like asking this question  
if they knew what means spoke as he  
did what makes a man  
or woman

speak in candid reflected moment as soon  
as the spirit of Lord touches their  
understanding why did I speak to my  
brother in law as I did  
does the experience of this  
congregation tell them and  
you are the oracle for the spirit  
and the intelligence  
that comes from another  
state of existence those that are not visible  
to the natural eye this is influence  
that produces the effect that does not show  
the cause and makes  
the world believe in miracles

you know  
what I think speak  
about miracles  
no such  
things only  
the to [sic] ignorant  
those spirits  
invisible to natural understanding  
are all the time not  
only in us in [--?] but in elements  
in heavens above earth

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

~~then the two appears in~~ <and are <can only  
be> revealed unto mortals in> ~~these~~ there  
proper light, ~~and not till then~~ <by the  
power of the H Ghost>. #

While Bro Ames was speaking <upon>  
his experience previous to believing and  
embracing the faith of the Gospel, and  
A few words of conversation, ~~and A few  
words of Conversation~~ that passed between  
him, and Bro. George Curtise,  
~~I felt like asking <on> this question,~~  
~~<occasion>~~ <this question, occurred to  
my mind (viz)> "what ~~makes~~ <causes>  
men and women whose minds have been  
unacustomed to reflect, <upon theological  
subjects, to>

speak so intelligently as soon as the  
spirit of the Lord touches their  
understanding"?

~~Does t~~The experience of thes <most of the>  
Congregation <can> answer this ques-  
tion.? You are the orical for <of> the spirit;  
~~and~~ <the repository of the> intelligence  
that comes from ~~above~~ <another> state of  
existence ~~that is~~ invisible  
to the natural eye; <of the> ~~this~~ influence  
that produces an effect ~~that does not show~~  
<without revealing> the Cause, and ~~makes~~  
~~the world believe in miracles.~~ <creates  
produces, aparantly, miracles before in the  
world.>

You ~~know what is~~ <are already acquainted  
with> my faith <veivs upon the docterine  
of miricles> ~~about~~ <upon> miricles. it is  
~~<are>~~ that there are no <In reality there  
can> [page] 7 things <be no miricals> only  
to the ignorant.

These <invisible> spirits<ual> <agents,>  
~~that are invisible~~ to the natural understand-  
ing, are ~~all the time;~~ <continually;> not  
only in us, but ~~they are also~~ in the elements,  
in the heavens, above, and in the earth

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

***Journal of Discourses* 1:88-94**

and can only  
be revealed unto mortals, in their  
proper light, by the  
power of the Holy Ghost.  
While brother Ames was relating  
his experience previous to believing and  
embracing the faith of the Gospel, and  
the few words of conversation  
that passed between  
him and brother George Curtis,

this question occurred to my  
mind—"What causes men  
and women, whose minds have been  
unaccustomed to reflect upon theological  
subjects, to  
speak so intelligently as soon as the  
Spirit of the Lord touches their  
understanding?"

The experience of most of the  
congregation can answer this  
question. You are the oracle of the  
Spirit, the repository of the intelligence  
that comes from another  
state of existence invisible  
to the natural eye; of the influence  
that produces an effect  
without revealing the cause, and

is therefore called a miracle.

You are already acquainted  
with my views upon the doctrine  
of miracles.  
In reality there can  
be no miracle, only to  
the ignorant.  
There are spiritual agents,  
invisible to the natural eye,  
not  
only in us, but in the elements,  
in the heavens above, and in the earth

### Watt's Shorthand

beneath the power that does exist in another state of being are all the time producing effects cannot see the cause

you cannot see the spirit with natural eye feel it with natural hands hear them but by faith seen there

does the experience of this people teach them what is causes men and women speak do that which is wrong they have an idea many of them understanding it tolerably well

Paul could not explain [page break] though he was one of Gamaliel[']s]

servants probably a household [servant] swept his house blacked his boot had an opportunity of knowing a great deal I throw this in by way of remark with all his learning he could not

do any better to his brethren with all his tact and talent

explain it to his brethren when

I would do good evil is present with me<sup>43</sup>

when I would seek the Lord with all my heart behold the item

[in the] way if I do not knock that out of road it over come me I must say get out of way when I go along in my path

he had to

explain it

by saying when I would do good evil present with me did he do it for

the evil is here for

the evil the influence

that came into

world for the express purpose of proving you and I give us

### Watt's Longhand Transcript

beneath; the power that exists in another state of being are <is> all the time <and are continually,> producing affects, the cause of which we cannot see <with the natural eye or feel with the natural sense of touch.> You cannot see the spirit with the natural eye; you cannot feel it with your natural hands.

Does the experience of this Congregation <people,> teach them what it is that causes <why men> men, and women to speak that which is wrong? They have an idea, many of them <but not all> have an understanding of it tolerably well.

Paul could not explain it, though

he was one of the Gamaliels

<household> servants, <and> probably swept his house, or cleaned his sandals;.

but hHe <however> had an opportunity of learning a great deal <much.> I throw this in by way of remark.

With all his learning he could not

<tact and> talent, he could not

<explain it any better than his uneducated>

do any better than his Bre<sup>n</sup> he could not

explain it to them, but says <said> he when

I would do good evil is present with me;

when I <he> would seek the Lord with all

my <his> heart, <he found> something is

in the way, that <which> endeavours to

overcome me <him>; I must say to it get

out of <and block up his path> my way

when I <he> pursued my <the> course

in the path of righteousness. Paul had to

<and> <the only way he could> explain it

<was> by saying "when I would do good evil is present with me". # ¶<sup>57</sup>

The evil is here; <with i<u>s. i<i>t is>

that evil influence <which tempts to <sin>

which> that has come into the

world for the express purpose of proving

you<us>; <and> of giving <of giving> us

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

***Journal of Discourses* 1:88-94**

beneath,

who are continually producing effects, the cause of which we cannot comprehend.

Does the experience of this people teach them what that is, which causes men and women to speak that which is wrong? Many of them, but not all, understand it tolerably well. Paul could not explain it though he was one of Gamaliel's household servants, and probably swept his house, or cleaned his sandals. However, he had an opportunity of learning much, but,

with all his learning and talent, he could not explain this matter any better than his uneducated brethren.

When he would seek the Lord with all his heart, he found something in the way, which endeavored to overcome him, and block up his path, when he pursued the course of righteousness; and the only way he could explain it was by saying "when I would do good, evil is present with me." This evil is with us, it is that influence which tempts to sin, and which has been permitted to come into the world for the express purpose of giving us an

### Watt's Shorthand

opportunity of proving ourselves to  
God and our Elder Brother

to all good men [people?] that ever was  
ever will be  
that we are determined to over come the  
evil for the Lord  
has given ability  
consequently when the evil is present with  
me wait a little while I have got a little  
fighting to do it is present  
with me I have to turn and combat  
it until I get it out of  
my actions and  
let me  
go forward and do  
good I wish to do is  
every person capable of it  
they are or can be bridle  
tongues they are  
or can be capable of ceasing every evil  
act from this time hence forth  
do good [ever?] or can be  
used to be a old maxim and in many cases  
an excellent good one think  
twice before speaking once think 3 times  
before you act if we can train ourselves  
enough to think what we are going  
to do before we doing we

can  
avoid the evil present with  
us we do not do it I have the warfare  
the battle before I proceed  
with the weapons of  
warfare in my possession I commence

the defensive instance  
the attack is made on me and if I  
skillfully use my weapons with firmness  
I overcome

### Watt's Longhand Transcript

an opportunity of proving ourselves; befor  
God <before Jesus Christ> our Elder Bro.  
and <to before> the holy angels, and before  
all <good> men that are, or  
ever will be; <proving>  
that we are determined to overcome the  
evil, <and cleave to the good> for the Lord  
has given us the ability to do so;  
consequently when the evil is present with  
me, I have got A little  
fighting to do; the <it> evil <is> is present  
with me, I have to <must> turn and combat  
it, until I get it <is eradicated from> out of  
my affections, <as well as from my actions,>  
and actions; that I may <have power to do  
all the good> go forward and do all the  
good I wish to do. <perform.> Is  
Every person <is> capable of it <this.>?  
they are. Can t<T>hey <can> bridle  
their tongues, ?they can. Is every person  
capable of <and> ceasing from every evil  
act from this time hence forth and forever;  
[page] 8 and do good instead?. They are.  
There is an old maxim, and in many cases  
A exelent good one, which <it> is "think  
twice, before you speak once, and 3 times  
before you act. If we cannot<sup>58</sup> train our-  
selves enough to think what we are going  
<about> to do before we do it, <and have  
power understanding and power to know,  
and power to perform the good> we can  
<thereby> avoid the evil that is present with  
us. we do not do it. I have the warfare to-  
make, the battle to fight, before I proceed  
<to use> with the <necessary> weapons of  
warfare in my possession I commence  
<When the enemy makes war with me I am  
thrown on the defence> the defences<ive>  
when the attack is made upon me; and if I  
use my weapons skillfully, and with firm-  
ness <of purpose> I overcome my antago-  
nist <must yeild to me the victory>.

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

***Journal of Discourses 1:88-94***

opportunity of proving ourselves before God, before Jesus Christ our elder brother, before the holy angels, and before all good men,

that we are determined to overcome the evil, and cleave to the good, for the Lord has given us the ability to do so. Consequently, when the evil is present with me, I have a little fighting to do, I must turn and combat it until it is eradicated from my affections, as well as from my actions, [end of 91] that I may have power to do all the good I wish to perform. Every person is capable of this, all can bridle their tongues, and cease from every evil act from this time henceforth and forever, and do good instead. There is an old maxim, and in many cases an excellent one, it is, "think twice before you speak, and three times before you act." If we train ourselves to think what we are about to do, before we do it, and have understanding to know, and power to perform the good, we can thereby avoid the evil that is present with us.

When the enemy makes war with me, I am thrown on the defensive, and if I use my weapons skilfully, and with firmness of purpose, my antagonist must yield to me the victory, the Lord being my helper.

**Watt's Shorthand**

another [of the] Apostles says rebuke  
the devil and he flee from  
you<sup>44</sup>

do you have to do that it is  
is it duty it is  
with evil present with us

up and do it when the devil is here  
in hearts tempting us to do this that  
and other that is wrong  
speak away we say now

you can see it exhibited in what  
Brother Ames remembered  
before pausing to think  
Brother George

I do not want to hear one word of  
Mormonism it is was the evil  
spoke in him in organization of men  
they are endowed  
with power and wisdom if  
exercise if  
hush be silenced my tongue  
say to my hands stop cease  
your operations go no further  
feet may swift to shed blood  
I pause I reflect I combat  
the enemy good is  
here and I am influenced  
by the spirit  
[of the] Lord now can this congregation  
understand these things use them  
do you not see and experience

them in your every day lives  
are you not tried tempted  
over taken in it  
do you say  
things wrong do things  
wrong  
now stop and pause and from this time  
hence forth whatever you do

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

Another of the Apostles say says rebuke  
<resist> the devil and he will flee from  
you"; <which is the duty of every saint.>  
~~Do you have to do that? And is it your-~~  
~~duty? it is:~~

When evil is present with us we <must  
overcome it or be overcome by it.> ~~have to-~~  
~~up and do it.~~ When the devil is here <is>  
in our hearts tempting us to do ~~this or that,~~  
~~and the other thing~~ that <which> is wrong  
we must resist him <or be led captive by  
him>.

~~We see it exhibited in what Bro.~~ <When  
Bro.> Amas, <before he had time to> Said-  
before he had time to pause or think,  
<said,> say he Bro. George

"I do not want to hear one word of <about>  
mormonism," It was the evil <in him that  
caused> that spoke in him <This illustrates  
the idea so to speak>. Man is endowed with  
power and wisdom <sufficient,> if he will-  
exercise them <if he will exercise them> to  
hush <into> to silence his tongue, <and  
cause> to say to his hands stop <to> cease  
your <their> operations, My  
His feet may be swift to shed blood, but if  
he has power to pause, reflect <combat>  
and conquer the enemy; for good is pres-  
ent with <him also> and he is influenced  
<to a greater or less degree> by the spirit  
of the Lord. Now can this Congregation-  
understand these things?

Do you not see and <You> experience  
<these two opposites of Good and evil>  
them in yourselves every day of your lives?  
Are yYou <are> not tried, tempted, and  
overtaken in sin<,>? <by saying, and doing  
that which is wrong.> Do you not say-  
things that are wrong? <And> Do things-  
that are wrong?

Now Stop and pause; and from this time  
henceforth <pause and> what-ever you do

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

***Journal of Discourses 1:88-94***

The Scriptures say—"Rebuke the devil, and he will flee from you."  
This is the duty of every Saint.

When evil is present with us, we must overcome it, or be overcome by it.  
When the devil is in our hearts, tempting us to do that which is wrong, we must resist him, or be led captive by him.

When brother Ames, without giving himself time to pause or think, said to the person who presented the Gospel to him—"I do not want to hear one word about 'Mormonism,'" it was the evil in him that caused him so to speak. Man is endowed with power and wisdom sufficient, if he will exercise them, to hush to silence his tongue, and cause his hands to cease their operations. His feet may be swift to shed blood, but he has power to pause, and combat and conquer the enemy; for good is present with him also, and he is influenced in a greater or less degree, by the Spirit of the Lord.

You experience these two opposites of good and evil in yourselves every day you live, you are tried, tempted, and overtaken in sin, by saying and doing that which is wrong.

Now from this time, henceforth, *pause*, and, whatever you do,



**Watt's Shorthand**

let it be with a considered reflected  
consideration  
do not be in hurry

do you recollect this  
is one item in my life

do not hurry me we shall get through  
the world  
do I not frequently say to the  
brethren do not hurry we  
shall not stop no danger we shall not stop  
here you only hunting for the grave  
you will  
find it  
need not hurry now  
think reflect never suffer yourselves to  
speak or act until you have sufficient to  
know you do right then be  
on safe ground this is  
what we have before us all the time

here is the gospel we have embraced we  
are professedly latter-day saints is not evil  
in  
midst my brethren know I have to  
frequently chastise them  
if two thousand here  
and  
half dozen done  
wrong I could not get at them

the whole congregation might  
think I chastising the whole people  
not so

the good men women  
whose consciences clear and  
their hearts pure clean  
as piece of white paper

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

let it be <done> in A spirit of reflection;  
~~let it be considered upon before you act,~~  
~~do not~~ <never again> act in haste, <but  
let your actions always be the result of  
matured ~~without proper~~ consideration.>  
~~Do you recollect that this~~ <“Do not  
hurry me”> ~~is one item in my life,~~ is  
<one of the most promenant> A leading  
characteristic<s> of my history,  
(viz) ~~do not hurry me;~~ We shall get through  
the world.  
~~Do I not frequently~~ <exhort> ~~say to the~~  
Bre<sup>n</sup> ~~do not~~ <to> be in A hurry; <for> ~~we~~  
~~shall not stick,~~ we shall not stop  
here; ~~you~~ we are only hunting for the grave  
<and there is no fear but we shall> ~~you are~~  
~~shure to find it.~~  
~~you need not be in haste~~ [page] 9 now  
~~think, reflect, never suffer yourselves to~~  
~~speak or act until you think suffecient to~~  
~~know that you do right, then you will be~~  
~~upon safe ground. This is~~  
~~what we have before us all the time;~~ <g><sup>59</sup>

We have ambraced the Gospel, we <and>  
are professedly L. D. Saints; but ~~is not~~ evil  
<will> in<troduce> ~~our~~ <the> <itself in the  
> midst <of> my Bre<sup>n</sup> ~~has~~ <then> I have to  
frequently <to> chastise them. There are  
two thousand people ~~here~~ <in this assem-  
bly and if only> ~~and~~ <if only>  
half A dozon of them ~~has~~ <has> done  
wrong, I could not ~~get at~~ <chastise> them  
<evil doers> without apearing to chastise  
the whole congregation, ~~and they may~~  
~~think I am chastising the whole people,~~  
<which in reality> ~~but it is not so.~~  
<By chastising the guilty <however> it is  
impossable to spot the conciense<s> of A>  
The good man <men > ~~or~~ <and> womaen  
~~whose conscience is clear~~ <pure>, and  
~~there~~ <whose> hearts are clean and ~~pure~~  
<spotless> as a peice of white paper. By

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

[page] 8 wrong; I could not chastise them  
without appearing to chastise  
the whole congregation;

which in reality is not so.  
By chastising the guilty however, it is  
impossible to spot the conscience of  
good men and women,

whose hearts are clean and pure  
as a piece of white paper.

***Journal of Discourses 1:88-94***

let it be done in a spirit of reflection,

never again act in haste, but  
let your action always be the result of  
mature consideration.

"Do not  
hurry me," is one  
of the prominent  
characteristics of my history.

I frequently exhort the  
brethren *not to be in a hurry*, for  
we shall not stop  
here, we are only  
hunting for the grave,  
and there is no fear but we shall  
find it.

We have embraced the Gospel, and  
are professedly Latter-day Saints, but evil  
will introduce itself in the  
midst of my brethren, then I have  
frequently to chastise them. There are  
two thousand persons in this assembly,  
and if only  
half a dozen of them have done  
wrong, I could not chastise them  
without appearing to chastise  
the whole congregation,

which in reality is not so.  
By chastising the guilty, however, it is  
impossible to spot the conscience of  
good men and women,

whose hearts are clean and pure  
as a piece of white paper.

### Watt's Shorthand

do I spot up  
 clean consciences  
 you know<sup>45</sup> that experience teaches you  
 that the principle is true  
 and the Lord will help them that  
 help them  
 let people be determined from this  
 time hence forth never do anything  
 but what is good from this time  
 go forth and build up the kingdom  
 of God and do everything  
 to promotethe cause and  
 never do a wrong thing  
 I do not know some talk with angels now  
 how long be before this  
 be a [page break]  
 a holy people but you  
 are we not the best people on earth  
 but you know my doctrine we can  
 improve yet  
 we are made for it  
 organized for it our confidence  
 to expand forth to receive  
 unto our comprehension knowledge  
 wisdom and there the  
 end there of will never be  
 and there is a thought  
 strikes my mind upon this moment  
 perhaps be  
 well enough to throw a few ideas upon  
 the principle of language  
 it has been been [sic]

in the world is now is the brute  
 creatures do actually increase in knowledge  
 and wisdom to

become  
 equal to what mankind are  
 now they must be men but

### Watt's Longhand Transcript

chastiseing this half dozen do I spot up A  
 clean conscience?

<No.> Experience teaches you  
 that the this principles are <is> true;  
 and<#>. t<T>he Lord will help them that  
 help themselves to do right.

Should the people be determined from this  
 time hence forth never to do wrong <any>  
 thing but what is good, and from this time  
 go forth, and <to> build up the kingdom  
 of God, and do<ing> every thing <in their  
 power> to promote the cause of truth, and  
 never do Another wrong,

how long <it> would it be before this <but  
 A short time before this> people would be  
 A holy people? <santified unto the Lord.>  
 We are already the best people on earth,  
 but you know my docterine is we can still  
 improve if

We are made for it <that purpose; >, our  
 capacities are organised  
 to expand forth; <until we can> to receive  
 into our comprehension, k Celestial knowl-  
 edge, and wisdom; and so continue, <worlds  
 without.> for the end there will never be  
 # There is A <nother> thought <which>  
 strikes my mind upon <at> this moment,  
 <upon> which <it> will perhapes be well  
 enough to throw <out> A few Ideas. upon.

It has been  
 believed <by numerous individuals>  
 in the world and is now, that the brute  
 creation do actually increase in knowl-  
 edg and wisdom, and will continue so to  
 <progress from one state of intelligence  
 to another through through numerous  
 spheres of existance> do until they  
 become equal to <as> <intelligent as>  
 mankind are now.

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

***Journal of Discourses 1:88-94***

The Lord will help those who help themselves to do right. Should the people be determined from this time henceforth, never to do anything but good, and go forth to build up the Kingdom of God, doing everything in their power to promote the cause of truth, and never do another wrong,

it should be but a short time before this people would be a holy people, sanctified unto the Lord. We are already the best people on earth; but we can still improve: we are made for that purpose; our capacities are organized to expand until we can receive into our comprehension celestial knowledge and wisdom; and so continue worlds without end. There is another thought which strikes my mind at this moment upon which it will perhaps be well enough to throw out a few ideas.

It has been, and is now believed by numerous individuals that the brute creation <by> increase in Knowledge and wisdom, ~~and will continue to progress from <in> one intelligence to another, through numerous states of creation and until they will become as intelligent as mankind are and~~ <change their physical or bodily existence organisation through

The Lord will help those who help themselves to do right. Should the people be determined from this time henceforth, never to do anything but good, and should go forth to build up the Kingdom of God, doing everything in their power to promote the cause of truth, and never do another wrong,

it would be but a short time before this people would be a holy people, sanctified unto the Lord. We are already the best people on earth, but we can still improve, we are made for that purpose, our capacities are organized to expand until we can receive into our comprehension celestial knowledge and wisdom, and to continue worlds without end. There is another thought which strikes my mind at this moment, upon which it will perhaps be well enough to throw out a few ideas.

It has been, and is now, believed by numerous individuals, that the brute creation, by increase in knowledge and wisdom,

change their physical or bodily organi-[end of 92]zation, through

**Watt's Shorthand**

this is one of the most vague ideas  
in the world

it is belief called transmigration  
I expect you all know what that is

mankind  
made to improve  
all the works of God every particle  
we are acquainted with  
all creation is the  
workmanship of our  
God the Supreme Being up in heaven  
who organized the  
world created man every  
thing to act in its sphere  
order and precisely  
why he has  
ordained it to be  
and yet not one iota

Lord Almighty placed  
upon this earth upon the principle of  
increase I do not know ever learn about  
man kind

well now we are made  
to increase formed and organized for the  
express purpose of increase  
further more if men [page break]<sup>46</sup>  
can understand it receive it mankind  
is organized to receive until  
they shall become what we call  
perfect in the sphere that we appointed  
is far ahead of us at  
present [yes I know?]  
when we use the term of perfection

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

This is one of the most vague ideas <that  
could possibly be> embibed by the world,  
<in the mind of man.>

It is called <the> transmigration of spirits.  
~~I expect you all no the nature~~ <meaning>  
of that term.

<It is enough for me to know that> man-  
kind are made to improve <themselves;>  
~~all the works of God every partical of them~~  
~~that we see and are acquainted with;~~  
all creation that is <is> visible to us, and  
that is invisible is the workmanship of our  
God the supreme [page] 10 <archatect and>  
ruler of <the whole> all; who organised the  
world, <and> created man and every living  
thing that is upon it to act in its sphere, and  
in its order and it is precisely for;  
<for to> this <end> reason he has <he>  
ordained it so to <all things to> be <as they  
are>, and not one iota has <for upon the  
principle of increase has>

the Lord Allmighty <decreed> <placed  
upon this earth only upon the principle of  
increase <decreed to be the great <govern-  
ing> law of existence among the creatures  
that are the works of his hands, and for that  
purpose are we> # Well now we are made-  
to increase, formed. and organised for that  
express purpose. # ¶ <sup>60</sup> <Bull><sup>61</sup>

Furthermore, if men  
can understand; and receive it, mankind  
are organised to receive intellegence until  
they become, what we call,  
perfect in their sphere they are apointed  
to fill, that <which> is far ahead of us at  
present.

When we use the term perfection it  
will apply applies to man in his present  
condition,

### **Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

numerous states of existence, so that the minutest insect, in the lapse of time, can take to itself the human form, & vice versa.>

This is one of the most inconsistent ideas that could be possibly entertained in the mind of man:  
it is called the transmigration of souls.

It is enough for me to know that mankind are made to improve themselves.

All creation, visible and invisible, is the workmanship of our God, the supreme architect and ruler of the whole, who organized the world, and created every living thing upon it to act in its sphere and order:  
to this end has he ordained all things ~~to be as they are~~ <or to increase and> multiply;  
the Lord God Almighty has decreed this principle  
to be the great governing law of existence,  
and for that purpose are we formed.

Furthermore, if men can understand and receive it, mankind are organized to receive intelligence until they become perfect in their sphere they are appointed to fill; which is far ahead of us at present.  
When we use the term perfection, it applies to man in his present condition <as well as to Heavenly beings>;

### **Journal of Discourses 1:88-94**

numerous states of existence, so that the minutest insect, in the lapse of time, can take to itself the human form, and vice versa.

This is one of the most inconsistent ideas that could be possibly entertained in the mind of man;  
it is called the transmigration of souls.

It is enough for me to know that mankind are made to improve themselves.

All creation, visible and invisible, is the workmanship of our God, the supreme Architect and Ruler of the whole, who organized the world, and created every living thing upon it, to act in its sphere and order.  
To this end has He ordained all things to increase and multiply.  
The Lord God Almighty has decreed this principle  
to be the great, governing law of existence,  
and for that purpose are we formed.

Furthermore, if men can understand and receive it, mankind are organized to receive intelligence until they become perfect in the sphere they are appointed to fill, which is far ahead of us at present.  
When we use the term perfection, it applies to man in his present condition, as well as to heavenly beings.

**Watt's Shorthand**

if I am as perfect in  
 my sphere as is God  
 angel I am as perfect as an angel  
 if my child as perfect in sphere as  
 father as mother it is perfect as father or  
 mother  
 we are created for express purpose of  
 increase what have I  
 within me within you  
 but can increase  
 from the scholar from the child from the  
 infant  
 from the birth of infant to the  
 death of aged  
 [provisions?] of increase is here  
 ordained by an the eternal law  
 existence  
 it is the Deity is within me and within you  
 what the [inquirer?] might say  
 do believe have Deity  
 in you yes I so

Supreme in you yes and in every  
 man woman upon  
 earth the foundation [laid?] there elements  
 there every individual that lives on face of  
 earth in all these possess the Godhood that  
 you can not understand but you will

the Deity is there  
 that is the principle that causes  
 men and women to increase grow in  
 grace and truth as it is in themselves

we want the operation to begin and then

we have [at/it?] an  
 end with  
 but if we do not commence with it

never end

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

I am <now> as perfect in  
 my sphere as God, ~~or as an~~<d>  
 Angels is <are> in theirs.  
 My child is as perfect in his sphere, as his  
 father ~~is in his~~ <or his> mother is in ~~hers~~  
 <theirs>. #

We are created for the express purpose of  
 increase: ~~What have I~~ <there is nothing>  
 within ~~me~~ <us>, ~~what have you within~~  
 <and> ~~you~~ but that which can in crease,

from ~~the birth of infancy~~ to old age ~~and to~~  
~~death; and from this the~~  
 <what> increase is <there that is not>  
 ordained to <after> ~~but~~ An eternal law of  
 existance; <for>

it is the Deity within ~~me~~ <us>, ~~and within~~  
~~you~~, that causes increase ~~you see~~.

~~Do you beleive that you have the Deity~~  
~~within you?~~ Yes. I do:

<Does this idea startle you?, are you ready  
 to exclaim, ~~what~~> Yes. I do. What!

the supreme in you? Yes, ~~and~~ he is in every  
~~man and woman~~ <person> upon the face  
 of the earth. The elements  
 that every individual is made of, and lives  
 in, possesses the Godhead; <this> ~~That~~  
 you cannot now understand, but you will  
 hereafter.

The Deity is ~~there~~, <within us, which> ~~and~~  
~~that~~ is the <great> principle that causes  
 men and women to increase, <and > ~~and~~  
 <to> grow in grace and truth. ~~so it is in our~~  
~~day.~~ <at this> ~~When the~~ <It is the necessary  
 the> operation is once begun, <it is strictly  
 necessary obedience to the requirements  
 of heaven is necessary> ~~that we may~~ <to>  
 obtain the end ~~thereof~~, <for which we were  
 created.> but if we never commence ~~with~~  
 it; <the propagation propagate of our spe-  
 cies, and keep the commandments of God>  
 we ~~shall~~ <can> not attain <to> the end in

### Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript

I We am now<,> <or may be> as perfect in my <our> sphere as God and Angels are in theirs; but the greatest intelligence in ~~creation~~ <existence> can continually ascend to greater heights of perfection. We are created for the express purpose of increase: there is ~~nothing~~ ~~within us~~ <are none correctly organized> but ~~that which~~ can increase,

from birth to old age:

what is there that is not ordained after an eternal law of [page] 9 existence?  
it is the deity within us that causes increase.

Does this idea startle you? are you ready to exclaim "What! the Supreme in us?!! Yes; he is in every person upon the face of the earth. The elements that every individual is made of, and lives in, possess the Godhead; this you cannot now understand, but you will hereafter.  
The Deity within us is the great principle that causes us to increase, and to grow in grace and truth.

The operation once begun, strict obedience to the requirements of heaven is necessary to obtain the end for which we were created;

### Journal of Discourses 1:88-94

We are now, or may be, as perfect in *our sphere* as God and Angels are in theirs, but the greatest intelligence in existence can continually ascend to greater heights of perfection. We are created for the express purpose of increase. There are none, correctly organized, but can increase

from birth to old age.

What is there that is not ordained after an eternal law of existence?  
It is the Deity within us that causes increase.

Does this idea startle you? Are you ready to exclaim, "What! the Supreme in us!" Yes. He is in every person upon the face of the earth. The elements that every individual is made of and lives in, possess the Godhead. This you cannot now understand, but you will hereafter.  
The Deity within us is the great principle that causes us to increase, and to grow in grace and truth.

The operation once begun, strict obedience to the requirements of heaven is necessary to obtain the end for which we were created,



**Watt's Shorthand**

what shall I do  
commence operation to [do] the will of  
[page break] [page] 3. God from  
this time hence forth what shall  
child to begin to [perfection/operation?]  
grows up and

communicate with him he says  
Father from this time hence forth and  
ever more I will do thy will and so it  
runs from first  
to last beginning end from  
Father Adam  
to the last one of his  
posterity upon the face of earth who  
will be sanctified made pure and holy and  
enter in Celestial Kingdom that [--?]<sup>47</sup>  
makes [ones/ns?] that will make every per-  
son do to others as they  
will do to them that will  
make them pure and holy in their  
sphere as God is in his I commence with  
it go through the veil with it into  
eternity with it continue  
and the end there of no man on earth  
knoweth nor the angels in heaven they  
can not know now what  
short of power of Holy Ghost do  
us any good nothing short of it no nothing  
short of it  
I told you in beginning of my remarks  
the truth just as it is in heaven on earth  
precisely as it is with angels  
with prophets that lives on the earth  
with all good people and  
every sinner dwells upon  
the face of earth not a man or  
woman but  
on the report of that  
Book of Mormon the Spirit  
of Almighty convinces  
it is true

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

view. ~~What shall I do?~~ <Therefore let us>  
Commence ~~the operation~~ to do the will of  
God <in earnest> from  
this time hence forth. ~~What does <shall>~~  
~~A child do to begin to operate?~~  
<Let the Child> when he ~~grows up~~ <comes  
to understanding>  
and the father ~~begins to operate with~~  
<communicates his will to> him ~~he says,~~  
"Father from this time hence forth and  
for ever more I will do thy will," and so it  
<has been from> [illegible] from first <and  
will continue so> to last, beginning from  
<beginning with> Father Adam,  
<and will continue> to the last one of his  
posterity upon ~~the face of the earth~~ who  
will <be> santified And enter into the  
Celestial [page] 11 kingdom; <and>  
this will ~~make~~ <cause> every person ~~do to~~  
<do unto> others as they would that others  
should do <un>to them, it ~~will will~~ <and>  
make them <as> pure and holy in their  
sphere as God is in his; I commence with  
it <and> go through the vail ~~with~~ <it> into  
eternity <with it>, and <still> continue ~~still,~~  
and <the end thereof> no man on earth  
knoweth, nor the Angels in heaven, ~~they~~  
~~cannot know it.~~ # Now ~~what is there~~  
<Nothing> short of the Holy Ghost will do  
us any <lasting> good.<sup>?</sup> ~~There is nothing~~  
~~short short of it will.~~  
I told you, in the beginning of my remarks,  
the truth ~~just~~ as it is in heaven and on earth,  
~~precisely as it is~~ <as it is> with Angels, and  
with <with> prophets ~~who live on the earth,~~  
~~and as it is~~ with all good people, and  
<with> every sinner that ~~live~~ dwells upon  
the earth<.> t<T>here is not A man or A  
woman ~~but~~ <who>  
on hearing the report of ~~that book,~~ the  
Book of Mormon <but> the spirit  
of the Allmighty ~~convinced~~ <has testified  
to them> of its truth; neither have they

## Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript

therefore let us  
commence to do the will of  
God in earnest from  
this time henceforth.

Let the child, when he comes  
to understanding,  
and the father  
communicates his will to him, say,  
"Father, from this time, henceforth, and  
for ever, I will do they will"; so it  
has been,

beginning with Father Adam  
and so it will continue to be the duty of his  
posterity who  
will be sanctified, and enter into the  
celestial Kingdom:  
this will cause every person to  
do unto others as they would that others  
should do unto them, and will  
make them as pure and holy in their  
sphere as God is in his. I commence with  
it, go through the veil into  
eternity with it, and still continue;  
and the end thereof no man on earth  
knoweth, nor the Angels in heaven.

Nothing short of the Holy Ghost will do  
us any lasting good.

I told you, in the beginning of my remarks,  
the truth as it is in heaven and on earth;  
as it is with Angels,  
with prophets,  
with all good people, and  
with every sinner that dwells upon  
the earth; there is not a man, or  
woman <that love the truth> who,  
on hearing the report of the  
Book of Mormon, but the Spirit  
of the Almighty has testified to  
them of its truth: neither have they heard

## Journal of Discourses 1:88-94

therefore let us  
commence to do the will of  
God in earnest from  
this time henceforth.

Let the child, when he comes  
to understanding,  
and the father  
communicates his will to him, say,  
*"Father, from this time, henceforth and  
for ever, I will do thy will."* So it  
has been,

beginning with Father Adam,  
and so it will continue to be the duty of his  
posterity who  
will be sanctified, and enter into the  
celestial kingdom.  
This will cause every person to  
do unto others as they would that others  
should do unto them, and will  
make them as pure and holy in their  
sphere as God is in His. Commence with  
it, go through the vail into  
eternity with it, and still continue,  
and the end thereof no man on earth  
knoweth, nor the angels in heaven.

Nothing short of the Holy Ghost will do  
us any lasting good.

I told you, in the beginning of my remarks,  
the truth as it is in heaven, and on earth;  
as it is with angels,  
with Prophets,  
with all good people, and  
with every sinner that dwells upon  
the earth. There is not a man or  
woman that loves the truth, who has heard  
the report of the  
Book of Mormon, but the Spirit  
of the Almighty has testified to him or her  
of its truth; neither has any man heard the

**Watt's Shorthand**

name of Joseph Smith  
 spirit tell [page break] [page] 4  
 he is true prophet Mormonism

the Spirit of Almighty whispers to  
 them at times gospel of  
 salvation

it is the spirit invisible to natural  
 mind understanding  
 produces effects without causes  
 mysteries marvels  
 wonders or those things  
 we behold we cannot  
 account for them or the nature of them

we can't tell what in this in mouth of  
 every community  
 and all people  
 it is you can not say you  
 may go among saints sinners high  
 or low beggars  
 no different  
 here is what operates upon  
 the people God has brought them  
 forth

to operate upon  
 to the lay the foundation  
 one of a kingdom  
 two of a family and as Brother Ames says  
 one  
 of country comes out and says Book of Mor-  
 mon divine origin Joseph true while thou-  
 sands or millions crying against it priest  
 will recollect the story Sister Ames sitting  
 opposite the door the honest shall never  
 see the devil in him before doing anything  
 to bring it out of him before he never knew  
 anything about the truth the Lord sees  
 Brother Ames embraced truth  
 the devil steps in  
 it is falsehood

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

heard the name of Joseph Smith but the  
 spirit has convinced <whispered to> them  
 "he was <is> A true prophet". They have not  
 heard of these things without  
 the spirit of the Almighty whispering to  
 them at times the truth of the gospel of  
 salvation.

It is the spirit which is invisible to the natu-  
 ral mind, and understanding of man, that  
 produces effects apparently without causes,  
 that <and> creates mysteries, marvels, and  
 wonders <in the earth.> here: These things  
 we behold, but we cannot, <with the natu-  
 ral mind,> account for them, and <nor>  
 the end of <divine> they their <ultimate  
 end.>

we can not tell. This is in the mouth of  
 every Community, <these wonders are  
 talked of by,> and of all people, by but  
 <it is> what it is you cannot say; <see> you  
 may go among saints and sinners, high  
 and low, Kings and beggars it is no matter  
 <their, condition in life makes no> differ-  
 ence, <but> the same power operates upon  
 the hearts of all. people; God has brought  
 forth the <raised up A> prophet, and  
 <brought forth the> book of mormon, and  
 <influenced the people> operated upon the  
 people to lay the foundation  
 of his kingdom, taking one of  
 A nation and two of A family. <their is in  
 the mouth of [every?] Community>

When A person is worked upon <by the  
 spirit> to believe in the truth of the Gospel  
 the Devil steps in saying <tells them>  
 it is A falsehood; and

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

the name of Joseph Smith, but the  
spirit has whispered to them,  
“he is a true prophet.”

***Journal of Discourses 1:88–94***

name of Joseph Smith, but the  
Spirit has whispered to him—  
“He is a true Prophet.”

God has  
raised up a prophet,  
brought forth the Book of Mormon,  
influenced the people  
to lay the foundation  
of his Kingdom, taking ~~one~~ <two> of  
a nation, and one of a family.

