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

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ARTICLES

This view of the St. George Temple, ca. early 1876, shows the lower half of the sandstone being prepared for a whitewash coating, symbolizing purity and light. The main tower did not match Brigham Young's expectations; when it was damaged by lightning, it was replaced with a taller tower. This is the only known image of the temple under construction that includes a group of citizens in the foreground. Courtesy Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

Probing the High Prevalence of Polygyny in St. George, 1861–1880

An Introduction

Davis Bitton, Val Lambson, Lowell C. "Ben" Bennion, and Kathryn M. Daynes

The three articles presented in the following pages interpret and map the unusually high incidence of polygamy (or polygyny, the proper term) that characterized St. George, Utah, from its founding in 1861 until the federal census of 1880. Each article approaches the topic from a different angle, reflecting the perspectives of an economist, a geographer, and two historians. Although our primary emphasis is on St. George, we believe the methods employed here can contribute to understanding the complex dynamics of polygyny as practiced in nineteenth-century Utah more broadly.

In *Mapping Mormonism: An Atlas of Latter-day Saint History* (published by BYU Studies), 122–23, Bennion has mapped polygyny's prevalence in sixty Mormon towns as of 1870. His map-essay includes a population pyramid of Utah for the same year that shows an even balance of males and females for each age group. In spite of the pyramid's symmetry, an average of 25 to 30 percent of those sixty towns' residents were in plural households. Interestingly, on the map, no town with more than five hundred inhabitants shows a percentage of polygamous households higher than St. George, at almost 50 percent.

The first of our three papers, by Bitton and Lambson, recognizes for the first time in Mormon studies the limits that demography imposed upon the number of Latter-day Saints who could have practiced plural marriage during the pioneer period. Their model suggests that if the ratio of females to males of similar age was roughly equal, it seems implausible that more

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than 15 to 20 percent of the territory's husbands and 25 to 30 percent of its wives normally could have lived in polygyny. This of course does not rule out geographic pockets of higher prevalence such as St. George, but then we want to ask, what made St. George special? Did Church leaders consciously select polygamists with large families to settle Utah's Dixie? Were "very committed" polygamous members less likely than monogamists to "back out" of Dixie's hostile desert environment? In probing possible answers to these questions, our second article, by Bennion, focuses on the marital status of the men called to southern Utah in 1861 and 1862 and on the prevalence of polygyny in St. George and elsewhere in Dixie at the time of the 1870 census.

Finally, Daynes concentrates on the makeup of the town's population of marriageable age as of 1880. Her article identifies the three most common sources of women who chose to enter plurality, with a surprisingly high number coming from plural families. She also explores the role that the presence of Utah's first temple exerted in maintaining St. George's exceptional level of polygyny. Applying the Bitton-Lambson model to St. George and Manti and drawing on other related research, she outlines the changing levels of plural marriage in nineteenth-century Utah.

Together, these three articles underscore the importance of understanding not only the high prevalence of polygyny in Dixie, especially in Utah's first temple town, but also what such high percentages reveal about the general importance of plural marriage throughout Utah between 1847 and 1890. The territory functioned as a "polygamous society," which in the 1860s and 1870s in many places, certainly in Dixie, approached or exceeded the sustainable level of plural marriage imposed by the limits inherent in the population's age-gender structure. Deeply committed to their faith, many Latter-day Saints strove to put their beliefs into practice, even the Principle, resulting in the relatively large percentage that spent at least part of their lives in plural households.

Demographic Limits of Nineteenth-Century Mormon Polygyny

Davis Bitton and Val Lambson

What percentage of nineteenth-century Mormons practiced polygyny? Estimates of the answer have evolved as have the methods of posing the question.[1] In 1885, Church leaders John Taylor and George Q. Cannon wrote that "the male members of our Church who practice plural marriage are estimated as not exceeding but little, if any, two per cent, of the entire membership of the Church."[2] Expressing the number of practicing males as a fraction of the entire Church population, including members outside of Mormon Country, was no doubt intended to generate a low-sounding figure.

Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton estimated general or overall polygyny prevalence to be 5 percent of husbands and 12 percent of wives.[3] These estimates resulted from an effort to express the earlier claim of 2 percent in a more readily interpretable form. They were not based on actual marriage data. Subsequent data-based studies, some of which are cited in appendix A, suggested that Mormon polygyny prevalence was considerably higher than had been supposed. The fraction of Mormon males with more than one wife was estimated to fall between 13 and 33 percent, depending on the time and place. Estimates of the fraction of Mormon females in polygynous relationships ranged between 25 and 56 percent.

Polygyny is not unique to nineteenth-century Mormons. Of the 1,170 societies recorded in Murdock's Ethnographic Analysis, polygyny is present in 850, or about 73 percent of them.[4] Estimates of prevalence for the examples listed in appendix A range as high as 76 percent of husbands (in Ijebu, Nigeria in 1952) and 72 percent of wives (in Mosogat and Igueben, Nigeria, in 1977–78).[5]

In what follows, we use a simple demographic model to derive mathematical limits on polygyny prevalence. These limits provide benchmarks from which to assess whether polygyny prevalence in a given context is high or low compared to what is sustainable. If prevalence is high, the model may suggest where to look for reasons. Furthermore, where data are of low quality, the benchmarks provide a check on the reliability of the reported prevalence.[6]

Several theories of polygyny are available.[7] The analysis here is in the spirit of a statement by Eugene Hillman, a Catholic missionary who spent years among the Masai tribe in North Tanzania: "Polygyny is generally practiced only where there is a surplus of marriageable-age women in relation to marriageable-age men. . . . The major reason for a surplus of marriageable-age women, however, is the notable discrepancy in the chronological ages of men and women when they actually get married. Women marry relatively early in life, while men marry relatively late."[8]

Women's tendency to marry at younger ages than men means that, even if each age cohort exhibits the same number of males as females, there will be more females of marriageable age.[9]

The argument is illustrated in figures 1a and 1b. Figure 1a shows a hypothetical, perfectly symmetric population pyramid. The number of males in each age group is given by the length of the bar to the left of the center point (labeled zero), and the number of females of each age cohort is measured to the right. Each five-year cohort is about 15 percent larger than the prior cohort, reflecting population growth rates of about 3 percent per year. If people marry only within their cohorts, the ratio of marriageable men to marriageable women is one, and thus there is little room for polygyny.

If men delay marriage relative to women, however, the effect is similar to shifting the pyramid as in Figure 1b, where each male cohort is compared to the younger female cohort. The result is a ratio of about 115 marriageable-age females to 100 marriageable-age males, even though the overall number of females and males is the same.

The difference in marriageable ages has not been universally accepted as a proximate cause of polygyny. For example, Chojnacka argued that such reasoning reverses cause and effect.[10] However, the tendency of women to marry older men is observed in monogamous cultures as well, suggesting that polygyny does not cause (though it may exacerbate) the difference in marriageable ages.[11]

Given the difference in marriageable ages, population growth adds to the imbalance by increasing the size of the youngest cohorts of marriageable females. In this sense, polygyny is self-reinforcing: allowing more women to marry increases the growth rate and exacerbates the imbalance.[12]

Figure 1a

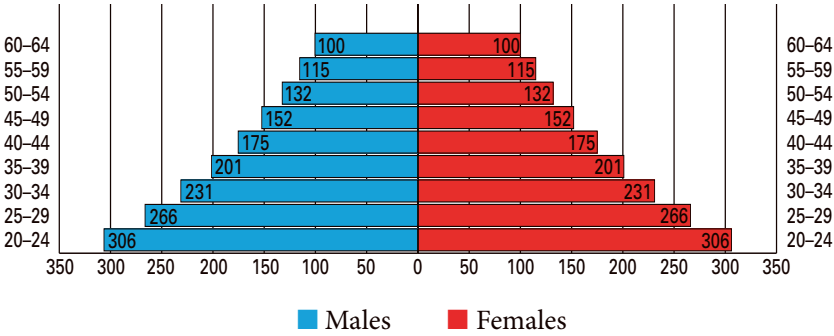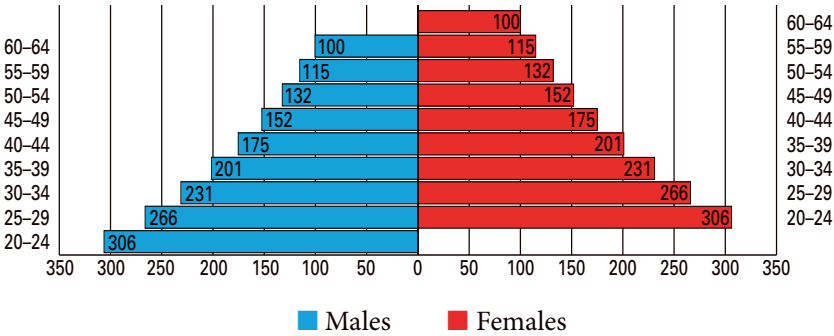| Males	Females

Figure 1b

Males	Females

Mortality also has an effect. Typically more males than females are born, but infant mortality is significantly higher among males. Furthermore, males die disproportionately in wars and occupational accidents. In some contexts, these effects are counterbalanced by female infanticide and adult mortality due to childbirth complications.

Migration can be a factor as well.[13] The analysis is complicated by temporary emigration, as when males of marriageable age leave for a period of years for employment, military service, or—as was common in nineteenth-century Mormondom—church assignment.

Our simple demographic model suggests that, given the parameters observed in nineteenth-century Utah, polygyny prevalence in excess of 15 to 20 percent of males and 25 to 30 percent of females is implausible. Of course, pockets of higher percentages, offset by lower percentages elsewhere, are possible. St. George was apparently one of those pockets.

The next section informally describes our definition of sustainable polygyny prevalence. We then explain the implications of sustainability for estimating demographic limits on polygyny prevalence. Finally, we apply the framework to nineteenth-century St. George, find that polygyny prevalence was above sustainable levels, and offer some conjectures on how the high prevalence might be explained.

Sustainable Polygyny Prevalence

A formal description of our simple demographic model is in appendix C. This section contains an informal discussion. We define sustainable polygyny prevalence to have two properties: (1) it must be mathematically consistent with the population growth it generates, and (2) it cannot exhibit an excessive number of unmarried males.

The first property rules out temporarily high prevalence. For example, a new colony settled by polygynous families with many wives would have high prevalence, but it would tend to revert to lower levels of polygyny rather quickly, constrained by the ratio of females to males born in subsequent cohorts. The original prevalence of polygyny in the colony could not persist without continued immigration of females or emigration of males.

The second property rules out levels of polygyny prevalence requiring large numbers of unmarried males. As a purely mathematical proposition, it is always possible for all marriageable females to live in polygyny: all the marriageable women could marry the same man or, more plausibly, each husband could marry two wives (with one husband marrying a trio of wives if the number of marriageable women is odd). If there are equal (and even) numbers of marriageable-age males and marriageable-age females,

then the latter approach exhibits 50 percent of men and 100 percent of husbands, women, and wives in polygynous marriages. However, this requires 50 percent of men to remain bachelors, which is not plausible. With this in mind, we require that sustainable polygyny prevalence be consistent with actual marriage rates, if they are available, or with all marriageable adults being married, if data on actual rates are not available.

The demographic limits derived below maximize polygyny prevalence subject to sustainability. They require that polygynous families have only two wives and that all widows and divorcees remarry. They almost certainly err on the side of being too large, so if observed prevalence exceeds these limits, then it is most likely a temporary phenomenon driven by specific historical circumstances.

Demographic Limits of Polygyny

To illustrate the limits of sustainable polgyny, suppose population grows at 3 percent annually and that women are five years younger when they first marry than men are. Then, ignoring all other factors, each marriageable female cohort will exhibit approximately 116 women for every 100 men in the male cohort that is five years older. The highest sustainable polygyny prevalence corresponds to 16 two-wife families and 84 one-wife families from each group of 100 marriageable men and 116 marriageable women. Thus, at most, 16 percent (16/100) of husbands are polygynists and approximately 28 percent (32/116) of wives are married to polygynists. Figure 2 exhibits the results of similar calculations for other growth rates and marriageable age differences.

It is interesting and instructive to compare these limits to observed polygyny prevalence where it is practiced. Estimates of polygyny prevalence for a variety of times and places appear in appendix A, where they are divided into four categories: (1) nineteenth-century Mormons,

Figure 2
Upper Bound on Polygyny Prevalence (Husbands, Wives)

	d=3	d=5	d=10	d=15
g=2%	(6%, 11%)	(10%, 19%)	(22%, 35%)	(35%, 51%)
g=3%	(9%, 17%)	(16%, 28%)	(34%, 51%)	(51%, 72%)

Notes: *d* is the difference in marriageable ages (in years) and *g* is the annual population growth rate. The percentage pairs list the maximum percentage of husbands and wives, respectively.

(2) sub-Saharan Africans, (3) North Africans/Middle Easterners, and (4) nineteenth-century Native Americans. For each category and each sex, figure 3 summarizes the distribution of polygyny prevalence across the cases recorded in appendix A. Thus, for example, the maximum prevalence recorded in appendix A for husbands in sub-Saharan African cultures is 76 percent (which comes from Ijebu in Nigeria in 1952), and the mean prevalence for husbands across the sub-Saharan cultures represented in appendix A is 35 percent. Under each percentage in figure 3 is the marriageable age difference necessary to generate the observed prevalence given a growth rate of 3 percent.

Taking the population growth rate as given has the virtue of simplicity. However, at the cost of more complexity and higher data requirements, more insights can be gained from explicitly modeling the determinants of population growth. Such a model is outlined in appendix C. It derives population growth rates from observed fertility, mortality, migration, and marriage patterns, thus taking into account the feedback effects of polygyny on population growth. Simple calculations generate the relative numbers of males, husbands, females, and wives who are alive in a given time period. These in turn determine the limits on sustainable polygyny prevalence given the underlying (age-specific) fertility, mortality, migration, and marriage patterns. In the next section, we apply the growth model to the case of the nineteenth-century Mormon settlement of St. George.

Nineteenth-Century St. George, Utah

This section relies heavily on Larry Logue's fine case study,[14] which provides reliable estimates of polygyny prevalence: 30 percent of husbands in 1870 and 33 percent of husbands in 1880. It also provides some of the parameter values required to compare observed polygyny prevalence with its theoretical limits. Other parameter values have been imported from elsewhere. The result is figure 4. The data used to construct figure 4 are in appendix B.

The first line of figure 4 reports the limits on prevalence consistent with the fertility (by age) of wives in monogamous households in St. George from 1861 to 1880, mortality (by age and sex) in St. George over the same time period, and marriage patterns in Cache Valley in 1880. The second and third lines differ from the first in their fertility data. The second row uses the fertility (by age) of wives in polygynous households in St. George. The third row uses natural fertility, defined as the expected fertility with no effort to control conception.[15] Figure 4 suggests that fertility in St. George, whether of wives in monogamous or polygynous households, was not different enough from natural fertility to affect the results.

Figure 3
Summary Statistics for Polygyny Estimates (See Appendix A)

		Mean	Median	Max	Min
Nineteenth-century Mormons	Husbands' Prevalence	21%	22%	33%	5%
	Implied Age Difference	7	7	10	2
	Wives' Prevalence	31%	27%	56%	12%
	Implied Age Difference	6	5	12	3
Sub-Saharan Africans	Husbands' Prevalence	35%	31%	76%	7%
	Implied Age Difference	11	10	20	3
	Wives' Prevalence	33%	34%	72%	4%
	Implied Age Difference	7	7	16	1
North Africans and Middle Easterners	Husbands' Prevalence	4%	4%	12%	2%
	Implied Age Difference	2	2	4	1
Nineteenth-century Native Americans	Husbands' Prevalence	12%	12%	24%	5%
	Implied Age Difference	4	4	8	8

Figure 4
Limits on Polygyny Prevalence

	Data Sources				Prevalence		
	Fertility	Mortality	Marriage	Men	Husbands	Women	Wives
1	SGm	SG	C	12%	15%	20%	26%
2	SGp	SG	C	12%	15%	21%	27%
3	N	SG	C	12%	15%	20%	27%
4	N	US 1900	C	24%	32%	37%	49%
5	N	SG	H1	15%	15%	25%	25%
6	N	SG	H2	24%	24%	39%	39%

Note: The abbreviations are: SGm (St. George monogamous), SGp (St. George polygamous), N (Natural fertility), C (Cache Valley), US 1900 (Historical Statistics of the United States). Finally, H1 and H2 assume all males over 25 and 20, respectively, and all females over 20 and 15, respectively, are married. Data used for the construction of this table are available in appendix B. Calculations were by MAPLE version 7.

Using natural fertility, mortality in St. George, and marriage patterns in Cache Valley as a baseline, the final three rows consider the effects of changing mortality or of changing marriage patterns, other things being equal.

Line 4 of figure 4 estimates the effects on the baseline of changing the mortality patterns from those of St. George 1861–1880 to those of the broader United States in 1900. The effects are substantial because St. George exhibited atypical mortality patterns for the time. First, the harshness of the environment made survival more difficult. Second, the mechanism by which settlers were chosen and the ways the settlers adapted to the hardships of the area were probably relatively more conducive to male than to female survival.[16] Table B2 in appendix B, which lists the mortality rates both for St. George in 1861–1880 and for the broader United States in 1900, confirms that male mortality was relatively low in St. George, reducing the imbalance between men and women. Thus, plausible polygyny prevalence is lower for St. George than it would be if mortality patterns had been more like those of the general United States.

The final two lines of figure 4, lines 5 and 6, explore more extreme marriage propensities. Line 5 assumes that all men over age twenty-five and all women over age twenty are married. Line 6 assumes that all men over age twenty and all women over age fifteen are married.[17] A higher marriage propensity of young women increases sustainable polygyny prevalence to a striking degree, both directly and indirectly through the increased population growth rate resulting from higher fertility.

Migration is another possible determinant of polygyny prevalence: if, for example, immigration is significantly skewed toward females, then greater polygyny prevalence would be possible. There is some evidence that immigration was balanced enough for such effects to be ignored. For example, William Mulder reported that of 19,017 British immigrants to Utah between 1841 and 1868, 47 percent were male, 47.5 percent were female, and the remainder were unspecified infants.[18] On the other hand, Kathryn Daynes's analysis of Manti demographics provides some evidence that the "relatively high number of plural marriages in the frontier period could not have occurred without the influx of immigrants from outside Utah."[19] The effect of migration may well have exacerbated the imbalance. The anti-Mormon cartoons of the late nineteenth century depicted large numbers of female converts immigrating to Utah, where they were taken into harems by cruel Mormon males. Allowing for exaggeration and stereotyping, there may have been some basis for this claim. It seems plausible that more than 50 percent of those converting to Mormonism (or most any other religion) were female. Unfortunately, due to data limitations, migration must be ignored.