God has  
raised up a Prophet,  
brought forth the Book of Mormon,  
influenced the people  
to lay the foundation  
of his kingdom, taking two of  
a nation, and one of a family.

When a person is worked upon by the  
spirit to believe the truth of the gospel,  
the Devil tells them  
it is a falsehood;

When a person is worked upon by the  
Spirit to believe the truth of the Gospel,  
the Devil tells him  
it is a falsehood.

**Watt's Shorthand**

my good name

I am  
not going to part with Mormonism any  
[for/if?] if he Brother Ames  
deluded I would have robbed that fellow's  
horse and at the same time convicted Mor-  
monism true  
that is what [ruins?] with the world  
because when the Lord tells them that the  
gospel is true the devil says not true [an/  
and?] independent [page break]  
[page] 5 [reign?] independent God and  
have proved themselves worthy  
of it few take  
right path but few do  
near all the world are left to themselves  
take their own road  
they will not believe when it is told  
[them/they?] will not  
see when it is before their  
eyes closed their eyes harden their  
hearts and left to believe a lie that  
be dammed and I [expect/respect/--?]  
Mormonism [down/done?] at Missouri  
I can

give you history further back to the time  
Brother Ames did he it commenced in 1830

Mormonism must be put down if it was  
false do you suppose say a word about it no  
all creation that would never get into evil  
all the way falsehood expands is to take the  
truth and make a lie the whole of creation  
are left to choose now this the end of Mor-  
monism I see it popping up there let's put  
our hands upon put it down Mormonism  
big as ever  
kill the prophet kill the prophet [sic]  
kill the body of man  
that is all

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

a<A>gain <the loss of> "My good name",  
if the person <exercises A powerful influ-  
ence against A person's embracing the  
truth, for> <for if he -> is determined  
not to part with Mormonism then it is  
taken for granted by his freinds who do  
not beleive as he does that he is deluded;  
<therefore>

~~That is what ruins the~~ [page] 12 <World>-  
~~because when the Lord tells them that the~~  
~~gospel is true the devil says it is not, and~~

independent of God <this  
but> A few only prove themselves worthy  
of it <the truth by> A few take<ing> the  
right path, and but A few do.  
Nearly all the world are left to themselves-  
to take <persue> their own road <path>;  
they will not beleive ~~when~~ the truth is told  
<when it is declared to> them, ~~they will not~~  
<nor> see <the light> when it is before their  
eyes, but they close their eyes,  
harden their hearts, and would rather  
belev a lie that they may be damned. #

I can <am <individually>  
conversant> go further back with the  
history <of this church further back> than  
Bro. Ames, ~~did~~ and he commenced in 1830.  
a At that time it was said  
"Mormonisan Must be put down"

but it is no larger <than> as ever.  
t<T>hey have killed the prophet, but they  
can only kill the body of man,  
~~that is all~~; <and hath no more that then

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

and again, "the loss of my good name,"  
exercises a powerful influence  
against a person's embracing the  
truth; for if he determines  
to adhere to Mormonism,  
his unbelieving friends take it for granted  
that he is deluded:  
therefore

**Journal of Discourses 1:88-94**

And again, "*the loss of my good name*"  
exercises a powerful influence  
against a person's embracing the  
truth, for if [end of 93] he determines  
to adhere to "Mormonism," his unbelieving  
friends take it for granted that he  
is deluded. Therefore

<but> a few prove themselves worthy  
of the truth by taking the  
right path.  
Nearly all the world  
pursues their own path;  
they will not believe the truth  
when it is declared to them,  
nor see the light when it is before their  
eyes. [page] 10 but they close their eyes,  
harden their hearts, and would rather  
believe a lie that they may be damned.

I am ~~individually~~ <experimentally>  
conversant with the  
history of this church further back than  
Bro. Ames is, and he commenced in 1830.  
At that time it was said,  
"Mormonism must be put down";

but a few prove themselves worthy  
of the truth by taking the  
right path.  
Nearly all the world  
pursue their own path,  
they will not believe the truth  
when it is declared to them,  
nor see the light when it is before their  
eyes, but they close their eyes,  
harden their hearts, and would rather  
believe a lie that they may be damned.

I am experimentally  
conversant with the  
history of this Church further back than  
brother Ames is, and he commenced in 1830.  
At that time it was said,  
*"Mormonism must be put down,"*

but it <is> now larger than ever.

They can only kill the body,

but IT IS NOW LARGER THAN EVER!

They can only kill the body, and

**Watt's Shorthand**

Mormonism nothing  
to do with that  
that is  
the oracle through which God  
spoke Mormonism  
the same do you suppose of course

by fighting against falsehood not a word  
about it

let it be nothing to fight.  
They feel just as I do when I am  
requested to make out a report contradict-  
ing his report of officers ran away [page  
break] [page] 6 I make  
out a report against their report I could  
not get anything to do it with but  
beating against the air  
not a spot of truth to begin  
on it would be just like that if this gos-  
pel was not true and Joseph true and  
sent by the power of God and that power  
sent forth upon the face of earth to  
convict every man and woman it is true  
never contend against us  
again in world  
perhaps I have said enough to the brethren  
for this time I would be very  
much pleased if we could prevail  
on our selves and all the inhabitants of  
valleys and  
whole earth to cease  
to do evil and learn to do well that is all  
I would want all ask for it  
is all I desire all I want to live for is to  
see the inhabitants of earth honor  
God bow down to him  
honor his supremacy his righteous  
covenant and every knee bow and  
every tongue confess let all creation  
say amen to the providences of  
God every individual

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

can do; and> mormonism ~~has nothing~~  
~~to do with that~~ <is not altered by that in  
the least.> t<T>he prophet <Joseph> was  
<the oracle> his ~~organ~~ through which God  
spoke, <they slew his body but> Mormon-  
ism is still the same. Had mormonism been  
A faulshood instead of all creation <of the  
devil and the world> fighting against it,  
they would <have sustained and built it up>  
~~not have seen anything to fight they would~~  
~~have~~

let it be

They<sup>62</sup> would feel just as I do when I am  
requested to make out A report contradict-  
ing the report of the officers who ran away  
from here last fall. I commenced to make  
out my report but I could not get  
any material to do it with. I consequently  
headed it "beating against the air."  
There was not A spot of truth to beginn  
with. I would be just like that if this gospel  
was not, if Joseph was not true And  
sent by the power of God, and that power  
went forth upon the face of the earth to  
convict every man and woman of its truth-  
they would never contend against us  
again<sup>63</sup> in the world. #

Perhapes I have said enough to the Bre<sup>n</sup>  
at this time. I<t> would <give me> be very  
much pleased< ure> if we could prevail  
on ourselves, and on all the inhabitants of  
these vallies, and <on the inhabitants> of  
the whole earth, <and on ourselves> to cease  
to do evil, and learn to do well; that is <all>  
I would want < I could wish> or ask for. it  
is a<A>ll I disire to live for is to  
see the inhabitants of the earth acknowl-  
ege God, bow down to him and confess  
his supremacy, and his righteous  
covenant. To him let every knee bow, and  
every tongue confess, and let all creation  
say Amen to the <his wise> providences. of  
God [page] 13 Let every <all> individual

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

and Mormonism  
is not altered by that in  
the least. The prophet Joseph was  
the oracle through which God  
spoke; they slew his body, but Mormonism  
is still the same. Had Mormonism  
been a falsehood, the Devil and the world,  
instead of fighting  
against it, would have sustained and  
built it up.

***Journal of Discourses 1:88-94***

"Mormonism"  
is not altered by that in  
the least. The Prophet Joseph was  
the oracle through which God  
spoke; they slew his body, but "Mormon-  
ism" is still the same. Had "Mormonism"  
been a falsehood, the Devil and the world,  
instead of fighting  
against it, would have sustained and  
built it up.

Perhaps I have said enough to the brethren  
at this time. It would give me  
much pleasure if we could preach  
on all the inhabitants of  
these valleys, or <on> the inhabitants of  
the whole earth, and on ourselves, to  
cease to do evil, and learn to do well; that is  
all I could wish or ask for:  
all I desire to live for is to  
see the inhabitants of the earth acknowl-  
edge God, bow down to him, and confess  
his supremacy and his righteous  
covenant. To him let every knee bow, and  
every tongue confess; and let all creation  
say Amen to his wise providences.  
Let all

Perhaps I have said enough to the brethren  
at this time. It would give me much  
pleasure if we could prevail  
on all the inhabitants of these  
valleys, on the inhabitants of  
the whole earth, and on ourselves, to  
cease to do evil, and learn to do well; that is  
all I could wish or ask for.  
All I desire to live for is to  
see the inhabitants of the earth acknowl-  
edge God, bow down to Him, and confess  
His supremacy, and His righteous  
covenant. To Him let every knee bow, and  
every tongue confess, and let all creation  
say Amen to His wise providences.  
Let every



**Watt's Shorthand**

declare  
 and then live to it  
 as for me and my house  
 as for me and all I have is the Lord's  
 and shall serve the Lord  
 all my days if this can be  
 Zion is here happiness is here peace is here  
 God is here angels are here  
 and we are wrapped in the  
 visions of eternity that is all I desire  
 I am not the Lord I can do  
 nothing more than to speak as  
 others of his servants I can do  
 myself and brethren and sisters can  
 follow suit and we can unitedly keep his  
 commandments and do his will  
 if I want happy heart follow his will

as I [page break] I can  
 when I see a man  
 look up to stand high to be looked at then I  
 feel bad see an elder in Israel  
 doing something to tarnish his  
 character and tarnish others that  
 makes [my heart bleeds?]

when I can see all people filled  
 with the knowledge of God all is  
 peace and all is happiness  
 may the Lord help us to live to our  
 religion from this time hence forth and  
 forever amen.

[In longhand on verso of page 7: Bishop  
 roundy wishes the  
 Inhabitants of the 16 Ward  
 to meet at the School  
 house at 6 oclock [shorthand: this]  
 this evening.]

**Watt's Longhand Transcript**

<persons> declare <his ~~their~~> alegence to  
 God, and then, live to it, saying,  
 "as for me and my house I <we> will serve  
 the Lord". As for me and all I have it is the  
 Lords, and I shall ~~serve the Lord~~ <be dedi-  
 cated to him> all my days. If this Can be  
 done ~~and~~ happiness is here, peace is here,  
 God is ~~here~~, angels are here <and God is  
 here> and we are ~~wrapp~~ wrap<d>t in the  
 visions of eternity. ~~That is all I disier.~~  
 But I am not the Lord, I <and> can do  
 nothing more than to spea[k] <like> as  
 others of his servants. I can do good myself,  
 and my Bro. and Sisters can  
 follow suit; ~~and~~ we can unitedly keep his  
 commandments, and do his will; <and>  
 this is all I ~~want~~ disire to make me happy  
 here, ~~and~~ <to> ~~make me~~ <and> feel as well  
 as my I can in my mortal body.  
 When I see An Elder in Isreal who is  
 looked up to who stands high in  
 the kingdom of God  
 doing something to tarnish his <own>  
 character, and ~~tarnish~~ that of others, it  
 makes me feel ~~bad~~ <very unhappy>;

but when I can see all people filled  
 with the knowledge of God, <then> all is  
 peace; all is happiness <with me>.  
 May the Lord help us to live <up> to our  
 releigeon from this time hence forth and  
 forever. Amen.

[On side of page, in shorthand:  
 Sermon by President Young delivered  
 June 13<sup>th</sup> 1852  
 copied and sent to England.]

**Grimshaw's Longhand Transcript**

persons declare his allegiance to God, and then live to it, saying, "as for me and my house we will serve the Lord." As for me and all I have it is the Lord's, and shall be dedicated to him all my days. If this can be done, happiness is here, Angels are here, God is here, and we are wrapt in the visions of eternity.

But I am not the Lord, and can do nothing more than ~~to speak, like~~ others of his servants. I can do good myself, and my brethren and Sisters can follow suit; we can unitedly keep his commandments, and do his will; this is all I desire to make me happy here, and feel as well as I can in my mortal body. When I see an Elder in Israel who is looked up to—who stands high in the Kingdom of God, doing something to tarnish his own character, and that of others, it ~~makes me feel very unhappy~~; <grieves my spirit.> but when I can see all <that> people filled with the knowledge of God, then all is peace—all is happiness with me. May the Lord help us to live up to our religion from this time henceforth, and for ever. Amen.

**Journal of Discourses 1:88–94**

person declare his allegiance to God, and then live to it, saying—"As for me and my house we will serve the Lord. *As for me, and all I have, it is the Lord's, and shall be dedicated to Him all my days.*" If this can be done, happiness is here, angels are here, God is here, and we are wrapped in the visions of eternity.

But I am not the Lord, and can do nothing more than others of His servants. I can do good myself, and my brethren and sisters can do the same; we can unitedly keep His commandments, and do His will. This is all I desire, to make me happy here, and feel as well as I can in my mortal body. When I see an Elder in Israel who is looked up to, who stands high in the Kingdom of God, doing something to tarnish his own character, and that of others, it grieves my spirit; but when I can see all the people filled with the knowledge of God, then all is peace, all is happiness with me. May the Lord help us to live our religion, from this time henceforth and for ever. Amen.  
[end of 94]

38. Brigham Young, speech, June 13, 1852, Papers of George D. Watt, Church History Library, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as CHL), transcribed from Watt's shorthand by LaJean Purcell Carruth.

39. Watt's shorthand is not extant for the previous speaker; *Journal of Discourses* 1:88 identifies the speaker as Ira Ames.

40. Word could also be read *conversion* or *conversation*.

41. Ink blot over shorthand.

42. Probable intent is *morning*.

43. See Romans 7:21.

44. See James 4:7.

45. While *know* and *no* are spelled the same in Pitman shorthand, here the phrase is *you know*, clearly know. While transcribing, Watt omitted the *you* and changed *know* to *no*.

46. At top of page in longhand: alley m fff; arithmetic computations.

47. Word may be crossed out.

48. Historian's Office Reports of Speeches, 1845–1885, CHL. The authors thank Silvia Ghosh and Brent L. Carruth for their assistance with the longhand transcripts.

49. *Of 20 years* has been mostly scraped off the page.

50. *[And?]* has been mostly scraped off the page.

51. Period written over comma.

52. Line drawn across page in pencil; line marks place where Watt's transcript differs from his shorthand.

53. *I* written over *and*, or vice versa.

54. Period written over crossed-out insertion mark.

55. Rest of phrase is very difficult to read. Watt apparently transcribed *what is*, then realized he could not read the rest of the phrase, so crossed it out and omitted the rest, as he omitted other passages that he could not read.

56. Period written over crossed out comma.

57. ¶ written over #, or vice versa; ¶ is in pencil.

58. Watt apparently crossed out *cannot*, then wiped out the line through *can*, and thoroughly crossed out *not*.

59. ¶ is in pencil and is very large.

60. Large ¶ written in pencil over #.

61. *Bull* is written in pencil; it does not appear to be in Watt's hand.

62. *They would feel . . . again in the world* is crossed out with a large X.

63. End of material crossed out with a large X.

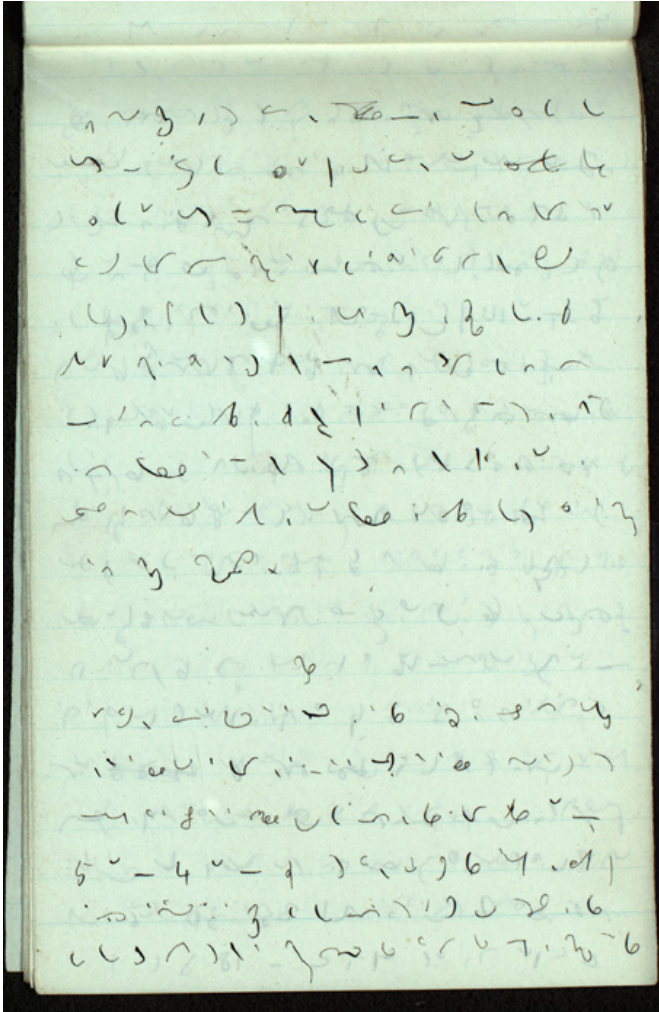
64. Written by Jonathan Grimshaw, who was an employee at the Church Historian's Office until 1856. Historian's Office Reports of Speeches, 1845–1885, CHL. Only part of this transcript is extant. A sermon by John Taylor is recorded on the verso of each page.

65. Page crossed out with pencil loops.

66. Pencil brackets in left margin enclose text from this point to the end of underlined section, below. There is a note in pencil in the left margin of this section, in an unidentified hand: *to be re written*, followed by a large ink X.

67. Large ink X over text in page. Page also has large pencil wiggly line from top of page to bottom.

68. Large ink X over text in page. Page also has large pencil wiggly line from top of page to bottom.



First page of George D. Watt's shorthand notes of Brigham Young's speech on October 6, 1853. A transcript of this page begins on page 96. Papers of George D. Watt, Church History Library, Salt Lake City; © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

## Speech by Brigham Young, October 6, 1853, in three parallel columns

### George D. Watt's Shorthand<sup>69</sup>

President

I wish to call the attention  
of the congregation and of  
this conference  
and extend my invitation

to all the saints in the valley

to the subject of the gather-  
ing of the  
saints  
many of us are acquainted  
with the  
circumstances of the  
Latter-day Saints when they  
came to this valley  
6 years ago  
5 years ago  
4 years ago etc.

were we to hunt  
through this community  
and search out the  
men the women and  
the children that have  
come here on their own  
resources and those  
that have been  
helped here by the Perpet-  
ual Emigration  
Fund

### Watt's Longhand transcript<sup>79</sup>

~~Oct<sup>r</sup> Conference, Thursday,  
Oct<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>, 1853, 3 P.M.  
President Brigham Young  
<said.> gave the follow-  
ing instructions to the  
Assembly.~~

I wish to call the attention  
of this conference

to an invitation I shall give  
them, and wish to extend  
it to the saints in this valley,  
~~or~~ <and> elsewhere.

It ~~refers~~ <allude>  
to the ~~subject of the~~ gather-  
ing of the poor <among-  
the> Saints.

Many of us are  
a<c>quainted with the  
~~se~~<ci>rcumstances of the  
saints when they  
came to this valley  
6 <six> years ago, also  
5 <five> years ago; and  
4 <four> years ago. ~~until~~  
~~now~~

Where we to ~~hunt~~ <send  
go> through this commu-  
nity and search out the men,  
women, and  
children ~~that~~ <who> have  
come here on their own  
resources, and those  
~~that~~ <who> have been  
helped here by the Perpet-  
ual ~~Emigration~~ <Emigrat-  
ing> Fund, <and by private  
individuals,>

### *Journal of Discourses* 1:322–27

A discourse delivered by  
president Brigham Young,  
in the tabernacle, at the  
general conference, Octo-  
ber 6, 1853

I wish to call the attention  
of this Conference

to an invitation I shall give  
them, and wish to extend it  
to the Saints in this valley  
and elsewhere.

I allude  
to the gathering  
of the poor  
Saints.

Many of us are acquainted  
with the  
circumstances of the  
Saints when they  
came to this valley six years  
ago, also  
five and  
four years ago.

Were we to go  
through this community  
and search out the  
men, women, and  
children who have  
come here on their own  
resources, and those  
who have been helped  
here by the Perpetual  
Emigrating  
Fund, and by private  
individuals,

## Watt's Shorthand

we will find quite  
a proportion of this [page  
break] community [have]  
been helped here

not the majority

but there are thousands and  
there are a number of

thousands of men women  
and children been  
helped here by the Perpet-  
ual Emigration  
[fund] and this is  
the subject that I wish  
to call the attention of this  
conference and  
community  
to reflect upon to hearken  
to it think of it contem-  
plate it and  
I call upon those who have  
not yet put forth their  
hands to assist in gathering  
the poor now give us your  
names and your  
means during this  
conference let's  
raise a few thousand dollars

suppose we should try  
to raise as much as we did  
4 years ago

right in our poverty  
in our distress  
just arrived here and  
hardly had sufficient grain  
to sustain life

## Watt's Longhand Transcript

it would be seen that quite  
A large proportion of the  
community had<ve>  
been brought here through  
the assistance of others.  
I will not say A majority  
of the community has come  
here under those circum-  
stances, but there are thou-  
sands who have.

Thousands of men, women,  
and children have been  
helped here by the Perpet-  
ual Emigration <Emigrat-  
ing> Fund alone. This is  
the subject to which I wish  
to call the attention of the  
Conference, and <the>  
community at large. I wish  
all to hearken to it, <to>  
reflect upon it, and contem-  
plate it seriously.  
I call upon those who have  
not yet put forth their  
hands to assist in gathering  
the poor, to give us ~~your~~  
<their> names, and ~~your~~  
<their> means, during this  
Conference, that we may  
raise A few thousand dollars  
to be applied to this purpose.  
Sup<p>ose we should try  
to raise as much as we did  
4 <four> years ago, when  
we was <were> in the  
midst of our greatest pov-  
erty, and disstress; we had  
just arrived here, and had  
scars<c>ely sufficient to  
sustain life.  
~~Notwithstanding~~ these

## Journal of Discourses 1:322-27

it would be seen that  
a large proportion of the  
community have  
been brought here through  
the assistance of others.  
I will not say a majority  
have come  
here under those circum-  
stances, but there are thou-  
sands who have.

Thousands of men, women,  
and children have been  
helped here by the Perpet-  
ual Emigrating  
Fund alone. This is  
the subject to which I wish  
to call the attention of the  
Conference, and the  
community at large. I wish  
all to hearken to it, to  
reflect upon it, and contem-  
plate it seriously.  
I call upon those who have  
not yet put forth their  
hands to assist in gathering  
the poor, to give us  
their names and their  
means, during this  
Conference, that we may  
raise a few thousand dollars  
to be applied to this purpose.  
Suppose we should try  
to raise as much as we did  
four years ago, when we  
were in the midst of our  
greatest poverty  
and distress—we had  
just arrived here, and had  
scarcely sufficient to  
sustain life;  
notwithstanding these

**Watt's Shorthand**

the very first conference

it was agitated  
we raised almost six thou-  
sand dollars all in gold to  
send for the poor  
might I venture to flatter  
my feelings that we could  
raise 5 6 thousand dollars  
this conference

people are better able to  
raise 50 thousand now than  
the people then were able  
to raise 5 thousand sup-  
pose we raise ten 15  
20 thousand dollars to  
send for the relief of the  
poor and bring our poor  
brethren and sisters who  
long to be here as much  
as any of you 1 year ago 2  
3 years ago or at any other  
period of time

let me ask you to reflect  
upon the days that you  
spent in yonder  
land that you  
could not  
walk the streets hardly go  
into shop

but what the finger of scorn  
pointed at you  
you was sneered at for your  
religion seemingly every  
man woman met you in  
street was willing to scoff

**Watt's Longhand  
Transcript**

straightened circumstances  
<at> the first Conference  
we held <in the old Taber-  
nacle>, this subject was agi-  
tated, and \$ 6000 <5700>,  
in gold was raised, and  
sent to gather in the poor.  
Dare I venture to flatter  
myself that we can  
raise 5 or 6000\$  
this Conference, to be  
applied to the same good  
purpose?

The people are better able to  
raise 50.000\$ now, than  
they were able  
to raise \$5.000 then.  
Sup<p>ose we  
raise 15 or \$20.000 to  
send for  
our poor  
Brethren, and Sisters, who  
long to be here as much  
as <any of> you did, before  
your way was opened. This  
amount can be raised  
now, and not call forth an  
unusual effort.

We might ask you to reflect  
upon the days that you have  
spent [page] 2 in yonder  
disstant land, where you  
could scarcely <seldom>  
walk the streets, or  
enter A shop like another  
Citizen  
without the finger of scorn  
being pointed at you; with-  
out suffering the malignant  
taunts, and sneers of the  
ungodly

**Journal of Discourses  
1:322-27**

straightened circumstances,  
at the first Conference we  
held in the old Tabernacle,  
this subject was agitated,  
and \$5,700  
in gold was raised, and  
sent to gather in the poor.  
Dare I venture to flatter  
myself that we can  
raise \$5,000 or \$6,000  
this Conference, to be  
applied to the same good  
purpose?

The people are better able to  
raise \$50,000 now, than  
they were  
to raise \$5,000 then.  
Suppose we [end of 322]  
raise \$15,000 or \$20,000 to  
send for  
our poor  
brethren and sisters, who  
long to be here as much  
as any of you did, before  
your way was opened. This  
amount can be raised  
now, and not call forth an  
unusual effort.

We might ask you to reflect  
upon the days that you have  
spent in yonder  
distant land, where you  
could seldom  
walk the streets or  
enter a shop, like another  
citizen,  
without the finger of scorn  
being pointed at you, with-  
out suffering the malignant  
taunts and sneers of  
the ungodly,

## Watt's Shorthand

at your  
for  
your religion  
let me refer your minds to  
the time [page break] that  
the gospel  
  
opened  
to your understanding  
when eternity and eternal  
things reflected upon your  
understanding when your  
minds were  
opened to see things as  
they were as they are and  
as they will be what  
were your feelings and your  
meditations when Zion  
came  
before you? When the  
people of God appeared  
to you assembled together  
preparatory to the coming  
[of the] Son of Man  
what were your  
feelings  
turn your eyes to the right  
left to the front or in the  
rear what did your eyes  
see with what was  
your ears saluted blas-  
phemy wickedness and  
every of every character  
and of the deepest dye  
was there any that knew the  
Lord that feared the Lord  
no and the most religious  
the most pious could do  
nothing more  
than some  
did in days of Apostles  
they could erect the

## Watt's Longhand Transcript

for  
<the sake of> your religion.  
Let me refer your minds to  
the time that  
the Gospel was first intro-  
duced to you, and the light  
and glory of it opened up  
to your understandings,  
when eternity and eternal  
things reflected upon your  
benighted minds, and your  
conceptions were ~~were~~  
aroused to see things as  
they were, as they are, and  
as they will be. What  
were your feelings, and  
meditations, when Zion  
and its glory burst upon  
your vision? When the  
people of God appeared  
to you, assembled together,  
preparatory to the coming  
of the son of Man?  
<Again> What were your  
feelings when ~~you turned~~  
~~your eyes~~ in every direction  
  
that you turned your eyes  
they were met with scenes  
of wickedness, and your  
ears saluted with deep  
dyed blasphemies of every  
disscription?  
Was there any  
that feared the Lord?  
No.  
The most pious could do  
nothing more <for the  
~~honor of God,~~> than some  
did in the days of the Apos-  
tles; they could erectv an

## Journal of Discourses 1:322-27

for  
the sake of your religion.  
Let me refer your minds to  
the time that  
the Gospel was first intro-  
duced to you, and the light  
and glory of it opened up  
to your understandings;  
when eternity and eternal  
things reflected upon your  
benighted minds, and your  
conceptions were  
aroused to see things as  
they were, as they are, and  
as they will be. What  
were your feelings and  
meditations, when Zion  
and its glory burst upon  
your vision? when the  
people of God appeared  
to you, assembled together,  
preparatory to the coming  
of the Son of Man?  
Again, what were your  
feelings, when  
in every direction  
  
that you turned your eyes,  
they were met with scenes  
of wickedness, and your  
ears saluted with deep  
dyed blasphemies of every  
description?  
Were there any  
that feared the Lord?  
No.  
The most pious could do  
nothing more  
than some  
did in the days of the Apos-  
tles; they could erect an



**Watt's Shorthand**

image to the unknown God  
and worship somebody or  
something but knew  
not what what was your  
feelings brethren what  
was your reflections

you heard of  
the latter day work of  
gospel in its fullness  
you learned  
that the Lord had a  
prophet had his Apostles  
the words of life here to  
the people and what were  
your feelings  
what was there that you  
would not have  
sacrificed in moment if  
you could have had  
the privilege of assembling  
with the saints if you could  
mingle your voice  
conversation  
day by day and your visit-  
ing your journeying  
your business transactions  
your dwelling your labors  
and your lives with those  
who knew  
the Lord and would serve  
him  
is there anything you would  
not have sacrificed verily  
no then let your minds  
expand reflect how  
you felt then you can tell  
[page break]  
how others feel then you  
perhaps can realize how  
thousands and thousands  
and scores of thousands

**Watt's Longhand  
Transcript**

image to the unknown God,  
and worship somebody, or  
something, but they knew  
not what. What were your  
feelings, and  
reflections, under such  
circumstances, when  
you first heard of the  
Latter Day work? of the  
Gospel in its fullness?  
When you first learned  
that the Lord had A  
prophet, and Apostles, who  
held the words of life for  
the people?

What was there you  
would not have  
sacrificed in A moment, if  
for  
the privilege of assembling  
with the saints?  
of mingling your voices and  
conversations with theirs,  
day by day? of visiting,  
journeying,  
doing business with,  
laboring with, and spend-  
ing your lives with those  
who know and love  
the Lord; and will serve  
him?  
Is there anything you would  
not have sacrificed? Verily,  
no!  
If you can remember your  
own feelings, then you can  
know  
how others feel; you  
can realise how  
thousands, and scores  
of thousands

**Journal of Discourses  
1:322-27**

image to the unknown God,  
and worship somebody, or  
something, but they knew  
not what. What were your  
feelings and  
reflections, under such  
circumstances, when  
you first heard of the  
latter-day work? of the  
Gospel in its fulness?  
when you first learned  
that the Lord had a  
Prophet, and Apostles, who  
held the words of life for  
the people?

What was there you  
would not have  
sacrificed in a moment  
for  
the privilege of assembling  
with the Saints?  
of mingling your voices and  
conversation with theirs,  
day by day? of visiting,  
journeying,  
doing business,  
labouring, and spending  
your lives with those  
who know and love  
the Lord, and will serve  
Him?  
Is there anything you would  
not have sacrificed? Verily,  
no!  
If you can remember your  
own feeling then, you can  
know  
how others feel, you  
can realize how  
thousands and scores  
of thousands

## Watt's Shorthand

feel at this present moment  
this very day  
there is no hardship they  
would not  
undergo

to meet with us here this  
day there is no trial be too  
hard for them  
no sacrifice be called to make  
they would not readily  
and willingly make for  
privilege you enjoy here  
this day  
can you realize it

read the other  
side of the page and what  
do we find the hearts of  
men and women by cross-  
ing the ocean travelling  
few weeks  
months by water and  
land  
it seems as though their  
hearts partly closed up  
they lost sight of  
object of their pursuit it  
seems as though the hard-  
ship they passed through

had driven every  
spark of light of  
Christ out of their hearts

if you <started>  
with the influence  
of the Holy spirit  
who prevented  
you from keeping it

## Watt's Longhand Transcript

feel at this present Moment.

There is no hardship they  
~~will~~ <would> refuse to  
undergo [*sic*], no danger  
they ~~will~~ <would> not  
endeav<o>r to surmount,  
if they could

assemble with us here this  
day. No trial would be too  
keen for them, <there is>  
no sacrifice <that>  
they would not<sup>80</sup> readily  
and willingly make for the  
privilege you enjoy  
this day. Brethren and Sis-  
ters can you realis<z>e this?  
Let us now

read A chapter on the other  
side of the page, and  
we<sup>81</sup> find the hearts of  
men, and women, by cross-  
ing the ocean, by traveling  
A [page] 3 few weeks, or  
monnths, by water, and  
land, ap<p>ear to become  
~~perfectly~~

<partially> closed up; <and>  
they lo<o>se sight of the<sup>82</sup>  
object of their p<u>rsuit. It  
seems as though the hard-  
ships they pass through, in  
coming to this land,  
banished <nearly> every  
partic<l>e of the light of  
Christ out of their ~~hearts~~  
<minds>.

¶ If you started on your  
journey with the influence  
of the Holy Spirit warming  
your hearts, who prevented  
you from retaining it every

## Journal of Discourses 1:322-27

feel at this present moment.

There is no hardship they  
would refuse to  
undergo, no danger  
they would not  
endeavour to surmount,  
if they could

assemble with us here this  
day. No trial would be too  
keen for them; there is  
no sacrifice that  
they would not readily  
and willingly make for the  
privilege you enjoy  
this day. Brethren and sis-  
ters, can you realize this?  
Let us now

read a chapter on the other  
side of the page, and  
we find the hearts of  
men and women, by cross-  
ing the ocean, by travelling  
a few weeks or  
months by water and  
land, appear to become

partially closed up, and  
they lose sight of the object  
of their pursuit. It  
seems as though the hard-  
ships they pass through, in  
coming to this land,  
banish nearly every  
particle of the light of  
Christ out of their minds.

If you started on your  
journey with the influence  
of the Holy Spirit warming  
your hearts, who prevented  
you from retaining it every

**Watt's Shorthand**

you may say the devil

what business had you  
with the devil was  
you  
still in fellowship  
with him in partnership  
works of  
darkness no says you  
I had forsaken him no  
[illegible] associates and  
feelings I had given  
myself to the Lord  
embraced his gospel  
started to build up  
his kingdom to  
wish to gather with the  
saints at the gathering  
place

suppose the devil comes  
along and tempts you must  
you enter in  
partnership  
again open your  
doors and bid [him?] wel-  
come to your house and  
and tell him to reign there  
why don't you reflect to  
tell master devil with all  
his associates and imps  
[farewell?] spirit of devil  
feeling you had served  
[page break] him long  
enough says one I don't  
know that I could possibly  
come here with unruly  
cattle

this brother did wrong  
marred feelings I was  
irritated and the cares of

**Watt's Longhand  
Transcript**

day of your life?

You may say it was the devil  
that robbed you of it. But  
what buis<i>ness had you  
with the devil? Was there  
any necessity that you  
should enter into fellowship  
with him, or into partner-  
ship with the works of  
darkness? "No," You reply;  
"I had forsaken him and all  
my old associates, and  
feelings, and had given  
myself to the Lord, and  
embraced ~~this~~ <His> gospel,  
and set out to build up  
~~this~~ <His><sup>83</sup> kingdom, and  
wished to gather with the  
saints at the gathering  
place".

¶Sup<p>ose the devil does  
tempt you, must  
you of necessity enter into  
partnership  
again with him, open your  
doors and bid him wel-  
come to your house, and  
tell him to reign there?  
Why do you not reflect, and  
tell master devil, with all  
his associates and imps,  
to begone,  
feeling you have served  
him long  
enough. Says one, "I did not  
know that I could possibly  
come here with unruly  
cattle without getting  
wrong in my feelings;" or,  
"this Bro. did wrong, and  
marred my feelings; I was  
irritated; and the cares of

**Journal of Discourses  
1:322-27**

day of your life?

You may say it was the devil  
that robbed you of it. But  
what business had you  
with the devil? Was there  
any necessity that you  
should enter into fellowship  
with him, or into partner-  
ship with the works of  
darkness? "No," you reply,  
"I had forsaken him and all  
my old associates and  
feelings, and had given  
myself to the Lord, had  
embraced His Gospel,  
and set out to build up  
His kingdom, and  
wished to gather with the  
Saints at the gathering  
place."

Suppose the devil does  
tempt you, must  
you of necessity enter into  
part-[end of 323]nership  
again with him, open your  
doors, and bid him wel-  
come to your house, and  
tell him to reign there?  
Why do you not reflect, and  
tell master devil, with all  
his associates and imps,  
to begone,  
feeling you have served  
him long  
enough. Says one, "I did not  
know that I could possibly  
come here with unruly  
cattle, without getting  
wrong in my feelings;" or,  
"this brother did wrong and  
marred my feelings; I was  
irritated, and the cares of

## Watt's Shorthand

journey bewildered my mind and hurt our feelings I don't know whether I have got to where I started for or not things are different I don't see here that I anticipated do any of you feel in this way that have come across plains this season

go and be baptized for remission of your sins to start again do you think you will be overcome again in temptation pause and reflect before you [were to be?] overcome by the evil one in first place if you are baptized for remission of sins peradventure you may receive the spirit of gospel again in its glory light and beauty but if your hearts are so engrossed in things of this world that you don't know whether want be baptized or not you better down and reflect shut yourselves up in some canyon or closet and repent of your sins and call upon the name of Lord until you get his spirit light thereof reflect upon

your offences more know

## Watt's Longhand Transcript

the journey bewildered my mind, and hurt me so that I do not really know whether I have got to where I started for or not; things are different here than I expected to find them, etc."

~~This is A re~~ This is A representation of the feelings of some who have crossed the plains this season. My advice to you is, Go and be baptized for the remission of sins, and start afresh. That temptation may not overcome you again,

pause and reflect; that you be not overcome by the evil one unawares. In the first place, if you are <re>baptized for the remission of sins, peradventure you may receive again the spirit of the Gospel in its glory, light, and beauty. b<B>ut if your hearts are so engrossed in the things of this world that you do not know whether you want to be <re>baptized or not, you had better shut yourself<lves> up in some canyon, or closet, to repent of your sins, and call upon the name of the Lord, until you get ~~this~~ <His> spirit; and the light thereof to reflect upon you, that you may know the nature of your offences <this year>

## Journal of Discourses 1:322-27

the journey bewildered my mind, and hurt me so that I do not really know whether I have got to where I star[t]ed for, or not; things are different here to what I expected to find them, &c."

This is a representation of the feelings of some who have crossed the plains this season. My advice to you is, *go and be baptized for the remission of sins, and start afresh,* that temptation may not overcome you again;

pause and reflect, that you be not overcome by the evil one unawares. In the first place, if you are re-baptized for the remission of sins, peradventure you may receive again the spirit of the Gospel in its glory, light and beauty; but if your hearts are so engrossed in the things of this world, that you do not know whether you want to be re-baptized or not, you had better shut yourselves up in some canyon or closet, to repent of your sins, and call upon the name of the Lord, until you get His Spirit, and the light thereof, to reflect upon you, that you may know the nature of your offences,

### Watt's Shorthand

what you have been doing  
 this year passed  
 that you may realize

you are  
 here with the saints again  
 let me lead  
 your minds little further  
 I want to tell you something  
 perhaps you  
 know it as well as I do  
 reflect upon it and realize  
 it perhaps not and I call tell  
 you one truth

when the Lord Almighty  
 opens [page break] the  
 vision of person's mind  
 he shows them  
 things in spirit things  
 that will be and if any of  
 you had the vision of  
 Zion you had when she was  
 in her beauty and glory  
 after Satan bound if  
 had reflected upon  
 gathering of saints it  
 is the spirit of gathering

and when your minds  
 open in vision  
 glory and excellency glory  
 [of the] gospel you didn't  
 see the vision  
 of driving cattle across  
 the plains

mud hole  
 stampede  
 amongst the cattle  
 not if there bad one  
 amongst the people you  
 saw the beauty

### Watt's Longhand Transcript

passed, and the <your>  
 true condition;  
 that you may realize, and  
 appreciate the [page] 4  
 blessing you enjoy in being  
 here with the saints of the  
 Most High. Let me lead  
 your minds A little further.  
 I wish to tell you something  
 which you may perhaps  
 know as well as I do, but  
 you may not have realized it.

When the Lord Almighty  
 opens the  
 vision of A person's mind  
 he shows ~~them~~ him <the>  
 things of the spirit; things  
 that will be. If any of  
 you have had A vision of  
 Zion, it was shown to you  
 in its beauty and glory,  
 after satan is bound. If you  
 have reflected upon the  
 gathering of the saints, it  
 was the spirit of gathering  
 that enlightened you; and  
 when your minds were  
 opened in vision to behold  
 the glory and ex<c>ellency  
 of the gospel,  
 you did not see A vision  
 of driving cattle across  
 the plains, and where you  
 would be mired in this or  
 that mud hole. You did  
 not see the stampedes  
 among the cattle, and  
 one <those> of A worse  
 character among the  
 people; but you saw the

### Journal of Discourses 1:322-27

and your  
 true condition;  
 that you may realize and  
 appreciate the  
 blessing you enjoy in being  
 here with the Saints of the  
 Most High. Let me lead  
 your minds a little further.  
 I wish to tell you something  
 which you may perhaps  
 know as well as I do, but  
 you may not have realized it.

When the Lord Almighty  
 opens the  
 vision of a person's mind,  
 He shows him the  
 things of the Spirit—things  
 that will be. If any of  
 you had a vision of  
 Zion, it was shown to you  
 in its beauty and glory,  
 after Satan was bound. If  
 you reflected upon the  
 gathering of the Saints; it  
 was the spirit of gathering  
 that enlightened you;  
 and when your minds were  
 opened in vision to behold  
 the glory and excellency  
 of the Gospel,  
 you did not see a vision  
 of driving cattle across  
 the plains, and where you  
 would be mired in this or  
 that mud hole; you did  
 not see the stampedes  
 among the cattle, and  
 those of a worse  
 character among the peo-  
 ple; but you saw the beauty

## Watt's Shorthand

and glory of Zion  
to prepare you  
to meet the  
afflictions

of this life that you may  
overcome them and pre-  
pare you to enjoy the glory  
the Lord first revealed  
to you  
this is to encourage you  
recollect that  
I<sup>70</sup> want to say a word to  
brethren been helped here  
you recollect  
my exhortation to brethren  
have the means now we  
want you to go forth and  
give  
this fund and leave  
replenished  
bring your tithes and  
offering and we will help  
a great many  
here  
than we have this  
year we wish to double  
our diligence and thribble  
the crowd

I want to show you a little  
philosophy of mankind

you may take  
in gospel out of it in  
light [of the] Holy  
Spirit or without it as  
you please here is the phi-  
losophy of mankind in their  
daily vocations and deals  
one with another [page

## Watt's Longhand Transcript

beauty and glory of Zion,  
that you might be encour-  
aged, and prepared to meet  
the afflictions sorrows, and  
dissap<p>pointments  
of this mortal life, and over-  
come them, and be made  
ready to enjoy the Glory of  
the Lord as it was revealed  
to you. It was given to you  
for your encouragement,—  
r<R>ecol<l>ect that.

~~I wish to say A word to the~~  
~~Bre<sup>n</sup> who have been helped~~  
~~here.~~ You will recol<l>ect  
my exhortation to those  
who have means; we  
want you them to go forth  
give the Perpetual Emigra-  
tion <Emigrating> Fund  
A lift.

Bring in your Tithes and  
offerings, and we will help  
A great many more  
to this place next sea in the  
future than we have this  
year. We wish to double  
our dilligence, and thribble  
the crowd of emagrants  
<immigrants> by that fund.

I wish to show you a little  
of the Philosophy of human  
nature in its fallen and  
degraded state;

you may consider it in  
the gospel, or out of it; in  
the light of the h<H>oly  
s<S>pirit, or without it, as  
you please. The philoso-  
phy of mankind, in their  
da<i>ly avocations, you  
may all know for yourselves,

## Journal of Discourses 1:322-27

and glory of Zion, that  
you might be encouraged,  
and prepared to meet the  
afflictions, sorrows and  
disappointments  
of this mortal life, and over-  
come them, and be made  
ready to enjoy the glory of  
the Lord as it was revealed  
to you. It was given to you  
for your encouragement.  
RECOLLECT THAT.

You will recollect  
my exhortation to those  
who have means; we  
want them to  
give the Perpetual Emigra-  
ting Fund  
a lift.

Bring in your tithes and  
offerings, and we will help  
a great many more  
to this place in the  
future than we have this  
year. We wish to double our  
diligence, and treble the  
crowd of  
immigrants by that Fund.

I wish to show you a little  
of the philosophy of human  
nature in its fallen and  
degraded state;

you may consider it in  
the Gospel or out of it; in  
the light of the Holy Spirit,  
or without it; as  
you please. The philosophy  
of mankind, in their  
daily avocations, you  
may all know for yourselves,

**Watt's Shorthand**

break]

I could  
mention names but  
mention  
circumstances we  
pick up perhaps 200 per-  
sons in England bring  
them across the water  
plains set  
them down here in valley  
they go to work  
and  
make themselves comfort-  
able labor and labor  
plenty of it and very best  
of pay

bread is staff of life and  
when we get the bread but-  
ter cheese vegetables

without fancy knickknacks  
do well  
suppose we take up [1-o?]<sup>71</sup>  
[of] those poor  
saints in England  
faces pale

in streets for  
want of staff of  
life  
see them bowed down

with arms across their  
stomach going to and  
fro to their work  
when not  
taste meat perhaps more

**Watt's Longhand  
Transcript**

by your own observation,  
and experience. I wish to  
~~notice~~ <mention> A por-  
tions of it that has come  
under my notice. I could  
mention names, but I will  
content myself with naming  
~~ser~~<cir>cumstances. We  
pick up, say, 200 persons  
in England, and convey  
them across the water, and  
across the plains, and set  
them down in this valley:  
they commence to labor,  
and in A short time  
they make themselves  
comfortable. They can soon  
obtain plenty of the best  
kind of pay for their labor,  
such as  
bread, (the staff of [page] 5  
life), butter, cheese and veg-  
etables. When A man gets  
these things,  
without the fancy nick-  
nacks, he does well.  
¶ Suppose we pick up A  
company of these poor  
saints in England, whose  
faces are pale, and ~~we~~  
<who> cannot scarcely  
thread their way through  
the streets ~~without~~ <for  
want of> the aid of A staff  
of life;<sup>84</sup> for you may  
see them bowed down from  
very weakness with their  
armes across their stom-  
achs, going too and from  
their work; the greater part  
of them not enabled to get  
a bit of meat more than

**Journal of Discourses  
1:322-27**

by your own observation  
and experience. I wish to  
mention a portion  
of it that has come  
under my notice. I could  
mention names, but I will  
content myself with naming  
circumstances. We  
pick up, say 200 persons, in,  
England and convey them  
across the water, and across  
the plains; and set them  
down in this valley.  
They commence to labour,  
and in a short time [end of  
324] they make themselves  
comfortable. They can soon  
obtain plenty of the best  
kind of pay for their labour,  
such as  
bread—the staff of  
life, butter, cheese and veg-  
etables. When a man gets  
these things,  
without the fancy nick-  
nacks, he does well.  
Suppose we pick up a com-  
pany of these poor  
Saints in England, whose  
faces are pale, and  
who can scarcely tread their  
way  
through the streets for  
want of the staff of  
life; you may  
see them bowed down from  
very weakness, with their  
arms across their stomachs,  
going to and from their  
work; the greater part of  
them not enabled to get a  
bit of meat more than once

## Watt's Shorthand

than once a month  
get one  
table spoonful [of] meal for  
each person  
family in day without butter  
cheese by working  
[21/20?]<sup>72</sup> hours out of 24  
and when go from  
their work and come  
from it want a staff in  
hands to lean their stomach  
upon bring 200 of  
them here instead of ~~them~~  
come being obliged to work  
for 2 or 3 pennies day  
get dollar  
dollar half and

go buy flour

to last  
family week meat to last  
week for day's work

go walking through  
streets  
ask that  
man  
will you pay me for bring-  
ing you here  
I don't  
know you says he go to  
another see if work for  
you bringing you  
to this place [page break]

what have I had  
from you

what pay me your heart  
begins to [sink?] you go to  
third one

## Watt's Longhand Transcript

once A month; and upon  
an average only about one  
table spoonful of meal per  
day, for each person in A  
family, without butter, or  
cheese, by working  
16 hours out of the 24;<sup>85</sup>  
and when they go ~~from~~  
<to> their work, and return  
from it they need A staff in  
their hands to lean  
upon.<sup>86</sup> We bring 200 of  
them here, instead of their  
being obliged to work  
for 2 or 3 pence per day,  
they can get A dollar, and  
A dollar and a half per  
day. With one day's wages  
they can purchase flower,  
and meat, and vegetables  
enough to last A mod-  
erately sized family one  
week. They have not been  
here long when they may  
be seen swelling in the  
streets with an air of perfect  
independa<e>nce. Ask ~~that~~  
<one> of these men if he  
will pay you for bringing  
~~you~~ <him> here; and he  
will reply, "I ~~do not~~ <dont>  
know you Sir." You ask  
another if he will work for  
you, for bringing him out  
to this place, and he will  
appear quite asstonished,  
saying, "What have I had  
from you!!"  
<another will say> "if I  
work for you what will you  
give me?"

## Journal of Discourses 1:322-27

a month; and upon an  
average only about one  
table spoonful of meal per  
day, for each person in a  
family, without butter or  
cheese, by working  
16 hours out of the 24;  
and when they go  
to their work and return  
from it, they need a staff in  
their hands to lean  
upon. We bring 200 of  
them here; instead of their  
being obliged to work for  
two or three pence per day,  
they can get a dollar and  
a dollar and a half per  
day. With one day's wages  
they can purchase flour  
and meat and vegetables  
enough to last a moderately  
sized family one week.  
They have not been  
here long when they may  
be seen swelling in the  
streets with an air of perfect  
independence. Ask  
one of these men if he  
will pay you for bringing  
him here; and he  
will reply, "I don't  
know you, sir." You ask  
another if he will work for  
you, for bringing him out  
to this place; and he will  
appear quite astonished,  
saying, "What have I had  
from you?"  
Another will say, "If I work  
for you, what will you give  
me?"



**Watt's Shorthand**

let me have some adobes  
adobes no I am going  
build a fine house per-  
haps make you a few if you  
have money to pay me after  
I have house done  
how does

man  
feel his  
heart sinks in him I can  
go through this town and  
territory  
find thousands  
of just such men and  
women  
when brought  
to this place don't  
know their benefactors  
who saved them from death  
meet them in streets head  
and shoulders above them

do you know  
what philosophy of  
man is this wealthy man  
used his means

wished  
I had left you in  
England I wish so too  
let them starve  
to death and die Christian  
instead of coming here

and go to hell

**Watt's Longhand  
Transcript**

Can you give me some  
adobies? for I am going to  
build A fine house, or if  
you have any money to pay  
me, it will as<n>swer as  
well."

How does such language,  
and ingratitude make the  
benefactor of ~~that~~ <this>  
person feel? Why his heart  
sinks within him. I can

find thousands ~~in this Ter-~~  
~~ritory~~ of just such men and  
women <in this Territory>.  
w<W>hen they are brought  
to this place, they do not  
know their benefactors,  
who saved them from death,  
but they are <a> head  
and shoulders above them,  
when they meet them in  
the streets.

Do you know [illegible]  
<the> conclusion ~~which~~  
<that> is natural to man,  
when he is treated in such  
A manner by his fellow  
man? It is, "I [page] 6 wish  
I had left you in your own  
country." I wish so too.  
I say let such persons starve  
to death, and die christians,  
instead of being brought  
here to live and commit the  
sin of ingratitude, and die,  
and go to hell; for while  
they remained in their pov-  
erty they were used to the  
~~daily~~ <daily> practice <of>  
praying for delliverance,

**Journal of Discourses  
1:322-27**

Can you give me some  
adobies? for I am going to  
build a fine house, or if  
you have any money to pay  
me, it will answer as well."

How does such language  
and ingratitude make the  
benefactor of that person  
feel? Why, his heart sinks  
within him. I can

find thousands  
of just such men and  
women in this territory.  
When they are brought  
to this place, they do not  
know their benefactors,  
who saved them from death,  
but they are a head  
and shoulders above them,  
when they meet them in  
the streets.

Do you know the  
conclusion  
that is natural to man,  
when he is treated in such  
a manner by his fellow  
man? It is, "I wish  
I had left you in your own  
country." I wish so too.  
I say, let such persons starve  
to death, and die Christians,  
instead of being brought  
here to live and commit the  
sin of ingratitude, and die  
and go to hell; for while  
they remained in their pov-  
erty, they were used to the  
daily practice of  
praying for deliverance;

## Watt's Shorthand

they would died praying  
unto eternity and

bowels of compassion have  
mercy upon them but

here

go into eternity swearing  
I can pick up hundreds  
of men  
passed their benefactors

turned around and  
didn't know them

speak every thing against  
them their tongues can be  
allowed to and go and  
swear  
falsely about  
them the very men  
saved them  
from starvation to death  
(voice on stand true)<sup>73</sup>

I frequently referred to facts  
come under my own obser-  
vation when I came  
into this valley<sup>74</sup> I had

11 thousand dollars notes  
against brethren

nobody pay me [page  
break] one dime for  
we have helped men  
women and children from  
England to over  
30 thousand dollars except

## Watt's Longhand Transcript

<and> I say it is better for  
them to die praying, and go  
into eternity praying, and  
the <Allmighty have>

bowels of Compassion, and  
mercy towards them, than  
~~they should~~ <for them  
to> come here, and loose  
the spirit of God through  
ingratitude, and

go into eternity sw<e>aring.  
I can pick up hundereds  
of men who have  
passed by their benefactors,  
and if they should speak to  
them, <they will>

turn round and say, "I really  
dont know you".

Or if they do, they will  
speak every thing against  
them their tongues can  
utter, or can be allowed to;  
and they will ~~sware~~ <swear>  
~~falsley~~ <falsely> about  
them,—about the very men  
who has<v>e saved them  
from starvation and death.

I frequently refer to facts  
that come under my own  
observation. When I came  
into this valley I <we> had  
notes amounting to

\$ ~~11,000~~ 30,000  
against the Brethren ~~that~~  
<we had> I ~~have~~ assisted,  
which no person will pay  
~~me~~ one ~~di~~ Cent for.

We have helped men,  
women, And children from  
England to over the amount  
of \$ 30,000. Except

## Journal of Discourses 1:322–27

and I say it is better for  
them to die praying, and go  
into eternity praying, and  
the Almighty to have  
bowels of compassion and  
mercy towards them, than  
for them

to come here, and lose the  
Spirit of God through  
ingratitude, and

go into eternity swearing. I  
can pick up hundreds  
of men who have  
passed by their benefactors,  
and if they should speak to  
them, would

turn round and say, "I really  
don't know you."

Or if they do, they will  
speak every thing against  
them their tongues can  
utter, or can be allowed to;  
and they will swear  
falsely about them—about  
the very men  
who have saved them  
from starvation and death.

I frequently refer to facts  
that come under my own  
observation. When I came  
into this Valley; we had  
notes amounting to

\$30,000  
against brethren  
we had assisted,  
which no person will pay  
one cent for.

We have helped men,  
women, and children from  
England, to over the amount  
of \$30,000. Except

**Watt's Shorthand**

one<sup>75</sup> and that  
is a man name of  
Thomas Green lives in  
Utah and one woman  
but with exception of  
Thomas Green and one  
young woman  
from England  
never been  
man paid  
one dime to the

amount of over  
30 thousand dollars and  
I hold their notes as  
obligations  
do I mean to be under-  
stood that no person pays  
their passage by no means  
great many here that do  
my remarks won't hit  
those honest with them-  
selves God and brethren  
but it is the dishonest ones  
I expect my remarks will hit  
great many do pay and will-  
ing and thankful to pay  
but as far as I are concerned  
before I came into this  
valley with exception  
of one man and woman  
no person offered  
pay us one dime or would  
[8/10?]<sup>76</sup> of them  
turned around and apos-  
tatized that we helped over  
and great many of them  
joined the mob

now do you see the philoso-  
phy of humanity

**Watt's Longhand  
Transcript**

one individual, and that  
is A man by the name of  
Thomas Green, who lives in  
Utah,

and one  
<young> woman who came  
from England,  
there has never been A  
single person who has paid  
one dime towards ~~cansaling~~  
<canceling> the A  
debt amounting to over  
\$ 30,000, besides other  
notes, accounts, and obliga-  
tions which I we hold.  
Do I mean to be under-  
stood that no person pays  
their passage? by no means.

My remarks will not hit  
~~these~~ those, neither are they  
directed to them, who are  
thankful to their benefac-  
tors, who do, and are ~~will~~  
willing to pay.

But as far as I am concerned,  
before we came into this  
valley, with the exception  
of one man and woman,  
no person has offered  
to pay us one dime, and  
~~8/10~~ <eight tenths> of them  
have turned away from the  
Church, and  
A number of them  
joined the mobb, and  
sought to dye their hands  
in our blood.

Now do you see the philos-  
ophy of human Nature;

**Journal of Discourses  
1:322-27**

one individual, and that  
is a man by the name of  
Thomas Green, who lives in  
Utah,

and one  
young woman, who came  
from Eng-[end of 325]land,  
there has never been a  
single person who has paid  
one dime towards cancel-  
ling a  
debt amounting to over  
\$30,000, besides other  
notes, accounts, and obliga-  
tions which we hold.  
Do I mean to be under-  
stood that no person pays  
their passage? By no means.

My remarks will not hit  
those, neither are they  
directed to them who are  
thankful to their benefac-  
tors, and who do, and are  
willing to pay.

But as far as I am concerned,  
before we came into this  
Valley, with the exception  
of one man and woman,  
no person has offered  
to pay us one dime, and  
eight-tenths of them  
have turned away from the  
Church, and  
a number of them  
joined the mob, and  
sought to dye their hands  
in our blood.

Now do you see the phi-  
losophy of human nature,

## Watt's Shorthand

and I will go a little further  
I say of divine nature do you  
see the philosophy of it  
let me help a man  
that makes an evil use of  
the assistance that he gets  
from me and  
turns around to injure  
himself and me and his  
neighbor what do I say  
them

what does spirit of  
Lord teach me

what Lord do  
himself provided he was  
here do you  
think he would with hold  
the hand from him do  
you think an  
angel help a man  
turn around and  
destroy that angel and  
himself I don't neither  
do I think the Lord [page  
break] would good man  
would ~~neither~~ then

I think bad man  
distribute means  
to have that means

use it to his own  
injury  
it is the evil acts  
covetousness in the hearts  
of poor shuts up  
bowels of compassion  
in rich and they say  
they will not help the poor  
and we could have gathered

## Watt's Longhand Transcript

~~and~~ <and> I will [page] 7  
~~and~~ <say> of divine Nature?

Let me help A man ~~that~~  
<who> makes an evil use of  
the assistance  
I render him, and  
endeavour<rs> to injure  
himself and me, and his  
neighbor with it,

what does the spirit of the  
Lord teach me in such <a>  
circumstance?

What would the Lord do  
~~himself~~ provided he was  
here himself? Do you <not>  
think he would with<h>old  
the thing from him? Do  
you think A<n> ~~man~~ ~~Angle~~  
<Angel> would help a man  
who would turn round and  
desstroy that Angel and  
himself? I do not; neither  
do I think the Lord would,  
and no good man  
would if he knew it, <unless  
it were Done with a view to  
prove a person>.

I do not think A bad man  
would disstribute his means  
to another individuals, or  
to individuals if who would  
use it <them> to his <~~or~~  
~~their~~> injury.

It is the evil actions, and  
coveteousness in the hearts  
of the poor, that shuts up  
the bowels of compassion  
in the rich, and they say  
they will not help the poor.  
We could have gathered

## Journal of Discourses 1:322-27

and I will say  
of divine nature?

Let me help a man  
who makes an evil use of  
the assistance  
I render him, and  
endeavours to injure  
himself and me, and his  
neighbour with it,

what does the Spirit of the  
Lord teach me in such a  
circumstance?

What would the Lord do,  
provided He was here  
himself? Do you not  
think He would withhold  
the thing from him? Do  
you think an  
angel would help a man  
who would turn round and  
destroy that angel and  
himself? I do not, neither  
do I think the Lord would,  
and no good man  
would if he knew it, unless  
it were done with a view to  
prove a person.

I do not think a bad man  
would distribute his means  
to another individual, or to  
individuals, who would use  
them to his  
injury.

It is the evil actions and  
covetousness in the hearts  
of the poor that shut up  
the bowels of compassion  
in the rich, and they say  
they will not help the poor.  
We could have gathered

**Watt's Shorthand**

hundreds of thousands  
to help the poor were it  
not that they have been  
so biased and continue  
to be biased and says they  
I don't wish my means  
to go to evil  
use if ~~do you~~ you want to  
know what I mean by all  
this I mean when men  
women refuse to pay their  
passage fund

let them be cut off from  
the church and sue  
them to the law and collect  
that debt severe off that  
limb from the tree and then  
make them pay their honest  
debts  
that is to the poor  
I have said enough to the  
rich we want you  
to help turn in your means  
bring it on here  
perhaps  
some of you come along  
and say Brother Brigham  
send means to England  
now yes we  
have means there and this  
[instead of there?]  
turn it into the tithing office  
credit on books and our  
checks go there and turn  
there [would not?] we want  
we want to give a heavy lift  
another  
season

**Watt's Longhand  
Transcript**

hundreds of thousands  
more of the poor were it  
not that the rich have been  
so biased, and still continue  
to be. Say they,  
"We do not wish our means  
to be ap<p>lied to an evil  
use." If you wish to  
know what I mean by all  
this, it is, that if any man or  
woman refuses to pay their  
passage to this place when  
they are in circumstances  
to do it,  
let them be cut off from  
the Church, and then sue  
them at the law, and collect  
the debt. Sever that limb  
from the tree, and then  
make them pay their honest  
debts."  
t<T>hat is to the poor.  
We have said enough to the  
rich. We now want the rich  
to turn in their means, that  
the poor, the honest poor,  
may be dili<e>vered.  
Some of you may inquire if  
we wish to  
send the means <to Eng-  
land> now? Yes, we want  
the means now,  
which you can pay into the  
tithing office, and have it  
recorded on the books, to  
answer the means we have  
~~their~~ <there>, which can be  
used <for next> ~~this~~ season.  
We want to give a heavy lift  
to the ~~emigration~~ <immi-  
gration> of the poor next  
season.

**Journal of Discourses  
1:322-27**

hundreds of thousands  
more of the poor, were it  
not that the rich have been  
so biased, and still continue  
to be. Say they  
"We do not wish our means  
to be applied to an evil use."  
If you wish to  
know what I mean by all  
this, it is that if any men or  
women refuse to pay their  
passage to this place when  
they are in circumstances  
to do it,  
*let them be cut off from*  
*the Church, and then sue*  
*them at the law, and collect*  
*the debt.* Sever those limbs  
from the tree, and then  
make them pay their honest  
debts.  
*That is to the poor.*

We now want the rich  
to turn in their means, that  
the poor, the *honest* poor,  
may be delivered.  
Some of you may inquire if  
we wish to  
send the means now to  
England? Yes; we want  
the means now,  
which you can pay into the  
Tithing Office, and have it  
recorded on the books, to  
answer the means we have  
there, which can be  
used for next season.  
We want to give a heavy lift  
to the emigration of the  
poor, next season.

## Watt's Shorthand

we have brought out a  
considerable many this  
season yet  
to begin  
next season we wish those  
brought here  
first debt they should

pay is that  
received from that fund

we want you  
get something [Image 152]  
to eat drink and  
wear but when you  
any ways get comfortable  
pay that debt

refund in that fund that  
you have received from  
it and

it is built upon the principle  
and if carried out by those

50 thousands<sup>77</sup> dollars  
sent

4 years this  
fall if every man been  
prompt to pay in that  
put in it<sup>78</sup> received from it  
the fund based upon that  
passes 20 thousand from  
that

we are the greatest specula-  
tors in world and  
greatest speculation on

## Watt's Longhand Transcript

We have brought out <a>  
considerable number this  
~~season~~ <season>, but it is  
<hardly> ~~not~~ A bigin~~nn~~ing  
to what we wish to be  
brought out next season.  
The first duty of those who  
have been brought out, by<sup>87</sup>  
the Perpetual Emagrating  
Fund <is,> to  
pay back ~~that~~ <what> they  
have received from it, the  
first opportunity, that  
others may receive the  
same [page] 8 benifit ~~you~~  
<they> have.

We wish you in the first  
place to get something  
to eat, drink, and ~~ware~~  
<wear>; but when you are  
in any way comfortable, we  
wish you to pay that debt  
the next thing you do, and  
replenish <the><sup>88</sup> fund.

It is built upon A principle,  
if carried out properly, and  
the debts punctua<l>ly  
refunded, to increase in  
wealth. The \$5,000 that  
was sent <for the poor>  
4 <four> years ago this  
fall, if every man had been  
prompt to pay<ing> in that  
which he received, would  
have  
increased to \$20,000.

We are the greatest specula-  
tors in the world. We have  
the greatest speculation on

## Journal of Discourses 1:322-27

We have brought out a  
considerable number this  
season, but it is  
hardly a beginning  
to what we wish to be  
brought out next season.  
The first duty of those who  
have been brought out by  
the Perpetual Emigrating  
Fund is to  
pay back what they  
have received from it, the  
first opportunity, that  
others may receive the  
same benefit they have  
received.

We wish you in the first  
place to get something  
to eat, drink, and  
wear; but when you are  
in any way comfortable, we  
wish you to pay that debt  
the next thing you do, and  
replenish the Fund.

It is built upon a principle,  
if carried out properly,  
and the debts punctually  
refunded, to increase in  
wealth. The \$5,000 that  
was sent for the poor  
four years ago this fall,  
if every man had been  
prompt to pay in that  
which he received, would  
have  
increased to \$20,000.

We are the greatest specula-  
tors in the world. We have  
the greatest speculation on

**Watt's Shorthand**

hand  
on the earth I never denied  
being speculator

miser  
greed for riches but some  
men chase  
a picayune 5 thousand  
miles I would  
not turn around for it and  
preach the  
same gospel

little strong speculation  
I am after to  
exchange this world

for a world to come that is  
made an inheritance  
of the Gods of  
eternity. The plan is to  
make every thing bend to  
come to point revelation  
object of our  
priesthood to bring it again

the plan of system to make  
it bear  
when we get through we  
reap the reward of  
just and get all our  
hearts can anticipate or

**Watt's Longhand  
Transcript**

hand that can be found in  
all the earth. I never denied  
being A speculator.  
I never denied being A  
miser, or of feeling  
eager for riches; but some  
men will chase A  
picic<a>yune five thousand  
miles, when I would not  
turn round for it, and yet  
we are preachers of the  
same gospel, and Bre<sup>n</sup>  
in the same kingdom of  
God.

You may consider this is A  
little strong; but the specu-  
lation I am after if is to  
exchange this world, ~~of that~~  
<which,> in is present state,  
passes away, for A world ~~of~~  
that is eternal and unchang-  
able, for A glorified world  
filled with eternal riches,  
~~that passeth not away,~~

for A world that is  
made an inheritance  
~~of~~ <for> the Gods of  
eternity. The plan is to  
make everything bend to  
<the> revelations of God;  
this is the object of our  
prei<ie>sthood, to bring  
into requisition every good  
thing and make it bear for  
the accomplishment of the  
main point we have in veiw;  
~~is the plan of our system;~~  
and

when we get through, we  
shall reap the reward of  
the just, and get all our  
hearts can anticipate or

***Journal of Discourses*  
1:322-27**

hand that can be found in  
all the earth. I never denied  
[end of 326] being a specu-  
lator. I never denied being a  
miser, or of feeling  
eager for riches; but some  
men will chase a  
picayune five thousand  
miles when I would  
not turn round for it, and  
yet we are preachers of the  
same Gospel, and brethren  
in the same kingdom of  
God.

You may consider this is a  
little strong; but the specu-  
lation I am after, is to  
exchange this world,  
which, in its present state,  
passes away, for a world  
that is eternal and unchange-  
able, for a glorified world  
filled with eternal riches,

for the world that is  
made an inheritance  
for the Gods of  
eternity. The plan is to  
make every thing bend  
to the revelations of God;  
this is the object of our  
Priesthood—to bring into  
requisition every good  
thing, and make it bear for  
the accomplishment of the  
main point we have in view;

and  
when we get through we  
shall reap the reward of  
the just, and get all our  
hearts can anticipate or

## Watt's Shorthand

desire to lay plans for this just as much as merchant would think he was going into merchandizing for tradesmen of earth and is laying up gold and silver he lays his plans for it it is for us to lay plans to secure eternal lives

for miser to lay up his gold upon the earth it is a [perfect/principle?] system gather into systematically if you do [page break] I say poor pay debt

rich help the poor would not this bring wealth it would to be united as any work it in [--?] hands and helping one from another all possible and assisting in every point and place in speculation and be of one heart and mind in resurrection and then we will have all we can ask for here is wealth it is said union is power and that is enough if we get that we shall have power this plan for us to work upon and I wish the brethren to just whisper this around

## Watt's Longhand Transcript

di<e>sire. To lay plans for the attainment of this is just as necessary as to <for> A merchant to lay plans to get earthly riches by ~~enter-~~ing by buying and selling merchant<d>ise.

It is for us to lay plans to secure to ourselves eternal lives, which is just as necessary as it is for the miser to lay plans to amass A great amount of Gold upon the earth; and it is for us to engage in it systi<e>matical<l>y.

I say to the poor, pay your debts to the Perpetual Emigrating <Emigrating> Fund. and to the rich, help the poor; and this will bring wealth, and strength, by each one according to his ability, calling, and means [page] 9

assisting in every point, and place in this great speculation for kingdoms, ~~throne~~ <thrones>, principalities, and powers.

It is said union is strength, and that is enough; if we get that, we shall have power. This is the plan for us to work upon, ~~and~~ I wish the Bre<sup>n</sup> to w<h>isper this arround among ~~your~~ <their> neighbors

## Journal of Discourses 1:322-27

desire. To lay plans for the attainment of this, is just as necessary as for a merchant to lay plans to get earthly riches by buying and selling merchandise.

It is for us to lay plans to secure to ourselves eternal lives, which is just as necessary as it is for the miser to lay plans to amass a great amount of gold upon the earth; and it is for us to engage in it systematically.

I say to the poor, PAY YOUR DEBTS TO THE PERPETUAL EMIGRATING FUND; and to the rich, HELP THE POOR; and this will bring wealth and strength, by each one, according to his ability, calling, and means,

assisting in every point and place in this great speculation for kingdoms, thrones, principalities and powers.

It is said union is strength; and that is enough; if we get that, we shall have power. This is the plan for us to work upon, and I wish the brethren to whisper this around among their neighbours,



**Watt's Shorthand**

when get out  
of meeting to  
say what ~~shall~~ can we give  
to perpetual  
fund  
can we give anything  
this season ~~take anything~~  
refuse to take  
anything from sisters  
how small  
we  
will take a pin from pin  
to bed quilt anything else  
but be sure two 3 shawls in  
house

don't bring pin

not receive blessing

if you only borrowed shawl  
and only a pin  
bring that and you  
shall receive the blessing of  
widow

we don't know  
give you the report of per-  
petual fund this conference  
perhaps will in present no  
matter

it is doing well [but?] we  
want it to do  
better great deal money  
in it

want more want to swell the  
operation and bring

**Watt's Longhand  
Transcript**

when ~~you~~ <they> go out  
of this tabernacle,<sup>89</sup> and  
say what can we give  
to the Perpetual Emigra-  
~~tion~~ Emigrating Fund? Can  
we give anything this sea-  
son? We will not refuse to  
~~take~~ <help> anything from  
the sisters. Do you aske  
how small an amount we  
will take? We will take from  
A pin to  
A bed quilt;  
but be shure, when you  
bring A pin, that you have  
not many other things in  
your trunk that would be  
useful, more ~~that~~ <than>  
you at the present need; for  
if you bring A pin under  
such circumstances you  
cannot receive A blessing  
and the reward it is entitled  
to. If the clothing you ~~were~~  
<wear> is each day is all  
you have, and you need to  
borrow a shawl to go out in,  
and you have only A pin to  
bestow, bring that, and you  
shall receive A blessing.

We think it is not necessary  
to give you the report of the  
P. E. Fund this Conference.

It is doing well but if we  
want it to do <a great deal>  
better. ~~A great deal.~~

We want to swell the  
operation, and bring the

**Journal of Discourses  
1:322-27**

when they go out  
of this tabernacle, and  
say, "What can we give to  
the Perpetual  
Emigrating  
Fund? Can we give any-  
thing this season?" We will  
not refuse help  
from the sisters.  
Do you ask how small an  
amount we will take? We  
will take from a pin to  
a bed quilt;  
but be sure, when you  
bring a pin, that you have  
not many other things in  
your trunk that would be  
useful, more than  
you at present need; for if  
you bring a pin under  
such circumstances, you  
cannot receive a blessing,  
and the reward it is entitled  
to. If the clothing you  
wear each day is all you  
have, and you have need to  
borrow a shawl to go out in,  
and you have only a pin to  
bestow, bring that, and you  
shall receive a blessing.

We think it is not necessary  
to give you the report of the  
Perpetual Emigrating Fund  
this Conference.

It is doing well, but we  
want it to do a great deal  
better.

We  
want to swell the  
operation, and bring the

## Watt's Shorthand

them by  
scores of thousands instead  
of by hundreds [page break]  
this is one object I  
wish laid before the  
conference  
before we  
get through we shall call for  
quite number of elders  
we anticipate  
our missionaries  
called at the  
other conference in August

call a great many  
this conference  
inquire may be where  
do you want us to go  
tell you when you  
are ready to go prepare  
your hearts and  
circumstances  
against your going we  
want to send the gospel to  
all Israel may the Lord  
bless you amen

## Watt's Longhand Transcript

poor from the nations by  
scores of thousands, instead  
of by hundreds.  
This embraces what I  
wished to lay before the  
Con<sup>c</sup> upon this point.  
Before the Con<sup>c</sup> is  
Concluded we shall call for  
quite A number of Elders.  
It was anticipated that ~~the~~  
our missionaries would  
have been called at the  
August Conference of this  
year, but we will  
call A considerable number  
this Conference. ~~instead.~~  
You need not inquire where  
we want you to go, for it  
will be told you, when you  
are ready. ~~to go.~~ Prepare  
your minds and ~~circum-~~  
~~stances~~ <circumstances>,  
against that time, for we  
wish to send the gospel to  
Israel. May the Lord  
bless you. Amen. ~~Watt, Rep.~~

## Journal of Discourses 1:322-27

poor from the nations by  
scores of thousands instead  
of by hundreds.  
This embraces what I  
wished to lay before the  
Conference upon this point.  
Before the Conference is  
concluded we shall call for  
quite a number of Elders.  
It was anticipated that  
our missionaries would  
have been called at the  
August Conference of this  
year, but we will  
call a considerable number  
this Conference.  
You need not inquire where  
we want you to go, for it  
will be told you when you  
are ready. Prepare  
your mind and  
circumstances  
against that time, for we  
wish to send the Gospel to  
Israel. May the Lord  
bless you. Amen.  
[end of 327]

69. Brigham Young, speech, Salt Lake City, October 6, 1853, Papers of George D. Watt, Church History Library, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as CHL), transcribed from shorthand by LaJean Purcell Carruth.