Logue's direct estimates of the percentage of husbands in polygynous households in St. George are 30 percent in 1870 and 33 percent in 1880 and are thus much higher than the theoretical limits. In this case, the data are very reliable, suggesting that one should look for transitory factors to explain the unsustainably high polygyny prevalence. These are not hard to find for St. George, which was part of a general plan to occupy a large area of land by strategically colonizing it. St. George was one of the least desirable settlements due to its harsh desert climate. Those willing to accept an assignment to settle in St. George were very committed Mormons, and those who remained in St. George after having experienced such conditions firsthand were more committed still. Very committed Mormons were much more likely to practice polygyny than were others. So it is likely that the higher-than-sustainable prevalence reflected the composition of the incoming settlers and that polygyny would have declined over time as the settlement approached a demographic steady state, even in the absence of external pressure to abolish the practice.

Summary and Remarks

Women's tendency to marry older men, along with other factors, induces an imbalance in the marriage market. An understanding of this tendency can inform the analysis of marriage institutions, including those of monogamous cultures. Specifically, a substantial preponderance of marriageable women relative to marriageable men must result in at least one of the following three phenomena: (1) large numbers of never-married women, (2) large numbers of sometimes-married women, or (3) polygyny.

The practice in the modern industrialized world, where the third outcome is prohibited by law, is naturally a combination of the first and second outcomes. Tax incentives, changing mores, and broader opportunities for women have combined to create a significant number of marriageable women who remain single by choice. At the same time, high divorce rates allow high turnover in the marriage market, a practice sometimes referred to as serial polygamy. However, even when polygyny is both legally and socially acceptable, there are mathematical limits to its prevalence. Figures 2 and 3 suggest that, in the long run, polygyny by more than 20 percent of husbands and 30 percent of wives is on the high end of what is mathematically plausible, unless the difference in marriageable ages is very large.

Appendix A
Polygyny Prevalence Estimates for
Various Times and Places

Estimates of Nineteenth-Century Mormon Polygyny Prevalence

Husbands
Blackhurst (1990):
Utah County, 1860, 15%
Utah County, 1870, 13%
Logue (1988):
St. George, 1870, 30%
St. George, 1880, 33%
Smith/Kunz (1976):
Men listed in Esshom (1913), *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 28%

Wives
Blackhurst (1990):
Utah County, 1860, 29%
Utah County, 1870, 25%
Cornwall et al (1993):
Salt Lake City, 1860, 56%
Daynes (2001):
Manti, 1860, 44%.

Estimates of Sub-Saharan African Polygyny Prevalence

Husbands
Chojnacka (1980):
Uratta, Nigeria, 1977–78, 29%
Ika Clan, Nigeria, 1977–78, 33%
Mosogar & Igueben, 1977–78, 49%
Iwo, Nigeria, 1977–78, 30%
Kabba, Nigeria, 1977–78, 33%
Driesen (1972):
Abeokuta, Nigeria, 1952, 51%
Ijebu, Nigeria, 1952, 76%
Ibadan, Nigeria, 1952, 61%
Ife, Nigeria, 1952, 75%
Ilesha, Nigeria, 1952, 64%
Ondo, Nigeria, 1952, 68%
Ife Division, Nigeria, 1968, 53%
Ukaegbu (1977):
Ngwaland, 1974, 16%
Central Niger Delta, 1974, 23%
Dahomey (Benin), 1974, 31%
Niger, 1974, 22%
Zaire, 1974, 17%
Guinea, 1974, 38%
Sudan, 1974, 16%
Tanzania, 1974, 21%
Ngwa Igbo, Nigeria, 1974, 16%
Dorjahn (1958):
Kolifa Mayoso, Sierra Leone, 1955, 43%
Kolifa Mayoso, Sierra Leone, 1963, 40%
Kolifa Mayoso, Sierra Leone, 1976, 38%

Magburaka, Sierra Leone, 1963, 34%
Magburaka, Sierra Leone, 1976, 26%
Klomegah (1997):
Ghana, 1988, 32%
Verdon (1983):
Eweland, Ghana, 1971, 16%
Kuper (1975):
Botswana, 28%
Sween (1974):
Cameroon (Pahouin-Betis), 1962, .45%
Cameroon (Bamileke), 1962, 4%
Cameroon (Douala), 1962, 10%
Cameroon (Northerners), 1962, 10%

Wives
Chojnacka (1980):
Uratta, Nigeria, 1977–78, 50%
Ika Clan, Nigeria, 1977–78, 53%
Mosogar & Igueben, 1977–78, 72%
Iwo, Nigeria, 1977–78, 49%
Kabba, Nigeria, 1977–78, 54%
Olusanya (1971):
Ife, Nigeria, 1966–67, 33%
Oyo, Nigeria, 1966–67, 28%
Five rural areas, E. Nigeria, 1966–67, 43%
Ukaegbu (1977):
16 Ngwa Igbo villages, E. Nigeria, 1974, 34%

Wives *(cont.)*
Ware (1979):
Ibadan, Nigeria, 1973, 46%
Aborampah (1987):
Rural/Ibadan, W. Nigeria, 1974–75, 52%
Dorjahn (1958):
Kolifa Mayoso, Sierra Leone, 1955, 65%
Kolifa Mayoso, Sierra Leone, 1963, 61%
Kolifa Mayoso, Sierra Leone, 1976, 60%
Dorjahn (1958, 1988):
Magburaka, Sierra Leone, 1963, 55%
Magburaka, Sierra Leone, 1976, 44%
Klomegah (1997):
Ghana, 1988, 56%
Timaeus (1998):
Benin, 1977–82, 35%
Burkino Faso, 1990–93, 51%
Burundi, 1986–90, 12%
Cameroon, 1977–82, 40%
Cameroon, 1990–93, 39%
Central African Republic, 1993–96, 29%
Cote d'Ivoire, 1977–82, 41%
Cote d'Ivoire, 1993–96, 37%
Ghana, 1977–82, 34%
Ghana, 1986–90, 33%
Ghana, 1993–96, 28%
Guinea, 1993–96, 50%
Kenya, 1977–82, 30%
Kenya, 1986–90, 23%
Kenya, 1993–96, 20%
Lesotho, 1977–82, 9%
Liberia, 1986–90, 38%
Madagascar, 1990–93, 4%
Malawi, 1990–93, 32%
Mali, 1986–90, 45%
Mali, 1993–96, 44%
Namibia, 1990–93, 13%
Niger, 1990–93, 36%
Nigeria, 1977–82, 43%
Nigeria, 1990–93, 41%
Rwanda, 1977–82, 18%
Rwanda, 1990–93, 14%
Senegal, 1977–82 , 49%
Senegal, 1986–90, 47%
Senegal, 1990–93, 47%

Sudan (northern), 1977–82, 17%
Sudan (northern), 1986–90, 20%
Tanzania, 1990–93, 28%
Togo, 1986–90, 52%
Uganda, 1986–90, 34%
Uganda, 1993–96, 30%
Zambia, 1990–93, 18%
Zimbabwe, 1986–90, 16%
Zimbabwe, 1993–96, 19%
Ezeh (1997):
Central Kenya, 1977–78, 13%
Central Kenya, 1989, 8%
Central Kenya, 1993, 7%
Nairobi, Kenya, 1977–78, 22%
Nairobi, Kenya, 1989, 15%
Nairobi, Kenya, 1993, 11%
Eastern Kenya, 1977–78, 24%
Eastern Kenya, 1989, 20%
Eastern Kenya, 1993, 14%
Rift Valley, Kenya, 1977–78, 25%
Rift Valley, Kenya, 1989, 20%
Rift Valley, Kenya, 1993, 19%
Western Kenya, 1977–78, 38%
Western Kenya, 1989, 28%
Western Kenya, 1993, 26%
Coast Kenya, 1977–78, 32%
Coast Kenya 1989, 34%
Coast Kenya, 1993, 29%
Nyzana, Kenya, 1977–78, 42%
Nyzana, Kenya, 1989, 37%
Nyzana, Kenya, 1993, 26%
Mulder (1989):
Kipsigis of Kenya, 1982–83, 60%
Whiting (1993):
Loita Hills, Kenya, 1966–73, 61%
Itembe, Kenya, 1966–73, 45%
Oyugis, Kenya, 1966–73, 45%
Nyansongo, Kenya, 1966–73, 22%
Keumbu, Kenya, 1966–73, 33%
Kisa, Kenya, 1966–73, 23%
Kaliloni, Kenya, 1966–73, 15%
Ngecha, Kenya, 1966–73, 9%
Besteman (1995):
Somalia, 1987–88, 41%

Estimates of North African and Middle Eastern Polygyny Prevalence

Husbands
Chamie (1986):
Algeria, 1948, 3%
Algeria, 1954, 2%
Algeria, 1966, 2%
Bahrain (nationals), 1981, 5%
Egypt, 1947, 3%
Egypt, 1960, 4%
Iraq, 1957, 7%
Jordan (east bank), 1979, 4%
Kuwait (nationals), 1965, 7%
Kuwait (nationals), 1970, 9%
Kuwait (nationals), 1975, 12%
Lebanon, 1971, 4%
Libya, 1954, 3%
Libya, 1964, 3%

Libya, 1973, 3%
Morocco, 1952, 7%
Syria, 1960, 4%
Syria, 1970, 4%
Syria, 1976, 2%
Tunisia, 1946, 5%
United Arab Emirates, 1975, 6%
Yemen, 1975, 5%
Behar (1991):
Istanbul, Turkey, 1885, 3%
Istanbul, Turkey, 1926, 2%

Wives
Varea (1996):
Marrakech, Morocco, 9%

Estimates of Native American Polygyny Prevalence

Husbands
Nutini (1965):
San Bernardino Contla, Mexico, 1960–61, 9%
Hallowell (1938):
Berens River, 1875, 15%
Island Bands, 1875, 20%
Cross Lake, 1875, 20%
Berens River, 1876, 19%
Island Bands, 1876, 6%
Cross Lake, 1876, 24%
Berens Lake, 1877, 13%
Island Bands, 1877, 5%
Cross Lake, 1877, 16%
Berens River, 1878, 12%
Island Bands, 1878, 8%
Cross Lake, 1878, 12%

Berens River, 1879, 12%
Island Bands, 1879, 7%
Cross Lake, 1879, 9%
Berens River, 1880, 11%
Island Bands, 1880, 7%
Cross Lake, 1880, 9%
Berens River, 1881, 12%
Island Bands, 1881, 7%
Cross Lake, 1881, 5%
Moore (1991):
Cheyenne Indians, Great Plains, 1880, 17%
Hern (1992):
Shipibo of Peru, 1983–84, 9%

Wives
Hern (1992):
Shipibo of Peru, 1983–84, 10%

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Appendix B: Data

Table B1 exhibits the age-specific fertility rates used in the construction of figure 4. The first two lines are Larry Logue's estimates for wives in monogamous and polygynous households, respectively, for St. George, Utah, during 1861–80.[20] These estimates can be compared to natural fertility rates—that is, fertility in the absence of attempts to limit fertility—calculated by Coale and Trussell.[21] Natural fertility is not defined for the 15–19 age group, so, somewhat arbitrarily, it has been set to the corresponding St. George birth rate, as marked with an asterisk.

Table B1: Age-Specific Birth Rates (Births Per Woman-Year)

	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45–49
St. George (m)	.445	.415	.371	.407	.339	.169	.019
St. George (p)	.482	.435	.399	.361	.326	.198	.029
Natural Fertility	.482*	.460	.431	.395	.322	.167	.024

Table B2: Age- and-Sex-Specific Mortality (Probability of dying during age interval conditional on having reached it.)

	St. George 1861–1880[22]		US 1900[23]	
Age	*men*	*women*	*men*	*women*
0–4	.290	.277	.244	.209
5–9	.033	.036	.019	.019
10–14	.016	.019	.019	.019
15–19	.016	.019	.029	.029
20–24	.009	.040	.029	.029
25–29	.009	.040	.040	.040
30–34	.038	.034	.040	.040
35–39	.038	.034	.052	.048
40–44	.031	.059	.052	.048
45–49	.031	.059	.076	.069
50–54	.059	.091	.076	.069
55–59	.059	.091	.135	.123
60–64	.059	.044	.135	.123
65–69	.059	.044	.263	.241
70–74	.218	.106	.263	.241
75–79	.218	.106	.497	.469
80–85	1.000	1.000	1.000*	1.000*

The two estimates of mortality reported in table B2 are Larry Logue's estimates for St. George from 1861 to 1880,[24] and the estimates for the United States in 1900 are from the Historical Statistics of the United States.[25] To make the age groups consistent across sources, the U.S. mortality estimates for the 80- to 85-year-old group are rounded to one, marked with an asterisk. Older age groups are ignored. This inaccuracy is of inconsequential magnitude, since the older age groups are small and contribute negligibly to fertility.

The marriage data in table B3 are from Hatch.[26] Unfortunately, Hatch reports marriage data only for the ages 20–49, so some extrapolation is required to construct the missing age groups. We assume the percentage of 15- to 19-year-olds married is half of the percentage of 20- to 24-year-olds married, and that the same percentage of individuals over 49 are married as for people of ages 45–49. These extrapolated entries are marked by asterisks in table B3.

Table B3: Percent Married, Cache Valley, 1880

Age	Men	Women
15–19	16.3*	38.0*
20–24	32.6	76.0
25–29	77.9	88.7
30–34	87.8	94.8
35–39	93.9	96.0
40–44	96.8	92.7
45–49	94.1	88.3
50+	94.1*	88.3*

Finally, we assume that the fractions of male and female births were similar in nineteenth-century Mormondom to those in the United States in 1998: 51.2 percent and 48.8 percent, respectively.[27]

Appendix C
A Simple Model of Population Growth

Let $d_{f\alpha}$ be the fraction of age α females who die, let $i_{f\alpha}$ be immigration of age α females as a percentage of the age α female population, and let $m_{f\alpha}$ be the fraction of age α females who are married. (Similar variables for males substitute m for f.) Normalize the size of the newly born cohort to one, let φ be the fraction of female newborns, and let b_α be the fertility rate for wives of age α.

Let $\{N_m^t, N_h^t, N_f^t, N_w^t\}$ be the numbers of men, husbands, women, and wives, respectively, at time *t*. A stationary (or steady-state) population path is a sequence $\{N_m^t, N_h^t, N_f^t, N_w^t\}_{t=1}^{\infty}$ such that

$$\{N_m^{t+1}, N_h^{t+1}, N_f^{t+1}, N_w^{t+1}\} = \{(1+g)N_m^t, (1+g)N_h^t, (1+g)N_f^t, (1+g)N_w^t\}$$

for *g* satisfying

$$1 = \Sigma_\alpha \varphi (1+g)^{-\alpha} s_{f\alpha} m_{f\alpha} b_\alpha$$

where $s_{f\alpha} = \Pi_\alpha (1 - d_{f\alpha} + i_{f\alpha})$. Now define $N_m = \Sigma_\alpha (1 - \varphi)(1+g)^{-\alpha} s_{m\alpha}$, $N_h = \Sigma_\alpha (1-\varphi)(1+g)^{-\alpha} s_{m\alpha} m_{m\alpha}$, $N_f = \Sigma_\alpha \varphi (1+g)^{-\alpha} s_{fm}$, and $N_w = \Sigma_\alpha \varphi (1+g)^{-\alpha} s_{f\alpha} m_{f\alpha}$.

Polygyny prevalence is defined to be sustainable if it does not exceed $(N_w - N_h)/N_m$, $(N_w - N_h)/N_h$, $2(N_w - N_h)/N_f$, and $2(N_w - N_h)/N_w$, for men, husbands, women, and wives, respectively.

1. Prior research includes Lowell "Ben" Bennion, "The Incidence of Mormon Polygamy in 1880: 'Dixie' versus Davis Stake," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 27–42; Davis Bitton, "Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 101–18; Melvyn Hammarberg, "A Sampling Design for Mormon Utah, 1880," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7, no. 3 (1977): 453–76; Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Western Humanities Review* 10, no. 3 (1956): 229–39; Patricia Lyn Scott and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Mormon Women: A Bibliography in Progress, 1977–1985," *Journal of Mormon History* 12 (1985): 113–39; and Patricia Lyn Scott, "Mormon Polygamy: Bibliography 1977–1992," *Journal of Mormon History* 19 (1993): 133–55. See also the appropriate entries in James B. Allen, Ronald W. Walker, and David J. Whittaker, *Studies in Mormon History, 1830–1997: An Indexed Bibliography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000). ^

2. "Epistle of the First Presidency, April 4, 1885," in *Messages of the First Presidency,* comp. James R. Clark, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 3:11. ^

3. Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Knopf, 1979), 199. ^

4. See Theodore C. Bergstrom, "On the Economics of Polygyny," manuscript, 1994, available at http://www.econ.ucsb.edu/~tedb/Evolution/polygyny3.pdf; and John Hartung, "Polygyny and Inheritance of Wealth," *Current Anthropology* 23 (1982): 1–12. ^

5. See appendix A. By contrast, examples of polyandry are rare and the classification is debatable. See Melvyn Goldstein, "Stratification, Polyandry, and Family Structure in Central Tibet," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 27 (1971): 64–74; Gerald D. Berreman, "Himalayan Polyandry and the Domestic Cycle," *American Ethnologist* 2 (1975): 127–38; and Cynthia M. Beall and Melvyn C. Goldstein, "Tibetan Fraternal Polyandry: A Test of Sociobiological Theory," *American Anthropologist* 83 (1981): 5–12. ^

6. The practice of using available data and a theoretical model to infer values of unavailable or unreliable data is well established. See Carole Popoff and D. H. Judson, "Some Methods of Estimation for Statistically Underdeveloped Areas," in *The Methods and Materials of Demography,* ed. Jacob S. Siegel and David A. Swanson, 2d ed. (New York: Elsevier Academic Press, 2004), 603–41. ^

7. See, for example, H. Chojnacka, "Polygyny and the Rate of Population Growth," *Population Studies* 34 (1980): 91–107; Gary S. Becker, *A Treatise on the Family* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 38–65; John H. Bushnell and Donna D. Bushnell, "Sociocultural and Psychodynamic Correlates of Polygyny in a Highland Mexican Village," *Ethnology* 10 (1971): 44–55; Steven F. Faux and Harold L. Miller Jr., "Evolutionary Speculations on the Oligarchic Development of Mormon Polygamy," *Ethology and Sociobiology* 5, no. 1 (1984): 15–31; Linda Mealey, "The Relationship between Social Status and Biological Success: A Case Study of the Mormon Religious Hierarchy," *Ethology and Sociobiology* 6, no. 4 (1985): 249–57; and Michèle Tertilt, "Polygyny, Fertility, and Savings," *Journal of Political Economy* 113 (2005): 1341–71. ^