70. Start of new paragraph; previous phrase is part of separate paragraph.

71. Middle digit is illegible.

72. 21 written over 20, or vice versa.

73. Watt used ( ) to enclose words spoken from the audience.

74. Throughout this discussion, Brigham Young described two groups of people, those who owed him money when he first arrived in Salt Lake Valley, and those who owed money for their journey to the valley. While transcribing, Watt conflated these two groups and incorrectly changed numbers to fit the situation as he saw it.

75. Brigham Young is apparently referring again to the first group, those who received money prior to the Saints' departure to the valley, not to those who received help under the Perpetual Emigrating Fund. See continued discussion below, which more clearly states that the nonpaying group were those who had received aid before the Saints came to the valley.

76. *Journal of Discourses* reads 8/10; number as written is ambiguous.

77. *Thousands* written over 0.

78. *Put in it* appears to be wiped out.

79. Brigham Young, speech, Salt Lake City, October 6, 1853, Papers of George D. Watt, CHL, transcription prepared by Silvia Ghosh, Brent L. Carruth, and LaJean Purcell Carruth.

80. *Would not* is written over illegible longhand.

81. *And we* is written over illegible, wiped-out longhand.

82. *The* is written over illegible, wiped-out longhand.

83. *His* is written over illegible, scraped-off longhand.

84. *Of life* is written over illegible, scraped-off longhand.

85. 24 written over 22.

86. Note on manuscript: "no paragraph wanted here." A circle is drawn around this note, and a curved line drawn from the end of this paragraph to the beginning of the next paragraph.

87. *By* is written over illegible longhand.

88. *The* is written over illegible, scraped-off longhand.

89. *Tabernacle* is written over illegible, wiped-out longhand.

# Grace in the Book of Mormon

*Brent J. Schmidt*

*This chapter is excerpted from Relational Grace: The Reciprocal and Binding Covenant of Charis, by Brent J. Schmidt (BYU Studies, 2015).*

Teachings of the Book of Mormon, published in 1830, sometimes stand in tension with ideas of grace that emerged in late antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Reformation, and the modern era. These Book of Mormon usages reach back into the ideas of grace that are more at home in the worlds of the Bible and the ancient Mediterranean. In teaching that grace is a manifestation of God's goodness to humankind, and that it is closely aligned with mercy and Christ's Atonement to meet the demands of justice and make salvation possible, Book of Mormon usages of grace largely parallel the meanings of *hesed* (mercy, Hebrew) from the Old Testament, together with the social concepts that prevailed in the ancient world that all gifts give rise to reciprocal obligations. In essence, grace in the Book of Mormon necessarily enables and encourages disciples to try to restore broken covenant relationships by finding their way back into God's presence, reciprocating his mercy and goodness, and thus enjoying life and eternal rest with him, embraced by his love and outstretched arms.

The word grace appears thirty-one times in the Book of Mormon, in twenty-seven verses found in the words of Lehi, Nephi, Jacob, the two Almas, Mormon, and Moroni. This chapter does not provide an exhaustive analysis of grace in the Book of Mormon. Rather, my goal here is to give an overview of the meaning of grace in the Book of Mormon to

When I was twelve, a young friend whose father was a local pastor told me that I was not a Christian because Mormons don't believe in Christ's grace. My questions about grace and salvation eventually led me to study Greek and Roman classics as well as the Bible. In graduate study, I learned that the Greek word for grace, *charis*, has several usages, including giving compliments about a person's gracefulness and beauty, but when used in the sense of giving favor or in any context of a relationship between people, the word always has a connotation that the person giving grace expected something in return. The giver expected return favors, service, gratitude, honor, and obedience. These *charis* relationships were generally between people of unequal status, such as a king and a commoner.

Reading the New Testament with this knowledge in mind, I see that grace is not the free, one-way, permanent gift that some Christians say it is. Augustine, Luther, and others used neo-Platonic philosophies to create a new paradigm of grace that requires little or nothing of recipients to receive salvation. I have become aware of several New Testament commentators who acknowledge this shift in meaning.

The New Testament teaches that receiving God's grace leads to the formation of a reciprocal or covenant relationship—informing the very nature of the Father's gift of his Son that is extended to us. This understanding has increased my appreciation for the Atonement of Jesus Christ and my desire to keep and renew covenants and endure to the end. I sincerely hope understanding a little about the theological and linguistic history of grace will intellectually and spiritually benefit all readers in these and so many other ways.

In my book *Relational Grace: The Reciprocal and Binding Covenant of Charis* (BYU Studies, 2015), the first eight chapters review reciprocity and gift exchange in ancient cultures, in classical Greek, Roman, and Jewish usage, in the Bible, and in Christian history from ancient to modern times. This chapter, number nine, shows that Book of Mormon teachings resonate with the ancient understanding of grace and give us precious and plain truths of salvation. Final chapters explicate the meaning of grace in LDS doctrine and scholarship.

show that grace is regularly associated there with reciprocal obligations and to situate the Book of Mormon broadly within the history of grace. No teaching of the Book of Mormon implies that grace, or the coming or returning to God, is available to humans outside of a reciprocal relationship between God and humanity. These usages will be reviewed here sequentially and also thematically.

Much more frequently used but conceptually related to the idea of grace are other relational terms, such as *mercy*, *mercies*, and *merciful*, which together appear about 150 times in the Book of Mormon, with *love* and *loved* being used some 68 times. These and other similar terms in the Book of Mormon strongly cultivate the importance of reciprocal relationships between righteous individuals and their God. Thus, the following discussion will first survey all the places in the Book of Mormon where the word *grace* explicitly appears, author by author. It will then look at King Benjamin's speech and other sermons or texts, which, although they do not use the word *grace*, are nonetheless also crucial to understanding the Book of Mormon's teachings about how one can obtain salvation from death and hell through grace, covenantal service, repentance, and obedience. All of this is made possible only by maintaining a loyal and thankful relationship with Christ, the Redeemer, Lord, and Savior.

### Explicit Mentions of Grace in the Book of Mormon

Although all authors who contributed to the Book of Mormon likely understood the important formation and operation of the covenant relations between God and his people (which afforded blessings contingent upon the performance of righteous responsibilities),<sup>1</sup> only seven writers in the Book of Mormon refer to grace explicitly. The insights added by each of these authors reflect their own times, circumstances, needs, and desires, as they urgently wrote about the covenants of God with his people. In this religious context, these writers speak of the grace and goodness God has promised to give to those who will have him to be their God, and at the same time they remind the people of the commitments and obligations they willingly and lovingly have taken

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1. See, for example, Noel B. Reynolds, "Understanding Christian Baptism through the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (2012): 4–37; Victor L. Ludlow, "Covenant(s)," in *Book of Mormon Reference Companion*, ed. Dennis L. Largey (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 217–18.

upon themselves as their part of the reciprocal covenant relationship between themselves and God.

**Lehi.** The word *grace* appears in Lehi's words only twice, in his blessing to his son Jacob, but the word *mercy* appears from the beginning of his calling as a prophet. Lehi painfully witnessed the unfaithfulness of the people in Jerusalem, which would lead to the destruction of the Temple and the Holy City. He also suffered physical agonies during his family's arduous journey to the New World and was torn by internal strife among his own sons. In facing these challenges, Lehi found refuge in the assurances given to him by revelation that all the inhabitants of the earth could eventually be blessed and preserved by the Lord God Almighty, to which he exclaimed: "Thy throne is high in the heavens, and thy power, and goodness, and mercy are over all the inhabitants of the earth; and because thou art merciful, thou wilt not suffer those who come unto thee that they shall perish!" (1 Ne. 1:14). In that vision, it was plainly made manifest to Lehi that a messiah would come to redeem the world (1 Ne. 1:19).

At the end of Lehi's life, as he blessed his son Jacob, Lehi spoke about the relationship that would exist between that messiah and those who would receive the benefits of his redemption. On the Messiah's part, he would minister to people in the flesh (2 Ne. 2:4), offering himself "a sacrifice for sin." Lehi affirmed that "redemption cometh in and through the Holy Messiah; for he is full of grace and truth" (2 Ne. 2:6). Lehi is evidently thinking very broadly here, speaking of a fullness of the various aspects of grace founded on this reciprocal relationship. As Lehi goes on to state, the grace of the Holy Messiah operates together with his "merits and mercy" (2 Ne. 2:8). For Lehi, grace exists within a constellation of divine virtues—God's truth, dependability, holiness, and mercy, even to the laying down of his own life (2 Ne. 2:10). This Atonement, however, would be efficacious only to those who would serve him and would come with "a broken heart and a contrite spirit" (2 Ne. 2:7).

Through this grace, everyone will stand in the presence of God to be judged and may "dwell in the presence of God" (2 Ne. 2:8, 10). Through his covenant, which God will always remember (Lev. 26:42), all who have died will be resurrected (2 Ne. 2:8); and here Lehi may be thinking of the people in Jerusalem, which he knows has been destroyed, as well as remembering deceased family members.

**Jacob.** No doubt influenced by his father's words, Lehi's son Jacob mentions grace on four occasions in his great covenant speech in 2 Nephi 9–10. Jacob locates grace together with God's wisdom, mercy,

and greatness (2 Ne. 9:8, 53). In a temple context and speaking shortly after the temple in the land of Nephi was completed and dedicated, Jacob distinctively refers to “grace divine” (2 Ne. 10:25), and he sees the extension of God’s greatness, grace, and mercy coming through the great “covenants of the Lord,” “his condescensions,” and his covenantal promises that Lehi’s “seed shall not utterly be destroyed,” but that God would preserve them to become “a righteous branch unto the house of Israel” (2 Ne. 9:53).

In order for this salvific relationship to materialize, those bound to God through his covenant, as Jacob taught, must reconcile themselves “to the will of God,” and “remember, after ye are reconciled unto God, that it is only in and through the grace of God that ye are saved” (2 Ne. 10:24). If covenant people do not submit to the will of the devil and to the flesh, God will then cause their spirits to rise, to be protected “from everlasting death by the power of the atonement,” that people “may be received into the eternal kingdom of God” and there praise God in thankful return for his divine grace (2 Ne. 10:25). In this powerful temple sermon, Jacob elaborates in detail about the covenantal relationship between God and his people, including the services that both he and his people are obliged to perform under what Jacob calls “the merciful plan of the great Creator” (2 Ne. 9:6).

**Nephi.** On only two occasions does Nephi, Jacob’s older brother, refer to grace. First, in the text immediately after Jacob’s temple sermon, Nephi affirms his father Lehi’s declaration that the fullness of grace is to be found in the Holy Messiah and also ratifies the explanation that Jacob had given about the covenant relationship between God and his people. Nephi here not only looks back to the covenant made by God with Lehi and his posterity, but also his soul delights “in the covenants of the Lord which he hath made to our fathers,” evidently referring to the covenants made by God to Moses, Abraham, and others (2 Ne. 11:5). Realizing this full array of covenants that established durable promises and obligations by his fathers, Nephi concurrently delights in God’s “grace, and in his justice, and power, and mercy in the great and eternal plan of deliverance from death” (2 Ne. 11:5). To Jacob’s panoply of grace, wisdom, mercy, and greatness, Nephi adds God’s “justice and power,” and ties grace into not only the merciful plan by which the world was created, but the “eternal plan” through which God’s people can be delivered from death.

Second, knowing the value and importance of that relationship, Nephi, later in the text, explains why he works so hard to persuade his



posterity and his *brethren*, faithful or recalcitrant, “to believe in Christ,” the Messiah, and “to be *reconciled to God*,” preserving or restoring their good standing within the covenantal relationship between them and the Lord, “for we know that it is *by grace that we are saved, after all we can do*” (2 Ne. 25:23). Here Nephi’s famous words, as indicated by the italics, echo almost verbatim the words of Jacob in 2 Nephi 10:24,<sup>2</sup> where Jacob admonished *the brethren* to reconcile themselves to the will of God and to remember that “*after ye are reconciled unto God*, that it is only in and *through the grace of God that you are saved*.” Nephi’s phrase “be reconciled to God” is a shortened allusion to Jacob’s slightly longer phrases “reconcile yourselves to *the will of God*” and “after ye are reconciled to God.”<sup>3</sup> When Nephi says that “*we know that it is by grace that we are saved*,” he speaks not only for himself but also implicitly recognizes Jacob as the source of this expression of their belief. Moreover, when Nephi refers to “*after all we can do*,” he would expect his readers to recall what Jacob had previously said, when Jacob explained that salvation can operate through the grace of God only after one is reconciled unto God. “After all we can do” is then an elliptical reference to Jacob’s “after ye are reconciled unto God,” thereby maintaining the covenantal relationship through divine atonement and human reconciliation of any infractions, thereby allowing the grace, justice, wisdom, power, mercy, and greatness of God to operate so that we “are saved” (2 Ne. 10:24; 25:23).

Joseph Spencer, who draws many connections between 2 Nephi 10:24 and 2 Nephi 25:23, places these verses in the context of the whole book of 2 Nephi and the purpose for which Nephi kept his record. What “Nephi and Jacob ask their readers and hearers to do is to be reconciled to God.” This happens when people “stop holding out against God’s purposes, when we ‘yield’ and therefore cease, at last, to be ‘an enemy to

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2. These two verses may be seen as chiasmic parallels, suggesting that they are to be contemplated as a pair. Welch sees the book of 2 Nephi as a five-element chiasm, with Jacob’s commentary of Isaiah (2 Ne. 6–10), having 2 Nephi 10 at its end, corresponding to Nephi’s commentary on Isaiah (2 Ne. 25–30), having 2 Nephi 25 at its beginning. John W. Welch, “Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon,” in *Chiasmus in Antiquity* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1981), 201, available online at <http://publications.maxwellinstitute.byu.edu/fullscreen/?pub=1131&index=9>.

3. Stephen Ehat also has noted that both of these verses use the word “after” and not the word “because,” thus avoiding the idea that grace is the result of works. The requirement of works, or “all we can do,” then leads to reconciling oneself to God; after a person is reconciled he can then be saved by grace. Stephen Ehat, email to John W. Welch, May 15, 2015.

God,’ as the angel put it to King Benjamin (Mosiah 3:19),” and enter into a covenant to keep God’s commandments (Mosiah 5:5–8). Spencer suggests that “Nephi took the doctrine of grace to be most relevant when he recognized the real temptation human beings feel to resist the revelatory. . . . Grace is what we are ignoring whenever we resist God’s gentle (or not-so-gentle) entreaties. . . . If we can be still . . . we might know, as Nephi did, that God is God, and that it is God who saves by grace.”<sup>4</sup>

Discussion of Nephi’s view of grace is incomplete without connecting it to his message in 2 Nephi 31. In that chapter, it becomes clear that “all we can do” is to recognize Christ as the Savior, follow him, repent, enter into the covenant of baptism, receive the Holy Ghost, remain steadfast in hope and love, and endure to the end. Those who keep the covenants will then receive eternal life through grace.

**Alma.** The next primary author to use the word grace in the Book of Mormon is Alma the Younger. In three of his most powerful speeches—first, in addressing Nephites in Zarahemla who appear to have slackened in their covenantal commitments; second, to faithful recent arrivals from the land of Nephi now resettled in the city of Gideon; and third, in addressing the apostate Nehorites in Ammonihah—Alma turns powerfully to grace as a crucial element in maintaining righteousness before God. Like Lehi and Jacob before him, Alma couples grace with mercy. He goes on in describing the Son of God as being full of grace, mercy, truth, equity, patience, and longsuffering (Alma 5:48; 9:26; 13:9).

On God’s part in this grace relationship, Alma emphasizes that God will “take away the sins of the world” and will be “quick to hear the cries of his people and to answer their prayers” (Alma 9:26). On the part of the beneficiaries, Alma enumerates that they must “steadfastly believe on his name” (Alma 5:48) and humble themselves before God (Alma 7:3), repent and obey the will of God, and petition God, “supplicating of his grace” (Alma 7:3).

As the high priest of the people in the land of Zarahemla, but having recently stepped down after nine years of serving also as the chief judge, Alma shows particular interest in the judicial aspects of mercy, equity, and justice as he invites his people to be faithful, repent, and maintain, individually and as a people together, their relationship with God. Thus, in his words to Corianton in Alma 39–42, Alma names the path to salvation

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4. Joseph M. Spencer, “What Can We Do? Reflections on 2 Nephi 25:23,” *Religious Educator* 15, no. 2 (2014): 33, 36–37.

as “the plan of redemption” (Alma 39:18; 42:11, 13), “the plan of restoration” (Alma 41:2), “the great plan of salvation” (Alma 42:5) “the great plan of happiness” (Alma 42:8, 16), and “the plan of mercy” (Alma 42:15, 31), but he could just as well have called it “the plan of grace.” Alma explains that God’s plan gives mankind time to repent—a space of time between sin and judgment (Alma 42:4), and this is the essence of mercy. If people were to see immediate judgment and punishment for their sins, it would be easy to avoid sin, there would not be any need for faith, and there would not be a space of time for people to examine their hearts or to come to themselves, and the plan of salvation would be frustrated (Alma 42:5). Delayed judgment allows for voluntary, not compulsory, repentance, and that condition makes it possible for mercy to take effect and not destroy justice (Alma 42:13). Mercy defers justice, but does not rob justice, for there will still be a judgment. In Alma’s view, God’s grace extends to a time or space for repentance to occur.

**Mormon.** The word *grace* makes an important appearance in Mormon’s editorial writings. First, in describing the baptisms at the waters of Mormon, Mormon reflects wistfully upon the righteous successes of Alma the Elder, whose posterity would keep the records that were finally entrusted to Mormon. Looking back on that idyllic moment, Mormon was undoubtedly drawn to the beauties of that place, not only because he shared the name of that place of covenanting, but also because of his great disappointment that his own people had turned from their covenants and “that the day of grace was passed with them, both temporally and spiritually” (Morm. 2:15). He looked back on that as a time when 204 souls were “filled with the grace of God” (Mosiah 18:16), and when their priests for their recompense received only “the grace of God, that they might wax strong in the spirit, having the knowledge of God, that they might teach with power and authority from God” (Mosiah 18:26), and in “doing these things, they did abound in the grace of God” (Mosiah 27:5).

Commenting on the wicked condition that plagued the people of Nephi during the book of Helaman, Mormon devoutly prayed that God might “grant, in his great fulness, that men might be brought unto repentance and good works, that they might be restored unto grace for grace, according to their works” (Hel. 12:24). Knowing as he did the impending demise of the Nephite civilization, Mormon realized that some will not be brought back unto repentance and that indeed some will ultimately be cast out, not being restored to a reciprocal “grace for grace” relationship with God (Hel. 12:25), who would, as a mother hen, have gathered these people unto himself, but they would not (3 Ne. 10:5–6).

In his own day, four centuries later, Mormon could not find grace operating among his people (Morm. 2:15), who had come out “in open rebellion against their God,” in effect repudiating the covenants and the relationship they could and should have maintained with God. Nevertheless, in each of the three letters that he wrote to his son Moroni, Mormon recognized the grace of God that still extended to him and to his few righteous followers. In the first, having survived several initial catastrophic military disasters, Mormon acknowledged that he was able to speak to the congregation of his beloved brethren only “by the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy will, because of the gift of his calling” (Moro. 7:2). As his second letter begins, grace is once again on Mormon’s mind, who prays continually to the Father in the name of his Holy Child Jesus that he, “through his infinite goodness and grace, will keep you through the endurance of faith on his name to the end” (Moro. 8:3).<sup>5</sup> Mormon’s third letter concludes by exhorting Moroni to be faithful, hopeful, and reassured that through God’s mercy and longsuffering, the grace of God the Father will “abide with you forever” (Moro. 9:25–26).

**Moroni.** Having received this final encouragement from his father, Moroni goes on to complete the plates of Mormon, adding the books of Ether and his own book of Moroni to the final record. From Moroni’s perspective, the importance of men coming to God in order for them to partake of and benefit from God’s grace takes prominence: “If men come unto me I will show unto them their weakness. . . . My grace is sufficient for all men that humble themselves before me; for if they humble themselves before me, and have faith in me, then will I make weak things become strong unto them” (Ether 12:27). In other words, all must humble themselves, putting themselves in a relationship with God that recognizes him as the Lord, with themselves as hopeful beneficiaries. If they have faith and trust in this relationship, the Father promises to make their weakness a strength.

No doubt, the invitation to “come unto me” in Ether 12:27 echoes the invitation of Jesus Christ, who speaks in the first part of the book of Ether, saying, “Come unto me all ye Gentiles, and I will show unto you the greater things,” and “Come unto me, O ye House of Israel, and it shall be made manifest unto you how great things the Father hath laid

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5. Likewise, four late New Testament letters, perhaps also authored in times of distress by Paul and John, begin by recognizing that it is by grace, mercy, and peace that they might yet communicate encouragement to their people, albeit in times of great trouble (1 Tim. 1:2; 2 Tim. 1:2; Titus 1:4; 2 John 1:3).

up for you, from the foundation of the world” (Ether 4:13–14). Moroni now affirms that he has “prayed unto the Lord that he would give unto the Gentiles grace, that they might have charity” (Ether 12:36), in particular that the Gentiles would be charitable in not rejecting the Book of Mormon because of the weaknesses of their writers (Ether 12:35). Moroni recognizes that the Gentiles have been given a “talent” and therefore were in some kind of stewardship relationship with God, who expected them to use that talent in doing the will of the Master. As for Moroni, however, having himself been a faithful servant to the Master, the Lord assures him that “because thou hast seen thy weakness thou shalt be made strong, even unto the sitting down in the place which I have prepared in the mansions of my Father” (Ether 12:37). In other words, Moroni is told that he will successfully enjoy the perfection of his relationship with the Lord.

In much the same way that Mormon had concluded his final epistle to Moroni (by invoking a blessing upon his son that the grace of God would abide with him forever [Moro. 9:26]), Moroni concludes his final editorial insertion in the book of Ether by commending Jesus to his readers that they might seek a relationship with Christ so that “the grace of God the Father, and also the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, which beareth record of them, may be and abide in you forever” (Ether 12:41).

Reiterating these ideas in his culminating conclusion, Moroni invites all people to “come unto Christ, and be perfected in him,” and to “love God with all your might, mind and strength,” promising “then is his grace sufficient for you, that by his grace ye may be perfect in Christ” (Moro. 10:32). By coming to Christ, denying oneself of all ungodliness, and loving God with all one’s might, a grace relationship is created so that the obligor “may be perfected” in and by his Lord. And on God’s part, sanctification in Christ will be brought about “by the grace of God, through the shedding of the blood of Christ” (Moro. 10:33). All of this is possible through the reciprocally obliging “covenant of the Father” (Moro. 10:33), bestowing upon the covenant observers the benefit of “the remission of your sins, that ye become holy, without spot” (Moro. 10:33).

### **Thematic Uses of Grace in the Book of Mormon**

Thematically, grace is used in the Book of Mormon in conjunction with such covenantal teachings as returning service and thanks to God, repentance, relating to God, salvation, and the loss of one’s access to the grace relationship.

**What Is Required in Return for Grace?** As King Benjamin teaches of mercy, atonement, service, obedience, wisdom, power, and justice (Mosiah 2:39; 3:26; 4:2; 5:15), he teaches that disciples should serve God and others, even though in so doing they still remain unprofitable servants and unable to repay God for his gifts; the very air we breathe is a gift from God (Mosiah 2:22). Even though no one can come close to repaying God for his offer of forgiveness, resurrection, and eternal life, there is still much that disciples must do. Benjamin does not say that nothing is required in return. God has given the gift of life to mankind, and when his children respond to God with obedience, he blesses them in return, and they are forever in his debt (Mosiah 2:21–25). This kind of recurring reciprocity was practiced in the ancient world: a person of means would give something of value, the receiver was then obliged to respond with gratitude and obedience, the giver would give more gifts, and the cycle continued indefinitely.<sup>6</sup> The recognition of this obligation to keep God’s commandments and praise and thank him parallels the ancient idea of reciprocity. Benjamin’s teachings thus align with the view of *hesed* and *charis* in the ancient Mediterranean world. (See the sidebar on p. 120.)

**Grace and Repentance.** Helaman 12:24 commands men to remember God and his greatness: “And may God grant, in his great fulness, that men might be brought unto repentance and good works, that they might be restored unto grace for grace, according to their works.” The phrase “that they might” suggests that when God brings people to repentance and good works, then they will be restored unto grace for grace, and the final clause clarifies that grace is restored “according to their works.” While this verse may say that grace is dependent on works, it needs to be taken in context of this chapter, which lists many ways that people are foolish, proud, selfish, and forgetful of God. The message is that those whose works are evil will not attain grace until they remember God and repent. Repentance is necessary to obtain grace; disciples must become true followers of God. One of the best examples of this in the Book of Mormon is the conversion of Alma the Younger, who was one of the vilest of sinners (Mosiah 28:4). But after his conversion, Alma

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6. Anciently, grace was a “code which recognized that reciprocal favors initiated a sequence of exchanged kindnesses. The code enjoyed the endorsement of the most basic unwritten law.” Bonnie MacLachlan, *The Age of Grace: Charis in Early Greek Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 22.

labored throughout the rest of his life to build up the Church by working to help others repent and receive the Holy Ghost (Alma 36:23–24).

The Book of Mormon urges all to repent, which parallels the ancient virtue of loyalty to those who had given *charis*. Because people cannot be saved in their sins (Alma 11:34, 36, 37), we gain full access to the Savior's grace and can be saved from spiritual death through repentance. Two brief examples illustrate this point. First, when being taught the gospel by Aaron, Lamoni's father declared that he was willing to give up all his sins to know God (Alma 22:18). Second, repentant Lamanites who became Ammonites buried their swords rather than shed blood again (Alma 24:12–17). These examples demonstrate how the Book of Mormon teaches that those who truly received the gift of the Atonement reciprocally did all in their power to show their thankfulness, be obedient, and endure to the end.

**One's Relationship with God Is of Supreme Importance.** Ether 12:27 teaches, "And if men come unto me I will show unto them their weakness. I give unto men weakness that they may be humble; and my grace is sufficient for all men that humble themselves before me; for if they humble themselves before me, and have faith in me, then will I make weak things become strong unto them." I read this as God giving men weakness to cause them to realize that he is in charge and that they must seek a relationship with him. Pride is an enemy; people must become humble before him; God alone has the power to make individuals and communities strong. Humanity's relationship with God is everything, and that relationship must be founded on humility.

Perhaps Moroni 10:32–33 stresses grace more than any other verse in the Book of Mormon:

Yea, come unto Christ, and be perfected in him, and deny yourselves of all ungodliness; and if ye shall deny yourselves of all ungodliness, and love God with all your might, mind and strength, then is his grace sufficient for you, that by his grace ye may be perfect in Christ; and if by the grace of God ye are perfect in Christ, ye can in nowise deny the power of God. And again, if ye by the grace of God are perfect in Christ, and deny not his power, then are ye sanctified in Christ by the grace of God, through the shedding of the blood of Christ, which is in the covenant of the Father unto the remission of your sins, that ye become holy, without spot.

The "if, then" structure throughout this verse marks the cause and effect: those who seek God with all they have and deny themselves of all ungodliness will be forgiven and will be acceptable because of God's grace. Then comes the amazing promise that they may become perfect



in Christ. Those who receive this grace cannot possibly deny the power of God. If they become perfect in Christ, they become sanctified. It is God's power, not theirs, that makes them whole. It is because of their relationship with both God and Christ that they become recipients of grace. One does not achieve this reward quickly or easily. In fact, these final verses from the book of Moroni are mirrored by the very first chapters of that same book (chapters 1–6), which describe several ordinances, actions, and commandments necessary to achieve salvation—some of which must be repeated indefinitely (such as meeting often to “partake of bread and wine, in remembrance of the Lord Jesus” [Moro. 6:6]).

**What We Are Saved From and How We Are Saved.** The authors of the Book of Mormon teach that there are two kinds of death that we must overcome in order to become exalted—physical and spiritual. As I will discuss below, Jesus Christ's gift we call grace will save all people from physical death. It is free to all people; all will be resurrected (Alma 40:4). The Savior's gift can also save people from spiritual death if they keep God's commandments. Book of Mormon prophets teach that only those who fully engage with the Savior's atoning sacrifice are able to escape spiritual death and receive eternal life and exaltation.

Another aspect of grace in 2 Nephi 10:23–24 (mentioned above) is agency, or free will. “Remember that ye are free to act for yourselves. . . . Reconcile yourselves to the will of God . . . and remember . . . that it is only in and through the grace of God that ye are saved. Wherefore, may God raise you from death by the power of the resurrection, and also from everlasting death by the power of the atonement, that ye may be received into the eternal kingdom of God, that ye may praise him through grace divine.” It is clear in this verse that certain actions are required for individuals to reach God's kingdom. They cannot depend on grace alone, though grace is absolutely essential and necessary. In addition to providing this grace, God requires individuals to choose, to work, to act. Both grace and works are essential to this plan.

Physical resurrection is the Savior's free gift given to all who have lived upon the earth. The prophet Alma taught in Alma 11:42–45 that God will provide salvation from physical death for all: “Now, there is a death which is called a temporal death; and the death of Christ shall loose the bands of this temporal death, that all shall be raised from this temporal death” (v. 42). Resurrection is an essential part of God's plan for us to receive a body and is contingent on the Atonement. Even though all people will receive resurrection, it will not be all at the same time. The righteous will be resurrected first (Mosiah 15:22).



Spiritual death is a separation from God or being denied access to God's presence. While God will eventually bring all into his presence to be judged (Alma 42:23), for some, this reunion will be temporary. To truly overcome spiritual death is to enter God's kingdom and dwell with him eternally. Multiple Book of Mormon authors make it clear that faith in Christ, repentance from sin, baptism, obedience to commandments, and enduring to the end in faith are essential for salvation from spiritual death (especially in 2 Ne. 31 and 3 Ne. 11). Being reconciled unto God or released from spiritual death occurs through keeping one's sacred covenants with the Lord. I see this as reciprocal grace.

Some dissidents within the Book of Mormon argued that salvation required absolutely no individual effort and were characterized as teaching popular but false doctrines. The idea that all will enter the kingdom of God whether or not they have repented is condemned in the Book of Mormon through the dramatic silencing of these dissenters. They substituted their system of free grace for the grace offered by the Savior.<sup>7</sup> The dissenter Nehor taught the Nephites a sort of salvation by grace that was unconditional. This doctrine became popular among the people and had to be condemned by the prophets:

He [Nehor] had gone about among the people, preaching to them that which he termed to be the word of God, bearing down against the church; declaring unto the people that every priest and teacher ought to become popular; and they ought not to labor with their hands, but that they ought to be supported by the people. And he also testified unto the people that all mankind should be saved at the last day, and that they need not fear nor tremble, but that they might lift up their heads and rejoice; for the Lord had created all men, and had also redeemed all men; and, in the end, all men should have eternal life. And it came to pass that he did teach these things so much that many did believe on his words, even so many that they began to support him and give him money. (Alma 1:3–5)

In my reading of this text, Nehor rejected the need for the transformative power of the Atonement, since I believe he promoted an easy and convenient form of grace in which “all mankind should be saved at the last day.”<sup>8</sup> The Book of Mormon emphatically teaches that this particular

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7. See, generally, John W. Welch, *The Legal Cases in the Book of Mormon* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 2008), 112, for an analysis of the distinctions among the dissenters Sherem, Nehor, and Korihor.

8. Welch, *Legal Cases in the Book of Mormon*, 207.

interpretation of grace is a false doctrine (Alma 1:14–16). It hindered many Nephites who followed Nehor and others of his order from truly repenting of their sins.

In an additional example, Korihor drew upon his followers' desire for control and self-righteousness, as he argued that one should carve out success through one's own intellect, brawn, and skills. Under this philosophy, those who are independently strong will naturally progress without any help from the Savior (see Alma 30:16–17).<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, according to Korihor's way of thinking, covenants and grace are not needed. As I have highlighted above, Book of Mormon prophets consistently taught that God required dependence on him alone for salvation.

**Grace Can Be Lost.** Some who once were righteous fell away and lost the grace that they had received. Even the righteous brother of Jared was warned by the Lord that the Spirit would not always strive with him if he continued to forget to pray (Ether 2:15). Throughout the Book of Mormon, we read about dissenters among the Nephites who eventually left the church, refused to repent, and continued to live sinful lives in a state of apostasy, often defecting to the Lamanites. Unless the power of the preaching of the word touched their hearts, as with Aminadab and others mentioned in Helaman chapter 5, dissenters such as Amlici and Amalickiah usually led difficult lives filled with contention, warfare, and often an early death. Nephi told us that the spirit ceased to strive with the Jerusalemites because they rejected the prophets (1 Ne. 7:14). Both the Nephites and the Lamanites eventually rejected the Savior (2 Ne. 26:11; Morm. 5:16) and destroyed each other in combat with merciless slaughter (Morm. 4:5); their whole societies lost grace. Mormon reports that “the day of grace was passed with them” (Morm. 2:15).

## Conclusion

In sum, the Book of Mormon teaches that grace and salvation are available only through coming to Christ, following him, and enduring to the end. This point of enduring to the end is taught in nine Book of Mormon verses. For example, Amaleki exhorts his brethren, “Yea, come unto him, and offer your whole souls as an offering unto him, and continue in fasting and praying, and endure to the end; and as the Lord liveth ye will be saved” (Omni 1:26). The Savior's personal teaching included,

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9. I note great insights on this topic from Camille Fronk Olson's devotional “What's So Amazing about Grace?” November 10, 2009, at BYU–Hawaii, available online at <http://devotional.byuh.edu/node/386>.

“Behold, I am the law, and the light. Look unto me, and endure to the end, and ye shall live; for unto him that endureth to the end will I give eternal life” (3 Ne. 15:9). While this teaching is found only rarely in the New Testament (see Matt. 24:13; Mark 13:13), the Book of Mormon emphasizes the need for continuing in grace as a lifelong endeavor. The reception of grace is not a one-time event, but the extension of and the development of a comfortable, loving, committed and endearing relationship between God and his children. This conceptualization of grace in the Book of Mormon resonates strongly with the ancient concept of *charis*: that of reciprocally obliging gift-giving. Thus, from a religious perspective rooted in the ancient world and amply reflected in the Book of Mormon, grace is an everlasting series of offerings and benefactions from God, in response to which the willing receiver reciprocates, as well as possible, aiming to please the Lord, thereby ensuring the formation and continuation of a saving relationship with God.

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Brent J. Schmidt teaches at Brigham Young University–Idaho in the religion and humanities departments. He earned degrees in history and classics from the University of Utah and a PhD in classics from the University of Colorado–Boulder. He is interested in patristics, ancient and modern utopian communities, Greco-Roman history, and New Testament studies. He is on the BYU New Testament Commentary Series board of editors and he is the coauthor, with John W. Welch, of the forthcoming volumes on Matthew and 1 Peter, 2 Peter, and Jude. He is a BYU Studies Research Fellow (2011–present). He is the author of *Utopia and Community in the Ancient World: The Ancient Utopian Societies of Pythagoras, the Essenes, Pachomius and Late Pagan Athens* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010); “Temple Elements in Ancient Religious Communities,” *BYU Studies* 50, no. 1 (2011): 127–53; and a book review of *Speculative Grace: Bruno Latour and Object-Oriented Theology* by Adam S. Miller, in *BYU Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (2015): 202–4.

# Dating the Death of Jesus Christ

*Jeffrey R. Chadwick*

**I**n December 2010, *BYU Studies* published a study I prepared entitled “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ.” It presented historical and scriptural evidence showing that Jesus was not born in April of 1 B.C., as popular Latter-day Saint thought supposed, but most likely in December of 5 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The article attracted considerable attention; was covered in both print and broadcast news stories as well as by radio shows, blogs, and other forums of discussion;<sup>2</sup> and received positive response in many venues.<sup>3</sup>

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

2. See, for example, Michael De Groote, “What Was the Real Date of Jesus’ Birth?” *Deseret News*, December 24, 2010, available at <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/700094707/What-was-the-real-date-of-Jesus-birth.html>; “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” interview on BYU Radio program *Thinking Aloud*, host Marcus Smith, originally aired April 18, 2012, available at <http://www.classical89.org/thinkingaloud/archive/episode/?id=4/18/2012>; and “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” *Meridian Magazine*, November 12, 2010, no longer available online.

3. Differing views were presented in response to my 2010 article as Lincoln H. Blumell and Thomas A. Wayment, “When Was Jesus Born? A Response to a Recent Proposal,” *BYU Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (2012): 53–81. Notwithstanding the claims made there, which I have carefully considered, I stand behind every aspect and conclusion presented in “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ.” This article about dating the death of Jesus Christ presents additional support for calendric considerations about the birth, life, and ministry of Jesus in general.

A significant component in “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ” was the proposition that Jesus died at Passover in the early spring of AD 30. While this dating is widely accepted, a minority of scholars disagree. Recently, two colleagues raised concerns about an AD 30 crucifixion date, suggesting that “we cannot know with any degree of certainty in which year Jesus died.”<sup>4</sup> A great deal of historical and scriptural evidence suggests otherwise, however, and in the pages to follow this study will demonstrate, with some degree of certainty, that Jesus did in fact die in AD 30, on the eve of Passover, the 14th day of the Jewish month Nisan, which in that year fell on April 6 in the old Julian calendar. In what may come as a surprise to many Latter-day Saints and other Christians generally, this study will also present evidence that the day on which Jesus died was *not* a Friday, but the fifth day of the Jewish week, the day we call Thursday.

As was the case with “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” it will be necessary in this study to introduce a great deal of data,<sup>5</sup> including modern scholarly assessments, original primary historical references, citations from the New Testament and the Mishnah, astronomical information, and tables that display the timing of events. At times, some of these issues may seem disconnected from each other. But the reader may be assured that all of this quite complicated evidence will come together by the end of this article to support the conclusions presented.

### **The Crucifixion at Passover**

The execution of Jesus is described in all four New Testament Gospels as having occurred at the beginning of the Passover festival (see Matt. 26–27; Mark 14–15; Luke 22–23; John 12–19). Passover was a major festival, mandated by the Law of Moses in the Hebrew Bible (see Ex. 12:2, 6, 18; 13:4) to occur in the middle of the first month of the spring season of the year (the season and month called “Aviv” in Hebrew). This means that Passover would occur in the four-and-one-half-week window of

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4. Blumell and Wayment, “When Was Jesus Born?” 69.

5. In fact, much more data must be explored in this study than in my 2010 article. This is due to the fact that, as noted by Blumell and Wayment, fixing the date of Jesus’s death is an extremely complicated task, one that admittedly was approached in only a summary manner in my “Dating the Birth” study. Accordingly, this article strives to address numerous issues raised by Blumell and Wayment that deserve to be treated as comprehensively and as definitively as possible.

time directly after the vernal equinox, which is to say after March 21. Scholars of the Jewish calendar note ancient sources which affirm that Jews in the first century, by rule, celebrated their Passover festivals soon after the vernal equinox.<sup>6</sup> Exodus also mandates that the lambs of the Passover should be slain and roasted on the 14th day of the first spring month and that when evening came, the roasted lambs should be eaten in the ritual meal with unleavened bread and bitter herbs (Ex.12:5–10). Since the ancient Israelite day began at sunset, the actual date of the feast and beginning of the festival was the fifteenth day of the month. While this month was simply called Aviv (KJV “Abib”) in the time of the Israelite monarchies, following the Babylonian captivity (sixth century BC), the ancient Jews adopted the Babylonian name for the spring month, which was Nisan.

By the time of Jesus (first century AD), the spring month of Nisan was known to Jews not only as the first month of their year, as it had been counted in books of the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament), but also as the seventh month of the year, as it was counted in the prevailing Syrian calendar. Nisan was, in fact, the seventh month after the early autumn Jewish new year, known as Rosh Hashanah.<sup>7</sup> And ancient Jewish sources refer to Nisan as both the first month and the seventh month. The Jewish historian Philo of Alexandria, for example, who wrote around AD 40, very close to the lifetime of Jesus, began his discussion of Passover by declaring that it occurred in the seventh month, explaining afterward why it was also considered by Jews to be the first month.<sup>8</sup> Whether

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6. See Sacha Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar, 2nd Century BCE to 10th Century CE* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 71.

7. See Jeffrey R. Chadwick, *Stone Manger: The Untold Story of the First Christmas* (Amazon: Kindle Direct Publishing, 2011), ch. 3 and fig. 4.

8. See Philo, Special Laws II:XXVIII, in *The Works of Philo*, trans. C. D. Yonge (Peabody Mass.: Hendrickson, 1993), 582. Philo refers to Passover and the festival of unleavened bread in the seventh month and then goes to great effort to explain why this should be considered the first month. For a diaspora Jewish writer such as Philo to designate Nisan as the seventh month lends significant support to my position in “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” 21–22, that Luke, in mentioning the “sixth month,” could be referring to Adar, the month preceding Nisan. This was challenged by Blumell and Wayment in “When Was Jesus Born?” 71, and also by S. Kent Brown, “What Do We Know about ‘the Sixth Month’ in the Infancy Story?” posted December 25, 2013, *Brigham Young University New Testament Commentary*, <http://www.byunewtestamentcommentary.com/what-do-we-know-about-the-sixth-month-in-the-infancy-story/>. In their

counted as in the first or seventh month, however, the Passover was to occur at the time of the full moon after the vernal equinox.

The day of the Passover festival was also known as a *Yom Tov*, a Hebrew term that literally means “good day,” indicating a high holy festival day of most special importance. Only the biblical mandated festival days that were also regarded as Sabbaths (regardless of the day of the week on which they fell) were designated as *Yom Tov*. These were Passover (first and seventh days), Shavu’ot (the “feast of weeks”), Rosh Hashanah, Sukkot (the “feast of tabernacles”), and Shemini Atzeret.<sup>9</sup> Leviticus designates these festival days as Sabbaths, both specifically and by implication.<sup>10</sup> All acts of work forbidden on the weekly Saturday Sabbath were forbidden on a *Yom Tov* festival day, with the exception of some issues of food preparation. The obligation on a *Yom Tov* was to rejoice together with the family and the nation, and no event of sadness was to occur, be undertaken, or be participated in on a *Yom Tov*. These festival terms and procedures were in common practice in the first century AD and were recorded in the second century in the tractate of the Mishnah that was known by the title *Yom Tov*, later to be known as *Betzah*.<sup>11</sup> Of course, there were Jewish festival holidays that were not also Sabbaths, Purim and Hanukkah being just two examples. The Hebrew term *ḥag*, meaning festival or holiday, could describe either a *Yom Tov ḥag* or a *ḥag* with no Sabbath-like restrictions. So the specific nature and restrictions of

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comments, however, neither Blumell and Wayment nor Brown refer to Philo’s writings in general or to the reference to Passover in the seventh month in particular. It seems significant, however, that autumn appears to be the beginning of the year not only for Philo, but for the diaspora Jewish writer Luke, as demonstrated by Bruce in this study (see also nn. 51 and 52 below). For the view that Luke was a Jew, see William Foxwell Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1960), 199.

9. See Adin Steinsaltz, *The Talmud, The Steinsaltz Edition: A Reference Guide*, trans. and ed. Rabbi Israel V. Berman (New York: Random House, 1989), s.v. יום טוב (*yom tov*), p. 200.

10. Leviticus 23 specifically designates Rosh Hashanah (see v. 24), the first day of Sukkot (see v. 39), and the eighth day called Shemini Atzeret (see v. 39) as Sabbaths, regardless of their position in the week. The first and last days of the Passover week (see vv. 7–8) and the day of Shavu’ot (see v. 21) are also understood as biblically mandated Sabbaths, since the passages describing them feature the same admonition against work as Rosh Hashanah and Sukkot: “Ye shall do no servile work therein.”

11. See Steinsaltz, *Talmud*, s.v. ביצה (*betzah*), p. 40.

Passover as a *Yom Tov* festival Sabbath are crucial to understanding the narratives of the crucifixion and will be referred to later as we proceed.

### The Crucifixion in AD 30: Scholarly Consensus

A broad majority of scholars maintain that AD 30 was the year in which Jesus was crucified at the season of Passover. It is not an exclusive consensus, to be sure, for there is a minority who suggest other dates. However, the ratio of New Testament scholars who prefer AD 30 over AD 33 as the year of Jesus's execution is more than two to one, and that ratio is higher still for AD 30 when compared to any other year.

Before sampling this consensus, it will be instructive to review what LDS Apostles have said concerning the dating of the Savior's death. During the 1800s, the exact year of Jesus's crucifixion was not a debated issue in LDS conversation, and there is no record of any Church Presidents, from Joseph Smith to Lorenzo Snow, having commented upon the subject. Elder Orson Pratt of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles did offer his calculation, on record, that the crucifixion occurred on April 6, AD 30.<sup>12</sup> During the 1900s, three different LDS Apostles published lengthy authoritative treatments on the life of Christ. In his 1915 work *Jesus the Christ*, Elder James E. Talmage reckoned the year of Jesus's death as AD 33.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, President J. Reuben Clark, in his 1954 study entitled *Our Lord of the Gospels*, preferred the year AD 30,<sup>14</sup> as did Elder Bruce R. McConkie in 1980 in his four-volume series *The Mortal Messiah*.<sup>15</sup> It is

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12. Elder Orson Pratt did not say "AD 30" but instead said "the 6th day of April the very day on which he was crucified precisely eighteen hundred years prior to the organization of this Church." This clearly means AD 30, which is also clear from his reckoning of Jesus's birth in April of 4 BC. See Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 13:126–27, April 10, 1870; and 15:256–57, December 29, 1872. It should also be noted that Elder Pratt believed the crucifixion occurred on a Friday, rather than on Thursday as proposed by this study.

13. See James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1915), 103, where an AD 33 crucifixion date is implied in the statement "we accept the Dionysian basis as correct."

14. J. Reuben Clark, *Our Lord of the Gospels* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 4, 120, 361. It is of note that The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints officially published *Our Lord of the Gospels* as a Melchizedek Priesthood instruction manual in 1958.

15. Bruce R. McConkie, *The Mortal Messiah*, vol. 4 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 6, 19.



notable that of these three twentieth-century Apostles who prepared systematic studies on Jesus's life, two of the three agreed his death occurred in AD 30 rather than in AD 33, which mirrors the ratio in modern New Testament scholarship in general. All three Apostles, it should be noted, accepted the common tradition that Jesus was executed on a Friday.

Of modern LDS scholars who have addressed the issue of dating Jesus's death, we may first sample recent commentaries by a rising generation of Brigham Young University professors. Thomas A. Wayment's 2005 assessment entitled "The Birth and Death Dates of Jesus Christ" states a solid case for AD 30 as the year of Jesus's execution:

The most likely date for the death of the Savior is A.D. April 7, 30. This date coincides with the majority of other date-specific references in the Gospels and elsewhere. . . . It also agrees with the dating provided by Josephus and Roman sources for the reigns of important historical figures. The early Christian author Clement of Alexandra also refers to this date. The Montanists, an early Christian splinter group, also recognized April 6 or 7 as the date of Jesus' crucifixion. After considering all the historical accounts, we maintain that the first weekend of April A.D. 30 is the most likely time of the death of Jesus.<sup>16</sup>

Two other respected LDS professors, Richard Neitzel Holzapel and Eric D. Hunstman, joined Wayment as coauthors of *Jesus Christ and the World of the New Testament*, a richly illustrated 2006 reference volume, where the dating reference to the crucifixion is noted as "likely April 6 or 7, A.D. 30."<sup>17</sup> Although Wayment has not remained entirely consistent in this view,<sup>18</sup> my 2010 study concluded that Jesus died in AD 30, though

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16. 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 Holzapel and Thomas A. Wayment (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 394.

17. Richard Neitzel Holzapel, Eric D. Huntsman, and Thomas A. Wayment, *Jesus Christ and the World of the New Testament* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2006), 44.

18. Blumell and Wayment, in "When Was Jesus Born?" 70, suggest that evidence "seems to prefer a death date around AD 29 or 30." However, they also assert that "we cannot know with any degree of certainty in which year Jesus died" (69). This seems like a marked departure from Wayment's earlier, quite detailed and definitive support for AD 30 as the year of Jesus's execution (see nn. 16 and 17 above).

my preference for Thursday, April 6, implied in the notes of that article, was not expressly stated.<sup>19</sup>

Turning now to the vast world of New Testament scholarship in general, among twentieth-century Protestant experts none is more respected and influential than F. F. Bruce, who produced several highly regarded histories and commentaries on the New Testament. Based on historical factors, Bruce dates the crucifixion to AD 30 in all of his works, including his widely used *New Testament History*,<sup>20</sup> his well-respected commentary *The Gospel of John*,<sup>21</sup> and his landmark study *The New Testament Documents*.<sup>22</sup>

Raymond Brown is perhaps the most respected and preeminent among twentieth-century Catholic scholars of the New Testament. In his exhaustive, two-volume commentary entitled *The Death of the Messiah*, he explores the views of virtually all of his contemporaries (of all denominations) on issues related to the narratives of Jesus's final days and death. With regard to dating, Brown cites the 1969 study of German scholar Josef Blinzler,<sup>23</sup> in which 53 of 100 noted scholars maintain that AD 30 must be the date of Jesus's death. Brown summarized those scholars' views: "Between one and three respectively have opted for the years 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, and 36. Thirteen opted for AD 29, fifty-three for 30, and twenty-four for 33."<sup>24</sup> In this observation, it is clear that an absolute majority of the scholars surveyed support AD 30, and there is a more than two-to-one preference for AD 30 over AD 33, as noted earlier. The preference rises to four to one for AD 30 over AD 29. Brown notes Pierre Benoit (a fellow Catholic scholar), Bruce Metzger (a prominent American Presbyterian scholar), Joachim Jeremias (the famous German Lutheran scholar), and David Flusser (the preeminent Jewish scholar on early Christianity) as "among the more famous or knowledgeable

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19. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 15–17 and 33 nn. 42–44.

20. F. F. Bruce, *New Testament History* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980), 188.

21. F. F. Bruce, *The Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1983), 252.

22. F. F. Bruce, *The New Testament Documents: Are They Reliable?* 6th ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1981), 6.

23. Josef Blinzler, *Der Prozess Jesu* (Regensburg, Ger.: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1969), 101–2.

24. Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 2:1375.

authorities who have opted for AD 30.”<sup>25</sup> To Blinzler’s list must be added scholars whose works appeared after his study was published and who favored AD 30, such as Catholic scholars Jerome Murphy O’Connor,<sup>26</sup> Joseph Fitzmyer, and Bargil Pixner,<sup>27</sup> as well as the prolific but idiosyncratic Bart Ehrman,<sup>28</sup> who is of no current religious affiliation.<sup>29</sup>

As for Brown himself, after considering the positions of all of the above and more, he concludes, based partially on the astronomical study of Oxford scholars Humphreys and Waddington, that Jesus died in either AD 30 or 33, but does not favor one over the other.<sup>30</sup> (That Brown equivocates between these two dates is interesting when it is remembered that James E. Talmage adamantly advocated AD 33.)<sup>31</sup> Brown implies that a primary issue in his indecision is that he has no measure by which to ascertain the length of Jesus’s life and thus cannot be certain about which year he died.<sup>32</sup> The credibility given by Brown to the calculations of Humphreys and Waddington, however, demands that we review their study. But before that, a word about the length of Jesus’s life is in order.

### The Length of Jesus’s Life in the Book of Mormon

There are no reports concerning the exact length of Jesus’s life in the New Testament or any other scriptural or historical sources from the ancient

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25. Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1375 n. 50.

26. Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, *The Holy Land*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3.

27. Bargil Pixner, *With Jesus in Jerusalem: His First and Last Days in Judea* (Rosh Pina, Israel: Corazin Publishing, 1996), 181.

28. Bart D. Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings*, 5th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), xxxiv.

29. Bart Ehrman is identified as an agnostic and no longer a Christian in his own Wikipedia article, available at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bart\\_D.\\_Ehrman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bart_D._Ehrman).

30. Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1375–76.

31. Brown’s option of AD 33 is ruled out by the study of Chadwick, “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ” (15–17), which demonstrates that Talmage’s preference for AD 33 as the date of Jesus’s death is not possible, a conclusion that Blumell and Wayment agree with in “When Was Jesus Born?” (70–72). Notable also, however, is that AD 29, one of Blumell and Wayment’s suggestions for the date of Jesus’s death (see note 18 above) was ruled out in Brown’s view.

32. Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1376.

Near East. Latter-day Saints are fortunate to have the Book of Mormon, in which there is a chronological indicator that Jesus lived thirty-three full years. The explanation I gave in my 2010 article may be profitably reviewed here:

The book of 3 Nephi reports that a sign appeared in ancient America on the very day that Jesus was born on the other side of the world (see 3 Ne. 1:12–19). Some nine years later, “the Nephites began to reckon their time from this period when the sign was given, or from the coming of Christ” (3 Ne. 2:8). Then, thirty-three full years after the sign of Jesus’s birth, a great storm occurred, accompanied by significant destruction and three days of darkness, marking the day on which Jesus died (see 3 Ne. 8:5–23). In connection with this destructive sign of Jesus’s death, Mormon recorded that “the thirty and third year had passed away” (3 Ne. 8:2) and that the storm hit “in the thirty and fourth year, in the first month, on the fourth day of the month” (3 Ne. 8:5). In terms of how many years Jesus lived in mortality, the record in 3 Nephi seems clear. Jesus lived thirty-three full years, not a year more or a year less.<sup>33</sup>

It should be noted that the years referred to in the report of 3 Nephi would have been lunar years of twelve lunar months,<sup>34</sup> intercalated to coincide over time with the tropical or solar year of 365 days. This combination is commonly referred to as the lunar-solar calendar. Thus, Jesus would have lived thirty-three years tropical or solar years. Although a thirty-three-year lifespan has been questioned,<sup>35</sup> the description in my previous study is again useful:

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33. Chadwick, “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” 18.

34. For the Jewish calendar year described as “lunar,” see Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 1. Note that Stern explains that the Jewish calendar is also correctly described as a lunar-solar or lunisolar: “Jewish . . . lunar calendars are usually referred to as ‘lunisolar,’ because they keep up with the annual solar year by adding a 13th lunar month every two or three years; in this respect, these calendars comprise a solar element, which distinguishes them from purely lunar calendars such as the Muslim calendar.”

35. See Blumell and Wayment, “When Was Jesus Born?” 62–64, where those authors conclude that the Book of Mormon evidence only “indicates [that] Jesus lived between thirty-two and nearly thirty-four years” (64). They maintain that “the weakness in Chadwick’s argument is that he fails to account for the many variables in Nephite chronology” (76 n. 37), yet many of these issues were covered in the treatment of the *Haab* in Chadwick, “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” 19, and in the description of Nephite dating on pages 18–19, elements of which are covered below (pp. 145–47).

The Nephites were still observing the Law of Moses during the 3 Nephi period.<sup>36</sup> The performances of the Law of Moses, as found in biblical writings available to the Nephites (on the brass plates of Laban), were keyed to the seasons of the 365-day solar year, beginning with a “first month” (see Ex. 12:2, 18), which was the spring month that the biblical record called Aviv (KJV “Abib,” a name that actually means “spring”; see Ex. 23:15; 34:18; Deut. 16:1). But the solar count notwithstanding, those biblical months ran on a lunar cycle, beginning with each new moon. In other words, the ancient biblical months were lunar counts, even though the Jewish agricultural and festival year was based on the seasons of the solar count. This is why the Jewish year is referred to as lunar-solar. The lunar count was intercalated to coincide with the solar count. A twelve-month lunar year is only 354 days long, on average, which is eleven days shorter than the 365-day year. Without adjustment, the first month of the lunar year would occur eleven days earlier each solar year. Within just a few years it would fall back to winter rather than spring, and within a few more to autumn instead of winter, and so on. So the ancient Israelites devised a system of intercalation that added an extra month to their year every three years or so in order to ensure that their first month (according to the lunar count) always stayed in early spring (according to the solar count).<sup>37</sup>

The exact method of intercalation in biblical times (and also among the Nephites) is not known. Even as late as New Testament times, there was not yet a fixed calculation that automatically inserted an extra month when needed—this was done by consensus of the Jewish sages observing the signs of the seasons.<sup>38</sup> The fixed cycle of the lunar-solar Jewish year in modern use is usually said to have come into use in the fourth century, instituted by the rabbinical sage Hillel II in AD 358 (although there is even debate on whether this early date is accurate).<sup>39</sup> That the ancient Jewish year was a lunar-solar count, however, is well known, and that the Nephites used this biblical lunar-solar count is an inescapable

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36. For a brief discussion on Nephite adherence to and cessation of the Law of Moses in the narrative of 3 Nephi, see pages 193–96 of Jeffrey R. Chadwick, “What Jesus Taught the Jews about the Law of Moses,” *The Life and Teachings of Jesus Christ: From the Transfiguration through the Triumphal Entry*, ed. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Thomas A. Wayment (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2006), 176–207.

37. Chadwick, “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” 18–19.

38. For a detailed description of the Jewish calendar intercalation during the period under discussion, see Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 47–98.

39. Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 175.

conclusion. This does not mean that Nephites did not also concurrently operate according to other calendar counts that were in use in ancient American society, such as the Mayan *Haab* (the 365-day solar year), the 260-day *Tzolkin*, or the “Long Count” system of *k’ins*, *winal*s, and *tuns*.<sup>40</sup> (Contrary to some LDS sources, however, the 360-day *tun* count was not regarded as a year.<sup>41</sup>) That Nephites functioned within the Mesoamerican macroculture of which they presumably were a part is a conclusion shared by many Book of Mormon scholars. That the Nephites would also have concurrently observed the biblical lunar-solar calendar of the Law of Moses is a sound assumption, as noted in the previous study: “To properly observe the Law of Moses, the Nephites would have observed Passover in the ‘first month’ (Ex. 12:2; 18), which their biblical record would have called Aviv, or spring (Ex. 23:15; 34:18; Deut. 16:1). That the first Nephite month did indeed fall in spring, at least at the time of Jesus’s death, seems clear from the account in 3 Nephi 8:5.”<sup>42</sup> And that the Jewish Passover (in Jerusalem) occurred during the Nephite “first month” is a key indicator that the Nephites employed the lunar-solar count to reckon their years in 3 Nephi. Neither the 365-day Mayan *Haab* year<sup>43</sup>

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40. For a description of the Mesoamerican (Mayan) calendar system, see Michael D. Coe, *The Maya*, 8th ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2011), 62–69 and 231–35. The *Haab* was the 365-day solar year of eighteen 20-day months and a 5-day year-end period known as *wayeb*. The *Haab* year was also intercalated with the 260-day count called *Tzolkin* in a system known to scholars as the Calendar Round, a cycle that repeated itself every 52 years. The separate, long-term dating system known as the Long Count involved the perpetually increasing sum of *k’ins* (days), *winal*s (20-day periods), *tuns* (360-day periods that were the sum of 18 *winal*s), *ka’tuns* (7,200-day periods that were the sum of 20 *tuns*), and *bak’tuns* (144,000-day periods that were the sum of 20 *ka’tuns*), calculated from a theoretical starting point in 3114 BC.

41. Coe does not refer to the *tun* as a “year” anywhere in his discussion of the Mayan calendar system, although he does refer to the *Haab* as such. See Coe, *Maya*, in note 40 above.

42. Chadwick, “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” 19.

43. The *Haab* year falls back against the true solar year by one day every four years, due to the fact that Mayans did not provide for a leap day (the true solar year actually being 365¼ days long). See Coe, *The Maya*, 64. Thus, the *Haab* fell back against the true solar year by some 25 days each century. The new-year celebration for the *Haab* is known to occur during the five-day *wayeb* period at the end of each *Haab*, followed immediately by the first 20-day month (called *Pop*) of the newly beginning *Haab*. The *wayeb* new-year celebration is also known to have begun on July 16 in the era around 1550 (the time of Bishop Diego de Landa in the Yucatan), with *Pop* then beginning on July 21 in that era. See Coe,

nor the 360-day *tun* began in the spring season.<sup>44</sup> Yet the Nephite year of 3 Nephi 8 did begin in the spring. All of the combined evidence suggests

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*Maya*, 233. Calculating the day loss backward from 1550 to AD 30 (1,520 years) as 380 days against the true solar year would also place the *Haab* new year in *wayeb* around July 1 in the AD 30 era, with the month of *Pop* beginning about July 6. Thus, the “first month” of the Nephite year, which occurred in connection with the spring Passover in 3 Nephi 8, cannot have been the new year or first month of the *Haab*. 3 Nephi 8 does not seem to be speaking of *Haab* years.

44. It is possible to calculate the Long Count value for any Gregorian or Julian calendar date in history, which allows us to see what the *winal* (20-day period) for that *tun* date was. Using the online calculator of the prestigious Smithsonian Institute (available at <http://maya.nmai.si.edu/calendar/maya-calendar-converter>), I determined Long Count values for four selected dates discussed in the present study as candidates for the Jewish date 14th of Nisan, to see on what Long Count *k'in/day* the selected date fell, and to see in what *winal* it occurred. None of the sample dates fell in the first *winal*. This means the spring “first month” of 3 Nephi 8 cannot be regarded as having been the first *winal* of a *tun* for any of the selected dates. Likewise, no *Haab* date in these samples fell in the first *Haab* month of *Pop*. In the sample results presented below, the Long Count is given as five numbers separated by four periods—these represent the *bak'tun*, *ka'tun*, *tun*, *winal*, and *k'in*. These are followed by a heavy dot divider, and then the Calendar Round day number and name of the *Tzolkin* count, and the day number in the named month of the *Haab* year. In the samples, readers should focus on the fourth and fifth numeric figures (the *winal* and the *k'in*) in the Long Count, and observe that no *winal* is calculated as 1 (in other words, no *winal* in the samples could be conceived as having been a “first month”). After the dot divider, in the two Calendar Round date-names, readers may focus on the second date-name combination and note that in all four cases the month name is *Mak*, the 13th month of the 18 months in the *Haab* year (in other words, no “first month” appears in these samples, since all are calculated in the 13th month, called *Mak*). The four samples follow:

AD 33, Friday, April 2 (Gregorian), April 4 (Julian) = Long Count 7.19.11.8.0

• 10 *Ajaw* 8 *Mak*

[this *k'in/day* was the “o” or seat day of the 8th *winal*; the *Haab* date 8th of *Mak*, the 13th month]

AD 30, Friday, April 5 (Gregorian), April 7 (Julian) = Long Count 7.19.8.7.7

• 9 *Manik'* 10 *Mak*

[this *k'in/day* was the 7th day of the 7th *winal*; the *Haab* date 10th of *Mak*, the 13th month]

AD 30, Thursday, April 4 (Gregorian), April 6 (Julian) = Long Count

7.19.8.7.6 • 8 *Kimi* 9 *Mak*

[this *k'in/day* was the 6th day of the 7th *winal*; the *Haab* date 9th of *Mak*, the 13th month]



that Jesus was thirty-three full solar years of age at his death,<sup>45</sup> reckoned according the biblical lunar-solar calendar count.<sup>46</sup> In “Dating the Birth

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AD 29, Friday, April 13 (Gregorian), April 15 (Julian) = Long Count

7.19.7.7.10 • 3 Ok 18 Mak

[this *k'in*/day was the 10th day of the 7th *winal*; the *Haab* date 18th of *Mak*, the 13th month]

Each of the above samples dates to the 7th or 8th *winal* of the noted *tun*, and none of these *winals* can be regarded as a “first month.” Note again that the 20-day *Haab* month of *Mak* is the 13th month of the 18 months that made up the *Haab* count. *Mak* cannot be mistakenly regarded as a “first month” just because it follows *Keh*, the 12th month of the *Haab*, since the *Haab* has a total of 18 such months. For the list of all 18 *Haab* months see Coe, *Maya*, 63.

45. The Maya had a very accurate idea of the real length of the true solar (tropical) year of 365¼ days. See Coe, *Maya*, 234. There is no indication that the Maya thought of their *tun* count as a “year,” and nowhere in his descriptions does Coe refer to the *tun* as a “year.” The Maya did, however, regard the *Haab* as their year, with accompanying new-year celebrations at the end of each *Haab* (see note 43 above). Thus, the models used by some LDS investigators cited by Blumell and Wayment, such as Clark, Gardner, and Sorenson (see “When Was Jesus Born?” 76 nn. 39–40), which use the *tun* to calculate Lehi’s 600-year prophesy (as 591 or 592 real years), or the 33-year length of Jesus’s life calculated as 32 real years, are ultimately to be rejected. The natives of ancient America simply did not regard the *tun* as a year. Sources cited by Blumell and Wayment are John Clark, “Archaeology, Relics, and Book of Mormon Belief,” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 14, no. 2 (2005): 46–47; Brant Gardner, *Second Witness: Analytical and Contextual Commentary on the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2007), 1:362–63; and John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; and Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1985), 272–73.

46. The model of Spackman, cited by Blumell and Wayment (see “When Was Jesus Born?” 76 nn. 40–41), maintains that the Nephites used a strictly lunar calendar for reckoning their years and that Lehi’s 600-year prophecy may be calculated using only the 354-day lunar count. See Randall P. Spackman, “The Jewish/Nephite Lunar Calendar,” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7, no. 1 (1998): 51, 54. But this does not account for the fact that a lunar-solar calendar is required for Law of Moses reckoning, which the Nephites clearly observed, particularly in regard to the required Law of Moses festivals that were tied to the seasons of the solar year. Blumell and Wayment also maintain that Lehi’s prophecy must be counted from 597 BC to a point between 7 BC and 5 BC, and that “600 Nephite years would correlate to roughly 591 modern years.” See “When Was Jesus Born?” 77 n. 42. This also fails to account for the fact that a lunar-solar year would have been required for Nephite observance of Mosaic law. More compelling is a model that relies on full, regular years and that dates “the first year of the reign of Zedekiah” spoken of in 1 Nephi 1:4 to 609 BC rather than



of Jesus Christ,” evidence was presented supporting the conclusion that Jesus’s actual life span was thirty-three years and three or four months (not more), and also by this calculation Jesus would have been thirty-three full years old at his death.<sup>47</sup>

Knowing from the Book of Mormon that Jesus lived thirty-three full years, but not thirty-four years or longer,<sup>48</sup> rules out AD 33 as a possible

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597 BC, with Lehi’s departure from Jerusalem occurring late in 605 BC, exactly 600 years prior to Jesus’s birth at the end of 5 BC, as discussed in Jeffrey R. Chadwick, “Has the Seal of Mulek Been Found?” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 12, no. 2 (2003): 117–18 n. 24; and Jeffrey R. Chadwick, “An Archaeologist’s View,” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 15, no. 2 (2006): 123 n. 7.

47. See the discussion in Chadwick, “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” 19–21.

48. Wayment theorizes that “the time period between the sign of Jesus’s birth and the signs of his death was thirty-four years” and parenthetically adds “thirty-three years if counted inclusively” (see Wayment, “Birth and Death Dates,” 393). In “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” 35 n. 50, I pointed out an error in Wayment’s model, but I also made an error of my own: “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.” Thus, I must acknowledge that Wayment was correct in saying “thirty-three years if counted inclusively,” but his reference to thirty-four years was in error. In “When Was Jesus Born?” 77 n. 43, Blumell and Wayment attempted an explanation: “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.” This explanation, however, is confusing and still incorrectly focuses on the thirty-fourth year. To be sure, Blumell and Wayment accurately sense a lack of absolute arithmetic clarity in 3 Nephi 1–8 with regard to Jesus’s age at his death, but the real issue is not whether Jesus was 33 or 34 years old at his death, but whether the text is indicating he was 32 or 33. This is to say that it is not absolutely clear in the 3 Nephi 1 narrative whether Jesus was born in the 91st or the 92nd year of the judges. If 3 Nephi 1 is read as placing Jesus’s birth in the 92nd year (which seems the likely reading), then the signs of Jesus’s death in 3 Nephi 8 would make him only 32 years and a few months old at his execution (this is calculated from the references in 3 Nephi 2:5–7, which synchronize the 100th year of the judges with the 9th year since the sign of Jesus’s birth). But if 3 Nephi 1 is read “inclusively” with regard to the 91st year of the judges, and Jesus’s birth is placed in that year, then he was indeed 33 years and a few months old at the sign of his death in 3 Nephi 8. How best to read the numbers in 3 Nephi 1 is not a settled issue, and I believe this may be one of at least two possible reasons that Mormon sensed the possibility of error in the Nephite

year for Jesus's death and indeed rules out any year later than AD 30. This is a matter of simple addition. Here is why. It is a historical fact that the death of Herod the Great occurred in April of 4 BC, but the birth of Jesus occurred prior to Herod's death (see Matt. 2:1–20). And as demonstrated in the earlier study, Jesus's birth cannot have occurred later than eight weeks prior to Herod's death, meaning that the latest date Jesus can have been born was very early February of 4 BC (although I suggest it was even several weeks earlier, in December of 5 BC).<sup>49</sup> Calculating forward to a Passover that fell thirty-three full years after the absolute latest birth date possibility of early 4 BC yields a result of AD 30 as the latest possible year that Jesus can have died. (In counting this, remember that there was no “year zero”—there was only one year from 1 BC to AD 1). Thus, AD 31, AD 32, and AD 33 are all ruled out as years when Jesus can have died. They were too late to accommodate the life span reported in the Book of Mormon. Of the two candidates to which Raymond Brown had narrowed his preferences, the New Testament and the Book of Mormon combine to demonstrate that only AD 30 is a possibility for Jesus's death.



FIGURE 1. Author Jeffrey R. Chadwick displays a Roman period manger, cut out of limestone, unearthed in Israel. The newborn Jesus would have been laid in just such a manger on the day of his birth. Photo by Kim Chadwick.

record's calculation of the years since Jesus's birth, evident in his caveat “if there was no mistake made by this man in the reckoning of our time” (3 Ne. 8:2). However, other evidence cited in the present study enables us to rule out the notion that Jesus was only 32 years old at his death—such a notion would place the crucifixion in the year AD 29, which is not possible for at least two different reasons (see fig. 4 on page 159). From the 3 Nephi text, however, it is absolutely clear that the thirty-fourth year cannot be part of the year count of Jesus's life. The fact is obvious that the elapsed time between Jesus's birth and death was not thirty-four years—the text is specific in explaining that only thirty-three full years had passed away (3 Ne. 8:2).

49. Chadwick, “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” 25.

## The Length of Jesus's Ministry—Three Years or Two?

Another key factor in determining the year of Jesus's death has always been the question of how long his active ministry lasted. There are a considerable number of scholarly approaches to this issue. Some commentators, unwilling to accept the Gospel of John as chronologically reliable,<sup>50</sup> utilize only the synoptic Gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, none of which record the beginning of Jesus's ministry in Judea, and which mention only one Passover festival, the one at which Jesus was executed. Such commentaries generally suggest a ministry lasting only a year, or they conclude that the length of Jesus's ministry cannot be calculated. However, among the commentaries that accept the reliability of the Gospel of John, two ministry models are prominent: the two-year model and the three-year model. In this study, I advocate for the two-year model. But an understanding of both models is important in this discussion.

The three-year model of Jesus's ministry, commonly found in LDS commentaries, is based on the theory that the unnamed "feast of the Jews" mentioned in John 5:1 was a Passover festival. This idea is also known as the four-Passover theory. In this model, the holiday of John 5:1 is added to the three specifically named Passovers of John 2:13, 6:4, and 12:1 to arrive at a total of four Passovers. Thus, the first spring-to-spring year of Jesus's ministry is counted from the Passover of John 2 (Passover #1) to the supposed Passover of John 5 (#2), the second year from John 5 to the Passover of John 6 (#3), and the third and final year from John 6 to the Passover of John 12 (#4). There are two weaknesses in this model, however. One is that Jesus's exact age at the beginning of his ministry is not certain. In most LDS commentaries, it is generally supposed that Jesus had turned thirty years old just before the Passover of John 2 and turned thirty-three years old at his final Passover in John 12. But Luke is the only Gospel account that mentions Jesus's age, and all that is said in Luke is that at the time of his baptism, Jesus "began to be about thirty years of age" (Luke 3:23). The words "began" and "about" render this statement imprecise in terms of how old Jesus actually was at his baptism. Had he turned thirty yet, or was he a little younger than thirty? Or, perhaps more likely, was he a little older than thirty, maybe thirty-one? A three-year ministry model, lasting from age thirty to thirty-three, cannot be demonstrated based on the imprecise

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50. On the reliability of the Gospel of John, see James H. Charlesworth, "The Historical Jesus in the Fourth Gospel: A Paradigm Shift?" *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 8 (2010): 3–46.

statement of Luke 3:23. The second weakness in the four-Passover theory is that the feast of John 5:1 is *not* called a Passover by John. In all other cases, where John meant a Passover he specifically called the festival a Passover. That he did not do so in John 5:1 seems a clear indicator that it was *not* a Passover. In fact, the themes of Jesus's teachings at the temple in John 5 are the identifiable themes of the autumn Rosh Hashanah (New Year) festival,<sup>51</sup> which occurred in mid to late September, on the first day of the month of Tishri, the first month of the Syrian and secular Jewish year. Scholars such as Bruce, taking into account the context of Jewish culture in understanding the New Testament, point to Rosh Hashanah as the festival of John 5:1, which can be reliably placed midway between the Passover of John 2 and the Passover of John 6.<sup>52</sup>

The two-year model of Jesus's ministry is based primarily upon the three specifically mentioned Passover festivals in the Gospel of John: the Passover at which Jesus began his public ministry (John 2:23), a Passover midway through his ministry (John 6:4), and the Passover at which he was executed (John 12:1). That the Passover of John 6 is not the same event as the Passover of John 12 is clear from the fact that between the two references are accounts of a Sukkot festival (the autumn "feast of tabernacles" of John 7:2) and a Hanukkah festival (the winter "feast of dedication" of John 10:22). The two-year model of Jesus's ministry identifies a first year from the Passover of John 2 to the Passover of John 6, and a second (final) year of his ministry from the Passover of John 6 to the Passover of John 12. Bruce explains how this model accounts for virtually all of the historical factors involved with dating Jesus's ministry:

The crucifixion of Christ took place, it is generally agreed, about AD 30. According to Luke 3:1, the activity of John the Baptist, which immediately preceded the commencement of our Lord's public ministry, is dated in "the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar." Now, Tiberius became emperor in August, AD 14, and according to the method of computation current in Syria, which Luke would have followed, his fifteenth year commenced in September or October, AD 27. The fourth Gospel mentions three Passovers after this time; the third Passover from that date would be the Passover of AD 30, at which it is probable on other grounds that the crucifixion took place. At this time, too, we know

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51. On the themes of John 5 as Rosh Hashanah, see pages 84–85 in Chadwick, "The Jerusalem Temple, the Sadducees, and the Opposition to Jesus," in Holzapfel and Wayment, *From Bethlehem through the Sermon on the Mount*, 48–88.