8. Eugene Hillman, "Polygyny Reconsidered," in *The Renewal of Preaching: Theory and Practice,* ed. Karl Rahner, vol. 33 of Theology in the Age of Renewal: Pastoral Theology (Glen Rock, N.J.: Concilium, 1968), 176. ^

9. Kathryn M. Daynes, "Single Men in Polygamous Society: Male Marriage Patterns in Manti, Utah," *Journal of Mormon History* 24 (1998): 109, makes a similar argument. ^

10. Chojnacka, "Polygyny and the Rate of Population Growth," 105, also asserted that "polygyny could not be practised indefinitely unless the proportion of polygynous unions varies on a cyclical basis." This conjecture is contradicted by the analysis below. ^

11. The tendency is arguably genetic. See David M. Buss and Michael F. Barnes, "Preferences in Human Mate Selection," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50 (1986): 559–70, and Donald Symons, *The Evolution of Human Sexuality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979). ^

12. This assumes that wives in polygynous households do not have significantly lower fertility than wives in monogamous marriages. This assumption is defensible: for example, Chojnacka, "Polygyny and the Rate of Population Growth," 93, asserted that "the results [of demographic studies] have invariably shown insignificant variation in fertility." See also Lee L. Bean and Geraldine P. Mineau, "The Polygyny-Fertility Hypothesis: A Re-evaluation," *Population Studies*, 40, no. 1 (1986): 67–81; Lee L. Bean, Geraldine P. Mineau, and Douglas L. Anderton, *Fertility Change on the American Frontier* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990); F. Nii-Amoo Dodoo, "Marriage Type and Reproductive Decisions: A Comparative Study in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 60 (1988): 232–42; and H. V. Muhsam, "Fertility of Polygamous Marriages," *Population Studies* 10 (1957): 3–16. ^

13. As with the age of marriageability, the direction of causality is not obvious: a polygynous society could cause emigration of males who are unable to find wives at home. ^

14. Larry M. Logue, *A Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). ^

15. Ansley J. Coale and T. James Trussel, "Model Fertility Schedules: Variations in the Age Structure of Childbearing in Human Populations," *Population Index* 40, no. 2 (1974): 185–258, quoted by Logue, *Sermon in the Desert,* 73. ^

16. See Logue, *Sermon in the Desert,* 97–101. ^

17. Although this may seem extreme, it appears to be appropriate for Manti, Utah, in 1860. See Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 108–9. ^

18. William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 108–9, quoted in Daynes, *More Wives Than One*, 261 n. 33. ^

19. Daynes, *More Wives Than One,* 114. ^

20. Logue, *Sermon in the Desert,* 74, 77. ^

21. Coale and Trussel, "Model Fertility Schedules," 185–258, cited in Logue, *Sermon in the Desert,* 73. ^

22. Logue's ten-year probabilities were converted to five-year probabilities (assuming a constant death rate over the ten-year interval) by solving $r_5 + (1 - r_5)r_5 = r_{10}$ where rt is the probability of dying during the t-year interval if one is alive at the start of it. ^

23. The probability of death is $r + r(1 - r)^1 + r(1 - r)^2 + r(1 - r)^3 + r(1 - r)^4$ for a five-year period with constant annual death rate, r. The source reports deaths per thousand for individuals in an age cohort during the year 1900. ^

24. Logue, *Sermon in the Desert,* 94. ^

25. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 1, 61–62. ^

26. Charles M. Hatch, "Land, Inheritance, and Family in the Formation of Mormon Towns: Tables, Figures, and Maps," mimeo, 1982, copy in author's possession. ^

27. See National Center for Health Statistics, National Vital Statistics Reports, vol. 48, no. 3, available at http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/products/nvsr.htm#vol48. ^

Mapping the Extent of Plural Marriage in St. George, 1861–1880

Lowell C. "Ben" Bennion

For a century and a half, both faithful Saints and federal officials have asked how many Mormons practiced polygamy—or polygyny[1]—in the nineteenth century. Most of the manifold answers to the question have been given not as the absolute number one might expect, but as a percentage of the population. To know what proportion of the Mormons engaged in plural marriage, one must ask the question more specifically, as Davis Bitton wisely advised me in the 1970s.[2] "What percent of which population?" was his succinct way of phrasing the query, indicating that one must decide which populations to count as numerator and denominator and, equally important, for which point in time and space within Mormon Country. For this study, we chose to look at St. George and its Dixie environs in the years for which the federal census and LDS Church records provide reliable sources: 1862, 1870, and 1880. Other methodologies would likely produce different answers to the oft-asked question.

Most students of the subject forget that many nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints who embraced the "Principle" of plurality sooner or later became monogamists due to the death or divorce of a spouse. Moreover, once Mormons reached the Salt Lake Valley, they often moved elsewhere, so the incidence of plural marriage kept changing from place to place as well as from year to year. To cite just one example: John Mathis, one of the few Swiss who settled in St. George, added a plural wife to his family just before leaving Salt Lake late in 1861, but she died within six months. After attending the October 1874 conference in Salt Lake, at Brigham Young's urging and without his first wife's knowledge, John married a newly arrived Swiss convert, who after trying to live the "doctrine in plurality" filed for divorce, making Mathis a monogamist once again.[3] Thus, in our study, Mathis is counted as

a monogamist in both the 1870 and 1880 censuses.

Once we had selected our sources for a specific time and area, we could attempt to calculate a percentage. For the numerator, we have included not only the husbands but also the wives, children, and close relatives who lived in a plural household when the census was taken—1862, 1870, and 1880 in the case of St. George.[4] We have left out anyone no longer living in plurality at the time of the census and anyone who may have entered the practice *after* the population count in question.[5] For the denominator, we have depended on the census enumerator's count of total population, even if he missed certain families or plural wives, as happened in both 1870 and 1880. The procedure may sound straightforward, but it often proves challenging, given the problems of deciphering handwriting and of determining each person's relationship to the head of household before the federal census first asked for it in 1880.[6]

FIGURE 1. James G. Bleak, ca. 1880. Courtesy Special Collections Library, Dixie State College.

As the Bitton-Lambson article reminds us, close to 30 percent of St. George's husbands had more than one wife in 1870 and again in 1880.[7] Even in August 1862, when the infant town took its first census, almost as high a percentage of married men had two or more wives.[8] According to James G. Bleak, the Southern Utah Mission's meticulous historian (fig. 1), a census taken in 1867 identified 69 of St. George's 172 husbands as polygamists, for an even higher incidence of 40 percent.[9] A decade later, when Brigham Young reorganized the stakes of Zion and clerks began to submit quarterly reports, Bleak went so far as to add three extra columns to the standard form and recorded for each of St. George's four wards the number of plural husbands (77), wives (175), and children (494).[10] Polygamists headed just over 30 percent of the town's families, and their wives accounted for 65 percent of the married women. Together with their children they

composed 50 percent of St. George's population in 1877—an unusually high level for so large a town (about 1,500) at such a late date.[11]

A map based on Bleak's data (fig. 2) shows that even within the city itself the incidence of plural marriage varied from ward to ward. As might be expected, the highest concentration occurred in the most populous 4th Ward. With 35 percent of the town's total population, it accounted for more than 45 percent of those in plurality. Not surprisingly, many of St. George's leading families resided in the area centered on Main and Tabernacle streets—symbolized on the map by Apostle Erastus Snow's "Big House."[12] On average, the 4th Ward's polygamists probably had more wives and children than the plural households in the other wards.

Changing Percents and Perceptions of Polygamy's Incidence

Bleak's 1877 count of St. George residents living in polygamous households adds up to a higher percent of the total population (50 percent) than our figures for 1870 (44 percent) and 1880 (41 percent), although we used as a numerator the number of family members in plurality and as a denominator the town's total population (virtually all LDS). His records were presumably more accurate than the census enumerator's, who in 1870 somehow missed William G. Perkins and Luther S. Hemenway and their two wives[13] (and possibly a few monogamists) and listed only one wife for several other polygamists[14] (see appendix A, St. George's Plural Population, 1870). It also seems possible that in 1877 Bleak counted plural family members living outside of St. George. As already emphasized, the ongoing changes in every family's size due to births, deaths, divorces, and frequent in- and out-migration make the mapping of polygamy's incidence for any point in time approximate at best.[15] Despite these shifting demographics, Bleak tried to keep track of how many Mormons practiced the Principle of Patriarchal Marriage, possibly at the behest of Apostle Erastus Snow, president of the Southern Utah Mission from 1861 until his death in 1888.[16]

Two leading Washington County historians, depending on census data alone to estimate plurality's prevalence in St. George, concluded that "about 23 percent of the people in 1870 were involved . . . , [and] 20 percent in 1880."[17] By scanning only the census schedules, the same method used by sociologist Nels Anderson in the 1930s,[18] they arrived at figures significantly lower than ours. Anderson, a teenage hobo from the Midwest who was befriended by two Dixie families, identified seventy-one plural families in Washington County as of 1880, about the same number we counted for St. George alone in that year.[19] In 1988, historian Larry Logue combined all available genealogical sources with census records to create a database

Prevalence of Polygamy in St. George's Four Wards, 1877

Figure 2.

① Erastus Snow's "Big House"
② Tabernacle
③ Lucy B. Young's House
④ Brigham Young's "Winter Home"
⑤ Court House
⑥ Temple

3rd Ward

4th Ward

2nd Ward   1st Ward

N

0   200 400   800 feet

-- Ward Boundary

% of Plural Families in Ward (gray)
with graph size relative to total population

Cartography by Eric Harker.
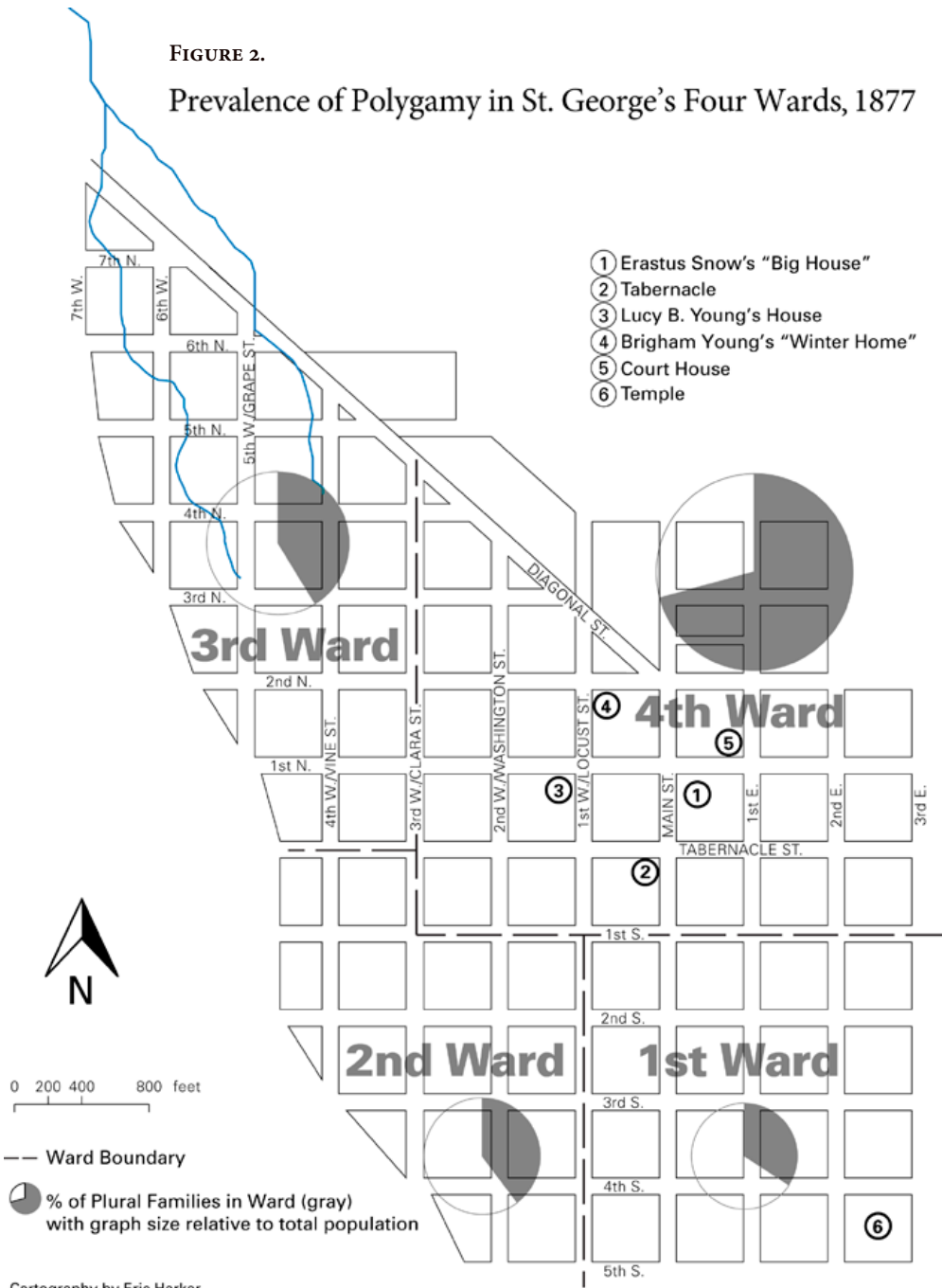
that allowed him to specify "an entry and exit date for each person who lived in the town from 1861 to 1880" and then "divide each individual's time in the town" into a monogamous or polygamous category. He found that for husbands 31.4 percent, for wives 62.0 percent, and for children 49.2 percent of their "Person-Years Lived in St. George" fit the "Polygamous" class.[20] Logue's analysis strongly supports the high prevalence of polygamy recorded by Bleak and the figures Professor Daynes and I have calculated for 1862, 1870, and 1880.[21]

Given these results, imagine my reaction when I read what Martha Cragun remembered about her decision in 1869 to become Isaiah Cox's third wife in spite of strong opposition from family and friends in St. George. "When in my mind I took a survey of our little town, I could locate but a very few men, not one of fifty of the whole city, who had entered it [polygamy] at all."[22] Either Martha was unaware of most men's marital status, unlikely for an eighteen-year-old bride-to-be with several polygamous neighbors, or else when she compiled her "Reminiscences" some sixty years later, she accepted the LDS First Presidency's 1885 estimate that Mormon men "who practice plural marriage" do not exceed "but little, if any, two percent, of the entire membership of the Church."[23] Martha must have forgotten (or never heard) what Erastus Snow's first wife, Artimesia Beaman, observed in 1878: "It looks very odd to me nowadays to see a man living alone with one wife, especially a middle aged man. It does very well for new beginners, just starting out on the journey of life to begin with one, and then add to [her]. But to see a man in the decline of life [with only one wife], I say it looks odd."[24]

Why, in contrast to Martha Cox's recollection, was plurality as prevalent in St. George as Sister Snow implied? And how widespread was the practice elsewhere in Utah's Deep South when compared to regions farther north? When a few BYU scholars decided to produce a new atlas of Mormon history, they asked me to contribute a thousand-word map-essay on plural marriage.[25] Since I had already begun to map its extent in the twelve towns where Colonel Thomas and Elizabeth Kane stayed after leaving Salt Lake for St. George in late 1872,[26] I accepted their invitation. To make the map more representative of Utah Territory, I added a few dozen towns, albeit favoring places close to the Kanes' southern route. Except for hamlets such as John D. Lee's New Harmony or Dudley Leavitt's Hebron, where one large polygamous family could increase the incidence greatly, St. George stands out on the map—with about 45 percent of its 1,150 residents in a plural household as of 1870.[27] Why, I wondered, did Brigham Young's winter residence rank higher than other towns of comparable size? And why did

plurality persist there for so long when in older places like Sanpete County's Manti, it declined after 1860?[28]

One woman told Elizabeth Kane, "The brethren who were sent to St. George were the very best people in the Territory."[29] Her informant, "Anna I—," might have added that five of the nearly 350 men called to settle "Utah's Dixie" in October 1861 were General Authorities of the Church who already had multiple wives and were expected "to become permanent citizens of the sunny south."[30] Allowing for any built-in bias on Anna I's part, why would LDS leaders have sent St. George at least some of "the very best people in the Territory," when Apostles residing elsewhere in Utah simultaneously sought colonists for their newly settled regions?[31] In spite of its colder climate, northern Utah, unlike Dixie, never needed "mission" status to attract newcomers. Beginning in 1861, Church leaders repeatedly issued pleas for Dixie "volunteers," usually in vain because of the region's distance (350 miles) from Salt Lake and its negative desert image. Not until called as missionaries to Utah's Cotton Country did sizable numbers of Saints respond.[32]

Bitton and Lambson suggest that "those willing to accept an assignment to settle in St. George were very committed Mormons, and that those who remained in St. George after having experienced such conditions firsthand were more committed still. Very committed Mormons were much more likely to practice polygyny than were others."[33] Their suggestion raises key questions pertinent to this paper. Were polygamists more likely than monogamists to receive and then accept a mission call to Dixie? And were they more disposed to remain there despite having to cope with drought and frequent floods along the often dirty Virgin (originally spelled "Virgen") River and its tributaries? Certainly acceptance of plurality reflected commitment on the part of Latter-day Saints, especially during the Mormon Reformation of 1856–57, when it was so strongly encouraged.[34] According to a new biography of Brigham Young, a sure "sign of lukewarm commitment was the hesitancy of many church members to enter into plural marriage."[35] But did one's marital status per se increase his chances of being *called* to the Southern Mission during the 1860s? If not, why then did St. George attract so many polygamous families? If polygamy was at least in part "a political expedient for speeding the rapid growth of Zion," as Nels Anderson averred,[36] did Church leaders consciously favor plural families (and their monogamous relatives) in recruiting settlers for southern Utah?

Marital Status and Familial Ties

These questions have proven difficult to answer, if only because for practical reasons I have focused primarily on St. George—already the largest town and seat of Washington County by 1863—and on its first group of settlers.

Many of those who accepted the Church's call to southern Utah beginning in October 1861 did not make their home in St. George. A majority of them either chose or were asked to locate in the smaller settlements scattered across and beyond the Virgin River watershed, from Kanab, Utah, to Panaca, Nevada.[37] Moreover, the 1860 census, taken the year before the founding of St. George, counted almost 650 persons already living in Washington County.[38] From 1861 on, formal requests to settle in the region that was increasingly referred to as "Cotton Country" often came from the office of the Church Historian, Apostle George A. Smith. He had headed an earlier Iron County Mission, which made him southern Utah's "patron saint"

FIGURE 3. Apostle George A. Smith, ca. late 1860s. Courtesy Church History Library.

and St. George's namesake (fig. 3).[39] His letters,[40] along with October conference reports and family histories, offer a few clues as to possible criteria considered by Brigham Young and the other General Authorities in selecting settlers for Utah's Dixie.