52. Bruce, *New Testament Documents*, 49.

from other sources that Pilate was Roman Governor of Judaea, Herod Antipas was tetrarch of Galilee, and Caiaphas was Jewish high priest.<sup>53</sup>

In a footnote to the second sentence of the preceding passage, Bruce explains Luke's point of reference in dating Tiberius's reign:

The method in Syria, retained from the days of the Seleucid kings, was to reckon the start of a new regnal year in September–October. As Tiberius became emperor in August, AD 14, his second regnal year would thus be regarded as beginning in September–October of the same year. The Passover of Jn. 2:13ff. accordingly was that of March, AD 28, and this agrees with the chronological indication of 2:20, for Herod's temple was commenced in 20–19 BC, and 46 years from that brings us to AD 27–28.<sup>54</sup>

Now, it should be noted that the Jewish general and historian Josephus gave two conflicting reports about the year in which construction on Herod's temple was begun. In *The Jewish War* (1.21.1) he stated that the temple's construction was commenced in the fifteenth year of Herod's reign, which would be the year 23/22 BC (the year being counted, in Syrian and Jewish practice, from October to September). But in his later work, *Antiquities of the Jews* (15.11.1), Josephus dated the commencement of temple construction to the eighteenth year of Herod's reign, which would be the year 20/19 BC. The later date is more likely to be correct, as it was noted in the later work, which presumably corrected the earlier work's error. If the Passover of spring 19 BC is reckoned as being in year 1, then the Passover of spring AD 27 would have to be reckoned as being in year 46, and the Passover of spring AD 28 would be in year 47. The passage in John 2:20—"Forty and six years was this temple in building"—is somewhat ambiguous and could be taken to mean either that the temple was in its forty-sixth year of construction or that the forty-sixth year of construction had passed when Jesus opened his ministry at Passover. Wayment, for example, seems to opt for the former, and suggests "a date of 26–27 AD . . . as the first year of Jesus' ministry."<sup>55</sup> But this is likely too early (Brown notes no scholar who favors it),<sup>56</sup> and a wider consensus agrees with Bruce that the Passover of spring AD 28 is preferable in calculating the forty-six-year count. As

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53. Bruce, *New Testament Documents*, 12.

54. Bruce, *New Testament Documents*, 12 n. 1.

55. Wayment, "Birth and Death Dates of Jesus Christ," 391.

56. Brown, who gives summaries of scholarly models on these dating issues, does not note a single authority that favors AD 26/27 as the fifteenth year of

Brown observed, “Many scholars accept the latter date [of Josephus] as historical and use it to confirm Luke’s chronology pointing to the year AD 28 as the commencement of Jesus’ public activity.”<sup>57</sup>

With regard to “the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar” (Luke 3:1), however, there is some scholarly confusion. Augustus Caesar died on August 19 of AD 14. If fifteen years are simply added to AD 14, the result is the year AD 29, or more precisely the Syrian (and Jewish) year from autumn AD 28 to autumn AD 29. Brown notes that “many would opt for Aug./Sept. AD 28–29” for Tiberius’s fifteenth year,<sup>58</sup> but this cannot be correct, since it would necessarily place the beginning of Jesus’s ministry at the Passover of spring AD 29, too late for any ministry model that relies on the Gospel of John as well as the synoptic Gospels. Such a calculation also skips the few weeks from August 19 to the actual beginning of the year, which took place not in August, but in mid to late September (Brown errs in suggesting that the year began as early as August). When the last few weeks of the year AD 13/14 (that is, August 19 to mid-September AD 14) are counted as referring to Tiberius’s first regnal year, then his fifteenth year would have been from autumn AD 27 to autumn AD 28. This more precise method is the one employed by Bruce above. It would place the beginning of John the Baptist’s activities in the autumn of AD 27 or the winter of AD 27/28 and precisely places the beginning of Jesus’s ministry to the Passover of spring AD 28.

Two significant issues are addressed by the remarks of Bruce, quoted earlier, and the rest of the discussion above. The first is that the implied point of reference for the beginning of the year, in both Luke 3 and John 5, was the autumn month of Tishri, the same which served as the first month of the year in the Syrian calendar (which, as noted earlier, was widely utilized in the eastern part of the Roman Empire). The second issue demonstrated by Bruce is that the two-year ministry model, in which Jesus began his activities at Passover of AD 28 and was executed at Passover of AD 30, is the model supported by the chronological allusion in Luke 3:1, the three specific Passovers mentioned by John, and by the historical reference of Josephus to the construction of the temple in Herod’s eighteenth year. That Jesus died at Passover of AD 30 may now also be corroborated by the astronomical study of Humphreys and Waddington.

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Tiberius, and, in fact, he himself calculates that year to 27/28. See Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1374.

57. Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1374.

58. Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1374.

## The Study of Humphreys and Waddington

In 1983, two professors at the University of Oxford, Colin J. Humphreys and W. Graeme Waddington, published an article presenting detailed astronomical information relating to the dating of Jesus's death.<sup>59</sup> Their data included precise calculations of the occurrences of the new moons in the spring seasons of every year from AD 26 to AD 36 (the duration of Pontius Pilate's governorship) and extrapolation of the Julian calendar dates and days of the week on which the 14th day of the Jewish month of Nisan (the eve of Passover) would have fallen. Their calculations took into consideration that the 14th of Nisan may occur only after the vernal equinox<sup>60</sup> (after March 20), since Passover was biblically mandated to be a spring event. Their own interpretation of the compiled data was that Jesus died in AD 33, on Friday, April 7 (Julian). The study of Humphreys and Waddington has been widely cited, and subsequent publications by the two scholars in 1989 and 1992 confirmed and expanded their data. My own study "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ" utilized their astronomical data to specify that Jesus died in AD 30.

The method of Humphreys and Waddington was to determine the Julian calendar dates, weekdays, and times of the new moons as they would have appeared in Jerusalem in March and early April during the above-mentioned years, which in each case marked the beginning of the month of Nisan (Aviv). The Jewish day was reckoned with its beginning at sunset. The new monthly count began with the Jewish day following the Jewish day on which the new moon was observed (noting, obviously, that if the new moon occurred during daylight hours, its observation would not occur until the ensuing night). Counting ahead fourteen days in each case, Humphreys and Waddington determined the normal daytime day of the week and Julian calendar date on which the 14th of Nisan, the eve of Passover, fell in each year. Figure 2, opposite, is a table of their charted results, with their own caveat notes.

In considering the data of the Oxford scientists, and particularly the asterisk (\*) and dagger (†) notes that appear with their table in figure 2,

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59. Colin J. Humphreys and W. Graeme Waddington, "Dating the Crucifixion," *Nature* 306 (December 22, 1983): 743–46.

60. See Stern, *Calendar and Chronology*, 70–71, who demonstrates that the vernal equinox rule was observed by Jews in the first century AD, even though by the fourth century AD there was some deviation from this norm.



**Table 1** The date of Nisan 14 in Jerusalem, AD 26-36

Year (AD)	New Moon time		Deduced date of Nisan 14	
26	6 April	6:40	Sunday	21 April
27	26 March	20:05	Thursday	10 April*
28	15 March	2:30	Tuesday	30 March
29	2 April	19:40	Monday	18 April†
30	22 March	19:55	Friday	7 April†
31	12 March	0:25	Tuesday	27 March
32	29 March	22:10	Sunday	13 April*
33	19 March	12:45	Friday	3 April
34	9 March	5:25	Wednesday	24 March
35	28 March	6:10	Tuesday	12 April
36	16 March	17:50	Saturday	31 March

The time of new Moon is given as calculated apparent (sundial) time of conjunction for Jerusalem ( $\pm 5$  min). The deduced date is the Julian day (from midnight to midnight), starting at 6th hour Nisan 14 and ending at 6th hour Nisan 15.

\* Nisan 14 AD 27 and AD 32 could have been on the following day if the new Moon was not detected due to poor atmospheric transparency.

† In each of these cases it is not impossible, but highly improbable, that Nisan 14 would have occurred on the preceding day.

FIGURE 2. Table 1 from Humphreys and Waddington, "Dating the Crucifixion" (1983), reproduced from their subsequent study "The Jewish Calendar, a Lunar Eclipse, and the Date of Christ's Crucifixion," *Tyndale Bulletin* 43, no. 2 (1992): 335.

two points may be profitably clarified.<sup>61</sup> First, the asterisk note in the table for AD 27 and AD 32 can be ignored. While poor atmospheric conditions could, on occasion, obscure the sighting of new moons, this would not affect the calculation of the 14th day of Nisan, since that day was not counted from the sighting of the new moon alone, but from a sighting of the moon that allowed for an accurate determination of when the new moon had actually occurred. This is evident from the Mishnah (Rosh Hashanah 2:8, see fig. 5) and will be discussed below. The second issue for clarification involves the dagger (†) notes for AD 29 and AD 30, which stipulate the possibility that the 14th of Nisan occurred

61. The adaptation of this table offered by Blumell and Wayment, "When Was Jesus Born?" 67, does not include these points, namely, the possible later dates or the possible earlier dates suggested by Humphreys and Waddington for the 14th of Nisan. Moreover, it adds dates for the 15th of Nisan, which are not part of Humphreys and Waddington's table.



a day earlier than posted on the chart. This is not “highly improbable,” however, as the authors suggest. They seem to doubt that the new moon could be observed at the calculated early evening hour of its occurrence in those years and thus add an extra day in their count. But the sky in Jerusalem is sufficiently dark at 19:00 around April 1, even in the west, for the new moon to be easily observable at its actual occurrence. Hence, the fourteen-day count would have begun normally in both AD 29 and AD 30, and the 14th of Nisan would have actually fallen on Sunday, April 17, in AD 29 and on Thursday, April 6, in AD 30 (Julian dates).

In my 2010 study, I prepared a table (fig. 3), based on all the data of Humphreys and Waddington, which notes for each year the dates they calculated for the 14th of Nisan. In this table, two dates appear for some years, as reflected in the chart of Humphreys and Waddington, since the point of the 2010 study was only to demonstrate in what year Jesus must have died, in support of calculating a year of his birth. However, in that table, only the first day in those years was the absolute date for the 14th of Nisan—the second day may be disregarded, for the reasons mentioned above. This means that the 14th of Nisan fell on Thursday, April 10, in AD 27; on Sunday, April 17, in AD 29; on Thursday, April 6, in AD 30; and on Sunday, April 13, in AD 32.

In this table, asterisks (\*) appear by three years: AD 27, AD 30, and AD 33. These are the only years during the administration of Pontius Pilate when the eve of Passover, and Passover itself, fell within a three-day window of time prior to Sunday.<sup>62</sup> (This is also apparent in fig. 2.) As affirmed in all four Gospels, Jesus’s body was in the tomb for three days, and his resurrection occurred on a Sunday, the “first day of the week.” Therefore, the crucifixion cannot have occurred on any day from Saturday through Wednesday. Only Thursday and Friday fall within a three-day window of time prior to Sunday, and even this depends on how the three days are counted (as will be discussed below). So, when considering the historical factor of Pilate’s administration, only AD 27, AD 30, and AD 33 qualify as candidates for the year in which Jesus could have died. However, when the historical factor of Tiberius Caesar’s reign

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62. This contrasts with the chart offered by Blumell and Wayment in “When Was Jesus Born?” 70, which allows that crucifixion on the 14th of Nisan could have occurred in AD 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, or 34. But the parameters behind their chart are unrealistically broad, no source or authority is cited for the chart, and no other New Testament scholars are on record supporting its results or the premises behind it.

**Weekdays and Julian Dates for the Fourteenth of Nisan during the Administration of Pontius Pilate as Prefect of Judea and Samaria, AD 26–36**

Year	New Moon Time	Earliest Possible Day for 14th of Nisan
AD 26	06:40, April 6	Sunday, April 21
AD 27*	20:05, March 26	Thursday, April 10, or Friday, April 11
AD 28	02:30, March 15	Tuesday, March 30
AD 29	19:40, April 2	Sunday, April 17, or Monday, April 18
AD 30*	19:55, March 22	Thursday, April 6, or Friday, April 7
AD 31	00:25, March 12	Tuesday, March 27
AD 32	22:10, March 29	Sunday, April 13, or Monday, April 14
AD 33*	12:45, March 19	Friday, April 3
AD 34	05:25, March 9	Wednesday, March 24
AD 35	06:10, March 28	Tuesday, April 12
AD 36	17:50, March 16	Saturday, March 31

\* The only instances when the fourteenth of Nisan fell on a Thursday or a Friday.

**FIGURE 3.** Table 2 from Chadwick 2010, as adapted from Humphreys and Waddington. The second days listed for AD 27, AD 29, AD 30, and AD 32 should be disregarded.

(discussed above) is taken into consideration, AD 27 must also be ruled out—Jesus cannot have died in the spring of AD 27, since the ministry of John the Baptist did not begin until after that point, in the fall or early winter of AD 27. This narrows down the choices to only AD 30 and AD 33 for the death of Jesus, which, as noted above, is where Brown left the question.

The year AD 33, however, can be ruled out as the year of the crucifixion, based on several other issues. It cannot be reconciled with either the two-year or the three-year models for the length of Jesus’s preaching ministry, if the onset of Jesus’s preaching was at Passover of AD 28, as determined by Bruce<sup>63</sup> and noted by Brown.<sup>64</sup> Even if that onset

63. Bruce, *New Testament Documents*, 12 n. 1.

64. With regard to AD 28 see Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1374.

date is shifted by a year one way or the other, to AD 27 (as suggested by Wayment)<sup>65</sup> or to AD 29 (as noted by Brown),<sup>66</sup> no model would bring the end of Jesus's activity as late as AD 33. And the fact that the Book of Mormon seems to indicate that Jesus lived thirty-three full years, combined with the fact that he cannot have been born later than the winter of 5/4 BC (as suggested in Wayment 2005 and shown in Chadwick 2010), means that AD 33 is too late a year to accommodate his lifespan. When all available scriptural and historical data are taken into consideration, only AD 30 emerges as the year in which Jesus must have died, as depicted in figure 4.

### The New Moon and the Month of Nisan

As noted, Raymond Brown is among the list of New Testament scholars who accept the study of Humphreys and Waddington as correctly dating the citing of the new moons of the month of Nisan during the later years of Jesus's life. But others have attempted to discredit it. These include Blumell and Wayment, who cite Roger T. Beckwith's dismissal of Humphreys and Waddington in two publications: a 1989 article and a 1996 book.<sup>67</sup> But the former is credibly rebuked by Brown, who chides it as "the very skeptical article of Beckwith . . . that calls into doubt almost every means used to calculate the year of Jesus' death."<sup>68</sup> And Beckwith's book, while rejecting the work of Humphreys and Waddington, does not actually address any specific issue or any piece of data offered by them, nor does it actually demonstrate a single flaw in any aspect of their study.<sup>69</sup>

By contrast, Blumell and Wayment focus on one specific issue in their dismissal of Humphreys and Waddington. In their *BYU Studies Quarterly* article, they maintain that the new moon was commonly sighted

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65. With regard to AD 27 (the Jewish year AD 26–27), see Wayment, "The Birth and Death Dates of Jesus Christ," 391.

66. With regard to AD 29, see Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1374.

67. Roger T. Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy to Determine the Chronology of the Passion," in *Chronos, Kairos, Christos*, ed. Jerry Vardamam and Edwin M. Yamauchi (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 183–205, and "The Date of the Crucifixion: The Misuse of Calendars and Astronomy to Determine the Chronology of the Passion," ch. 9 in Roger T. Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Intertestamental, and Patristic Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 276–96.

68. Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1376 n. 54.

69. Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology*, ch. 9, 281.

<b>Year AD</b>	<b>Aspects That Disqualify a Year for Jesus's Crucifixion / Resurrection</b>
AD 26 Spring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This is prior to Tiberius's 15th year, too early for any part of Jesus's ministry.</li> <li>• 14th of Nisan fell on Sunday, too early in week for the resurrection account.</li> </ul>
AD 27 Spring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too early for start of Jesus's ministry, Tiberius's 15th year begins in autumn.</li> <li>• Too early to accommodate a two-year ministry model beginning at Passover.</li> </ul>
AD 28 Spring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Probable start (not end) of Jesus's ministry at Passover in Tiberius's 15th year.</li> <li>• 14th of Nisan fell on Tuesday, too early in week for resurrection account.</li> </ul>
AD 29 Spring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too early to accommodate either a two-year or three-year ministry model.</li> <li>• 14th of Nisan fell on Sunday, too early in week for the resurrection account.</li> </ul>
AD 30 Spring	<b>No disqualifying aspects in AD 30. 14th of Nisan fell on Thursday.</b>
AD 31 * Spring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too late to accommodate a two-year ministry model beginning in AD 28.</li> <li>• 14th of Nisan fell on Tuesday, too early in week for the resurrection account.</li> </ul>
AD 32 * Spring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too late to accommodate any ministry model that begins in AD 28.</li> <li>• 14th of Nisan fell on Sunday, too early in week for the resurrection account.</li> </ul>
AD 33 * Spring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too late to accommodate any ministry model that begins in AD 28.</li> <li>• 14th of Nisan fell of Friday, too late in week for three days of darkness.</li> </ul>
AD 34 * Spring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too late to accommodate any historical ministry or birth-year model for Jesus.</li> <li>• 14th of Nisan fell on Wednesday, too early in week for resurrection account.</li> </ul>
AD 35 * Spring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too late to accommodate any historical ministry or birth year model for Jesus.</li> <li>• 14th of Nisan fell on Tuesday, too early in week for the resurrection account.</li> </ul>
AD 36 * Spring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too late to accommodate any historical ministry or birth year model for Jesus.</li> <li>• 14th of Nisan fell on Saturday, too late in week for the resurrection account.</li> </ul>

\* All years marked with an asterisk are too late to accommodate a 33-year life span for Jesus (see 3 Ne. 8:2), born no later than winter of 5/4 BC.

**FIGURE 4.** The year AD 30 as the only historical possibility for Jesus's death during Pilate's administration.

incorrectly by Jews in the time of Jesus and that therefore the days on which Passovers were celebrated would not necessarily be those calculated by modern astronomers,<sup>70</sup> alleging that “there was a tendency for witnesses to claim they had seen a new moon one day or potentially even two days early.”<sup>71</sup> In support, they cite an article entitled “Lunar Crescent Visibility” by LeRoy E. Doggett and Bradley E. Schaefer.<sup>72</sup> However, that study was based on an aggregate of modern new moon sightings by volunteer associates in planned observations between 1987 and 1990 at sites almost exclusively in the western hemisphere. But modern lunar observations alone cannot demonstrate that anciently there was any tendency for mistaken sightings. Nor did Doggett and Schaefer use ancient Jewish models in their study; in fact, they acknowledge that they are not even aware of Jewish methods.<sup>73</sup> None of the modern sightings in their study was made at or anywhere near Jerusalem. There is no aspect of the study of Doggett and Schaefer that can be reliably applied to the subject of how Jews in Judea of the first century AD sighted new moons and pronounced their new months.<sup>74</sup>

Reports of alleged Jewish calendar errors in the fourth century AD, three centuries after the time of Christ, are cited by Blumell and Wayment as evidence that Passover was celebrated a day or two off from the proper date, but these are garnered from Byzantine sources hostile to Jewish practice, a bias that makes their reliability questionable. In any case, they are inapplicable in assessing the findings of Humphreys and Waddington. One citation is quoted from Constantine at the Council of Nicea, alleging that Jews erred in their Passover dating and also celebrated Passover on two different days.<sup>75</sup> However, celebrating consecutive first days and second days of Passover was a common practice among Jews outside the land of Israel, well documented in the Mishnah.<sup>76</sup> This was a diaspora convenience, and no indication exists

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70. See Blumell and Wayment, “When Was Jesus Born?” 66–70, for their entire argument.

71. Blumell and Wayment, “When Was Jesus Born?” 68.

72. LeRoy E. Doggett and Bradley E. Schaefer, “Lunar Crescent Visibility,” *Icarus* 107 (1994): 388–403.

73. Doggett and Schaefer, “Lunar Crescent Visibility,” 398.

74. See Blumell and Wayment, “When Was Jesus Born?” 67 and 68 n. 69 for the reference to Doggett and Schaefer.

75. Blumell and Wayment, “When Was Jesus Born?” 68–69.

76. See Steinsalz, *Talmud*, s.v. יום טוב שני של גליות (yom tov sheni shel galuyot), 200.

that the calculation of the new moons was believed to be in error.<sup>77</sup> But this was not even Constantine's complaint. As Stern points out, the real issue discussed at Nicea was the charge that some fourth-century Jews were prone to celebrate Passover before the vernal equinox, while others celebrated it after the equinox.<sup>78</sup> In other words, Constantine was not complaining about Jews who got Passover wrong by a day or two, but by a whole month.<sup>79</sup> The question was not one of whether the new moon was correctly observed; rather it was a question of pre- or post-vernal equinox celebration of Passover. Thus, any use of this complaint about fourth-century diaspora Jews celebrating Passover a month too early as evidence that first-century Judean Jews somehow improperly identified their 14th of Nisan by one or two days is too problematic to be accepted.

The Mishnah is also cited by Blumell and Wayment to suggest that the new moon could be observed in error. They quote the first line of Rosh Hashanah 2:8, which reports that a chart of the phases of the moon was used by a first-century rabbi to aid in declaring the new moon. The rest of the passage relates that on one occasion the witnesses of the new moon accepted by the rabbinical court were wrong. Blumell and Wayment derive, from this single event, that false sightings must have been regularly accepted by the Jewish court. However, the Mishnah describes

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77. The celebration of two consecutive days of Passover was a Jewish invention to aid diaspora Jews who might not receive news of the correct date in ancient Jerusalem. It was not because of any suspicion that the new moon had not been properly observed in Judea. Blumell and Wayment suggest that "celebrating it on back-to-back days" was "because they were unsure which day was truly Nisan 15 and by so celebrating it twice they would hope to get it right." "When Was Jesus Born?" 69. But this notion is unsupported and not true. The reference they offer (p. 80, n. 72) cites Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 80–84, which makes no mention of consecutive days of Passover being the issue raised by Byzantine sources in the fourth century.

78. Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 69.

79. Stern's own citations for this are themselves problematic—including hostile Byzantine sources and the characteristically cynical Beckwith. Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 69–70 and n. 74. But Stern correctly maintains that fourth-century Jewish practice contrasted with first-century practice and explains that "in the times of Jesus the Jews observed the rule of the equinox." *Calendar and Community*, 71. Stern also cites a Byzantine source which stresses that some Jews of the fourth century were not even in compliance with "their own law as laid down by Philo, Josephus, and the other Hebrew sages" of the first century. *Calendar and Community*, 69. What all of these sources actually demonstrate is that Jewish method in the first century was different than in the fourth century.

only this single event, and there is no report of any similar error in the entire Talmud. The narrative is sufficiently important that we should examine it here. The account involves a ruling by Gamaliel II, also known as Rabban Gamaliel, who served as the *nasi* (president) of the Jewish rabbinical court and community in Judea in the generation after the destruction of Jerusalem (c. AD 80–110), whose headquarters were at Yavneh on Israel's coastal plain. The Mishnah passage from tractate Rosh Hashanah (see fig. 5) is the translation of Jacob Neusner,<sup>80</sup> with his peculiar spellings and his parenthetical additions in brackets, used here since it was the version quoted by Blumell and Wayment.

At least a dozen things about this passage are evident to a trained student of the Talmud: (1) Great care was taken to insure that a new month was properly proclaimed from the actual occurrence of the new moon. (2) A chart of the lunar phases was even employed by Rabban Gamaliel to determine if witnesses had actually observed the new moon. (3) Rabban Gamaliel erred on one occasion in accepting the incorrect early claim of a new moon sighting. (4) It was immediately recognized, by Rabbi Yohanan ben Nuri and Rabbi Dosa ben Harkinas, that the witnesses Rabban Gamliel relied upon were in error by a whole day. (5) Rabbi Joshua recognized the error pointed out by his two other colleagues. (6) The crux of the error was not the false claim by the witnesses, but Rabban Gamaliel's declaration of the new month on a clearly erroneous date. (7) Rabban Gamaliel insisted that Rabbi Joshua recognize his authority, ordering him to appear with staff and purse in hand (items not permitted for carrying on a *Yom Tov* Sabbath) on the day of the Yom Kippur fast (the 10th day of the month of Tishri) according to Rabbi Joshua's reckoning of when the month of Tishri should have started. (8) Rabbi Aqiba (a.k.a. Akiva) and Rabbi Dosa both supported Rabban Gamaliel's authority to declare the new month, even on the wrong day, and encouraged Rabbi Joshua to recognize that authority. (9) Rabbi Joshua instead went to Rabban Gamaliel, with staff and purse in hand, on the day of the Yom Kippur fast according to Rabban Gamaliel's declaration, which was actually the wrong day for the 10th of Tishri. (10) Instead of reprimanding him for violating a *Yom Tov* Sabbath and coming on a day other than the one he appointed, Rabban Gamaliel received Rabbi Joshua warmly, admitting that Rabbi Joshua was right, and was wiser than he, implicitly recognizing his own error. (11) Rabban Gamaliel also acknowledged that

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80. Jacob Neusner, *The Mishnah: A New Translation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), Rosh Hashshanah 2:8–9.

- 2:8** A. 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?”
- B. Two witnesses came and said, “We saw it at dawn [on the morning of the twenty-ninth] in the east and at eve in the west.”
- C. Said R. Yohanan b. Nuri, “They are false witnesses.”
- D. Now when they came to Yabneh, Rabban Gamaliel accepted their testimony [assuming they erred at dawn].
- E. And furthermore two came along and said, “We saw it at its proper time, but on the night of the added day it did not appear [to the court].”
- F. Then Rabban Gamaliel accepted their testimony.
- G. Said R. Dosa b. Harkinas, “They are false witnesses.
- H. “How can they testify that a woman has given birth, when, on the very next day, her stomach is still up there between her teeth [for there was no new moon!].?”
- I. Said to him R Joshua, “I can see your position.”
- 2:9** A. Said to him Rabban Gamaliel, “I decree that you come to me with your staff and purse on the Day of Atonement which is determined in accord with your reckoning.”
- B. R. Aqiba went and found him troubled.
- C. He said to him, “I can provide grounds for showing that everything that Rabban Gamaliel has done is validly done, since it says, *These are the set feasts of the Lord, even holy convocations, which you shall proclaim* (Lev. 23:4). Whether they are in their proper time or not in their proper time, I have no set feasts but these [which you shall proclaim].
- D. He came along to R. Dosa b. Harkinas.
- E. He [Dosa] said to him, “now if we’re going to take issue with the court of Rabban Gamaliel, we have to take issue with every single court which has come into being from the time of Moses to the present day,
- F. “since it says, *Then went up Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel* (Ex. 24:9).
- G. “Now why have the names of the elders not been given? To teach that every group of three [elders] who came into being as a court of Israel—lo, they are equivalent to the court of Moses himself.”
- H. [Joshua] took his staff with his purse in his hand and went along to Yabneh, to Rabban Gamaliel, on the Day of Atonement which is determined in accord with his [Gamaliel’s] reckoning.
- I. Rabban Gamaliel stood up and kissed him on his head and said to him, “Come in peace, my master and my disciple—
- J. “My master in wisdom, and my disciple in accepting my rulings.”

FIGURE 5. *The Mishnah: A New Translation* by Jacob Neusner.



Rabbi Joshua's coming was a humble attempt to recognize the Rabban's authority, even in a wrong ruling. (12) This is the only recorded time in the entire Mishnah, comprising the era from the first century BC to the second century AD, that a new month had been declared in error.

Even though the declaration of the new moon was made by observation, and not by counting of the twenty-nine or thirty days since the previous new moon, it is clear that the Jews of the first century were counting those days, and knew when to expect the new moon—they knew that the new moon could not possibly occur any earlier than twenty-nine days since the previous new moon. Thus, a suggestion that the new moon could be erroneously declared two days early (twenty-eight days after the previous new moon), making their calendar that month off by two days, is hardly possible.<sup>81</sup> That Jews were aware of the only two days on which the new moon could appear, and that the beginning day of any new month was figured from the actual day on which the new moon appeared, even if the new moon had not been sighted, is clear from the two lines in the Mishnah immediately preceding the story of Rabban Gamaliel and Rabbi Joshua. It is declared in Rosh Hashanah 2 that the beginning of the new month was to be recognized and sanctified from the actual date of the new moon, whether that new moon appeared and was observed or not: "Whether it appears at the expected time or does not appear in the expected time, they sanctify it. R. Elazar b. R. Sadoq says, 'If it did not appear in its expected time, they do not sanctify it, for Heaven has already declared it sanctified'" (Rosh Hashanah 2:7).<sup>82</sup>

The reason for a new moon not appearing and being observed "in the expected time" would be that the sky was visually obscured during the night hours due to clouds or stormy weather. Even when that happened, however, the new moon not being observed did not result in the new month being declared early or late. The court would use their knowledge of the lunar phases (implied from the chart Rabban Gamaliel is said to have possessed) to correctly ascertain when the new moon had actually occurred, and from that date the new month would be sanctified and counted, and any festival that month would fall on its correct designated day. The *Yom Tov* festivals were commanded to begin on certain days of the month. Passover, for example, was to be on the 15th day of the month of Nisan, actually commencing at sunset after the 14th day of the month, when the full moon would be present.

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81. See Blumell and Wayment, "When Was Jesus Born?" 68, 70.

82. Neusner, *Mishnah*, Rosh Hashanah 2:7C–D.

Failure to keep the Passover on the correct day, at the time of the full moon, was not theoretically excused by not having observed the new moon when it appeared two weeks earlier.

From the entire discussion above, it should be evident that great care was taken by Jews of the first century in declaring their new months from accurate observations and reckonings of the new moon. This demonstrates two things: First, that the chart in the article by Blumell and Wayment, portraying a broad span of four possible weekdays for the 14th of Nisan in any year from AD 27 to AD 34 is untenable.<sup>83</sup> And second, that the calculations of Humphreys and Waddington (see figs. 2 and 3 above) for the new moons and the 14th day of Nisan in those same years may be accepted as accurate and authoritative. This rules out any year but AD 30 as the year of Jesus's death.

### **Crucifixion on the 14th or 15th of Nisan—a Gospel Discrepancy?**

A well-known issue in studies of the four New Testament Gospels is the so-called discrepancy<sup>84</sup> between the three synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) and the Gospel of John with regard to the timing of Jesus's last Passover supper and the day of his death. Brown's treatment of this complicated matter surveys as much information and opinion on the issue as any source.<sup>85</sup> The problem arises because John clearly describes Jesus's crucifixion as having occurred on the "preparation of the passover" (John 19:14), which is the day of the 14th of Nisan, whereas Matthew, Mark, and Luke seem to describe Jesus's last Passover supper as having occurred on that day (see fig. 6). This leads some commentators to assume the three synoptic Gospel writers were describing Jesus's crucifixion as having occurred on the following day, on the 15th of Nisan.

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83. See the chart in Blumell and Wayment, "When Was Jesus Born?" 70. Its four-day window for the 14th of Nisan in the years portrayed is without valid support, as is its allowance for the 14th to fall "up to two days early."

84. The issue is referred to as a "discrepancy" and also as a "discord" by Blumell and Wayment ("When Was Jesus Born?" 65, 77 n. 49), who fault "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ" for not discussing "this discrepancy," since "Dating" consistently presents the crucifixion as having occurred on the 14th of Nisan. Neither do Blumell and Wayment discuss this issue: "The discord in the Gospels on this point will not be treated here" (77 n. 49). Although they present both the 14th and 15th of Nisan as days when the crucifixion could have occurred (66 and chart on 67), they ultimately focus on the 14th (70), as did "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 15–16.

85. Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1361–69.

**Synoptic Gospel References  
suggesting that the 14th of Nisan  
(Passover preparation) was the day  
Jesus's last Passover supper was  
prepared.**

Matthew 26:17  
Now the first day of the feast of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the passover?

Mark 14:12  
And the first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the passover, his disciples said unto him, Where wilt thou that we go and prepare that thou mayest eat the passover?

Luke 22:7–10  
Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the passover must be killed.  
And he sent Peter and John, saying Go and prepare us the passover, that we may eat.  
And they said unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare?

Luke 22:14–15  
And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him.  
And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer.

**Gospel of John References  
suggesting that the 14th of Nisan  
(Passover preparation) was the day of  
Jesus's crucifixion.**

John 18:28  
Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgment: and it was early; and they themselves went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the passover.

John 19:14  
And it was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour: and he saith unto the Jews, Behold your King!

John 19:31  
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.

John 19:41–42  
Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulcher, wherein was never man yet laid.  
There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulcher was nigh at hand.

**FIGURE 6.** 14th of Nisan comparison in the synoptic Gospels and in the Gospel of John.



**FIGURE 7.** This medieval hall, known as the Coenaculum, is a second floor “upper room” built by the Crusaders in the likely location of the home in which Jesus had his last Passover supper with his Apostles. Photo by Jeffrey R. Chadwick.

So, either John’s account is in conflict with that of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, or there is something else to be considered.

The most widely suggested solution to this conundrum is that two different Passover meals are described in the four Gospels as occurring during Jesus’s final days—the official Passover of Nisan 14/15, recognized throughout Judea and alluded to in John’s Gospel, and an unofficial Passover a day or two earlier, on which Jesus had his last supper. In other words, Jesus’s last Passover supper did not take place on the official Judean date of Nisan 14/15, but a day or two prior, and the synoptic Gospels refer to the earlier date as “the first day of unleavened bread” (Mark 14:12) in order to support the legitimacy of Jesus celebrating the earlier Passover. Commentators have, over the years, suggested a number of models for a Passover held a day earlier than the official Jerusalem Passover, such as an earlier Passover celebrated by Galileans or by Pharisees or by diaspora Jews, but there is not a shred of historical evidence to support these inventions. As Brown observes, “We do not

have any evidence for the celebration in Jerusalem of two adjacent days as Passover.”<sup>86</sup>

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947, however, revealed that Essene Jews, who observed the so-called Qumran calendar (or Essene calendar), usually celebrated Passover on another day than appointed on the official Judean calendar, unless the official date was a Wednesday.<sup>87</sup> The Essene adhered to an intercalated solar-lunar calendar, rather than the intercalated lunar-solar calendar of normative Judaism. The Qumran calendar was based on a 364-day solar year.<sup>88</sup> It is unclear how the Essene dealt with the extra 1¼ days of the solar year, but they appear to have had a method. In the Qumran/Essene calendar, Passover (the 15th of Nisan) always fell on a Wednesday, with the Passover Seder meal always taking place Tuesday evening after sundown. The 14th of Nisan in the Qumran/Essene calendar was therefore always on Tuesday. Beginning with Annie Jaubert in 1957, a number of influential scholars, willing to break from tradition and consider options for Jesus’s last Passover supper other than a Thursday night, have suggested that Jesus’s early Passover meal took place on Tuesday evening.<sup>89</sup> Brown notes five such scholars, including the highly influential Eugen Ruckstuhl, in his description of the Tuesday evening Essene model for the last supper, although Brown himself ultimately rejects it.<sup>90</sup> However, another influential Catholic scholar, Father Bargil Pixner of the Dormition Abbey in Jerusalem, whose background included decades of living in Israel and Jerusalem and studying the Jewish context of the

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86. Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1365. For a short description of various early Passover suggestions, see pp. 2:1364–66.

87. For a comprehensive treatment of the Essene and the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Doubleday, 1995).

88. On the solar nature of the Qumran calendar, see Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 304–5, and Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1985), 84–87.

89. See Annie Jaubert, *La Date de la Cène* (Paris: Gabalda, 1957), and its English translation, *The Date of the Last Supper* (New York: Alba House, 1965).

90. See Eugen Ruckstuhl, *Die Chronologie des letzten Mahles und des Leidens Jesu* (The Chronology of the Last Supper and the Suffering of Jesus) (Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1963). See also Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1366 for other names, and 2:1368 for his rejection.

New Testament, broke with tradition and endorsed the Tuesday evening model in his 1996 book *With Jesus in Jerusalem*.<sup>91</sup>

Those who suggest that Jesus celebrated his last Passover supper on Tuesday evening are divided as to whether he observed the Essene calendar as a rule or only as an exception on that one occasion.<sup>92</sup> It seems to me that the doctrines and practices of the Essene were so dissimilar to those of Jesus and his followers that he would not have normally observed their alternative calendar.<sup>93</sup> However, that Jesus would, for his own convenience and security, hold his own early Passover meal on a Tuesday night when Essene Jews in Jerusalem would also be doing so, thus not attracting undue suspicion or attention to his own gathering, seems both logical and likely. And that the synoptic Gospel writers would refer to that Tuesday as the “first day of unleavened bread” seems appropriate—it portrayed Jesus’s regard for his last supper as a genuine Passover experience, even though it did not occur on the official date. The Tuesday night Last Supper model solves virtually every problem connected with the issue of the two Passovers the Gospels mention regarding Jesus’s final days. Additionally, a Tuesday night at Gethsemane allows for adequate time between the events of Jesus’s arrest and crucifixion for his morning Sanhedrin trial, his transfer to Pilate, his interview with Pilate, his transfer to Herod, his interview with Herod, his transfer back to Pilate, his ultimate sentencing and display by Pilate, and his beatings, all of which are impossible to compress into the early hours of a single morning in the traditional model.