The difficulty in determining Church leaders' motives becomes evident even from a cursory examination of the backgrounds of the 350 men called to southern Utah in October 1861 or just the 150 counted in St. George the following summer. Farmers made up the majority, but the occupations recorded varied from distiller to sailor to silk weaver. The first residents ranged in age from seventeen to seventy, most of the very youngest being bachelors who sometimes served as teamsters on the southward trek. Nearly half (45 percent) of the newcomers were foreign-born, mainly from the British Isles but also from Scandinavia and Switzerland. As already noted, nearly 30 percent of the married men were polygamists, the majority of whom became such either in the Reformation years of 1856 and 1857, when the number of such marriages probably peaked, or else during the preceding decade.

However, since the eight cases in which a second marriage in 1861 or 1862 coincided with the invitation to move south, one might wonder if

taking that step influenced the Church's selection of someone like Brother Bleak.[41] Or did Brigham Young encourage such men to add another wife after being called but before moving to southern Utah? The case of black-smith Benjamin F. Pendleton, who reached the Salt Lake Valley in 1848, illustrates the latter possibility. His wife Lavina gave birth to the last of their eleven children about six months before the October 1861 call came. Her age and poor health made her unwilling to make the move, so Young reportedly advised him to marry a "young, able-bodied woman" to accompany him to St. George, where he could and did start a second family. Together, he and Lavina chose their "hired girl" Alice Jeffery as a new spouse. A year later Alice's brother, Thomas, and his wife, Mary Ann, followed the Pendletons after adding a second wife to their family, but perhaps for a different reason, since Mary Ann was childless. Lavina and her youngest children stayed in Salt Lake, where Ben visited them annually while attending general conference and buying supplies for his blacksmith shop.[42]

Three young men, sons of Brigham Young's brother Lorenzo Dow, received not only one but two letters in the form of an "unexpected" mission call—a week *after* the October 1861 general conference ended. Both notices were addressed to Franklin W. Young, Payson, Utah's new bishop. The first came from Apostle Albert Carrington "to learn whether you [and 'your brother John'] would like to join the missionary company now being made up for the southern portion of our Territory." Before they could respond, a letter signed by Apostle George A. Smith arrived, advising the brothers, both young monogamists, that they were "appointed on missions to the Cotton Country." Joined by their bachelor brother Lorenzo S., they started out by buggy to see the president. Two weeks later, the three of them left for Dixie.[43]

The marital status of three Woodbury brothers, all in their thirties when called from the Salt Lake area to the Cotton Mission in 1861, also implies that plurality had little, if any, direct bearing upon their selection. In fact, they were sons of a polygamist named Jeremiah, who at age seventy-one may have been considered too old or otherwise unfit for such a mission. Thomas H., the oldest son and a polygamist since 1851, took his two families to start a nursery along the Upper Virgin. John S., a bachelor at age thirty-six, still lived with his parents (and his father's second wife) when called but already had served two missions in the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). After living in St. George for three years, he finally married a woman from Beaver, twenty years younger, but remained a monogamist. Orin N., the youngest son, became a polygamist two years after moving south with his first wife, Ann Cannon. John and Orin remained in St. George while severe flooding

in the Grafton-Rockville region and serious health problems forced Thomas and his families to return to Salt Lake by 1866.[44]

Orin Woodbury's connection with the Cannons hints at the role *Bekannte und Verwandte* (German for "friends and relatives") may have played in deciding whom to invite to southern Utah. Ann C. Woodbury's two younger brothers—Angus M. (with two wives) and David H. (still single) Cannon—were called at the same time as the Woodbury brothers, and their youngest (and still single) sister, Leonora, joined them on the journey. Within two years she became the fourth wife of Robert Gardner, St. George's first presiding bishop.[45] George A. Smith was undoubtedly well acquainted with the Cannons, since their oldest brother, George Q., also served in the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. Moreover, Apostle Erastus Snow's sister Mary had married Jacob Gates, of the First Council of Seventy, and Dixie's Ashbys and Stringhams were related to Snow's third wife, Elizabeth Ashby. Of the five General Authorities first called south, brothers-in-law Snow and Gates were the only two who stayed in St. George. Both of them, along with a few of their friends and relatives, came from Salt Lake's 13th Ward, where, as of 1860, Elder Snow presided over a household filled with four wives, twelve children, and a few servants (fig. 4). Little wonder each wife had a house of her own when the Kanes reached St. George in 1872–73!

Several surnames of related families appear thrice in the 1862 St. George census—namely, Atchison, Brown, Bryner, Perkins, and Pulsipher—each trio differing as to married status. The Atchisons consisted of a widowed father and two monogamous sons; father James P. Brown and his two sons were polygamists when called from Sanpete County; the three Swiss-born Bryners were monogamists, as was Ute Perkins, but Wm. G. and Wm. J. Perkins each had two wives; of the three Pulsipher brothers, only Charles was a polygamist. Taken together, six of these fifteen men were polygamists when chosen. However, a year later the Pulsiphers' polygamist father Zerah (age seventy-one), two of their sisters (married to Thomas S. Terry), and a few relatives named Burgess followed them to Dixie. Perhaps their familial ties rather than their marital status affected the selection of these related families.[46]

Sometimes George A. Smith issued calls to a father and any bachelor sons old enough to work as "laborers." Martha Cragun Cox kept the notice her father, James, and her two oldest brothers received (fig. 5) when living in the Mill Creek Ward of Salt Lake County in October 1862. They were among the additional 250 men selected that year because so many of those named in 1861 never left or, more likely, decided to return north after a winter of unprecedented heavy rains and floods. By 1862, ten years after

SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in _13th Ward Great Salt Lake City_ in the County of _Great Salt Lake_ State of _Utah_ enumerated by me, on the _3rd_ day of _June_ 1860. _Ole D. Snider_ Ass't Marshal. Post Office _Great Salt Lake City_

Dwelling-houses numbered in the order of visitation	Families numbered in the order of visitation	The name of every person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1860, was in this family.	Age	Sex	Color	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male and female, over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.	Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year	Attended School within the year	Persons over 20 yrs who cannot read and write	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
		William T Donaldson	2	m					U					1
		Caroline M	7/12	f					"					2
		Charles Spriggs	18	m					"					3
44	47	Alovisa Snow	48	f		Weaver	200	250	Verm't					4
		Willard "	18	m					Iowa					5
		Ellen	12	f					U		1			6
		Susan	11	f					"		1			7
		Azunatte Bent	63	f					Conn					8
25	48	Theodore Johnson	60	m		Shoemaker	4000	100	Mass					9
		Louisa A	54	f					"					10
46		Uninhabited												11
47	49	Erastus Snow	41	m		Farmer	6000	1200	Verm't					12
		Artimesia	41	f					N.Y.					13
		Mahonri	13	m					Neb					14
		Artimesia	11	f					U					15
		Erastus B	6	m					"				0	16
		Franklin	5	m					"					17
		Moroni	2	m					"					18
		Orson	7/12	m					"					19
		Minnie M	38	f					Mass					20
		Erastus W	11	m					U					21
		Willard	6	m					"					22
		Susan	3	f					"					23
		Elizabeth R	28	f					Mass					24
		Elizabeth A	6	f					U					25
		Florence	3	f					"					26
		Josephine	4/12	f					"					27
		Julia	23	f					N.Y.					28
		Achsa White	74	f					Mass					29
		Stephen Coup	60	m					Eng					30
		Peter Johnson	31	m					Denmark					31
		Cora Johnson	15	f					"					32
48	50	John Wardrobe	47	m		Joiner	500	250	Scot					33
		Lucy	46	f					"					34
		Lucy "	16	f					Ill					35
		Isabella	14	f					"					36
		James	10	m					Mo					37
		John	8	m					U					38
		Abraham	6	m					"					39
49		Uninhabited												40

No. white males, ___ No. colored males, ___ No. foreign born, ___ No. blind, ___ | 10.700 | 1.800 | No. idiotic, ___ | | 0 | No. convicts, ___
No. white females, ___ No. colored females, ___ No. deaf and dumb, ___ No. insane, ___ | | | No. paupers, ___

FIGURE 4. 1860 manuscript Census Schedule sheet from the SLC 13th Ward. Courtesy Church History Library.

q. S. L. City   Oct 12. 1862

Bro. James Cragun

I am pleased to notify you that you have been selected to go on the mission to Washington Co., accompanied by your sons who are also selected for the same mission

Very respectfully

Geo A Smith

FIGURE 5. Document calling James Cragun and his sons on a mission. From the autobiography of Martha Cragun Cox. Courtesy Church History Library.

bringing his family from Indiana to Utah, monogamist James Cragun had become a well-to-do farmer. His holdings approximated in value those of William Park, a Scottish neighbor with a family twice the size, thanks to three wives, but whose name never appeared on the 1861 and 1862 lists of those called to the Southern Utah Mission.[47]

The 1860 Mill Creek census (fig. 6) shows the much poorer and younger family of James McCarty living between the Craguns and Parks. James had married Martha Cox's oldest sister and was among the few who "volunteered" for St. George in 1861, a year ahead of his in-laws. Poor but "zealous" Saint that he was, in Martha's eyes, three years after moving south he added another wife. Finding farming in Dixie much more difficult than in Mill Creek, he relocated to the much higher settlement of Summit in Iron County, where the 1870 census listed him as a teacher with a plural family of ten and real and personal property together valued at a paltry $150.[48] Apparently one's financial status, whether poor or rich, mattered little more than marital status to Church authorities responsible for calling colonists. George A. Smith informed Jacob Hamblin, the head of southern Utah's Indian Mission, that the names of those read in the latest (October 1861) conference "is producing no small excitement in this city [Salt Lake] as the call embraces the rich as well as the poor. A few rich men who have been named feel to struggle with their possessions and will probably leave their hearts here while their bodies are there."[49]

One of the rich men Smith may have had in mind was a high priest from the Salt Lake 1st Ward named Hugh S. Moon. As one of St. George's forty polygamists in 1862, he had a family as large as Erastus Snow's, even without his first wife, who refused to accompany him. When called, Hugh's two (and much younger) plural wives were close to confinement, one

SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in _____ in the County of Salt
of Utah enumerated by me, on the 8th day of August 1860, Geo. D. Sm
Post Office Gt Salt Lukecity.

Dwelling-houses numbered in the order of visitation.	Families numbered in the order of visitation.	The name of every person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1860, was in this family.	Age.	Sex.	White, black, or mulatto.	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male and female, over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.	Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	
		Anna Daniel	60	f					Eng	
199	201	James Cragun	45	m		Farmer	2000	4000	Ind	
		James H	20	m		farm laborer			"	
		Thomas C	18	m		"			"	
		Eleanor	43	f					Ky	
		Mary E	16	f					Ind	
		Elisha	11	m					Neb	
		Martha	9	f					Utah	
		Sarah J	7	f					"	
		Theresa	4	f					"	
1810	202	James H McCarty	29	m		farmer		150	Ky	
		Lydia M	22	f					Ohio	
		James C	3	m					Utah	
		Wm M	1	m					"	
1811	203	Wm Parks	53	m		Farmer	3000	2000	Scot	

FIGURE 6. Manuscript Census Schedule sheet from Mill Creek, Utah. Courtesy Church History Library.

giving birth four days before the Moon party's departure, the other ten days later in Buttermilk Fort (renamed Holden) "on the road to cotton country." He had hired a girl to help care for his wives and children, and a few of the younger men bound for Dixie helped him handle his livestock and five loaded wagons. Hugh was St. George's only "Head of Family" listed as a "Distiller," an occupation valued in Dixie's semisubtropical climate but increasingly frowned upon in Salt Lake, judging by a letter Brother Moon had received from Brigham Young in 1858. "I write to request you not to sell any more whiskey or alcohol, or any description of spirituous liquor, no matter who may call upon you to purchase [it]. And in case the plea is made that some one will die, unless the liquor can be had, be pleased to tell them to first call upon me and get an order for the coffin. . . . We have seen as much drunkenness about our streets as we care about seeing, and they all acknowledge that they get their liquor at 'Moons still.'"[50]

Although the Salt Lake 1860 census identified Hugh Moon as a distiller, in response to Young's request, he soon began to "manufacture all kinds of rope," build "a water wheel thirty foot high" to make cane molasses, and start a mill to grind old bones into manure. Given such skills, the Church must have viewed him as an exceptionally fine prospect for the Southern Mission. Besides being a prosperous entrepreneur as well as a polygamist, at the time "Brother Thomas Bullock came and showed me a written notice of my appointment to go three hundred and fifty miles south,"[51] Hugh also served as a counselor to Bishop Henry Moon, a brother-in-law with the same surname. Unfortunately, in 1865 Elder Snow had to notify President Young that "Hugh is sick here with a large and almost helpless family and unable to do much for himself or anybody else in this place; would it not be as well for us to release him and send him back by our teams in the Spring?" Young's sympathetic response: "Bro. Hugh Moon had better return north to his farm [in Davis County] and have his mill put to running . . . where it will do good business and afford him help in sustaining his family."[52]

In 1861, George Baddley, a Salt Lake distiller in the 10th Ward, went to Rockville on the Upper Virgin, leaving his first wife in Salt Lake to manage his mill but taking a newlywed plural wife, Charlotte DeGrey, with him. Baddley fared no better than Hugh Moon and Joseph Woodbury, the horticulturist, in coping with Dixie's "chills and fever" climate, floods, and alkaline soil.[53] All three of these well-to-do yet ailing polygamists had to return to northern Utah just a few years later but did so with the Church's permission. Their departure raises anew the question asked earlier: how many of St. George's 1862 polygamists still lived there at the time of the first federal census taken in 1870?

Persistence of 1862 Polygamists in St. George

A comparison of the heads of plural households for those two years (see appendix A) shows that only twenty-four of forty stayed in St. George; however, excluding two pioneers who had died in the interim, all but three of the others lived elsewhere in Dixie. Like Bishop Robert Gardner, they had moved their families to strengthen outlying settlements such as Pine Valley, a primary source of timber as its name implies. Even if existing evidence fails to support the notion that calls to southern Utah favored polygamists over monogamists, the former's persistence seems to confirm Bitton and Lambson's assumption that polygamists demonstrated a stronger commitment than monogamists to stay in place. However, more often than not, so-called Dixie "back-outs" were younger men with only one (or no) wife, but a fair number of St. George's 1862 monogamists (at least forty of them) still lived there in 1870—surely no less committed than polygamists. Regardless of their marital status, most of the men who persevered had already proven their willingness to accept Church mission calls as members of Zion's Camp (1834), the Mormon Battalion (1846–47), the Las Vegas or Fort Limhi Missions (1856–58), as missionaries abroad, or as leaders of local wards and branches. Perhaps their age as loyal veteran members mattered as much as their marital status as to whether they stayed in St. George.

Pragmatic Considerations in Calling Colonists

Shortly after the October 1861 conference ended, Brigham Young asked Apostle Orson Hyde, based in Sanpete County, to recruit thirty to fifty families from his region for southern Utah. He instructed Hyde to "send good and judicious men, having reference in your selection to the necessities of a new colony, and including a sufficient number of mechanics such as coopers, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, plasterers, joiners, etc., if you have them that you can spare without robbing your [own] settlements."[54] By "good and judicious," Young probably meant dependable, a desire seconded a year later by his counselor Heber C. Kimball when meeting with the second batch of "Cotton Missionaries." None of them were "required to go unless they could go as well as not—[Church leaders] had selected good men—not one [was] sent to get rid of him—[we] want a settlement down there of men who can be relied on."[55] Kimball's statement implies that a few men may have felt "required to go."

    Among those selected in October 1862 was a reluctant George A. Hicks, who thought some of the Brethren wanted "to get rid of him" and the other men called from the still sparsely settled area south of Spanish Fork in Utah Valley. Hicks's father-in-law, H. B. M. Jolley, became bishop of Pondtown

(now Salem) in 1859, and when a Brother Durfee accused him of failing to reimburse his family for certain loans, Bishop Jolley appealed to Apostle Hyde, who held a hearing on his way from Sanpete to Salt Lake for the October 1862 conference. Hyde, according to Hicks's account, sided with the aggrieved party, and a week later the Church's call for Dixie colonists included an unusually large number of persons (forty-eight altogether) from such a small place—all of them related to polygamist Jolley.[56] The Durfee-Jolley feud may have been part of a larger Pondtown conflict pitting farmers like the Durfees against ranchers like the Jolleys, who, as Southerners, could also raise cotton. Whatever the reasons for his selection, faithful Bishop Jolley heeded the call, located close to St. George but soon regrouped much of his extended family in New Harmony some fifty miles to the north, and then in 1871 moved most of them to what he considered the superior grazing lands of Long Valley (centered on Orderville). There he presided as bishop of Mount Carmel (1877–1892), where his clan comprised more than half the tiny town's population by 1880, although he was the only head of a plural household.[57]

After President Young decided the St. George site should serve as the center of the Southern Utah Mission, the first settlers soon started a series of public works projects that required increasing numbers of skilled "mechanics."[58] David Milne, an early Scottish convert, finally reached Salt Lake via San Francisco in 1866 after operating an interior decoration business in New Zealand for seven years. Young knew in advance of his coming and of his skills and soon recruited him as the leading painter for the St. George Tabernacle, and had his name "Millen" (so pronounced) added to the list of some 150 settlers called south in 1867. He also promised David's wife, Susan, terribly ill with tuberculosis, her health would improve in Dixie, which it did due partly to the Milnes' decision to hire Anna Catherine Jarvis as a housekeeper. Two years after their arrival, David became bishop of St. George's 1st Ward, and six months later, with an ailing Susan's encouragement, he married Miss Jarvis as a second wife. A third marriage in 1871, *sans* Susan's and Ann's sanction, did not work nearly as well, since the two plural wives proved incompatible, especially after Susan, the family mediator, died in 1881 and David's health worsened (after his 1877–79 mission to Scotland) due to his longtime exposure to paint leads and his increasing consumption of alcohol (as a cure) (fig. 7).[59]

Such pragmatic concerns as occupation and finding a satisfactory place for newly arrived immigrants also played an important role in the selection of colonists. The original October 8, 1861, list of men called to settle in southern Utah omitted the names of Orson Hyde's thirty or more Sanpete families and the fifty or so recruited by Apostle John Taylor in Utah

FIGURE 7. David Milne Family photo, courtesy of Deirdre Murray Paulsen.

Valley. The largest single group of late calls went to about thirty recently arrived Swiss families, most of which located in Santa Clara, a few miles west of St. George.[60] While presumably aware of the plural order of matrimony when they arrived, most of them had had little, if any, chance to embrace it before heading south. More importantly, to Church leaders they seemed ideally suited to the cultivation of grapes even in an environment so different from their native Switzerland. Similarly, as early as 1858, most of the first settlers chosen to determine the feasibility of raising cotton in Dixie were Southerners, handpicked because of their familiarity with the crop. Their settlement, known as Washington, later became the site of the county's only cotton factory.