The Tuesday model for the Last Supper, occurring on a day prior to the official 14th of Nisan, leaves John’s report of Jesus’s execution on the 14th of Nisan as the correct dating of the crucifixion. But there are also elements of the trial, sentencing, and crucifixion reports in the three synoptic Gospels that suggest they are not actually portraying the events to have happened on the official 15th of Nisan. Here are half a dozen examples:

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91. Bargil Pixner, *With Jesus in Jerusalem: His First and Last Days in Judea* (Rosh Pina, Israel: Corazin Publishing, 1996), 83–100.

92. For examples of other Essene involvement in the narratives of the New Testament Gospels, see the discussion by Chadwick in “The Jerusalem Temple, the Sadducees, and the Opposition to Jesus,” 65–69.

93. On dissimilarities between Jesus’s teachings and those of the Essene, see D. Kelly Ogden and Jeffrey R. Chadwick, *The Holy Land: A Geographical, Historical, and Archaeological Guide to the Land of the Bible* (Jerusalem: HaMakor, 1990), 315.

1. The trial and sentencing of Jesus by the Sanhedrin (see Matt. 27:1, Mark 15:1, Luke 22:66) would surely not have occurred on the 15th of Nisan, on the *Yom Tov* festival day—such activities would violate the Law of Moses and the sanctity of the festival, which was considered a Sabbath, and would have been invalid under any existing interpretation of Judean law. Geza Vermes, a respected scholar of the New Testament in its Judean context, succinctly states that “Jewish courts did not sit, investigate or pronounce sentence on a feast-day or a Sabbath.”<sup>94</sup>
2. On the day of the execution, Pilate sought to release Jesus as a goodwill gesture for the Passover festival, but instead released Barabbas (see Matt. 27:15–24, Mark 15:6–15, Luke 23:16–24). The release would surely not have been proposed or carried out on the 15th of Nisan, nor would the chief priest and the crowd of supporters have gathered on a *Yom Tov* festival day to demand the release. Rather, these events suggest a context on the 14th of Nisan, just in advance of the festival and in time for the Seder supper that evening.
3. Simon the Cyrenian is said to have been “coming out of the country” when he was pressed to carry Jesus’s cross (Mark 15:21, Luke 23:26). This would surely not have happened on the 15th of Nisan, because Simon, and any other Jew coming to Jerusalem, would have been traveling to arrive prior to the beginning of the festival. And, if he were late, he would surely not have been traveling on the festival day itself. Rather, this event is also best placed in the context of the 14th of Nisan.
4. Crowds are depicted as passing by the execution site and insulting Jesus while he was on the cross (Matt. 27:39–40, Mark 15:29–30) and also as having accompanied him in sorrow on the way to the

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94. See the discussion in Geza Vermes, *Who’s Who in the Age of Jesus* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 135–36, cited in Charlesworth, “Historical Jesus in the Fourth Gospel,” 10. I note here that Charlesworth maintains that Jesus was interrogated after his arrest, but that no trial was actually held. However, the references in the synoptic Gospels to the Sadducean chief priests (plural), the council (Sanhedrin), witnesses, and pronouncement of guilt (see Matt. 26:59–60, 65–66; Mark 14:55–56, 63–64; Luke 22:66, 71) all convince me that a bona fide trial of Jesus was indeed conducted before a minimum quorum “small Sanhedrin” of twenty-three members (all Sadducees except for Joseph of Arimathea) after daybreak on the morning following Jesus’s arrest (see Luke 22:66).



site (Luke 23:27–28). Such activity would have violated the sanctity of the *Yom Tov* festival, which was considered a Sabbath and, especially in the case of the Matthew and Mark accounts, would have been unlikely to occur on the 15th of Nisan.

5. The burial of Jesus's deceased body, depicted as occurring prior to sundown (see Matt. 27:59–60, Mark 15:46, Luke 23:53), would surely not have been carried out on the 15th of Nisan. Any event or action considered tragic or unhappy was forbidden on a *Yom Tov* festival day, which was considered a Sabbath and was a day on which only rejoicing was permitted. In any case, a burial was not to be carried out on such a festival or on the Saturday Sabbath.
6. Although it may seem superfluous to mention, an execution would surely not have been carried out on the 15th of Nisan! It is inconceivable that a crucifixion would be carried out by Pilate on a *Yom Tov* festival, or for that matter even on a Saturday Sabbath. Pilate, who was clearly desirous of keeping peace among the Jews (not only the Sadducean chief priests and their elders, but also the tens of thousands gathered to Jerusalem for the festival), would simply not have risked violating the sanctity of the festival by carrying out a public execution on that day. The riots that surely would have ensued would also have been impossible to control. The crucifixion clearly has to have occurred prior to the onset of the *Yom Tov* day, which means that it has to have taken place on the 14th of Nisan.

That Matthew, Mark, and Luke, in fact, do not really depict a crucifixion on the 15th of Nisan then raises the question of why the three Gospel writers did not declare that the day of the execution was the 14th of Nisan. They could have easily done this, for example, by specifying (as in John 19:14) that it was the “preparation of the Passover.” While my suggestion for an answer to this is not to be demanded, I think it is possible that Matthew, Mark, and Luke (whose Gospels are often interdependent in terms of factual information) avoided specifying that it was the official Passover preparation because they had designated the day of Jesus's last supper as a Passover preparation. Whether through a desire not to be repetitious or confusing, or merely wanting to focus attention on Jesus's last supper as a legitimate Passover experience, I believe they simply decided to feature only one Passover preparation in their narratives. On the other hand, John did *not* specify Jesus's last supper as a Passover meal, perhaps for a different but related reason—to focus attention on the fact that Jesus's death, which John understood to be



symbolized by the killing of Passover lambs, had indeed occurred on the official preparation day of Passover, when the lambs of the feast were sacrificed. Caution must be taken in imputing complicated motives to the four Gospel writers, so I offer these possibilities only as suggestions. What remains clear, however, is that both John and the synoptic Gospels present numerous factual elements that can only be construed as pointing to the official Judean 14th of Nisan as the day of Jesus's execution. The reluctance of New Testament scholarly consensus to recognize this notwithstanding, there is no real discrepancy between the synoptic Gospels and John with regard to the day of the crucifixion.

As a final note in this section, it is also apparent that the Gospel of John, which portrays Jesus's crucifixion on the official 14th of Nisan, also portrays Jesus's last supper as occurring prior to that day. When, in the middle of the meal, Judas leaves the group, some of the Apostles thought he was going out to purchase things needed for the festival (see John 13:29). This would be inconceivable on the official night of the Passover Seder—no markets would have been open, the whole city and thousands of surrounding family camps outside the walls would have been in the middle of their own Seder meals, and in any case the evening would have been considered a festival Sabbath, when buying or selling was forbidden. Clearly, even John depicts Jesus's last Passover supper as having occurred on a night prior to the official 14th of Nisan.

And what was that night? When all the scriptural, historical, and even archaeological evidence is considered (archaeology is included, since that field of study is an aspect of the Qumran discoveries)—that Jesus celebrated his last Passover supper on Tuesday evening is the only realistic solution to the New Testament's two-Passover conundrum. Tuesday evening is the only option that has both historical and contextual evidence of first-century Judean society to support it. And because it is sound and logical, a Tuesday Last Supper is the model I suggest as reality and also present as a valid consideration to my students (see fig. 8).

A small number of New Testament scholars have suggested that the crucifixion took place on a Thursday (Brown refers to them as "a few dissenters"),<sup>95</sup> but the overwhelming majority of New Testament commentators are strongly committed to the model of Byzantine origin—the traditional Good Friday—as the day of crucifixion, perhaps more so than to any other aspect of the accounts of Jesus's passion. Two issues,

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95. Brown notes Hoehner as listing B. F. Westcott, J. K. Aldrich, and R. Rush as among the dissenters. See Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1351.

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Jesus's messianic parade into Jerusalem.	Jesus's curse of a fig tree that died instantly.	Peter and John go to prepare a Passover.	Jesus's trial conducted by the high priest.	Passover Preparation. Jesus is sentenced by Pilate.	Official day of Passover Festival.	Weekly day of Sabbath.	Jesus is resurrected.
He cleanses the temple, teaches the crowds, and returns to Bethany.	Final day teaching at the temple and on the Mount of Olives.	Jesus eats his last Passover supper with Apostles. Arrest at Gethsemane.	Jesus taken to Pilate, sent to Herod, and then back to Pilate.	<i>Crucifixion</i> Jesus's body is buried prior to sunset.	[1st Day] Jesus's body in the tomb.	[2nd Day] Jesus's body in the tomb.	[3rd Day]
<b>10 Nisan</b>	<b>11 Nisan</b>	<b>12 Nisan</b>	<b>13 Nisan</b>	<b>14 Nisan</b>	[Night #2] <b>15 Nisan</b>	[Night #3] <b>16 Nisan</b>	<b>17 Nisan</b>
Ess. 12 Nisan	Ess. 13 Nisan	Ess. 14 Nisan	Ess. 15 Nisan	Ess. 16 Nisan	Ess. 17 Nisan	Ess. 18 Nisan	Ess. 19 Nisan
April 2, AD 30	April 3, AD 30	April 4, AD 30	April 5, AD 30	April 6, AD 30	April 7, AD 30	April 8, AD 30	April 9, AD 30

FIGURE 8. The final week of the life of Jesus, April AD 30 (Julian calendar dates) © Jeffrey R. Chadwick. Bold Nisan dates are official Judean lunar-solar calendar dates. “Ess.” indicates Essene calendar dates.

Statement of Length	References	Speaker / Nature	
"the third day" τη τριτη ημερα	Matthew 16:21; 17:22; 20:19 Mark 9:31; 10:34 Luke 9:22; 18:33	Jesus " "	prediction " "
"today is the third day since" τριτην ταυτην ημεραν αγει σημερον	Luke 24:21	Cleopas	report
"three days and three nights" τρεις ημερας και τρεις νυκτας	Matthew 12:40	Jesus	prediction
"after three days" μετα τρεις ημερας	Mark 8:31 Matthew 27:63	Jesus Jesus's enemies quot- ing him	prediction
"in three days" εν τρισιν ημεραις	John 2:19	Jesus	prediction

FIGURE 9. Statements in the four Gospels about the length of time between the crucifixion and the resurrection. Quotations from the King James Version are reliable, accurate translations of the provided Greek originals.

imbedded within the texts of the four Gospels, are key to identifying the weekday of Jesus's death: (1) statements about the length of time from the execution to the resurrection, and (2) statements about the crucifixion having occurred on a preparation day prior to a Sabbath. We will examine these in order.

There are twelve passages in the four Gospels that refer to the length of time between Jesus's death and resurrection. These are displayed in figure 9. Eleven of these statements are predictions made by Jesus well prior to his execution. Only one, the statement made by Cleopas<sup>96</sup> in Luke 24, is a direct report of the time that actually passed between the

96. In Luke 24:19, the statement is actually attributed to both Cleopas and his unnamed companion on the road to Emmaus. The identity of that companion is generally disputed by most modern scholars, although traditional commentary suggests Luke himself as Cleopas's companion, which is also my preference. The intimacy and detail of the distinct narrative support it as an eyewitness account by the Gospel author and one that is completely reliable in terms of the quotations. Although the LDS Bible Dictionary characterizes the identification of Luke as the other disciple on the road to Emmaus as "picturesque but historically unsupported" (LDS Bible Dictionary, 726, "Luke"), Bruce R. McConkie took the very certain position that Cleopas's companion was "undoubtedly Luke." See McConkie, *Mortal Messiah*, 275, which in turn cites Alfred Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2 vols. (1883; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1971), 2:638.

crucifixion and the Sunday of Jesus's rising. This statement is the single most important piece of evidence in identifying the day on which Jesus died, since it was originally expressed only after, and directly after, both the crucifixion and the resurrection had occurred. Speaking on Sunday afternoon and having explained how Jesus was executed, Cleopas reported that "today is the third day since these things were done" (Luke 24:21). The King James Version translation of this passage very accurately represents the tense and timing of the Greek original. And the timing is clear: Sunday being the third day *since* the crucifixion, Saturday would have been the second day *since* the crucifixion, and Friday would have been the first day *since* the crucifixion, meaning that Cleopas was referring to the execution as having occurred on Thursday.

Of the eleven predictive statements by Jesus, seven feature the same timing phrase as the report of Cleopas, that Jesus would rise on "the third day" (Matt. 16:21; 17:23; 20:19; Mark 9:31; 10:34; Luke 9:22; 18:33). These references must be understood in light of the report of Cleopas, that is to say, these passages should clearly also be taken as referring to Jesus rising on the third day *since* (meaning "after") the crucifixion, and that the crucifixion thus occurred on Thursday. Many commentaries, of course, claim that Friday was both the day of the crucifixion and the first day of the three-day count, but because of these other considerations, support for that calculation is weak. The several "third day" predictions were all recorded by the synoptic Gospel writers years after the resurrection occurred and years after the report of Cleopas would have been common knowledge to informed disciples of Jesus throughout the church. In particular, Luke, who recorded two "third day" predictions as well as his quotation of the report of Cleopas, must certainly have understood the "third day" of the predictions to be the same as the "third day" of his own narrative in Luke 24. All eight of the "third day" Gospel passages, including Cleopas's report, may be considered as indicating that Jesus's crucifixion was on Thursday.

As for the other predictions, the single reference in John is unique in that Jesus did not overtly refer to his own death, but rather to a theoretical destruction of the temple "in three days" (John 2:19), which John then says the disciples later understood as a prediction of Jesus's death and resurrection. And the Matthew 27 reference is different from the rest in that it represents Jesus's enemies quoting his prediction that he would rise "after three days" (Matt. 27:63), although Mark also attributes the same phrase and prediction directly to Jesus (see Mark 8:31). Timing Jesus's resurrection on Sunday as "*after* three days" would be impossible

to reconcile with a Friday crucifixion (even if Friday were considered the first day of the count) and could only work with a Thursday crucifixion if Thursday were counted as the first day.

Besides the very clear report of Cleopas, the declaration by Jesus in Matthew 12 gives another quite specific timing indicator that points to Thursday as the day of crucifixion. In that passage, Jesus said, "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" (Matt. 12:40). In a note to my 2010 study, I explained, "A Friday crucifixion allows for the counting of three days, if one includes Friday, Saturday, and Sunday in the count, but cannot accommodate three nights, since only Friday night and Saturday night would have passed before dawn on Sunday. A Thursday crucifixion, however, allows for three nights to have passed prior to the Resurrection on Sunday morning, as well as something closer to three real days."<sup>97</sup>

In response to this note, Blumell and Wayment took the position that "since Matthew 12:40 is a partial quote of Jonah 1:17 (LXX Jonah 2:1), wherein it was 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."<sup>98</sup> They refer to Krister Stendahl's study of Old Testament passages in Matthew<sup>99</sup> and assert 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."<sup>100</sup> Stendahl's approach notwithstanding, it must be recognized that Jesus's prophecy was *not* about the story of Jonah. It was given specifically to declare the length of time he would spend in the grave. Even if the Jonah passage had not been referred to at all, the actual length-of-time statement Jesus made would remain, by itself, as a clear and precise prediction: "The Son of man shall be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Jesus said these words not to elaborate on the story of Jonah (the tale is not mentioned again in any Gospel passage) but to make a succinct point about his own death and the length of time that would pass until his resurrection. Though some New Testament literary scholars attempt to explain away Jesus's declaration in Matthew 12:40 as a

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97. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," 33 n. 44.

98. Blumell and Wayment, "When Was Jesus Born?" 79 n. 56.

99. Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968).

100. Blumell and Wayment, "When Was Jesus Born?" 79 n. 56.

**Synoptic Gospel References  
featuring the term “preparation”  
(*paraskeuē*)**

Matthew 27:62

Now the next day, that followed the day of the preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate.

Mark 15:42

And now when the even was come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath.

Luke 23:54–56

And that day was the preparation, and the Sabbath drew on.

And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the sabbath day according to the commandment.

**Gospel of John References  
featuring the term “preparation”  
(*paraskeuē*)**

John 19:14

And it was the preparation of the pass-over, and about the sixth hour: and he saith unto the Jews, Behold your King!

John 19:31

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.

John 19:41–42

Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulcher, wherein was never man yet laid.

There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews’ preparation day; for the sepulcher was nigh at hand.

FIGURE 10. “Preparation” (*paraskeuē*) passages in the synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of John.

mere imprecise metaphor that relies on the timing in Jonah, the prediction in the passage stands solidly on its own, declaring that Jesus would, after his death, be in a tomb for three nights as well as three days. And, like the report of Cleopas, this clearly indicates a Thursday crucifixion.

**“That Sabbath Day Was an High Day”**

In the four Gospels, there are six passages about the crucifixion having occurred on a day of “preparation” (Greek παρασκευή—*paraskeuē*) prior to a Sabbath (see fig. 10). Matthew, Mark, and Luke each contain one passage, and the Gospel of John contains three (which were already alluded to above; see fig. 6).

As far as the references to the “preparation” in the three synoptic Gospels are concerned, combined they actually represent only one report tradition. As already mentioned, the narratives in the synoptics are highly interdependent, and traditional scholarship holds (probably correctly) that they rely on a single source for many elements, including

aspects of the crucifixion account. Many scholars point to the Mark account as the original source from which Matthew and Luke copy in this particular instance,<sup>101</sup> but some highly respected scholars, such as Flusser, suggest the Luke account is the most authentic source, preserving the original tradition of Jesus's life.<sup>102</sup> In any case, the synoptic accounts must be considered as a single report tradition, leaving the narrative in John as the second unique witness describing the crucifixion on the "preparation" day.

In the historical descriptions preserved by the fourth-century Church historian Eusebius, as well as in most scholarly assessment, the Gospel of John was reported to have been composed decades after the synoptic Gospels. The dating of the synoptics is a debated issue, but most authorities place them at least twenty to forty years before John was written, and in some cases as much as fifty. Without arguing the exact date of the Gospels of Matthew or Mark or Luke, the point is that John wrote his Gospel at Ephesus around AD 100,<sup>103</sup> long after the others, and that he was aware both of the other Gospels and of their ultimate original sources.<sup>104</sup> John even seems to have included information in his own Gospel that would clarify certain issues in the earlier Gospels.<sup>105</sup> And when John spoke of the "preparation" day on which Jesus was crucified, he not only mentioned it three times, but he included two explanations

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101. See Bruce, *New Testament Documents*, 30–38, for a succinct summary of the theory of Markan priority among the synoptic Gospels.

102. See Davie Flusser, *Jesus* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2001), 21–22, for the assessment that Luke preserves the original literary tradition of Jesus's life, especially in tandem with Matthew.

103. On the dating of the composition of the four Gospels, see the summary in Bruce, *New Testament Documents*, 6–15, and on the dating of John, see page 12.

104. On John's Gospel being aware of other Gospels and sources, see the lengthy discussion in Charlesworth, "Historical Jesus in the Fourth Gospel," 34–46.

105. Several instances exist where the Gospel of John clarifies issues or events presented in the synoptic Gospels. One example is found in John 4:43–54, which reports Jesus's initial ministry activities in the Galilee and recounts how Jesus, while in Cana, healed a boy a great distance away in Capernaum. This passage clarifies a report in Luke 4:14–30, where Jesus was challenged in Nazareth to do there "whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum" (Luke 4:23). The Luke account does not explain what was done in Capernaum, therefore the John account of the boy healed at Capernaum, written decades after Luke, adds clarity by giving details of the event alluded to but not explained in Luke.

to clarify the kind of Sabbath on which the preparation was occurring. John 19:14 very specifically indicated that the day on which Jesus died was “the preparation of the Passover.” This is absolutely straightforward and appears intentional, and the two subsequent references to the “preparation” in John 19:31 and 19:42 must be considered in this regard.

In John 19:31 particularly, where John mentions both the “preparation” and its “sabbath,” it is quite clear that the Sabbath he was referring to was the festival Sabbath (that is, Passover), since he distinctly explained “that sabbath day was an high day.” The King James Version phrase “an high day” is the translation of the Greek phrase *megalē hē hēmera* (μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα), literally “a great day.”<sup>106</sup> New Testament commentaries in general do not provide any clarity on this term or any satisfactory interpretation of what it means in John 19:31.<sup>107</sup> However, the phrase seems clearly to be John’s attempt in Greek to express the Hebrew term *Yom Tov*, which, as mentioned earlier, is a specific Jewish reference to a high festival day such as Passover. John 19:31 is actually saying that the Sabbath preparation day on which Jesus was crucified was a *Yom Tov* festival Sabbath preparation day rather than the preparation day for a Saturday Sabbath.<sup>108</sup> Again,

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106. The “high day” or “great day” (*megalē hē hēmera*) of John 19:31 is not to be confused with the KJV phrase “great day of the feast” in John 7:37, an error made by Brown in *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1174 n. 81. The Greek phrase in John 7:37 is *megale tes eortes* (literally “the great of the festival”—the word *day* does not appear in the Greek), which represents the Jewish Hebrew term *rabba*, a reference to *Hoshannah Rabba*, the final day of Sukkot (the Feast of Tabernacles).

107. New Testament commentaries in general offer no logical or realistic explanation for the “high day” or “great day” (*megalē hē hēmera*) of John 19:31. Bruce, for example, suggests only that it indicated “in that year the Passover coincided with the weekly Sabbath.” See Bruce, *Gospel of John*, 374. And while Brown, in *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1174, says that “the seemingly more important fact that the next day was Passover is echoed only in the statement ‘that Sabbath was a great day,’” this is no clear explanation. Perhaps the best effort is Brown’s rendition of *megalē hē hēmera* as “a solemn feast day” in his *Anchor Bible Series* translation of John, but this is not followed up by any clarifying explanation in the accompanying notes or comments. See Raymond E. Brown, *The Anchor Bible: The Gospel According to John XIII–XXI*, vol. 29A (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970), 932 (John XIX:31), also 933 (Notes) and 944 (Comment).

108. This idea was introduced in my 2010 study, although the Jewish Hebrew term *Yom Tov* was not mentioned as the inspiration for the phrase “an high day” in John 19:31. See Chadwick, “Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ,” 33 n. 42. Blumell and Wayment subsequently disputed the whole idea that “high day” refers to the Passover in John 19, maintaining “there is absolutely no evidence that the



John was clarifying an issue that was not clear in the synoptic Gospels, where the day on which Jesus was executed is only said to have been the preparation of a Sabbath, and where the day following Jesus's execution is referred to as a Passover only by implication. John makes it clear that Jesus was crucified on the preparation day for Passover, and also makes clear that the Sabbath day following Jesus's death was a *Yom Tov* ("high day") festival Sabbath rather than a weekly Saturday Sabbath.<sup>109</sup>

It is well known by informed students of Jewish studies that there were two types of Sabbaths in the second temple period, at the time of Jesus, as there still are in Judaism today: (1) the weekly seventh-day Sabbath on Saturday and (2) the *Yom Tov* festival Sabbath, which can occur on any weekday. This reality is reflected in the book of Leviticus, as I explained earlier. A New Testament example of this reality was the unnamed festival of John 5, which is referred to as a Sabbath, but which is impossible to have fallen on a Saturday if it is modeled as a Passover, and

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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)." See Blumell and Wayment, "When Was Jesus Born?" 66. In their accompanying endnote 55 on page 79, Blumell and Wayment exclaim, "This designation (High Sabbath) is without precedent in Jewish literature," citing Israel Abrahams's discussion in *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, 2 vols. (New York: KTAV reprint, 1967), 2:68, a source also mentioned in Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 2:1174 n. 81. However, in that study, Abrahams says nothing of the sort. Further, Abrahams's discussion actually regards an account known as the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the earliest known source of which is the fourth century AD *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. Abrahams notes the Greek term *sabbatou megalou* (σαββάτου μεγάλου), meaning "great sabbath," as the day on which Polycarp was put to death, and then discusses possible dating and interpretations of the phrase. However, Abrahams made a serious mistake in saying, "The only argument in favour of an early date is its occurrence in John xix.31." Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism*, 2:68. Abrahams's error is that the phrase *sabbatou megalou* ("great Sabbath") does not occur at all in John 19:31, rather, the phrase in John 19:31 is *megalē hē hēmera*. Abrahams's mistake is unfortunate, and the unrecognized use of his false comparison by Blumell and Wayment represents a serious failure in their discussion. The attempt to turn the "high day" of John 19:31 into the "High Sabbath" or "great Sabbath" of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* is an error that must be rejected.

109. It is, admittedly, quite remarkable that there is not a single New Testament commentary in existence that recognizes or discusses the "high day" (*megalē hē hēmera*) of John 19:31 as a "rendition" of the Jewish Hebrew term *Yom Tov*. In this regard, the present study is, also admittedly, breaking new ground.

unlikely to have been a Saturday when modeled as Rosh Hashanah.<sup>110</sup> The Sabbath day following Jesus's execution is referred to as a Passover, by implication in the synoptic Gospels and in direct terms in the Gospel

110. It is highly unlikely that the Sabbath spoken of in John 5, which was a festival day, fell on a Saturday Sabbath. As the chart below demonstrates, if the Passover of John 19 is modeled as a Saturday (as per conventional tradition), and if the festival of John 5 is modeled as a Passover (as in the three-year model), counting back two exact lunar years (708 days) from the John 19 Passover would place the John 5 festival Sabbath on a Friday. But if a second month of Adar had occurred in between the two festivals, the John 5 event would have been on a Thursday or Wednesday (depending on whether the second Adar had lasted twenty-nine or thirty days). On the other hand, if the John 5 festival Sabbath is modeled as Rosh Hashanah (as in the two-year model), then the count backward would have been eighteen lunar months and fifteen days, and the corresponding weekday would have been a Saturday only if there had not been a second Adar during Jesus's ministry; otherwise the John 5 festival would have fallen on Friday or Thursday. And, since Passover in AD 30 fell at the end of the first week of April, it is highly likely that there had indeed been a second month of Adar proclaimed the year previous, in the early spring of AD 29, which would then point to a Friday or Thursday for the festival of John 5 at Rosh Hashanah in AD 28, further diminishing the possibility that the festival fell on a Saturday. The chart below displays these variables, figured for both a Saturday and a Friday model of the John 19 Passover. And in only one case (a much less likely case) would the John 5 festival have fallen on a Saturday Sabbath. All possible variables considered, the likelihood is that the John 5 festival Sabbath indeed occurred on a day other than Saturday.

John 19 Passover modeled as . . .	John 5 festi- val modeled as . . .	Days John 5 was prior to John 19	Days prior with a 2nd Adar of 29 days	Days prior with a 2nd Adar of 30 days
Saturday (traditional)	Passover (3-year model)	708 days prior— Day = <b>Friday</b>	737 days prior— Day = <b>Thursday</b>	738 days prior— Day = <b>Wednesday</b>
Saturday (traditional)	Rosh Hashanah (2-year model)	546 days prior— Day = <b>Saturday</b>	575 days prior— Day = <b>Friday</b>	576 days prior— Day = <b>Thursday</b>
Friday (alternative)	Passover (3-year model)	708 days prior— Day = <b>Thursday</b>	737 days prior— Day = <b>Wednesday</b>	738 days prior— Day = <b>Tuesday</b>
Friday (per this study)	Rosh Hashanah (2-year model)	546 days prior— Day = <b>Friday</b>	575 days prior— Day = <b>Thursday</b>	576 days prior— Day = <b>Wednesday</b>

of John, but it was a *Yom Tov* festival Sabbath that fell on a Friday, not a weekly Saturday Sabbath.

The notion that Jesus died on a Friday preparation for a Saturday Sabbath is incompatible with the report of Cleopas in Luke 24, where it is clear that Jesus was executed on a Thursday. In my opinion, John was aware of this potential disconnect and purposefully crafted his own report in John 19 to clarify the story presented in the synoptic Gospels, in an attempt to assure that later readers would understand Jesus had not died on a Friday preparation day prior to a Saturday Sabbath, as might be inferred from the imprecise references in the synoptics, but on a Thursday Passover preparation day prior to a Friday Passover that was also a *Yom Tov* festival Sabbath. That gentile Christians in subsequent centuries failed to appreciate how *megalē hē hēmera* (“an high day”) meant a *Yom Tov* festival Sabbath and also failed to consider John’s reference to the “preparation of the Passover” (John 19:14) in its correct context is a curious failure of religious history, probably due to the general gentile unfamiliarity with Jewish terminology.

John’s careful clarification of the preparation day for the *Yom Tov* (“high day”) Passover festival Sabbath as the day of Jesus’s death, rather than a preparation day for a Saturday Sabbath, paired with the specific report of Luke and Cleopas that the Sunday of the resurrection was the third day since Jesus had been executed, and added to the very specific prophecy of Jesus that he would be in the grave for three days and three nights as well, all combine to point to Thursday as the day of his crucifixion, the vague and less-specific references to “sabbath” in the synoptic Gospels notwithstanding. When all the evidence from both the New Testament and the sources that describe Jewish practice in the first century are considered, that Jesus was crucified on a Thursday is a clear and logical conclusion.

### **Book of Mormon Timing on the Weekday of Jesus’s Death**

In addition to the evidence already examined from the Book of Mormon about the length of Jesus’s life and the year of his death, some very specific details are presented in the book of 3 Nephi that relate to the actual day of the week on which he died. The terrible storm described in 3 Nephi 8 is universally understood to have occurred during a three-hour period when Jesus was hanging on the cross outside the wall of Jerusalem, with the end of the storm coinciding with the time of his death. Centuries earlier, Nephi had specifically prophesied that three days of darkness would be “a sign [that should be] given of his death” (1 Ne. 19:10). Samuel the Lamanite foretold three important timing factors concerning Jesus’s death. The first

was that a storm (“thunderings and lightnings”) would occur “at the time that he shall yield up the ghost” (Hel. 14:21). The second was that three days of darkness would be a sign of Jesus’s death and, specifically, that the onset of darkness would occur on the day Jesus would die: “In that day that he shall suffer death the sun shall darkened” (Hel. 14:20). The third factor was that the darkness would end at Jesus’s resurrection, lasting “for the space of three days, to the time that he shall rise again from the dead” (Hel. 14:20). The actual occurrence of the storm is reported in 3 Nephi 8:5–19, with the three-hour duration of that storm specified in verse 19. That same verse notes the commencement of the darkness, which is then described as having lasted for three days (3 Ne. 8:23; 10:9). That Jesus had died at the time of the storm seems confirmed by the account of his voice being heard from the heavens, during the period of darkness, by Nephite survivors (3 Ne. 9:1–10:9, esp. 9:15 and 10:3–9).

An eight-hour time difference exists between Jerusalem and the central time zone of the Americas. This means, for example, that an event that occurs in Jerusalem at 3:00 PM is timed as occurring at 7:00 AM that same day in the American central time zone. The New Testament Gospels place Jesus’s death around the “ninth hour” (Matt. 27:46, Mark 15:34, Luke 23:44), which would be roughly around 3:00 PM in Jerusalem. This means that his death occurred around 7:00 AM in what today is known as the American central time zone (which covers the entirety of Mesoamerica, the likely venue of the Book of Mormon narrative, as well as the largest part of Mexico and the central United States). The onset of the Book of Mormon’s three days of darkness may therefore be estimated around 7:00 AM on the first day of that darkness, the day of the crucifixion, with the three-hour storm having commenced around 4:00 AM, two hours prior to sunrise (which occurs close to 6:00 AM around the beginning of April).

Two facts become obvious from the above information. The first is that three days of darkness cannot be reconciled with a Friday crucifixion model—darkness in America would have occurred only on Friday and on Saturday prior to Jesus’s resurrection, which would have occurred prior to midnight on Saturday night, American central time.<sup>111</sup>

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111. The elements of the model for the three days of darkness that are presented in this section were developed by the author independently during his tenure as an LDS institute instructor in the 1990s. The discussion of them in this article was completed before a review of literature discovered that some of the same issues were raised by David B. Cummings in “Three Days and Three

No darkness could have still been present in America during the day on Sunday (see fig. 11 below). The second obvious fact is that a Thursday crucifixion model exactly fits the timing necessary for three days of darkness to have occurred in America prior to Jesus's resurrection (see fig. 12 below). The evidence is clear that Jesus passed away on Thursday around 7:00 AM American central time, that the first day of darkness in America was Thursday, and that the second and third days of darkness were Friday and Saturday. Jesus's resurrection occurred prior to sunrise in Jerusalem on Sunday, which was well prior to midnight Saturday night in the American central time zone. At sunrise on Sunday in America, normal daylight once again appeared, serving as the sign that Jesus had risen more than eight hours earlier in Jerusalem.

One curious issue in the Book of Mormon dating of Jesus's death must be addressed here. The day on which the storm occurred in the Nephite record, which Book of Mormon commentators universally regard as the day on which Jesus died, is noted by Mormon as "the first month, on the fourth day of the month" (3 Ne. 8:5). However, in Jewish reckoning, as demonstrated earlier, Jesus's death occurred on the 14th day of the biblical first month (Aviv, or Nisan). To what is this ten-day difference to be attributed? Without insisting on certainty, I would suggest that there was an error in the Nephite record that had come into Mormon's hands, and that it was actually on the 14th day of the first month of the Nephite Law of Moses calendar that the storm marking the death of Jesus occurred. This suggestion relies on two factors, one a virtual certainty and one my own supposition.

The first factor is that in observing the ordinances of the Law of Moses, including the festival ordinances, the Nephites would certainly have used the lunar-solar calendar of the ancient Jews as it had come down to them from the time of Nephi (c. 600 BC). As explained earlier, the Law of Moses is dependent upon that calendar cycle, and its ordinances and festivals, including the operations of a Law of Moses-based temple, cannot be carried out exclusive of that calendar reckoning. The Nephite records stipulate that they observed and kept the Law of Moses with strict care (see Alma 30:3; 3 Ne. 1:24–25; compare 2 Ne. 5:10, 5:16; 25:4; Jarom 1:5; Mosiah 2:3, 12:28, 13:27; Alma 25:15; Hel. 13:1) Regardless of how their own

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Nights: Reassessing Jesus' Entombment," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 16, no. 1 (2007): 56–63. Although Cummings's discussion is less conclusive and his figures somewhat confusing, he, too, arrives at the view that a Thursday crucifixion best fits the Book of Mormon description of the three days of darkness.

methods of observing ordinances and festivals may have evolved differently from the Jews of Judea during the six centuries after Nephi's ship landed in America, the Nephites would have surely observed the lunar-solar calendar for the Mosaic operations, since it is a systemic component of the Law of Moses, in particular with regard to the festival ordinances, and since astronomical dynamics (solar seasons and phases of the moon) would be the same in ancient America and the ancient Near East.

The second factor (my supposition) is that a dating error existed in the plates of Nephi from which Mormon was drawing data when composing his own narrative in the book of 3 Nephi. Mormon lived centuries after the events of 3 Nephi and had no personal experience with the Law of Moses or its systemic lunar-solar calendar. In a disclaimer quite unique in his account, Mormon admitted the possibility of a calendar error for the events of 3 Nephi 8. In dating the storm to the "fourth day of the month," he also said, "if there was no mistake made by this man in the reckoning of our time" (3 Ne. 8:2–5). Mormon was careful not to condemn the ancient record keeper, pointing out that he had been a very righteous man (3 Ne. 8:1). But that Mormon would insert his "if there was no mistake made" caveat at this very point in his text suggests, to me at least, that he indeed suspected a calendar error.<sup>112</sup> In my opinion, such an error did exist—it was in the plates of Nephi, and it was a ten-day error in which the 14th day of the first month was mistakenly written

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112. Blumell and Wayment cite 3 Nephi 8:2 ("if there was no mistake made by this man in the reckoning of our time") in discussing the 600-year prophecy of Lehi. See Blumell and Wayment, "When Was Jesus Born?" 64. While it is certainly possible that Mormon had that year count in mind, it is more probable that he suspected an error in the recording of the day of the month in which the storm occurred, for 3 Nephi 8:2 speaks of the passing of the thirty-third year, which relates directly to the first month of the thirty-fourth year subsequently mentioned in verse 5. The 600-year count is not mentioned anywhere in close proximity to 3 Nephi 8, its most recent references occurring in 3 Nephi 1:1 and 2:6. With regard to the 600-year prophecy, Blumell and Wayment refer to it as having been declared by Nephi in 1 Nephi 19:8 (see Blumell and Wayment, "When Was Jesus Born?" 64), without acknowledging that the prophecy was actually first uttered by Lehi in 1 Nephi 10:4, a passage with context in the valley of Lemuel, long prior to the voyage to America. Lehi's prophecy, uttered while still in the Old World, cannot logically have had reference to any type of year other than the lunar-solar Jewish year with which he was acquainted. In other words, the 600-year prophecy cannot have had reference to any type of calendar count in ancient American calendars, and it certainly cannot have somehow referred to 600 Mesoamerican *tuns*, which were not years anyway (see nn. 41 and 45 above).