In a letter to Orson Hyde, Brigham Young expressed concern about not "robbing" existing towns of people they could not spare. A week after the October 1862 calls to "Cotton Country" were announced, Bishop Reuben Miller of the Mill Creek Ward sent a "humble petition" to "Brother Geo. and the Presidency," requesting that one of the many brethren selected from Mill Creek "may remain with us." "Brother [Henry] Bowden has long been established [in] this ward. And is knowen [sic] as a good faithfull [sic] man, very attentive to business, the only blacksmith . . . we can rely upon to have our horses & oxen shod," despite his fondness for an occasional "drop" from polygamist William Howard's Distillery near his place. "True there is another [blacksmith], a gentile about to establish himself, but of him we know nothing." Bishop Miller admitted it was not his prerogative to ask why the Church selected whom they did, but still he felt compelled to make the plea for "the prosperity & welfare" of those over whom he presided.[61] Judging from census and family records, the Church honored Bishop Miller's request and allowed polygamist Bowden to continue his business in Mill Creek.

Perhaps we, too, have no business asking why "Brother Geo." and other Church leaders chose Henry Bowden, James Cragun, or James McCarty instead of William Park or William Howard, all five from Mill Creek. By the fall of 1862, Erastus Snow, in a letter to "Bro. George," seemed much less concerned about whom they called as long as such men could help construct meetinghouses and roads. He did ask for one particular artisan, a "Nelson Beebe of Provo [who] has had two or three year's [*sic*] experience in sinking artesian wells in California. . . . We have understood that he is quite willing to come if appointed on this mission." Snow said he would "be glad to receive a list of your new appointments for 'Dixie', but still better pleased to see their faces, especially if they are working men, for we have few remaining here, the majority [mainly monogamists or bachelors] having gone north."[62]

As of 1870, polygamists in St. George numbered nearly sixty, just under 40 percent of them holdovers from 1862. The rest either received their Southern Mission calls after the first city census (August 1862) or, in the case of young men like David Cannon, Orin Woodbury, and David Milne, decided for whatever reasons to join the plural-minded ranks before the 1870 census. While the numbers of men in plurality did not increase as fast as the total population, the proportion in plural households rose a bit faster. This rise reflected not only the growth of the original plural families but also the fact that by 1870 a dozen of the town's polygamists claimed three wives, one shy of Elder Snow's and Bishop Gardner's number.

However, the 1870 census (see appendix A) reveals that more than twelve plural families had at least one spouse (and children) living outside of St. George. Unwittingly perhaps, nine husbands were counted twice (and Samuel Worthen thrice!) as heads of households by census takers that year. Except for the first wives of Josiah Hardy, Luther Hemenway, and B. F. Pendleton, who opted to stay in Salt Lake, most of the other scattered spouses resided within St. George's hinterland, lowering the city's plural population but raising that of others, most notably little Pinto's. This partial dispersal of polygamous families prompted my decision to map the extent of plurality everywhere in the Washington, Kane, and Rio Virgen [original spelling] counties as of 1870.

Polygamy's Prevalence Elsewhere in Dixie (1870) and in Salt Lake County (1860)

How did polygamy's prevalence elsewhere in Dixie compare with that of St. George? As expected, the percentages varied greatly, from 25 percent in the largely Swiss town of Santa Clara to almost 70 in tiny Bellevue (renamed Pintura) (fig. 8). The overall average among the settlements outside of

FIGURE 8.

Prevalence of Polygamy
in Southern Utah, 1870

Hebron & Pinto

Kanarraville

Nevada

Pine Valley

Harmony

Bellevue

Harrisburg & Leeds

Toquerville

Virgin Area

Rockville Area

Santa Clara

Washington

Kanab

St. George

Arizona

Muddy River Mission

N

Total Population: 4,600
Percentage in Polygamy: 40
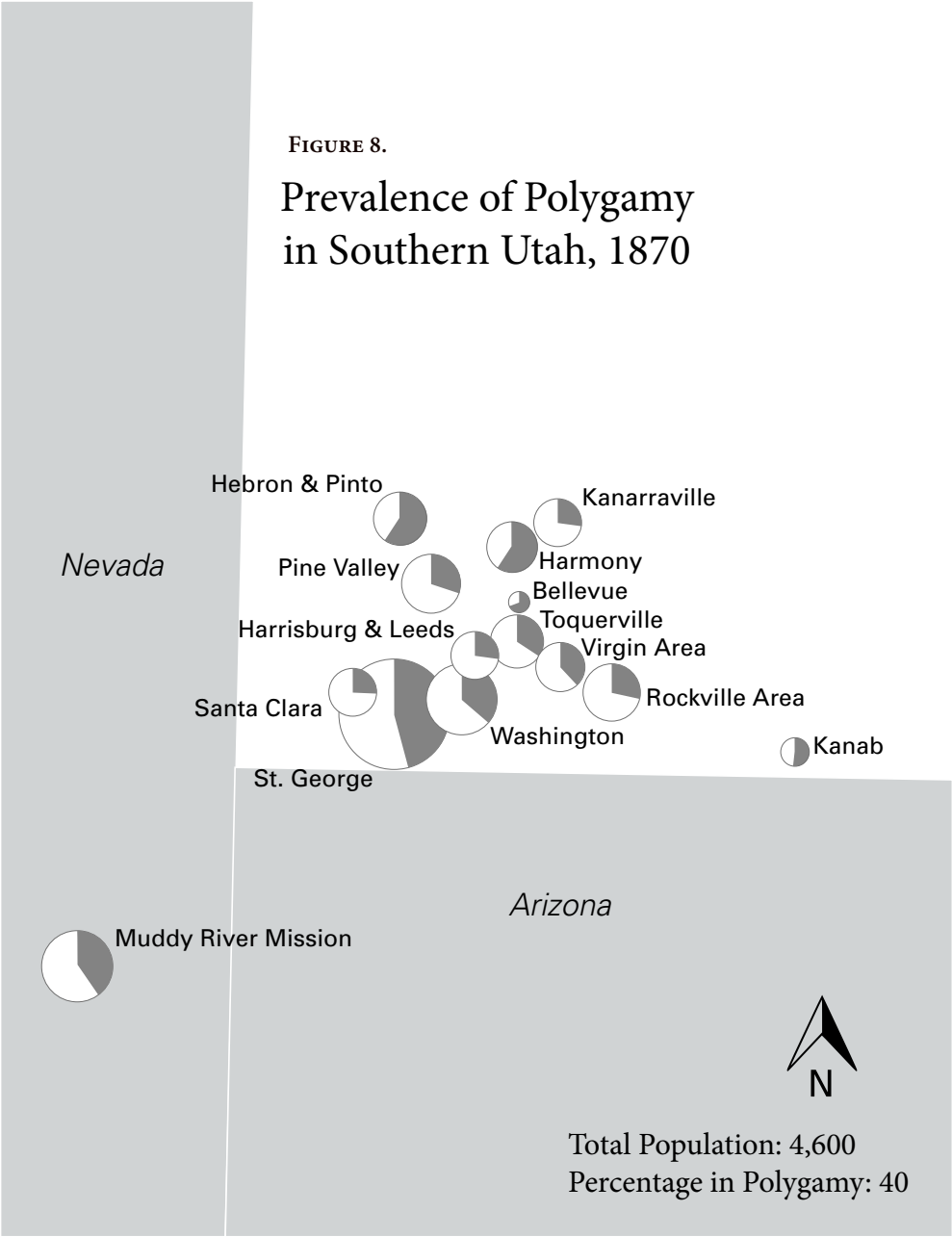
St. George fell just under 40 percent, about the same figure calculated for the 450 Saints still surviving in the desolate Muddy River Valley (now in Nevada), where the Church in the mid-1860s sought to extend its Southern Mission even farther south and west. "The settlers there were mostly substitutes"—men hired by those originally called to take their place. Erastus Snow applauded Brigham Young's 1867 decision to send "young men who have small families or who are about to get them" to replace the already worn-out "substitutes" or "destitutes," as another leader labeled them.[63] In effect, the high level of plurality throughout Dixie, due in part to the scattering of a dozen of St. George's plural families, makes the city itself look like less of an anomaly.

Why then did Dixie in general, not just St. George in particular, receive and retain a sizable number of plural settlers? The pattern appears all the more puzzling when one views a population pyramid of Utah based on the 1870 census (fig. 9).[64] Virtually none of the age-groups above nineteen had a surplus of females; if anything, men slightly outnumbered women. Such a strikingly even balance masks the fact that by then Utah Territory had a fair number of mostly male, unmarried "Gentiles" engaged in freighting, railroading, merchandizing, and mining. Non-Mormon Utahns, of course, had little part in creating the unusually bottom-heavy aspect of the pyramid, with nearly 60 percent of the population under age twenty. The unknown number of polygamists who were counted twice would also increase the actual

Prepared by P. Perlich, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Utah, July, 2007. Graphics by Eric Harker.

■ Males ■ Females

Data sources: Decennial censuses 1870 - 2000; Utah GOPB 2005 Baseline Projections.
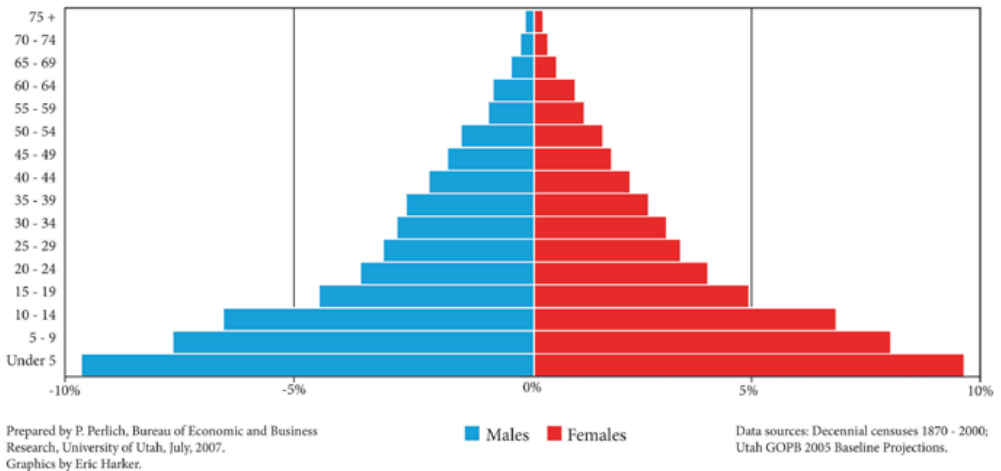
FIGURE 9. Utah Age Structure, 1870.

surplus of marriage-age Mormon females. In most of the plural families listed in appendix A, the latest wife was at least ten to twenty years younger than the first, a trend that supports the importance of the teenage female population in making the high prevalence of Mormon polygamy possible, as Bitton and Lambson have already demonstrated.[65]

While trying to locate St. George's first 150 families before they moved there in 1861–62, I noticed numerous plural households elsewhere in Utah, especially in both the "city" and "country" wards of Salt Lake County—the leading source region for settlers called to Dixie. Polygamy's prevalence in and around Salt Lake did not surprise me, since earlier studies had shown a plenitude of plural wives in four of the wards.[66] Given the large number of polygamous marriages during the Mormon Reformation of 1856–57, shortly before the territory's first fairly reliable federal census of 1860, the chance of choosing plural families from the Salt Lake area for southern Utah must have been high. Assuming their commitment to the principle of plurality was *not* a primary criterion for calling Dixie colonists, even if Church leaders had picked names randomly they would have selected a fair number of polygamous families. In many places, by 1860 the Mormon population already may have approached the "demographic limits" of "sustainable polygyny" for a stable society. Perhaps Utah's still unstable state at that early date contributed to a higher than expected level of polygamy in the wake of the Reformation.

As a place-minded geographer, I decided to test this hunch by mapping the extent of plurality as of 1860 in six Salt Lake County wards—three inside and three outside the city. I began with the 17th Ward, whose eight blocks (not counting Temple Square) contained a fair number of plural households, some of them belonging to Church authorities, among them Elder Orson Hyde, who already had moved to Spring City to preside over the Sanpete County Saints.[67] Even after leaving out the many boarders and servants living in the 17th Ward's polygamous homes, the proportion of the population belonging to such families approximated the same figure estimated for St. George in 1862 (38 percent). By contrast, in the smaller 7th Ward, where polygamist Thomas Woodbury and his parents resided, not quite 20 percent of the population lived in plural households as of 1860.

As evident from the 1860 Salt Lake plat map (fig. 10), drafted by Thomas Bullock for the world-famous explorer Sir Richard F. Burton, the 7th and 17th Wards bordered the more populous 14th Ward with its nearly 950 inhabitants. Thanks to its large number of General Authorities, in 1860 it matched St. George's 1870 level with 45 percent of its population in plurality. Significantly, the plural population of the rural West Jordan Precinct in Salt Lake County also approximated 45 percent, with no high-ranking Church officials residing there, not even the ward's new bishop—Archibald Gardner

Figure 10.

Prevalence of Polygamy, 1860, in Three Salt Lake City Wards

(brother of Robert, mentioned earlier) and six of his wives—whom the census taker counted as part of the Mill Creek Precinct on the east side of the Jordan River.[68] At the southeastern end of the Salt Lake Valley, in Draper and the Union Precinct[69]—where the related Pulsipher and Terry families resided when called to Dixie—I found significantly lower levels of plural marriage, 22 and 35 percent, respectively. Thus, in Salt Lake County as well as in Dixie, the incidence of polygamy varied considerably from place to place but overall at relatively high levels, judging by the average for our sample of six wards and the large number of plural wives Marie Cornwall and her coauthors found in three other Salt Lake wards in 1860.[70]

Polygamy's prevalence in St. George during the 1870s lagged slightly behind the city's population growth from roughly 1,150 to 1,450, based on census totals. About 20 percent of St. George's polygamists in 1880 lived there as monogamists in 1870; almost 40 percent had moved into the city after the 1870 census—among them men like skilled carpenter John D. T. McAllister, who at Brother Brigham's bidding went to St. George with three of his seven wives but was soon asked to serve as president of the stake when it was reorganized in April 1877.[71] Thus, some 40 percent of the polygamists in 1880 were "holdovers" from 1862, further proof of their continuing commitment to the Southern Utah Mission in spite of its constant challenges.

One may wonder why some of the men who reached St. George in the early 1860s waited until the 1870s or later to enter what was often termed "Celestial Marriage." As Artimesia Snow implied, it was all right, and actually common, for a young man to wait ten years or more before taking a second wife. Moreover, the "demographic limits" of the area's population or perhaps limited means may have prevented some from taking another wife. Martha Cragun considered her husband, Isaiah Cox, a "poor man," but half of St. George's polygamists had real and personal property valued at less than his as of 1870. David Milne, as already mentioned, decided to marry again for the sake of his ailing wife six months after being called as bishop of the 1st Ward. Possibly his new assignment also had some bearing upon his decision, but the other three men called as bishops in 1869—Nathaniel Ashby, Henry Eyring, and Walter Granger—waited longer than Milne before adding a second wife to their families.

Heinrich [Henry] Eyring, a young German emigrant who joined the Church in St. Louis, soon served a four-year mission in Cherokee Territory (now part of Oklahoma) before making his way to Salt Lake without an official release in 1860. By then the Native American whom he had married as a missionary had left him, "having no disposition to be subject to good teachings." Soon after reaching Salt Lake in 1860, he married a Swiss woman whom he met on the trek to Zion. The October 1862 roster of those

called to Dixie lists him as "Henry Harring," a "Newcomer" with no occupation. His own records indicate that he initially farmed and taught school in Ogden before becoming one of the few who actually "volunteered" to settle in St. George.[72] Once there, his numerous church and civic assignments may account for the ten years it took him to complete his house and contemplate plural marriage in spite of his calling as bishop and the prodding of one of his ward counselors. Charles Smith, St. George's only watchmaker and a polygamist since 1855, often spent a few months in Salt Lake each year "to procure nessacaries [*sic*] of life by which to sustain my family." While there, Smith once wrote Eyring, "I wish you were a polyomist [*sic*] there is Something immensely Godlike in it."[73]

An English convert who also believed in the "Godlike" powers of polygamy waited even longer than Eyring. Charles L. Walker emigrated from England with his parents in the mid-1850s but did not marry Abigail Middlemass until 1861, at age twenty-eight, a year before his call to Cotton Country. As a bachelor, Charlie often visited Salt Lake neighbors after church on Sundays and discussed among other topics celestial marriage. Once while visiting Sister Maria DeGrey, a fifty-five-year-old 7th Ward widow with two of five daughters still at home,[74] he "defended the principle of Polygamy against a Sister that was running it down and speaking lightly of it."[75] He became so committed to the plural order that he, like many other Mormon men, did not need to be "called" into polygamy but instead requested the privilege on his own. At a St. George social in 1864, "I asked Bro. Brigham if I could take another wife. He said I have no objection if it is all right with your Bishop and President."[76] Undoubtedly his local leaders would have consented, but faithful Charlie had to wait until 1877 before receiving an answer to his frequent prayer for a second wife in the person of twenty-year-old Sarah Smith, a daughter of watchmaker Charles Smith and his first wife Sarah.[77] Was Charlie too selective while competing with other would-be polygamists for a large yet limited supply of women? Perhaps unmarried women, in such high demand, could be very selective in a polygamous society, and some may have shied away from Walker because as a "Day Laborer" he invariably struggled to make ends meet in spite of his popularity as a poet.

Tentative Explanations for Polygamy's Persistence in St. George

In general, as already indicated, the incidence of plural marriage in Utah probably declined after 1860, but in St. George it held surprisingly steady in spite of the continuing turnover of the town's population. Several factors provide possible explanations for polygamy's persistence, beginning with the example and encouragement of Erastus Snow, who presided over an expanding Dixie until

his death in 1888.[78] Judging by occasional entries in Charles Walker's diary, Snow sometimes stressed the importance of polygamy in his sermons. For instance, in the spring of 1866, he gave at least three "interesting" or "excellent" discourses on plural marriage, in one of which he "cauitioned [*sic*] the sisters against speaking disrespectfully of the holy order of Celiestial Marraige [*sic*]."[79] And in 1882, after Congress passed the Edmunds Act, he defended plural marriage at length in discourses delivered in Salt Lake.[80]

Shortly before the dedication of the St. George Temple in 1877, Apostle Wilford Woodruff moved south, soon to preside over the striking white edifice erected on the southeastern edge of town (see fig. 2). A year later, he himself, at age seventy, wedded yet another plural wife (number five), a recently divorced but still young (twenty-five-year-old) daughter of Brigham and Lucy Bigelow Young (Lucy was Brigham's only St. George wife).[81] Frequent visits and admonitions by President Young himself must have helped sustain the city's high level of plurality. Certainly Young encouraged plural marriage throughout the territory, but nowhere else outside of his Salt Lake Beehive and Lion Houses did he spend nearly as much time once the telegraph reached St. George in 1867. At the 1873 Annual Festival [of the] St. George Gardeners' Club, Elizabeth Kane heard the President proclaim that "plural marriages were the order of the Lord," and sisters, he said, should not dissuade "their daughters from entering into families where there was, or might be more than one wife."[82] Perhaps he also had in mind women who privately opposed their husbands taking a second spouse.

One such wife was Rachel Atkin, who moved to St. George with her husband, William, in 1869 and then later helped him establish a family village at Atkinville, some ten miles farther south. When at her home in the late 1880s she heard polygamists in hiding from U.S. marshals "urge her William to take another wife," she let them know that "as soon as No. 2 stepped foot over her threshold, she . . . would step out and go back to England."[83] Again and again President Young encouraged young men not to postpone marriage, and if, as in Cedar City in 1866, he reportedly noticed "several eligible young women still unmarried," he urged elders like John M. Macfarlane to take an extra wife. John and his first wife, Ann, soon complied with the prophet's request and two years later joined other plural families called to St. George, where he served as choir director and chief surveyor.[84]

Bitton and Lambson recognize migration as a "possible determinant of polygyny prevalence" but could not examine its role closely because of "data limitations."[85] Not surprisingly, given the difficulty of keeping settlers in Dixie, one study indicates that from 1850 until 1900 the "Southern Region" of Utah was the least stable in terms of population retention when compared with Sanpete County, the Wasatch Front, and Cache Valley. The

same source also ranks St. George as "the least stable of the [four] regional capitals" studied—the others being Manti, Provo, and Logan.[86] This unstable ranking, based on decennial census data, does not include the frequent short-term influx of temporary workers for construction of the tabernacle (1863–75) and temple (1871–77). I have already tried to link migration into southern Utah with the prevalence of polygamy in Salt Lake County, where the majority of St. George's 1862 residents lived prior to their mission call. Given the common practice of plurality throughout Utah by 1860, Church leaders easily could have called more plural families than they did. And in fact some of those selected for Utah's Deep South declined to leave Salt Lake in spite of their commitment to the Principle.[87]

The level of commitment already displayed by the polygamous and monogamous Saints who did stay in Dixie may be one reason why Brigham Young chose St. George to launch a revival of Mormonism's United Order in 1874. That same year his eldest son, Joseph A., who presided over the Sevier Valley Saints, perceptively observed, "The United Order will try men as plurality has tried women."[88] Southern Utah's limited arable land and the damage done to it by frequent flooding made the new order challenging even for the desert Saints. By the time of the temple's dedication in 1877, all but a few of the St. George Stake's United Order members had abandoned Brother Brigham's grand plan designed to make them economically more self-sufficient. By the end of the year, James G. Bleak had to acknowledge that "for months past there has been a decadence in United Order affairs."[89]

In a speech John Taylor gave in St. George after replacing Brigham Young as Church President, he recounted George A. Smith's unremitting efforts to recruit settlers for southern Utah. Those who came "thought the land was set up on edge and had never been finished . . . and by the time he [Smith] got here he would find that a good many of those he left had also gone. Finally, they became weeded out . . . , until he got a lot of folks who, if they had considered it a duty to go on to a barren rock and stay there until they should be instructed to leave, would have done it."[90]

After probing the prevalence and persistence of plurality in St. George, I would conclude that such high levels resulted largely from the Church's recruitment in the 1860s and 1870s in northern Utah of committed members, many of whom happened to be polygamists who had proven themselves loyal to their leaders in a variety of ways but who also had skills badly needed in southern Utah. These settlers in turn attracted friends and relatives who were often inclined to accept plural living as an integral part of early Mormon society.[91] Professor Daynes's analysis of St. George's 1880 population, particularly the wives, explains more fully why plural marriage remained so prevalent there even as its incidence apparently declined in most Mormon towns.

Appendix A
St. George Precinct's Plural Households as of 1870
(* = those in St. George Census, Aug. 1862)

Census #	Name	Family Members	Occup.	Prop. Values	Born in	Yr. of PM
172/144	ADAMS	37 Samuel	Blacksmith	$600/400	Eng.	1863
		39 Emma (9 children)			Eng.	
173/145		35 Mary (2 ch.)			Eng.	
128/109	ALGER	48 John	Saddle-maker	$200/500	OH	10/26/61
		29 Jane (3 ch.)			NY	
129/109		45 Sarah (8 ch.)			NY	
133/114	ANDREWS	33 James	Stock Raiser	$2000/7000	OH	1863
	ANDRUS	32 Laura (5 ch.)	MS			
		27 Manomas (1 ch.)	MS			
6/6	BARLOW	40 Oswald*	Stone Mason	$2000/500	Eng.	1856
		42 Catherine			Eng.	
		38 Mary (11 ch. total)			Eng.	
50/42	BARNEY	64 Edson*	Carpenter	$500/500	NY	1847
		65 Lillis (1 ch.)			NY	
149/145	BARNEY	64 Edson (counted twice)	Carpenter	$50/100	ME	
(**Parowan**)		45 Louisa (4 ch.)	Keeps House		OH	
242/201	BIRCH	48 Joseph*	Ctn Mill Supt	$10000/4500	Eng.	11/15/61
		44 Dorah (3 ch.)			Eng.	
		Wf. Mary E. Sylvester "missing"				
81/67	BLAIR	43 Tarlton	Farmer	$600/100	IL	1859
		42 Lydia (sister of Eliza)			NJ	
		29 Eliza (6 ch. total)			IL	

Census #	Name	Family Members	Occup.	Prop. Values	Born in	Yr. of PM
77/63	BLACK/BLEAK	40 James*	County Clerk	$3000/200	Eng.	1860 &
		41 Elizabeth (12 ch)			Eng.	10/26/61
		Wives Caroline & Jane "missing"				
103/87	BRINKERHOFF	54 Sally (5 ch.); 1st Wf. of . . .	Keeps House	$___/100	NY	
5/5 (**West Point**)		52 James	Farmer	$100/600	NY	1852
		34 Rebecca (7 ch.)			IN	
		Wf. Eliza "missing" (Glendale?)				
222/184	CALKIN	60 Asa*	Farmer	$5000/1000	NY	1851
		60 Mary			VT	
		40 Eliza			Eng.	
223/185		30 Agnes (3 ch.)			Eng.	
185/154	CANNON	33 David*	Painter	$1500/1000	Eng.	1867
		29 Wilhelmina			DE	
		21 Josephine (3 ch. total)	Milliner		DE	
179/151	CARTER	49 William*	Farmer	$1500/800	Eng.	1853
		44 Ellen (12 ch.)			Eng.	
		Wives Harriet & Lufrena "missing"				
140/119	CHURCH	51 Haden*	Brick Mason	$1500/700	TN	1857
		46 Sarah			AL	
		60 Catherine (6 ch. total)				
62/53	CLARK	64 George = Lorenzo*	Day Laborer	$__/200	NH	1856
		64 Beulah (4 ch. of "missing" wf. Mary Ann, 5th ch. b. 8/18/70)	Keeps House		VT	
7/7	COX	31 Isaiah	Carpenter	$1500/600	MO	1865
		34 Harriet			CT	
		22 Elizabeth			NE	
		18 Martha [Cragun] (8 ch. total)			UT	

Census #	Name	Family Members	Occup.	Prop. Values	Born in	Yr. of PM
11/11	DUNCAN	55 Homer	Stock Raiser	$2000/3000	VT	1863
		31 Sarah (2 ch.)			IA	
11/9	DUNCAN	55 Homer (counted twice)	_____	$200/5000	NH	
(**Iron City**)		48 Asenath (4 ch.)			NY	
14/14	EMPEY	58 William	Farmer	$800/500	Can.	1856
		32 Martha			Eng.	
15/15		51 Margaret (9 ch. total)			Can.	
164/140	GATES	59 Jacob*	Minister	$1200/800	VT	1853
		56 Mary			VT	
		39 Emma	Milliner		Eng.	
		26 Mary (6 ch. total)			Eng.	
234/193	HARDY	56 Josiah	Stone Mason	$___/200	MA	1857
		32 Ann (6 ch.)			Eng.	
93/93 (**SLC 12th**)		55 Sarah (4 ch.)		$3000/100	MA	
241/200	HUNT	41 Isaac*	Farmer	$1000/250	Eng.	1866
		43 Ann			Eng.	
		20 Martha (7 ch. total)			IA	
239/198	IVINS	57 Israel*	Co. Surveyor	$1500/1200	NJ	1857
		36 Julia (3 ch.)			Eng.	
		1st wf. Anna "missing"			NJ	
188/156	JACKSON	60 Alde A.	Store Clerk	$2000/1500	NY	unknown
		45 Caroline (no ch.)			NH	
		25 Augusta (no ch.)			MA	
44/36	JEFFREY	44 Thomas	Farmer	$1000/200	Eng.	1862
		40 Mary A. (no ch.)			Eng.	
		33 Elizabeth (4 ch. "missing")			Scot.	

Census #	Name	Family Members	Occup.	Prop. Values	Born in	Yr. of PM
156/133	JOHNSON	53 Joseph E.	Horticul-turist	$10000/2000	NY	1850
		42 Hannah (4 ch.)			PA	
157/134		46 Harriet (5 ch.)			Can.	
158/135		30 Eliza (6 ch. + 2 servants)			Eng.	
174/146	KEATE	62 James*	Shoe-maker	$450/150	Eng.	1/19/61
		43 Susan			MI	
		24 Jacobine (4 ch. total)	Shoe-maker!		Den.	
115/99	KELSEY	56 E.W.*	Carpenter	$150/1000	NY	1852
		35 Janette (1 ch.)			UT?	
		35 Mary (8 ch.)			IN	
1/1	KELSEY	56 Easton (counted twice)	Farmer	$300/1000	NY	
(**New Harmony**)		47 Abagil (5 ch.)			N. Scotia	
71/58	KLEMMON = KLEINMAN	55 Conrad*	Farmer	$100/400	Ger.	1857
		52 Elizabeth (3 ch.)			PA	
5/5	KLEINMAN	55 Conrad (counted twice)	Farmer	$___/150	Bavaria	
(**Toquer-ville**)		34 Ann			Switz.	
204/168	LANG	38 John*	Farm Laborer	$600/500	Eng.	3/30/61
		28 Mary			Den.	
		18 Elizabeth			Eng.	
205/169		26 Martha (5 ch. total)			Den.	
215/177	LANG	44 William*	Farmer	$2000/1000	Eng.	3/29/61
		42 Mary			Eng.	
		Plural Wf. Ann "missing"				
59/50	LAUB	54 George	Farmer	$100/500	PA	1856
		41 Mary (7 ch.)			PA	
60/51		30 Annie (4 ch.)			Den.	

Census #	Name	Family Members	Occup.	Prop. Values	Born in	Yr. of PM
137/116	LISTON	49 C.P.	Farmer	$1000/700	OH	1856
		48 Elizabeth (no ch.)			OH	
		54 Mary (no ch.)	School Teacher		Eng.	
147/126	LUND	54 Wm. = Wilson	Stone Mason	$1200/800	Eng.	1858
		44 Eliza (4 ch.)			Eng.	
21/17	LUND	34 Ellen (4 ch.)			Den.	
212/174	MANSFIELD	59 Mathew*	Farmer	$500/400	Eng.	1856
		57 Isabelle (1 ch.)			Scot.	
		28 Margaret (4 ch., 2 servants)			Eng.	
132/113	McARTHUR	50 Daniel*	Farmer	$2000/2000	NY	1857
		50 Matilda			NY	
		24 Elizabeth (6 ch. total)			IL	
83/69	McFARLANE	34 John	Farmer	$1000/300	Scot.	1866
		33 Ann (4 ch.)			Eng.	
84/70		24 Agnes M. (2 ch.)			Austrl.	
240/199	MILLER	63 Henry W.	Farmer	$3000/3000	NY	10/25/62
		59 Almeda (1 ch.)			OH	
		30 Fannie (3 ch.)			Eng.	
192/159	MILNE	37 David	Painter	$1500/800	Scot.	1870
		34 Susan			Scot.	
		21 Annie (1 ch.)			Eng.	
16/16	MOODY	48 John	Farmer	$2000/600	AL	1856
		42 Margaret			IL	
17/17		32 Matilda			IL	
		28 Elizabeth (10 ch. total)			Eng.	
145/124	NELSON	46 Aaron	Shoe-maker	$100/100	Eng.	1864
		46 Mary			Eng.	
		25 Salina (2 ch.)			Eng.	

Census #	Name	Family Members	Occup.	Prop. Values	Born in	Yr. of PM
107/191	PARRY	51 Edward	Stone Mason	$800/400	Wales	1857
		52 Elizabeth			Wales	
		35 Annie (7 ch. total)			Wales	
154/131	PENDLETON	52 B[enjamin]. F.*	Blacksmith	$200/175	NY	10/26/61
		39 Allice (3 ch.)			Eng.	
45/45 (**SLC 9th**)	PENDLETON	49 Levina (5 ch. + son's fam. of 3)	Keeping House		NY	
163/135	RIDING	54 Christopher	Tinplate Maker	$500/100	Eng.	1857
		54 Mary			Eng.	
		34 Eliza (9 ch. total)			Isle of Man	
22/21	ROMNEY	27 Miles P.	Carpenter	$800/300	MO	1867
		28 Hannah			Can.	
		22 Carie (6 ch. total)			Eng.	
102/86	SMITH	50 Charles	Watch-maker	$300/400	Eng.	1855
		48 Sarah			Eng.	
		36 Eliza (6 ch. total)	Milliner	Eng.		
217/179	SNOW	52 Erastus*	Farmer	$2000/3500	VT	1844
		48 Minerva (4 ch.)			MA	
218/180		33 Julia J. (2 ch., 2 servants)			NY	
219/181	SNOW	51 Artemesia (6 ch.)			NY	
220/182		39 Elizabeth (7 ch.)			MA	
112/96	SPENCER	48 George	Farmer	$2500/500	CT	1855
		35 Emily (4 ch.)			NY	
12/12	SPENCER	42 George (counted twice)	Farmer	$300/400	VT	
(**Washington**)		29 Mary (7 ch.)		Eng.		
13/13		29 Marinda (3 ch)	Cotton Mill Wrkr		Eng.	

Census #	Name	Family Members	Occup.	Prop. Values	Born in	Yr. of PM
224/186	SQUIRE	53 William	Blacksmith	$800/200	Eng.	1868
		26 Isabelle			Eng.	
		26 Sarah (3 ch. total, 1 servant)			IA	
12/12	STEWART	37 William	Farm Laborer	$600/500	AL	1869
		29 Jane N.			IL	
13/13		19 Cynthia (6 ch. total)			UT	
5/5	TERRY	44 Charles*	Farmer	$300/300	NY	1866
		38 Sarah			NY	
		23 Emeline (7 ch. total)			IA	
28/25	THOMAS	55 Elijah	Castor Oil Mfer	$700/500	NC	1857
		37 Hariett (6 ch.)			Eng.	
4/4 (**Leeds**)	THOMAS	50 Ann (2 ch. counted twice)	Keeps House	$150/100	Eng.	
74/61	WELLS	47 Stephen*	Farmer	$600/300	Eng.	1857
		52 Mary A.			Eng.	
		38 Annie (4 ch. total)			Eng.	
208/171	WESTOVER	43 Charles*	Day Laborer	$500/150	OH	1856
		34 Mary (4 ch.)			MA	
2/2	WESTOVER	43 Charles (counted twice)	Farmer	$600/800	OH	
(**Pinto**)		41 Elizabeth (7 ch.)			MA	
139/118	WHIPPLE	48 Eli*	Runs Sawmill	$1500/1000	MA[NY]	1868
		36 Caroline (3 ch.)			IL	
66/57	WHIPPLE	50 Eli (counted twice)	Milling	$2000/1500	VT[NY]	
(**Pine Valley**)		55 Patience (no ch.)			NY	
187/155	WOODBURY	41 Orin N.*	Farmer	$___/___	MA	1863
		38 Annie			Eng.	
		25 Francis (8 ch. total)			Eng.	

Census #	Name	Family Members	Occup.	Prop. Values	Born in	Yr. of PM
116/100	WOODWARD	53 George*	Farmer	$1000/600	NY	1857
		55 Thunazin (no ch.)			PA	
		29 Mary A. (no ch.)			PA	
58/49	WOOL[L]EY	35 Olive (widows of Franklin B.)	Keeps House	$2000/1200	ME	1868
		21 Artimesia [Snow] (5 ch. total)			UT	
195/161	WORTHEN	43 Samuel	Brick Mason	$1000/250	Eng.	1856
		43 Sarah (13 ch.)			Eng.	
32/29		44 Samuel (counted twice)	Brick Mason	$___/___	Eng.	
(Miners-ville)		33 Mara L. (4 ch.)			PA	
43/43		44 Samuel (counted thrice)			Eng.	
(Harmony)		29 Jane (4 ch.)			Eng.	
155/131	YOUNG	41 Joseph W. [BY's nephew]	Minister	$___/600	NY	1865
		31 Lurana (6 ch.)			IN	
		Wf. Julia T. "missing" (Glendale?)			IA	

Census Population of St. George in 1870: 1,142

Number in City's Plural Families: 509 = 44.6% (not counting members "missing" and/or living elsewhere)

Census Polygamists as Percent of Married Men (including widowers): 55 of 180 = 30.6%

Census Polygamous Wives as Percent of Married Women (including widows): 104 of 235 = 44.3%

Principal sources:

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870," St. George Precinct, Utah, prepared by the National Archives and Records Service (Washington, D.C., 196[?]).

2. Ancestry File Numbers available online at familysearch.org, especially valuable for marriage dates.

3. James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission, circa 1903–1906," 1–10, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

Lowell C. "Ben" Bennion (who can be contacted via email at byustudies@byu.edu) earned his MA and PhD degrees from Syracuse University, specializing in the study of German migration worldwide. Soon after moving as a geography professor from Indiana University to Humboldt State University in 1970, Church Historian Leonard J. Arrington offered him two summer fellowships for research in the Church Archives. Besides papers related to polygamy's place in early Mormon society, Ben has published (with Gary B. Peterson) *Sanpete Scenes: A Guide to Utah's Heart* (1987, 2d ed., 2003); "A Geographer's Discovery of *Great Basin Kingdom*," in Great Basin Kingdom *Revisited: Contemporary Perspectives,* ed. Thomas G. Alexander (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1991), ch. 7; (with Lawrence A. Young) "The Uncertain Dynamics of LDS Expansion, 1950–2020," *Dialogue* 29, no. 1 (1996): 8–32; and "Mormondom's Deseret Homeland," in *Homelands,* ed. Richard L. Nostrand and Lawrence E. Estaville (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), ch. 12. Special thanks go to Eric Harker, graduate student in the College of Architecture-Planning, University of Utah, for drafting the map in figure 2 and for preparing all other graphics in this article.