Friday (Day One) Central Standard Time	Saturday (Day Two) Central Standard Time	Sunday (Day Three) Central Standard Time
4:00 a.m. Jesus on cross (12:00 noon, Jerusalem) “the sixth hour”	6:00 a.m. Sunrise, America (2:00 p.m., Jerusalem)	6:00 a.m. Sunrise, America (2:00 p.m., Jerusalem)
Darkness commences in Jerusalem for three hours. Violent storm occurs in America for three hours.		Jesus has been risen for over eight hours by the time sunrise occurs on Sunday in America, in a Friday model for the crucifixion.
7:00 a.m. Jesus dies (3:00 p.m., Jerusalem) “the ninth hour”		
Darkness commences in America (Day One)	Darkness all this day in America (Day Two)	There is no possibility for a third day of darkness in America with a Friday cruci- fixion model.
10:00 a.m. Jesus in tomb (6:00 p.m., Jerusalem)		
11:00 a.m. in America (Sunset, Judea) (7:00 p.m., Jerusalem)	11:00 a.m. in America (Sunset in Judea) (7:00 p.m., Jerusalem)	
Darkness all this day in America (Day One)		
6:00 p.m. Sunset, America (2:00 a.m., Sat., Jerusalem)	6:00 p.m. Sunset, America (2:00 a.m. Sun., Jerusalem)	
	Jesus’s resurrection occurs prior to Sunday sunrise in Judea.	
12:00 midnight, America (8:00 a.m., Sat., Jerusalem)	12:00 midnight, America (8:00 a.m., Sun., Jerusalem)	
	Visitors already at empty tomb in Jerusalem.	

**FIGURE 11.** Day chart showing that a Friday crucifixion model does not work with the Book of Mormon description of three days of darkness.  
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Thursday (Day One) Central Standard Time	Friday (Day Two) Central Standard Time	Saturday (Day Three) Central Standard Time	Sunday Central Standard Time
4:00 a.m. Jesus on cross (12:00 noon, Jerusalem) "the sixth hour"	6:00 a.m. Sunrise, America (2:00 p.m., Jerusalem)	6:00 a.m. Sunrise, America (2:00 p.m., Jerusalem)	6:00 a.m. Sunrise, America (2:00 p.m., Jerusalem)
Darkness commences in Jerusalem for three hours. Violent storm occurs in America for three hours.			Daylight finally appears again in America as morning comes, after the three days of darkness.
7:00 a.m. Jesus dies (3:00 p.m., Jerusalem) "the ninth hour"			
Darkness commences in America (Day One)	Darkness all this day in America (Day Two)	Darkness all this day in America (Day Three)	
10:00 a.m. Jesus in tomb (6:00 p.m., Jerusalem)			
11:00 a.m. in America (Sunset, Judea) (7:00 p.m., Jerusalem)	11:00 a.m. in America (Sunset in Judea) (7:00 p.m., Jerusalem)	11:00 a.m. in America (Sunset in Judea) (7:00 p.m., Jerusalem)	
Darkness all this day in America (Day One)			
6:00 p.m. Sunset, America (2:00 a.m., Fri., Jerusalem)	6:00 p.m. Sunset, America (2:00 a.m., Sat., Jerusalem)	6:00 p.m. Sunset, America (2:00 a.m., Sun., Jerusalem)	
		Jesus's resurrection occurs prior to Sunday sunrise in Judea.	
12:00 midnight, America (8:00 a.m., Fri., Jerusalem)	12:00 midnight, America (8:00 a.m., Sat., Jerusalem)	12:00 midnight, America (8:00 a.m., Sun., Jerusalem)	
		Visitors already at empty tomb in Jerusalem.	

**FIGURE 12.** Day chart showing that a Thursday crucifixion model works well with the Book of Mormon description of three days of darkness.  
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FIGURE 13. Pages 57–59 from the Dresden Codex B, a twelfth-century document from Chichen Itza, written in Mayan glyphs. Maya “bar and dot” numerals appear on these pages—the glyphic combinations for the numbers 4 and 14 are outlined in this photograph. Photo: “Dresden Codex pp. 58–62 78” by unknown photographer, cropped. Licensed under Public Domain via Wiki Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dresden\\_Codex\\_pp.58-62\\_78.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dresden_Codex_pp.58-62_78.jpg).

down as the *fourth* day of the month.<sup>113</sup> If this supposition is correct (and I emphasize again that it is my own theory and not to be demanded), the actual Nephite Law of Moses date on which Jesus died would have been the *14th* day of the first month, which would be the same as the 14th of Nisan in the Judean calendar, in the year we know as AD 30.

## Conclusion

The numerous avenues of inquiry explored in this study together demonstrate that Jesus died on Thursday, April 6 (Julian), AD 30, which was

113. Such a mistake is quite plausible, given what is known of Mesoamerican writing and numeral systems (assuming a Mesoamerican setting for most of the Book of Mormon narrative). Numbers in ancient Mayan were written in a “bar and dot” system, in which values from 1 to 4 were written with dots (1 = •, 2 = ••, 3 = •••, 4 = ••••) and values of 5 and its multiples were written with bars (5 = —, 10 = ==). The way to write the number 9, for example, was ••••— (a 5-bar and four 1-dots). The way to write 14 was with four dots above a double bar (a 10-double-bar plus four 1-dots). But if the scribe erred, either by having the wrong number in his mind or by simply forgetting to include the double bar for 10 and simply put down four dots, the number 4 can easily have been mistakenly inscribed instead of the number 14. For a concise and authoritative treatment on ancient Mesoamerican (Mayan) numbers, see Coe, *Maya*, 231–35.



**FIGURE 14.** Skull Hill in Jerusalem, the likely site of Golgotha, is located just outside the main northern gate of the Old City. This ancient feature now looms over the parking lot of a modern bus station. As it is today, Golgotha would have been a busy crossroads just outside the city gate when Jesus was crucified. Photo by Jeffrey R. Chadwick.

the 14th day of Nisan in the Judean calendar, the day of the preparation of Passover. The evidences from the New Testament, the Book of Mormon, the Mishnah, and from historical, archaeological, and astronomical studies all combine to endorse this dating beyond any reasonable doubt. Jesus died at the location known popularly as Golgotha, outside the northern wall of Jerusalem, and his body was laid, late that Thursday afternoon, in a rock-hewn tomb located in an olive garden, probably just east of the crucifixion site.<sup>114</sup>

To readers of this study who may not be Latter-day Saints—those of other faiths and backgrounds, Christian and otherwise, who may hesitate to give credence to evidence from the Book of Mormon—I would suggest that the issues presented in this study from the New Testament, the Mishnah, and the historical and astronomical studies alone are more than enough to definitively demonstrate the dating of Jesus’s death to the year AD 30, to the 14th of Nisan on April 6, and to the Passover preparation on a Thursday. It is my hope that New Testament scholarship in general will take note of this evidence. That said, as a Latter-day Saint, I am not only duty-bound but personally grateful to accept and present data from the Book of Mormon, the genuine historical reliability of which I am both spiritually and materially convinced, to corroborate the evidence of the New Testament and the other avenues explored. To all this I add my additional conviction that three days later, prior to dawn on Sunday morning, the 17th of Nisan, April 9 (Julian), AD 30, that same Jesus rose from the dead, walked away from that garden and tomb, and was seen by witnesses to whom this study has referred.<sup>115</sup>

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114. For a detailed description and study of the crucifixion and burial sites, see Jeffrey R. Chadwick, “Revisiting Golgotha and the Garden Tomb,” *Religious Educator* 4, no. 1 (2003): 13–48. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher being disqualified on several key points, the location known as “Skull Hill” or “Gordon’s Calvary” is proposed as the probable site of the execution of Jesus. But the well-known “Garden Tomb” also fails to meet the New Testament criteria for Jesus’s sepulcher, and a burial location to the east of Golgotha is suggested.

115. The conclusions in this study are, of course, based on careful examination of accounts found in the four New Testament Gospels. The origin and veracity of New Testament texts and accounts are highly debated topics. With regard to the four Gospels, the breadth of opinion spans from those whose research has found the reports in the Gospels to be generally and genuinely trustworthy to those who insist those reports are largely contrived and untrustworthy. An example of the former is James Charlesworth, who has produced many volumes demonstrating the basic reliability of the Gospel narratives, and

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Jeffrey R. Chadwick is Jerusalem Center Professor of Archaeology and Near Eastern Studies, and also Professor of Religious Education (Church History, Jewish Studies) at Brigham Young University. He is a senior fellow at the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem and serves as senior field archaeologist and director of upper city excavations for the Tell es-Safi/Gath Archaeological Project in Israel.

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an example of the latter is Bart Ehrman, who has produced many other volumes declaring those narratives unreliable.

The most ancient sources that describe the compositions of the four Gospels, including the earliest descriptions preserved from the second century AD writer Papias, strongly suggest to me, personally, that the Gospel accounts are quite reliable, and this is the premise from which I have worked in preparing this study. For those wishing to explore this topic, I suggest the work cited several times above: *The New Testament Documents: Are They Reliable?* by F. F. Bruce, a concise but thorough work of unusual genius, which I strongly endorse. For the perspective of multiple LDS scholars, I suggest *How the New Testament Came to Be*, edited by Kent P. Jackson and Frank F. Judd Jr. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2006), a valuable anthology of numerous and various views, not all of which, however, I personally endorse.

## Desert Sonnet

Our passenger disclaims our landscape, “bare.”  
Bemused, the desert quiets down her cast  
Of subtle color, withholds her perfumed air.  
She shades her jewels from eyes that do not ask.  
To me, her forms are home; are psalms of grace.  
I’ve felt her tantrum storms, seen August’s blight,  
Known spring’s and winter’s pauses, shared her face  
As dawn prepared a morning bath of light.  
I’ve climbed her painted cliffs, borne sun’s last arc  
’Til moon the curfew called. And made a bed  
To watch the stars burst over her, and marked  
The wind: from breeze to gust to breeze, then dead.  
    Though fortune’s turn has borne me from her land,  
    I’m quick to own my veins are filled with sand.

—Tayva Patch

# Blue

*Cindy Gritton*

Air—so tantalizingly close—remained painfully out of reach as I stared frantically up through the serene blueness of the swimming pool water. Such a beautiful color that blue was. Vivid and as permanently etched into my memory as thinking out what I would yell as soon as my head (hopefully) broke the surface of it one more time, because I knew I could only do it once more, knew it was a miracle I'd surfaced twice already, that after this next time, blue would turn to black and after that, I would not be walking home. "LET GO!" I screamed and sucked in that last, final, desperate breath of chlorine-scented air before I sank back down and into blackness.

I was in eighth-grade PE, and it was free time. Everyone was having a blast doing what they wished at the end of our regularly scheduled two weeks of swimming lessons. Instead of doing laps, it was lovely, disordered chaos, and, as usual, it was great! Also, as usual, I'd chosen to enjoy my favorite activity: jumping from the side of the pool into the ten-foot section, touching the bottom and then rising back up. It was soothing and something I could do on my own. It wasn't that I didn't enjoy doing things with the others in class; I simply enjoyed doing this, and so I found myself that day going up and down, finding brief solitude on the pool floor, then entering a world of noise and splashing and laughter on breaking the surface.

Across from me, about ten feet from the wall, Anh, Elaine, and Mae<sup>1</sup> splashed, screaming and yelling. From the diving board, someone was

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1. Names have been changed.

entering the water with a cannonball, or perhaps it was gracefully—much more gracefully than the belly flop I had demonstrated for the photography class earlier that year. (They had howled in laughter, their teacher included, and I couldn't really blame them. At least they never published that shot!) In the shallow end, balls were being thrown and chased. I paused to watch it all and then sank back down. It was the fourth or fifth time I had done so when I looked upward at Anh's, Elaine's, and Mae's kicking feet, and my mind suddenly grasped what it should have earlier: Mae didn't know how to swim. The three of them had been screaming *at me*—for help!

I rose to the surface and swam to them. My hand pulled Mae up first, then took hold of Elaine, followed by Anh (all three of them having just sunk under), and then a hand grabbed my arm, a body climbed onto my back, and I found myself out of breath, kicking with all my might to rise back to the world above me, praying for help, wishing I could get Mae off, grateful at the same time that at least *she* had to be getting air!

I made it up once, gulped in a breath, and went under, wondering where Anh and Elaine had gone, my mind desperately thinking, "Why aren't they helping me?" unable to process how worn out they were.

I made it up again, saw they were clinging to the side of the pool, knew Mae and I now were in the middle, that I would never make it back to the side. I breathed in and sank once more, my mind frantically trying to come up with the shortest possible sentence I could scream out that might save me, that might save us both, because if I went down, unable to rise, Mae would too.

Kicking with all the strength I had, I came up screaming, "LET GO!" In that instant, I saw Theresa holding onto the side of the pool, her eyes intent on me, knew she would be coming toward me in a moment; I saw Mrs. C, our PE teacher, bending down to get her shoes off, giving instructions to Theresa; and in that frozen fraction of time, I took a final breath, and sank, knowing that I would never make it back up again with Mae on my back. I'd been blessed to ever rise the first time, let alone a second and a third, but now my strength was spent. And then her weight was gone. My feet propelled me up. My face broke through that thin, tension-tight skin of the water, and I drew in air. The light was yellowish; sounds washed around me. Theresa and someone else had Mae nearly back to the pool's edge. Exhausted, I made my way there, too, and somehow pulled myself out.

"Are you alright?" Mrs. C asked me anxiously.



“Yes,” was all I could say, my body beginning to shake.

“What happened?”

I told her, briefly, tiredly, and then heard her say, “I thought they were only playing around, too, and then I heard you, saw you, and I thought, ‘She wouldn’t play around that way,’ and I knew you were in trouble.” She fell silent, studying me, seeing how I trembled, and not from being cold. “Go get dressed,” she said gently, and I did.



That night, I ate dinner and was quiet, my mind repeatedly going over what had happened. I sat next to Marissa, my Indian Placement sister, whose aunt had clung to my back that day. Growing up on the reservation, away from any major bodies of water, neither of them had ever needed, or wanted, to learn how to swim; both were now doing so, as required, during PE time. In the dressing room, I had learned that Anh and Elaine had hoped to help Mae swim in the deep end, certain that between the two of them, they would be able to help her do it. That didn’t bother me. They had been trying to help her. Not the best way in hindsight, but they’d just wanted her to be able to have more fun. Meanwhile, I felt stupid for not understanding their shouts to me sooner and fearful over what might have happened. But what weighed on me just as much was that I’d almost signed up to take the life guard class the month before and hadn’t.

Why hadn’t I? I would have known what to do, known to never turn my back on a distressed swimmer, known to use something besides me to pull her up and get her to the side, known to approach Mae from behind so it wouldn’t have been so easy for her to climb on me, thus endangering me and not really helping her. I felt foolish and awkward and afraid and grateful to be alive and to have been there to help Mae and Anh and Elaine.

That night, in the room I shared with Marissa, I closed my eyes to sleep, and water encased me. My eyes flew open, my lungs gasping desperately in terror, my arms pushing back the blanket. I knew what being in the dark meant: I was in the pool, unable to breathe; the sight behind my eyelids was blue water holding me down. Time after time after time I tried to sleep. Tears came. Fear wrapped its arms around me. Lying on my bed, my blanket snuggled around me, I knew: death waited for me. All I had to do was close my eyes and it would pull me under, close me off from my family. I was fighting for the very air that touched every part of



me. And so I prayed, prayed to be able to sleep, that Mae and the others could sleep, that I wouldn't be so afraid, and somehow I finally slipped into a much needed rest.

In the many years since I nearly drowned with Mae, I have made many choices. Sometimes I've been wise and heeded that still, small prompting to do something, whether it meant walking home a different way, stopping to see a friend, or passing up one job opportunity for another, a decision that eventually led to me meeting my husband. But there were other times when I felt something and assumed it was merely a passing thought, only to later realize that, much like the idea of registering for the life guard class, this, too, had been the Spirit attempting to guide me to avoid future heartache or discomfort.

The Lord knew I would be in the deep end of the pool that day so long ago, knew I would be willing to do what I could to help my classmates because I'd daydreamed about doing just that (I try not to daydream so dangerously anymore), knew I would be risking my life to do it too. He also knew those few moments of my life would be easier to recover from if I had the necessary tools to do so. He tried to prepare me. I failed to take advantage of his offered help—not rebelliously, but distractedly, procrastinatingly—and yet he didn't let me sink to the bottom of the pool that day. He gave me the strength I needed to make it up to the surface enough times until help came so that both Mae and I could live. He didn't stand on the sidelines, shaking his head at me, saying, "I tried to warn you, child. I'm so sorry you didn't listen. I guess we'll talk about it in a few more minutes when you come home earlier than I'd planned. Thank you for doing what you could to help Mae, Anh, and Elaine, though." No. Instead, he lifted me up after all I could do, gave me the strength to fight for air, and wrapped his arms around me that night when I called out to him again for comfort and help.

I sank that day and night into a nightmare. I rose exhausted, shaking, able to go on. Water wrapped around me, enveloped me, and so, too, did my Father's and my Savior's love.



The light was blue as I looked up through the water. It will always be blue in my mind. Feet, kicking above me, surrounded by that blueness, no longer haunt me, nor does the weight of one in desperate need whom I should have known better how to help. The sounds of those moments are muted and tangible, distant and graspable. The faces of those coming

to our rescue are fixed in my mind—their emotions and looks frozen in time. So, too, are my remonstrations and thoughts and memories:

I should have taken that class; I would have known what to do.

“At least Mae can breathe.”

“LET GO!”

The water is so blue.

“I knew you wouldn’t play around like that. I knew you were in trouble.”

I was in trouble. Several of us were in the gravest of danger, but we were never alone.

The light was so beautifully blue.

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This essay by Cindy Gritton won third place in the BYU Studies 2015 personal essay contest.

Alex Beam. *American Crucifixion: The Murder of Joseph Smith and the Fate of the Mormon Church*.  
New York: Public Affairs, 2014.

*Reviewed by Alexander L. Baugh*

Alex Beam is a columnist for the *Boston Globe* and the *International Herald Tribune* and the author of *Gracefully Insane: The Rise and Fall of America's Premier Mental Hospital* (2001) and *A Great Idea at the Time: The Rise, Fall, and Curious Afterlife of the Great Books* (2008). He has now taken a substantial turn and ventured into the realm of mid-nineteenth century Mormon history with his book *American Crucifixion: The Murder of Joseph Smith and the Fate of the Mormon Church*.

*American Crucifixion* is divided into fourteen chapters, which are set primarily in the years 1839–46, when Joseph Smith and the main body of Latter-day Saints occupied Nauvoo, Hancock County, in western Illinois. As the subtitle suggests, the purpose of the book is to explain the reasons, in the context of time and place, behind the violent killing of Joseph and his older brother Hyrum on June 27, 1844. Beam's narrative does not provide a lengthy examination of Smith's life, which was obviously never his intention, so to provide historical background he integrates flashbacks and vignettes to provide glimpses of the Mormon leader's earlier years in New England, New York, Ohio, and Missouri.

In the introductory chapter, Beam justifies his writing of the book: "Latter-day Saint historians and their Gentile colleagues have pored over many signal events in Mormon history, such as Joseph's First Vision of God, his purported discovery of the Book of Mormon, and the Saints' grueling trek to Utah. But most historians have ignored Joseph's death" (xiv). However, a veritable plethora of reputable scholarly books, book chapters, and professional journal articles about Joseph Smith's martyrdom and its aftermath have been produced by distinguished LDS and non-LDS scholars from a variety of disciplines. In fact, Joseph Smith's martyrdom is one of the most frequently discussed topics in Mormon historiography.

In a June 2014 interview with KUER radio host Doug Fabrizio, Beam explained that until just two years ago he knew nothing about Joseph Smith. Apparently, in his efforts to write the book, Beam had to take a self-styled crash course on Joseph Smith. This leads to the question of how credible Beam's treatment of the Mormon leader could be, especially in light of the fact that until recently he had no knowledge of the beginnings of Mormonism, nor had he ever previously researched or published any type of scholarly study on the subject of Mormonism or the church Joseph Smith founded. A weak track record often equates to weak scholarship, and in regard to Beam's version of Mormon history, such weakness is found in many portions of the book. Given his short learning curve, Beam relies heavily on information previously published in books and journal articles to compose his own storyline. It is evident that many of the original or primary source quotations he uses are actually taken or cited from secondary sources.

Portions of Beam's work have merit. The chapters devoted to chronicling the events leading to the Prophet's arrest, the assault on Carthage Jail, the burial of Joseph and Hyrum, the Mormon succession crisis, and the May 1845 trial of the alleged assassins are noteworthy, but they are not exceptional (chapters 8–13). In these pages, Beam tends to rely more on the facts and speculate less, thereby giving more credibility to his history. That said, readers will be better informed and more enlightened by reading the comparable chapters (13–15) in Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, a People of Promise* (2002) and the award-winning book by Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (1975).

A major focus of Beam's book is on Joseph Smith's practice of polygamy (chapter 5). Not surprisingly, his treatment of plural marriage aligns closely with that of Fawn M. Brodie's psychoanalytic history *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (1945) and, more recently, George D. Smith's *Nauvoo Polygamy: "... but we called it Celestial Marriage"* (2008). Both of those works give distorted interpretations of the practice, straying far from available source materials. Beam perpetuates these imaginative accounts by essentially reiterating Brodie and Smith. Beam's analysis of Joseph Smith's practice of plural marriage is also partially reflected in information provided in Todd B. Compton's *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (2001), albeit this work is a more reliable analysis. However, the most definitive and comprehensive study on plural marriage—and in my opinion, the

most balanced and objective—is Brian C. Hales’s three-volume work *Joseph Smith’s Polygamy: History and Theology* (2013), a work that Beam does not acknowledge. Hales’s analysis reverses many of the stereotypical interpretations, and Beam’s work would have benefitted by it.

The book’s system of source citation is problematic. Instead of using the format prescribed in *The Chicago Manual of Style*, quotation information is included in the notes section at the end of the book, where citations appear in abbreviated fashion by page location and are often incomplete. He also misuses quotations, at times not providing sources, thereby creating the impression that a particular individual is being quoted when in reality the quotation is from a secondary source.

Beam is a skillful writer and wordsmith, and his journalistic style is clearly evident in the text. The narrative flows well and is often colorful and creative. But the craft of writing does not make up for what at times is unbalanced and otherwise shaky history. More often than not, Beam presents a one-sided, unsympathetic, and disparaging view of Joseph Smith, which leaves readers with the impression that the Mormon prophet was a delusional, pompous, dictatorial megalomaniac. Beam portrays Joseph as a womanizer, a fugitive from justice, a deceiver, and a spiritual hypocrite—in short, a religious charlatan. Perhaps that is exactly the impression Beam intended to convey, but is that the *real* Joseph Smith? Many historians have argued otherwise.

But even more egregious is Beam’s frequent misrepresentation of Joseph Smith’s spiritual claims and teachings—clear evidence of the author’s limited understanding of Smith’s theology (particularly in connection with polygamy and eternal marriage). Also disturbing are statements by the author that reflect more innuendo than fact. Beam notes, for example, that the law of consecration observed for a short time by the Latter-day Saints in Ohio and Missouri was “pure communism” (20), but he offers no explanation about what constituted the practice or how it was intended to be lived. Concerning “spotted fever” among the Saints, Beam observes, “To ensure that they were consuming boiled water, the Mormons drank tea and coffee, a technical violation of Joseph’s Word of Wisdom, the guide to personal conduct that counsels the Saints to abjure alcohol and ‘hot drinks.’ The mortality rate in Nauvoo was double that of Illinois, and of the United States. So many immigrants perished that the Saints arranged a mass funeral service for their dead” (39). No sources are given for these so-called facts; frankly, everything in the quote is problematic in terms of historical accuracy.

*American Crucifixion* contains many other errors, and here are just a few: Hyrum Smith, William Law, W. W. Phelps, and George Adams were never ordained Apostles in the Quorum of the Twelve (3, 69, 143, 248); Beam writes that Joseph Smith appointed himself as lieutenant general in the Nauvoo Legion (5), but Smith actually received his official military commission and rank in the state militia from Illinois Governor Thomas Carlin; Hyrum Smith never represented Hancock County in the Illinois legislature (69); the record shows that Joseph Smith first saw the gold plates on his first visit to the Hill Cumorah in 1823, whereas Beam claims that “Joseph often mentioned that the angel Moroni refused to show him the golden plates until Joseph was married” (88), which took place in 1827; the Nauvoo Temple was not completed until April 30, 1846, but Beam writes that on May 24, 1845, “Brigham Young presided over a secret ceremony marking the completion of the Nauvoo Temple” (209); Joseph Smith never named Sidney Rigdon as a likely successor to him (232); Utah Valley is south of Salt Lake Valley, not north (255); and Beam writes that over five thousand Latter-day Saints received their temple blessings in November and December 1845 (257), though the dates were actually from December 10, 1845, continuing through February 7, 1846. Some of these may be minor mistakes, but they nevertheless distract readers who are familiar with LDS history and should signal to them the level of the book’s reliability.

So why was Joseph Smith killed? There is not much to debate on the subject. Scholars are of the general consensus that the martyrdom essentially stemmed from a growing anti-Mormon sentiment among the non-Mormon populace around Nauvoo (which sentiment was generated by anxiety over the constant influx of LDS converts into the region), fear of Mormon political domination (particularly in Hancock County), suspicion about the Mormon practice of Freemasonry, distrust of the Nauvoo Legion, repulsion over rumors of polygamy, internal dissensions, concerns over Joseph Smith’s ever-increasing influence, and religious intolerance. Beam touches on these issues, but adds little to what has been known and published by writers and scholars for years.

Beam’s work appeals to a more general audience—those who are interested in learning more about Joseph Smith and particularly those interested in the controversies (deserved or not) surrounding him and his death. Those casually interested in this history may find Beam persuasive; however, more informed readers will recognize that the book was written too

hastily. Beam's work is typical of other secondary-source histories, suggesting that his scholarship, claims, and analysis do not explore much beyond the superficial. While this book has received national attention (and therefore has perpetuated inaccuracies on a large scale), serious academicians of American religious history, Illinois scholars, and Latter-day Saint historians will find little of what Beam writes to be new, reliable, or pathbreaking.

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Alexander L. Baugh is Professor of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University and a volume editor of the Joseph Smith Papers. He received his PhD in American history from BYU and since has authored numerous books and articles on American and Church history.

Julie Debra Neuffer. *Helen Andelin and the Fascinating Womanhood Movement*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2014.

*Reviewed by Mary Jane Woodger*

In writing *Helen Andelin and the Fascinating Womanhood Movement*, it was Julie Debra Neuffer's hope that her study would "provide a scholarly and evenhanded look at the philosophy and motivations of . . . Helen Andelin and the movement she founded, within the larger historical context of women's reform efforts" (4). Neuffer reached this goal, for, having finished the book, I am still unsure if Neuffer is for or against Andelin's philosophy. Though she is sympathetic to Andelin, Neuffer's portrayal is accurate, impartial, and unbiased.

While growing up, I heard about *Fascinating Womanhood* (FW) but did not realize the scope of the movement's influence on millions of women in the twentieth century. The movement sought to demarcate feminine roles and gifts rather than close the gender gap; a woman's "essential nature" (39) could bring love and order to a marriage. Neuffer's biography gives an unprecedented view of a neglected topic in twentieth-century women's history, gender studies, women's studies, and Mormon studies.

One contribution of Neuffer's work is to show that Andelin's FW movement was an alternative to the ideas forwarded by the women's liberation movement (159). This volume makes the study of the "femininity women's movement" a part of a growing body of scholarship that expands the definition of the women's movement in politics and religion during the 1960s and 1970s (3). Neuffer's research brings us an understanding of Andelin's "wide appeal as both a religious and political leader," which augmented "the fast-expanding discussion about women's strategies to cope with—and shape—political and social change" (3). As Neuffer explains, "In order to fully understand the feminist movement, one must also understand the fascinating womanhood movement" (x). This important scholarship gives us that understanding and shows that



“*FW* represented a significant aspect of a growing political and social backlash to the era’s turbulence, which many feared was eroding traditional institutions and values” (2). Neuffer introduces her readers to another side of the women’s movement in her juxtaposition of Andelin’s *Fascinating Womanhood* and Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique*.

Another outstanding contribution of this biography is that it gives, with thoughtful empathy, a clear lens to Andelin’s motivation; Neuffer’s analysis provides remarkable insight into Andelin’s personality and character. For instance, Neuffer explains that one of the reasons Andelin was so appealing amid hostile and vocal criticism (89) was “that she refused to play by the rule of intellectual arguments. . . . While she was often booed by live audiences, it was nearly impossible for her detractors to wage a war of words. . . . Mostly she just refused to bend to convention” (116–17). Neuffer puts flesh on her subject as she describes “Andelin’s personal magnetism, over-the-top femininity and prim self-righteousness” in vivid detail (117). Behind-the-scenes disclosures, such as Andelin’s surgical facelift at age forty-seven, bring new light to how she personally engaged her convictions (75).

The triumphs and tragedies of Andelin’s life are well documented. Readers come away with a profound understanding of the often complex, sometimes ambivalent, generally loving, and mutually supportive relationship that existed between Helen and Aubrey Andelin throughout their fifty-seven-year marriage and business partnership.

Neuffer’s research of Andelin’s complex and changing relationship with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints also contributes to the body of scholarship. Readers will see Andelin serving as both a single and senior missionary but also calling General Relief Society President Barbara B. Smith one of her greatest enemies (121). Though Andelin felt it was her mission to write *FW* (41) and even quoted President David O. McKay in the book, in the 1990s she called certain LDS leaders “uninspired men in business suits” (122). She had wanted those leaders to endorse *FW* for churchwide use (120), but the Church navigated away from her movement (103). In the end, Neuffer shows Andelin struggling between her loyalty to *FW* and her loyalty to the Church, unable to fully overcome the grudge against Church leaders for failing to endorse her program (121–24).

Neuffer’s qualifications for research in this area of expertise include a PhD in American history from Washington State University. Currently, she is an adjunct instructor of American history at Eastern Washington University and affiliated with the American Historical

Association Organization of American Historians, Western Association of Women Historians, American Academy of Religion, and the Mormon History Association. This book, her first, was awarded “The Best Biography Prize” in June 2015 by the Mormon History Association. Neuffer also lists other unique qualifications for writing about this topic. As she puts it, she “had been raised as a Fascinating woman,” was familiar with the philosophy, and had an understanding for the women who adopted the movement (viii).

Neuffer’s sources are a biographer’s dream, including over thirty hours of recorded personal interviews conducted with Helen Andelin herself, her children, and former *FW* teachers. Neuffer scoured hundreds of private letters to Andelin from *FW* followers as well as support materials such as teaching manuals, newsletters, newspaper clippings, and nearly a thousand completed *FW* teacher application forms. She also had access to Andelin’s personal papers, located in the special collections archive of the Marriott Library at the University of Utah (4). The scholarship is solid and meticulously documented.

The book’s strengths far outweigh any weaknesses that might detract from its overall quality. One of the few shortcomings is a small number of unsupported generalizations. By way of illustration, Neuffer states that Andelin “did not believe in some of the basic tenets of the Mormon Church” (ix). I am curious to know what those beliefs included. In another passage, Neuffer states that Andelin’s daughter negates the idea that her mother used material from eight booklets published in 1922 that were titled *The Secrets of Fascinating Womanhood, or The Art of Attracting Men*. It would have been easy to refute the daughter’s claim by comparing *FW* with the pamphlets. In another passage, Neuffer states, “Andelin’s instructions to perform only ladylike tasks were, at least to [Barbara B.] Smith, materialistic” (123). There is no citation to support this statement either.

Similarly, some assumptions are unsubstantiated. Neuffer makes the case that John Gray’s *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus*, P. B. Wilson’s *Liberated through Submission: God’s Design for Freedom in All Relationships*, Ellen Fein and Sherrie Schneider’s *The Rules: Time Tested Secrets for Capturing the Heart of Mr. Right*, Laura Schlesinger’s *Proper Care and Feeding of Husbands*, and Dr. Phil McGraw’s *Love Smart: Find the One You Want—Fix the One You Got* used “key aspects of the *FW* philosophy, that Andelin had made famous a generation earlier” (148). Neuffer later admits that “although it is likely that these modern-day relationship experts don’t know who Helen Andelin is, they continue to

be guided by the ideas that distinguished her” (158). While such an argument may be sound, support is not provided that these authors used Andelin’s book or her ideas. The *FW* philosophy, according to Neuffer, had been around at least since 1922, and these subsequent authors could be drawing from general knowledge rather than Andelin’s work.

One other very small distraction is in the organization of the six non-chronological chapters. Sometimes the timeline of Andelin’s life seems muddled, and a chronological treatment may have served the biography better. The same material is covered in several chapters, such as the subject of *FW* teachers applications. Sometimes material is squeezed into a chapter that is unrelated to that chapter’s topic, which can awkwardly interrupt the narrative.

These small limitations in no way preclude me from highly recommending *Helen Andelin and the Fascinating Womanhood Movement*. The growth of Andelin’s philosophy into an international phenomenon is a “fascinating” read, and there is much to be explored. This important work gives us a new glimpse into twentieth-century women’s history and is essential reading for all students of Mormon studies.

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Mary Jane Woodger is Professor of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University. She received her EdD from BYU, and her research interests include twentieth-century Church history and Latter-day Saint women’s history. She has over a dozen books published and has written for the *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, *LDS Church News*, and *The Religious Educator*.

*Textual and Comparative Explorations in 1 and 2 Enoch* by Samuel Zinner (Orem, Utah: The Interpreter Foundation; Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 2014).

Samuel Zinner (PhD, University of Nebraska–Lincoln), an independent researcher and Holocaust scholar, publishes his extensive studies on 1 and 2 *Enoch* in a new book from The Interpreter Foundation. Zinner performs a valuable service in this series of nineteen essays by taking on some of the most difficult questions in the field of Enoch studies. He provides new and refreshing perspectives on a wide variety of topics that range from the issue of the identification in 1 *Enoch* of Enoch as “the Son of Man” to textual and historical problems in the texts of both 1 and 2 *Enoch* that have puzzled scholars for decades. His explorations respond to some of the biggest players in the field, including George Nickelsburg, James VanderKam, and Daniel Boyarin. The majority of the essays focus on issues surrounding the text of 1 *Enoch*, which is perhaps the more widely known and read of the Enoch writings, but he also touches on some interesting and important topics from 2 *Enoch* as well. The last chapter of the book provides an analysis by Zinner, who is not LDS, of the topics of Zion/Jerusalem and Lady Wisdom in early Jewish texts and also in Moses 7 and the Tree of Life vision in 1 Nephi.

Zinner takes an innovative approach to a number of problems and controversies in the field, making several positive contributions. His discussions on the title “Son of Man,” both as it is applied to Enoch and as it is used in 1 *Enoch* and the biblical book of Daniel, are helpful for making sense of a phenomenon in early Jewish and Christian writings that depicts the *apotheosis* (or deification) of human beings so that they can function in the celestial realm. He also compares

his conclusions for the Enochic writings to what early Christians believed about Christ, providing a helpful perspective. He tackles the question of the dating of some of the Enochic writings (he argues for an earlier date than is commonly suggested) and whether this extrabiblical text had an influence on canonical books such as Daniel. Zinner’s essay on Zion as Lady Wisdom, how this idea is expressed in both biblical and extrabiblical texts, and how Zinner sees parallels in Restoration scripture is a fascinating perspective that most LDS readers will not have encountered previously.

Because Zinner engages the texts he analyzes at a high level of scholarship, this book will be of interest to those who have previous experience with a serious study of the Enochic, and related, literature. Latter-day Saint readers with at least a moderate interest in and experience with these texts will likely find the discussions of the Son of Man and also the last chapter involving Restoration scripture to be refreshing and useful.

—David J. Larsen

*Standing Apart: Mormon Historical Consciousness and the Concept of Apostasy*, edited by Miranda Wilcox and John D. Young (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

While there have been dozens of important devotional books about Mormonism and its doctrinal concept of the Great Apostasy, little has been published from a scholarly perspective. Ten years ago, BYU Press published a collection of new studies about the Apostasy in *Early Christians in Disarray: Contemporary LDS Perspectives on the Christian Apostasy* (2005; reviewed in *BYU Studies* 44:3), and there has been a smattering of articles over the years on

the subject, including Eric Dursteler's important "Inheriting the 'Great Apostasy: The Evolution of Mormon Views on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.'" Dursteler's essay was originally published in *Journal of Mormon History* (2002), subsequently reprinted in *Early Christians in Disarray*, and now included in *Standing Apart* in an updated and revised form. Dursteler's chapter is the only previously published contribution of *Standing Apart's* thirteen excellent chapters (fourteen if you include Terryl Givens's epilogue).

The editors, Miranda Wilcox and John D. Young, are associate professor of English at Brigham Young University and associate professor of history at Flagler College, respectively. Wilcox specializes in medieval literature, and Young specializes in medieval history.

Wilcox and Young have set out to address the relatively narrow focus of the LDS Great Apostasy Narrative, which tends to disparage, or at least discount, Christian theologians and historians after the death of the original Apostles until AD 1820. Each contributor to *Standing Apart* attempts to contextualize and perhaps complicate this narrative by showing a more nuanced approach to this period of Christian

history. As was mentioned, Dursteler's updated work on the Great Apostasy establishes a strong foundation for the remaining chapters. Both of the editors also have their own contributions to the volume. Without reviewing every chapter in the book due to space, some highlights might be excused.

Of particular note, Spencer Young offers a fine piece on the rich intellectual and spiritual environment that was the Middle Ages, a period too often viewed as theologically and artistically backwards and provincial. Lincoln Blumell discusses the documents and sources surrounding the Council of Nicaea, encouraging Latter-day Saints to reconsider some of their assumptions about the Nicene Creed as it relates to Christian and LDS theology. Additionally, David D. Peck draws parallels between Mormonism and Islam, their views of religious pluralism, and each religion's acknowledgement of divine inspiration among members of other faiths.

Readers familiar with LDS theology will find each of the chapters in *Standing Apart* insightful and well researched. Scholars of early Christianity and Mormonism will likewise benefit from the academic treatment of this topic.

—Gerrit van Dyk