1. Like Professors Bitton and Lambson, Brigham Young himself knew the difference between the popular term *polygamy* and the proper term *polygyny*. In Cedar City, Utah, a reporter from New York City, interviewing Young shortly after John D. Lee's execution at Mountain Meadows (1877), asked him "about your present system of polygamy." Young's reply: "I do not believe in polygamy—the definition of which means a plurality of wives and husbands; but I do believe in polygenny, which means a plurality of wives." I thank John A. Peterson, University of Utah, LDS Institute of Religion, for sharing with me an email transcript of this reporter's account in the *New York Herald*, May 6, 1877, 7. ^

2. Dr. Bitton raised this question with me about the same time he published "Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 101–18. Two years later, he and Church Historian Leonard J. Arrington authored *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), which included the chapter "Marriage and Family Patterns." Both the article and chapter 10 (especially page 204) of the book seem to minimize plurality's importance by "emphasizing how small was the percentage of Mormons [10 to 20 percent of families] who were directly involved in polygamy." He wrote his review article at the same time I first scanned the manuscript schedules of the 1880 Utah census, found more plural households than I expected, and began to calculate the extent of polygyny with Professor Bitton's question in mind. ^

3. Paul K. Savage, "From Switzerland to St. George: The John and Barbara Mathis Story" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1992), 114–15, 122. ^

4. We have excluded any hired hands or unrelated boarders, but we have counted plural widows and their family members if they were still living in St. George when the census was taken. ^

5. That also meant omitting polygamists' numerous monogamous relatives—parents, siblings, children, in-laws, and others. ^

6. To illustrate, initially we counted "B. Wulffenstiger" and his wife Olina as monogamists, but we later located a "Betsy Wolfenstine" in distant Logan, who was listed as a "#2 wife." Roberta Blake Barnum identifies her as Bengt Pehr Wulffenstein's

plural wife in *Saint George, Utah, Original Pioneers: December 1, 1861–May 10, 1869* (St. George: n.p., 1999), 693–94, a valuable source of biographical sketches but one that should be used with care because of frequent errors and typos (hereafter cited as Barnum, *St. George Pioneers*). ^

7. Davis Bitton and Val Lambson, "Demographic Limits of Nineteenth-Century Mormon Polygyny," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (2012): 12. See also Larry M. Logue, *A Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). ^

8. James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission, circa 1903–1906," 1–10, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. This handwritten copy of an August 1862 census not only lists those who "survived" their first year in the Southern Mission but also separates them by place of residence, namely, St. George, "Virgen City and places above," Toquerville, Washington, and Santa Clara. I am indebted to Brandon J. Metcalf of the Church History Library staff, who is working on a biography of Bleak, for finding the census and the photo. For a fine account of Bleak's ordeal in traveling to Zion as a member (and clerk) of the 1856 Martin Handcart Company, see Metcalf's "James G. Bleak: From London to Dixie," *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 117–56. ^

9. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission [1896]," 261, Church History Library. ^

10. St. George Stake Report, Nov'r 1st to Dec'r 1st 1877, in Presiding Bishopric, Statistical Reports, Church History Library. ^

11. In Nephi, Juab County, for example, roughly the same size as St. George in 1870, less than one-fourth of the population belonged to a plural family. See Lowell C. "Ben" Bennion and Thomas R. Carter, "Touring Polygamous Utah with Elizabeth W. Kane, Winter 1872–1873," in *Colonel Thomas L. Kane and the Mormons, 1846–1883,* ed. David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2010), 186. ^

12. By 1874, when the "Big House" became a boarding house for temple construction workers, Elder Snow had moved each of his four families into separate and much smaller homes not far from his mansion-office. ^

13. *A Gentile Account of Life in Utah's Dixie, 1872–73: Elizabeth Kane's St. George Journal* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Tanner Trust Fund, 1995), 162–64, hereafter cited as Kane, *Gentile Account.* In this journal, Mrs. Kane recounts the visit she and her husband Thomas L. had with William G. Perkins, "the old Patriarch of St George" and his two elderly wives living in "a mite of an adobe house containing only two rooms." Perkins gave blessings to both of the "Gentile" Kanes. In 1865, Brigham Young called Luther S. Hemenway to St. George "to experiment with grapes in making wine" but advised him "to maintain his [large] nursery in Salt Lake," leaving his first wife there. That same year (Apr. and Nov.) he married two sisters, Harriet and Sarah Hoegson, and moved to St. George with them while still supervising his Salt Lake business. Compare the accounts of the Hemenways' lives in David J. Whittaker and others, comp., "Luther S. Hemenway Collection" (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Harold B. Lee Library), 1–2; and Hazel Hemenway Bertoch, "Luther S. Hemenway," in *Heart Throbs of the West,* comp. Kate B. Carter, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1939–51), 10:187–89. ^

14. Those with missing wives included Bleak himself, Joseph Birch, William Carter, Lorenzo Clark, Israel Ivins, Thomas Jeffery, William Lang, and Joseph W.

Young, a nephew of Brigham Young then serving as the St. George stake president. The antipolygamy Cullom Bill passed by the House of Representatives in March 1870 may have prompted some of these polygamists to conceal a wife or two from the census taker. ^

15. Postmaster John Pymn, who appears on each of our three census rosters as a monogamist, became a polygamist in 1871 when he married a sister of his first wife, but the latter died in 1879. See Barnum, *St. George Pioneers*, 533. Polygamist Alexander F. Macdonald, called from Provo to St. George in 1871, accepted a new leadership position that took him (and two of his four wives) to Mesa, Arizona, in 1879. Brother Bleak's 1877 plurality record undoubtedly included both of these families and probably other between-census residents of St. George. For a short biography of Macdonald's first wife, Elizabeth Graham Macdonald, see Lowell C. "Ben" Bennion, "Pleasure in Waiting upon Others," in *Women of Faith in the Latter Days,* ed. Richard E. Turley Jr. and Brittany A. Chapman, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2011–12), 2: ch. 15. ^

16. I know of only two other Mormon clerks who tried to count the number of polygamists (males only) in their respective towns—William Luke Gallup of Springville in the 1860s and Jens Weibye of Manti in 1876. The latter's daybook entry of June 1876 I quote in Gary B. Peterson and Lowell C. Bennion, *Sanpete Scenes: A Guide to Utah's Heart*, 2d ed. (Eureka, Utah: Basin/Plateau Press, 2004), 26. Of Manti's 253 married men, Weibye proudly reported "40 is Polygamist, half of them Scandinavisk." ^

17. Douglas D. Alder and Karl F. Brooks, *A History of Washington County: From Isolation to Destination*, 2d ed. (Springdale, Utah: Zion Natural History Association, 2007), 81. Only in note 10 do the authors acknowledge Logue's "higher percentage [34%] of those practicing polygamy" in St. George as of 1870/80. ^

18. Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), ch. 4. ^

19. For a fine synopsis of Anderson's colorful career, see Charles S. Peterson, *Hopeful Odyssey: Nels Anderson, Boy Hobo, Desert Saint, Wartime Diarist, Public Servant, Expatriate Sociologist,* 29th Annual Juanita Brooks Lecture (St. George: Dixie State College, 2012). Anderson dedicated *Desert Saints* to the two families with whom he lived for several years—monogamist Lyman S. Woods (son of a polygamist) and polygamist Thomas S. Terry. ^

20. Logue, *Sermon in the Desert,* 50–51. ^

21. Lowell "Ben" Bennion, "The Incidence of Mormon Polygamy in 1880: 'Dixie' versus Davis Stake," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 27–42. This article was my first published attempt to assess the prevalence of polygamy; I focused on the 1880 federal census because it identified for the first time each individual's marital status and his or her relationship to the household head. The article includes a table based on Bleak's data. ^

22. Martha Cragun Cox, *Face toward Zion: Pioneer Reminiscences and Journal of Marthat Cragun Cox* (N.p.: Francis N. Bunker Family Organization, Isaiah Cox Family Organization, Martha Cragun Branch, 1985), 111. ^

23. John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, 1885, quoted in Bitton and Lambson, "Demographic Limits," 7. ^

24. Quoted in Andrew Karl Larson, *Erastus Snow: The Life of a Missionary and Pioneer for the Early Mormon Church* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press,

1971), 747–48. Appendix B of Larson's invaluable biography summarizes the lives of Snow's wives. ^

25. The map and other polygamy-related graphics appear in Brandon S. Plewe, S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson, eds., *Mapping Mormonism: An Atlas of Latter-day Saint History* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2012), 122–25. ^

26. See Bennion and Carter, "Touring Polygamous Utah with Elizabeth W. Kane," 158–92. ^

27. That figure is considerably higher than the 25 to 30 percent average I calculated for the sixty towns on my 1870 polygamy map in the atlas *Mapping Mormonism.* For a broad recent treatment, see Matthew Bowman, *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* (New York: Random House, 2011), ch. 5, "The Rise and Fall of Plural Marriage, 1852–1896." ^

28. Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 101, table 3. In Manti, the percentage of the population in plural families dropped from 43.1 in 1860 to 36.0 in 1870 and 25.1 in 1880. ^

29. See Kane, *Gentile Account,* 44. The woman identified as "Anna I—" was most likely the first wife of Israel Ivins. The 1870 census taker failed to count her but did include Julia, the plural wife. ^

30. Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 13, 1861, 1, Church History Library (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Besides Elder Snow, they included Apostle Orson Pratt and three Presidents of the First Council of Seventies—Jacob Gates, Horace S. Eldredge, and Henry Harriman. In 1864, the Church called Elder Pratt to launch missionary work in Vienna, Austria; about the same time Eldredge returned to Salt Lake to take a new assignment. ^

31. Elder E. T. Benson, Cache Valley's resident Apostle, did not wish "to interfere with the call of br. George A. Smith for brethren to go to the cotton district of our Territory," but if any of "those who are not wanted to go south . . . feel like moving into the [Cache] country . . . we can promise you plenty of bread. . . . We want about a hundred good sturdy fellows . . . able to go to work to raise wheat and cattle." See Journal History, October 8, 1862, 4. ^

32. Andrew Karl Larson's *I Was Called to Dixie* (St. George: Dixie College, 1961) remains the most comprehensive account of the Mormon colonization of Utah's Dixie. For a recent summary of the settlement process, see Wayne K. Hinton, "The Southern Utah Mission: New Views on Its Purpose and Accomplishments," Juanita Brooks Lecture (Dixie State College, 2002), available at http://library.dixie.edu/special_collections/Juanita%20Brooks%20lectures/2001%20-%20The%20Southern%20Utah%20Mission.html. ^

33. Bitton and Lambson, "Demographic Limits," 15. ^

34. Paul H. Peterson's 1981 dissertation "The Mormon Reformation," reprinted in 2002 by BYU Studies (Provo, Utah), is still the best treatment of this critical reform movement. A twenty-seven-question Reformation catechism used in interviews to test members' worthiness did not stipulate support of plural marriage. ^

35. John G. Turner, *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 256. Throughout the book, Turner details President Young's experience in both preaching and practicing the Principle. ^

36. Anderson, *Desert Saints*, 390. ^

37. According to Leonard J. Arrington's *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 295, the Church called about three thousand people in the early 1860s, and some three hundred "more families went in the late 1860s and early 1870s." His figures unfortunately fail to distinguish between "people" and "families." ^

38. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860," Washington, Rio Vergen, and Kane Counties. ^

39. A decade ago, historian Dean L. May planned to write a biography of George A. Smith, but May's untimely death in 2003 prevented him from doing so. He did, however, publish a preliminary assessment of Smith's pivotal role in extending Zion southward: "St. George and the Dixieites: George A. Smith as 'Father of the Southern Settlements,'" Juanita Brooks Lecture (Dixie State College, 2003), available at http://library.dixie.edu/special_collections/Juanita%20Brooks%20lectures/2003 %20-%20St.%20George%20and%20the%20Dixieites.html. ^

40. The George A. Smith Papers form a voluminous collection in the Church History Library; I have scanned only his incoming and outgoing letters for the 1861–70 decade, available on a DVD, in the Church History Library. ^

41. The Church clearly selected Bleak, a silversmith by trade, because of his perceived ability to serve as clerk and historian of the Southern Mission. Poor as he was, he had married a fresh-from-England immigrant a year earlier; then shortly before the Bleaks set out for St. George, Brigham Young advised James "to marry fifteen-year-old Jane Thompson," the daughter of London friends whom the Bleaks had agreed to care for until her parents could come to Utah. Metcalf, "James G. Bleak," 150–52. ^

42. See Clay Pendleton, "The Life of Andrew Jackson Pendleton [brother of Benjamin F.], 1830–1908," 18, unpublished family history, 2009, Church History Library. ^

43. See Franklin Wheeler Young, "Extracts from 1861 Journal, circa 1876," Church History Library. ^

44. See Orson F. Whitney's treatment "The Woodburys" in *History of Utah,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons Co., 1892–1904), 4:128–30. For more detailed information, consult Angus Cannon Woodbury, *History of the Jeremiah Woodbury Family* (Burley, Idaho: Reminder Press, 1958); and Dallas Coleman, comp., *Orin Nelson Woodbury and His Ancestors* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1983). ^

45. For informative but laudatory profiles of the seven Cannon siblings, see John Q. Cannon, *George Cannon, the Immigrant: Isle of Man 1794—St. Louis, U. S. A., 1844. His Ancestry, His Life, His Native Land, His Posterity* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), particularly 163–69 and 188–92, for life sketches of Ann and Leonora, respectively; available at http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/4611415. ^

46. Nora C. H. Lund, comp., *History of Thomas Sirls Terry Family* (n.p., 1963 reprint of 1954 publication). ^

47. Journal History, October 8, 1861, 2–9, and October 1862, 1–7. For a published list of the men named in 1861 (and those counted in St. George the next summer), see Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *Under Dixie Sun: A History of Washington County*

Utah (St. George, Utah: Washington County Chapter, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1950), ch. 6. ^

48. "Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870," Summit, Utah. McCarty apparently lost his "zeal" by 1872, according to Polly Aird, Jeff Nichols, and Will Bagley, eds., *Playing with Shadows: Voices of Dissent in the Mormon West* (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark, 2011), 202–3. ^

49. George A. Smith to Jacob Hamblin, in Journal History, October 16, 1861, 1. ^

50. For a copy of Brigham Young's letter to Hugh Moon, dated April 19, 1858, I thank Richard Nephi Moon, chief compiler of *The Family of Henry Moon: Mormon Pioneer 1819–1894*, 2d ed. (Provo, Utah: BYU Printing Press, 2007). ^

51. See Moon, *Family of Henry Moon*, "Appendix C—Hugh Moon Journal," especially C243 and C251. Hugh's short journal provides telling insights into his married life before he became terribly ill and had to leave St. George. ^

52. For a copy of the Erastus Snow–Brigham Young exchange of letters, I again thank Richard N. Moon. ^

53. International Society Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1998), 1:130–31. According to the sketch of Eliza Parker Baddley, the first wife, Brigham Young called George "to take a second wife [Charlotte DeGrey] and [help] settle the Dixie Country." Perhaps both George and Eliza thought she should remain in Salt Lake to look after their business. A year later, in October 1862, Baddley's new brother-in-law, a poor painter who had already married two of Charlotte's sisters (see note 74), "volunteered" for the Cotton Mission, took both wives with him and stayed in the Rockville area on the Upper Virgin. ^

54. Journal History, October 13, 1861, 1. ^

55. Journal History, October 19, 1862, 7. ^

56. Hicks, incidentally, the composer of the well-known song "Once I Lived in Cottonwood," actually lived in the Spanish Fork area with his wife Betsy's family when he and the Jolleys made their frightening trek over the Black Ridge just below the Southern Rim of the Great Basin. See Andrew Karl Larson, *The Red Hills of November: A Pioneer Biography of Utah's Cotton Town* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1957), 66–74, for both the words and music of the song. ^

57. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880," Mount Carmel Precinct, Kane County, Utah. ^

58. See Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie,* 101–2. For an understanding of what the first major public works project entailed, read Michael N. Landon, "'A Shrine to the Whole Church': The History of the St. George Tabernacle," *Mormon Historical Studies* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 125–46. ^

59. See Sean Paulsen, comp., *David Milne: Early Mormon Painter,* 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1996), 107–10. I am indebted to Deirdre Murray Paulsen of the Brigham Young University faculty for calling my attention to this source and granting me permission to use the photo of the David Milne family. ^

60. Journal History, October 8, 1861, 1–9, names the 309 men called at conference time but omits the names of the Swiss and dozens of others called later that month. Journal History of October 19, 1862, 1–7, identifies the names of the more than 200 men newly called to reinforce the Southern Utah settlements. Before issuing this second call, "Elders Geo. A. Smith and Franklin D. Richards read missionary list for cotton country to Pres. Young, who directed the same to be read on

next Sabbath, and the missionaries called together and those whose circumstances forbade their going were to suggest others." This insight into the selection process appears in Journal History, October 15, 1862, 1. ^

61. George A. Smith Papers, 1834–77, October 14, 1862, DVD in Church History Library. ^

62. George A. Smith Papers, 1834–77, November 4, 1862, DVD in Church History Library. ^

63. See Erastus Snow, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 12:178–79, October 8, 1867. The names of the more than 160 men who were called appear in Journal History, October 7, 1867, 1; October 8, 1867, 1; and October 9, 1867, 1. ^

64. Pamela S. Perlich, senior research economist in the Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Utah, generously shared the data she compiled to help us create this 1870 population pyramid, so unlike that of any other state or territory (except New Mexico) in the United States at the time. ^

65. Bitton and Lambson, "Demographic Limits," 9, figs. 1a and 1b. ^

66. Marie Cornwall, Camela Courtright, and Laga Van Beck, "How Common the Principle? Women as Plural Wives in 1860," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26, no. 2 (1993): 139–53; Carol H. Nielson, *The Salt Lake City 14th Ward Album Quilt, 1857* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004). ^

67. Because Hyde had families and houses in both Salt Lake and Springtown (Spring City), the 1860 Utah census counted him twice. James G. Bleak and his three wives also resided in the 17th Ward at the time of his call to St. George. ^

68. The Gardner compound, now known as Gardner Village and built around one of Archibald's many mills, numbered six households and twenty-four members in 1860, each wife listed by her maiden name. The Spanish Fork census also recorded Archibald Gardner, living with two other wives and twelve children. ^

69. Together the two settlements had almost 200 more residents than West Jordan (722 compared to 532, respectively). ^

70. See note 66. ^

71. No polygamist's life better illustrates the variety of wives one man might marry than John D. T. McAllister's. In 1873, he married a spinster old enough to be his mother, and three years later he married a woman young enough to be a daughter. Wayne Hinton, "John D. T. McAllister: The Southern Utah Years, 1876–1910," *Journal of Mormon History* 29, no. 2 (2003): 106–36, esp. 112–27, "McAllister as Polygamist." ^

72. Henry Eyring, "Reminiscences," 25–34, typescript, Church History Library. ^

73. As quoted by B. Carmon Hardy, "The Persistence of Mormon Plural Marriage," *Dialogue* 44, no. 4 (2011): 49. A microfilm of a typescript copy of the same letter is at the Church History Library. ^

74. The two youngest DeGrey daughters, like their older sisters who married either George Baddley or John Hall, also became plural wives. ^

75. A. Karl Larson and Katharine Miles Larson, eds., *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker,* 2 vols. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1980), 1:192. Walker often mentions the Principle in his diary, particularly when it was spoken of in church meetings or challenged by outsiders in the press. ^

76. Larson and Larson, *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker,* 1:250. ^

77. Larson and Larson, *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker,* 1:445. ^

78. Elder Snow's distant cousin Lorenzo Snow, who presided over the Saints of Box Elder County for an even longer period than Erastus headed the Southern Utah Mission, also did his best to preach and encourage the Principle. As of 1870, the prevalence of plurality in Brigham City matched that of Professor Daynes's Manti. See Lowell C. Bennion, Alan L. Morrell, and Thomas Carter, *Polygamy in Lorenzo Snow's Brigham City: An Architectural Tour* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 2005), 17–44. ^

79. Larson and Larson, *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker,* March 18, May 6 and 20, 1866, 1:254, 258–59. ^

80. Erastus Snow, in *Journal of Discourses,* 23:224–34, February 26, 1882, and 23:294–302, October 7, 1882. ^

81. Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 230. This was the second time Young had offered Woodruff one of his daughters as a wife, and this time he accepted. This marriage, like four others of Woodruff's nine, did not last long. ^

82. Kane, *Gentile Account,* 109, 117–18. For a sample of insights from Mrs. Kane's interviews with the women of St. George, see Lowell C. Bennion, "A Bird's-eye View of Erastus Snow's St. George," Juanita Brooks Lecture (Dixie State College, 2006), 23–28, available at http://library.dixie.edu/special_collections/Juanita%20Brooks%20lectures/2006%20-%20A%20Birds-Eye%20View.html. ^

83. Reid L. Neilson, "A Friendship Forged in Exile: Wilford Woodruff and the William and Rachel Atkin Family," in *In the Whirlpool: The Pre-Manifesto Letters of President Wilford Woodruff to the William Atkin Family, 1885–1890,* ed. Reid L. Neilson (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark, 2011), 50–51. ^

84. L. W. Macfarlane, *Yours Sincerely, John M. Macfarlane* (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1980), 79–81. The author cites unspecified Priesthood Minutes, which I could not locate, as his source. The 1880 St. George census lists John as a surveyor with three wives, the third one married to him in 1878. ^

85. Bitton and Lambson, "Demographic Limits," 14. ^

86. Dean L. May, Lee L. Bean, and Mark H. Skolnick, "The Stability Ratio: An Index of Community Cohesiveness in Nineteenth-Century Mormon Towns," in *Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspectives in Social History,* ed. Robert M. Taylor Jr. and Ralph J. Crandall (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1986), ch. 8, quotation on p. 150. ^

87. The name of Enoch B. Tripp, for one, appears on the October 1862 list of Dixie missionaries, but he continued working his farm in Sugar House and making shoes in Salt Lake. Ironically, with President Young's blessing, he spent the winter of 1867–68 in the Muddy Valley (at St. Thomas) to improve his health before returning to his new farm in South Cottonwood. Enoch B. Tripp, Journal, 5:22, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. ^

88. Quoted by Ronald O. Barney, *One Side by Himself: The Life and Times of Lewis Barney, 1808–1894* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001), 228. ^

89. Quoted by Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, eds., in *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons,* 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 174. ^

90. See John Taylor, in *Journal of Discourses,* 23:13, November 9, 1881. ^

91. In the mid-1880s, even as the Church's First Presidency sought to minimize polygamy's importance, a U.S.-created Utah Commission drew a different conclusion that in effect maximized its importance. "While all [Mormons] did not enter into polygamy, all believed it right as a divine revelation and upheld it in those who chose to enter into the relation. The system was united by ties of kindred with nearly every Mormon family in the Territory." Quoted by Hardy, "The Persistence of Mormon Plural Marriage," 82 n. 53. For a comprehensive documentary history, see B. Carmon Hardy, ed., *Doing the Works of Abraham, Mormon Polygamy: Its Origin, Practice, and Demise* (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark, 2007). ^

Striving to Live the Principle in Utah's First Temple City

A Snapshot of Polygamy in St. George, Utah, in June 1880

Kathryn M. Daynes

Just as the Galapagos Islands became a laboratory to study natural selection, so St. George has become a prime laboratory for scholars seeking to understand nineteenth-century Mormon polygyny. For almost thirty years, since Larry Logue showed that the percentage of those in St. George practicing plural marriages was high and Ben Bennion showed that St. George's high percentage was unusual, researchers have been grappling with the questions of why plural marriage was so prevalent in St. George and what those high percentages tell us about the practice of plural marriage in Utah generally.[1] Moreover, Davis Bitton and Val Lambson's article in this issue posits that the prevalence of polygyny in St. George was above sustainable levels. As Utah's first temple city, St. George was indeed unusual, although its high prevalence of polygyny is, at least in part, explained by in-migration of polygamous wives.

The demographic work to understand the lives of those families in plural marriage is labor intensive, and this article will provide only a snapshot of polygamy in June 1880, when Daniel Handley McAllister visited the houses of St. George, Middleton, and Price City to take the federal census. Note that this study will include all three municipalities, although they will be referred to collectively as St. George. Whether McAllister visited every household or enumerated every person in town seems doubtful because some family members who should be in St. George are missing and are enumerated nowhere else in the 1880 census. Despite its imperfections, the 1880 federal census provides the foundation for this study, particularly in conjunction with the list of polygamists who lived in St. George or who had a husband or wife who did so, as identified by Ben Bennion and me (see appendix A). I have added information about these families using such

sources as family and Church records found in New FamilySearch, the Mormon Migration Index, and the Mormon Overland Pioneer Trail Index. The figures provided may differ slightly from Bennion's 1984 article on the prevalence of polygyny because his continued research has produced a more accurate list of those living in plural marriage.[2] It also differs from Logue's work because his is a longitudinal study rather than the snapshot given here, and he counted polygamous husbands as present in St. George in 1880 if one or more of their wives resided in St. George, even though the husband was enumerated only elsewhere in the 1880 census.[3]

Polygamous men, women, and their families accounted for 41.4 percent of St. George's population in 1880.[4] High as that figure appears, it is less than the percentage in 1870, which, as Bennion's work in this issue shows, is 44.3 percent. Bennion's previous extensive study of polygyny in 1870 shows that no other town with a population of over five hundred had as large a percentage living in polygamous families as St. George.[5] The polygamous population in 1880 was a mere 3 percent lower than it was a decade earlier, although overall the town had grown by 27 percent. But that 1880 percentage is considerably higher than the proportion of the polygamous population in Manti, Utah, where only one-fourth lived in plural families, down from its high of 43.1 percent in 1860.[6]

Nevertheless, because women in the 1870s married on average three to four years later than they did during the late 1850s, the percentage of never-married women over the age of sixteen was about eight times higher in 1880 St. George than in 1860 Manti. During the Mormon Reformation, the intense religious revival in 1856–57, the number of new plural marriages was so large that Brigham Young wrote to President James Snow of Provo, cautioning him that he should discourage such aggressive promotion of plural marriages.[7] Young probably could have saved his ink, because it is likely that by March 1857, when he penned his letter, most women of marriageable age were already married. "Nearly all are trying to get wives," Wilford Woodruff wrote a month later, "until there is hardly a girl 14 years old in Utah, but what is married, or just going to be."[8] In that heated atmosphere, Latter-day Saints were surprisingly obedient to the counsel to marry, and in 1860 Manti, only 1.6 percent of women over the age of 16 had never been to the altar.[9] Mormons, however, proved that their initial good intentions exceeded their ability to endure to the end. In the two years after the Mormon Reformation, the number of requests Brigham Young received for cancellations of sealings rose to its highest point during his presidency.[10]

Given this not entirely satisfactory experience, never again would the Saints quite so vigorously promote plural marriage. Even St. George in

1880, where the prevalence of polygyny was high, 48 women between ages 16 and 27 were single, considerably more than single marriageable females in the wake of the Mormon Reformation in Manti. But these 48 women were fewer than the 58 single men between ages 20 and 30 enumerated in the census. This disparity between numbers of men and women suggests that St. George had reached an unsustainable level of polygyny prevalence, had there been no in-migration and no marriages contracted with those residing elsewhere. But, of course, there were both. And the totals of *all* those who were single and of marriageable age are more nearly equal: there

Figure 1. Reproduction of a portrait of John D. T. McAllister that hung in the St. George and Manti temples. McAllister served as president of both temples. Courtesy Robert H. Moss.

were 75 single women age 17 and older compared to 84 single men 20 and older. (These ages represent the lower limit of those included because the youngest wife on the census was 17, while the youngest husband was 20.)

To be sure, men were at a disadvantage in this marriage market, but not so much as women would have been without plural marriage. There were 1.24 women for every man 20 years or older; that is, for every 5 women there were 4 men. Plural marriage may have put men at a disadvantage in the marriage market, but it did ensure that women who wanted to marry could do so, even in the face of a sex ratio significantly skewed against them.[11]

But, of course, St. George was far from being an isolated marriage market. In fact, among the seventy plural families in St. George, over one-third had husbands or at least one wife who lived outside the town.[12] Most polygamous spouses residing outside St. George lived elsewhere in southern Utah, but A. F. McDonald lived with one wife in Mesa, Arizona, where he served as bishop, while two of his wives remained in St. George; John D. T. McAllister (fig. 1), Josiah Hardy, and Benjamin Pendleton each had a wife who preferred to live in Salt Lake, while William Croff's first wife chose to live in Logan with her married daughter.

Moreover, the majority of couples entered plural marriage before they became residents of St. George: 91 percent of first wives married their husbands before moving to St. George, 56 percent of first wives were not residents of St. George when their husbands took a second wife, and about two-thirds of plural wives lived elsewhere when they entered plural marriage. (The term *plural wives* refers to second and later wives, and the term *polygamous* refers to first and plural wives collectively.) To be sure, the numbers of those marrying when they were nonresidents of St. George partly reflect the relatively late date of St. George's establishment in 1861. Slightly more than 40 percent of polygamous husbands and wives living in St. George in 1880 had already married before the town was even established. In fact, one-fifth (21.8 percent) of plural wives had entered plural marriages from 1855 to 1857, during the famine and the Mormon Reformation. To a considerable degree, then, St. George reflected marriage patterns established elsewhere in Utah.

Nevertheless, St. George developed its own variations on the Utah marriage theme. In my study of Manti, I found that women who married into plural marriage (that is, as second or later wives) were not drawn at random from Mormon females but came predominantly from three potentially overlapping groups: (1) women, either divorced or widowed, who had been previously married, (2) women whose fathers were dead or who were not in Utah at the time of the daughter's marriage, and (3) other women, the majority of whose fathers practiced plural marriage. The family backgrounds of plural wives in St. George were similar but in different proportions (see figure 2). Among the most prominent differences are that in Manti women who had been previously married made up a greater proportion of plural wives than in St. George (30 percent compared to 17 percent), while in St. George a slightly larger percentage of plural wives came from plural families (17 percent in Manti compared to 27 percent in St. George). The prominence of daughters from polygamous families is greater when considering only those plural wives who resided in St. George when they married (39 percent). Women residing in St. George when they wed were marrying from 1861 to 1880 and hence, on average, at a later date than women in the first two columns of figure 2, whose marriages took place over a considerably longer period, from Nauvoo in the 1840s to 1880 in the case of St. George wives (column 2) and to 1890 for Manti women (column 1). Those women marrying in the 1850s and early 1860s were doing so during the period of heaviest immigration into Utah, some of whom immigrated without their fathers or whose fathers died during the rigorous journey to Zion, and they were subjected to all the rigors of frontier living. The larger proportion of polygamists' daughters entering plural marriage after the

FIGURE 2: Family Background of Plural Wives, Comparing Manti with St. George

	Manti, 1840s to 1890	All SG plural wives, 1840s to 1880	SG plural wives residing in SG when married 1861 to 1880	SG Plural wives married from 1877 to 1880
Previously married	30.0%	16.7%	17.9%	36.4%
Father dead/not in Utah	37.2%	44.9%	25.0%	9.1%
Father in plural marriage	16.9%	26.9%	39.3%	45.5%
Mother dead	4.3%	3.9%	3.6%	4.6%
Parents monogamous	11.6%	7.7%	14.3%	4.6%

settlement of St. George in 1861 suggests that polygamous relationships were to some degree replicating themselves in the second generation.

But so were monogamous relationships. Monogamous parents raised monogamous daughters. Although monogamy was still the prevalent marriage form in Utah and in St. George, daughters from such marriages in general avoided entering plural marriage, as shown by the small proportion—less than 15 percent—they constituted of plural wives (figure 2). In this context, we can understand Martha Cragun Cox, when she wrote about her family's reaction to her choice to become a plural wife: "My decision to marry into a plural family tried my family, all of them. . . . When the final decision was made known to my family that I could not recede from my purpose, the storm broke upon my head."[13] Whatever the Church doctrine and official policy, there remained a view popular among some Mormons, particularly monogamous ones, that shunned plurality for themselves and their own families, even if they might condone it for others.

One of Martha's erstwhile admiring friends articulated this attitude clearly: "'It is all very well for those girls who cannot very well get good young men for husbands to take married men, but she [Martha] had no need to lower herself, for there were young men she could have gotten.' She and other friends 'cold-shouldered' me and made uncomplimentary remarks."[14] An unofficial but apparently widespread attitude existed in Mormondom that made allowances for women who needed breadwinners in a pioneer economy—women whose fathers were not in Utah or who no longer had husbands—but held that plural marriage demeaned women whose economic

circumstances permitted them the time to wait for the right bachelor to propose. Although monogamous families were in the majority, the small proportion of daughters from monogamous homes who entered plural marriages, as shown in figure 2, suggests the extent of such views was considerable.

Bennion's article in this issue shows that St. George was not that different from the remainder of "Dixie" in its high levels of polygamous families, but it was unique as a large town with such a high percentage of its population living in plural households.[15] It was also unique in becoming Utah's first temple city. That is well known, of course, but unknown is the impact that fact had upon its polygamous population. Over one-quarter of St. George women listed in the 1880 census who married an already-married man were wed after sealings began to be performed in the St. George Temple in 1877.[16] That is, 28.2 percent of plural wives enumerated in the 1880 census had entered plural marriage in the three and a half years immediately preceding that census. Moreover, of polygamous husbands who lived in St. George in 1880, 37.9 percent married plural wives in those three and a half years. But these were not just polygamists taking additional wives: 20.6 percent of polygamous husbands whom the census taker visited in June 1880 had acquired that status for the first time after sealings began to be performed in the temple in January 1877. That is, one-fifth of polygamists had recently attained that status. If we add the men who by 1877 were no longer polygamists, through the death or divorce of a spouse, but then married a second wife between that date and the arrival of the census taker, the figure rises to 29 percent of polygamists in the 1880 census who had recently entered plural marriage.

Of course, these new plural marriages had a significant impact on the number of people living in plural families when D. H. McAllister knocked on their doors to list them on the census forms. In other words, without those new plural marriages contracted after the opening of the St. George Temple, McAllister would have found only 492 individuals in plural families rather than the 600 he enumerated. That is, the population living in plural families would have been 7.4 percent less than it actually was, bringing the percentage down from the unusually high 41.4 percent to 34.0 percent, still high but not as dramatically so. To be sure, even without the completion of the temple, some plural marriages would have been contracted after 1876 (between 1871 and 1876, new plural marriages among St. George residents averaged one per year), so that if previous patterns had prevailed, the percentage of St. George residents living in plural families would probably have been about 35 or 36 percent. The percentage would vary considerably depending on the number of children the first wife had borne and still had living in her household, whether the plural wife brought stepchildren into

the home, and how many babies she had borne in her short marriage. But whatever the percentage would have been, the figures clearly indicate that the relationship between the temple and prevalence of polygyny was direct and significant.

As figure 2 indicates, of those entering plural marriage from 1877 through 1880, many fewer plural wives lacked fathers alive in Utah, one indication that in St. George the harshest rigors of immigration and colonization were past (9.1 percent of plural wives marrying from 1877 to 1880 compared to 44.9 percent for all St. George plural wives). On the other hand, in this same group the number of daughters from polygamous families increased; almost one-half of plural wives marrying after the temple dedication came from such homes. The small percentages of wives from monogamous homes marrying after the temple dedication compared to those from plural households underscores the importance of the polygamous culture within families in perpetuating plural marriage after the exigencies of the frontier period had passed.

The number of new plural marriages after the temple dedication not only increased the overall percentage of those who resided in plural families, but it also, of course, increased the percentage of polygamous husbands and wives. Of the married men in 1880 St. George who were enumerated in the census, 28.2 percent were currently living in plural marriage. This percentage does not include men whose wives had died or divorced them by the time the census was taken, so that they were monogamists when McAllister appeared on their doorsteps.[17] This latter group included men such as John Horne Miles, whose famous divorce from his wife Carrie Owen led to a case that was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.[18] Not surprisingly, an even higher percentage of St. George married women than of men were polygamous at this moment in time: 45.6 percent of married women were polygamous, the same percentage Manti reached only at its peak in 1860.[19]

The percentage of husbands and wives in plural marriage would have been somewhat lower had only one new plural marriage a year taken place, as was the case among St. George residents from 1871 to 1876. Under the conditions prevailing in St. George before the temple dedication, 21.8 percent, rather than the actual 28.2 percent, of married men would have been polygamists in 1880. For wives, the comparable figures would have been 39.5 percent instead of 45.6 percent. Nevertheless, both the actual and the hypothetical percentages of husbands and wives are high. In light of the theoretical limits on sustainable prevalence set forth by Bitton and Lambson, both the hypothetical and the actual percentages were too high to be perpetuated. Larry Logue's study indicates that the average interval between the mean age at first

marriage for males and females in St. George was four years. At an annual growth rate of 3 percent and an interval of five years between husbands and wives at first marriage, the upper bound on polygyny prevalence, according to Bitton and Lambson, is 16 percent of husbands and 28 percent of wives in plural marriages (see figure 3). The percentages in plural marriage correspond better to an average interval of ten years between husbands and wives; yet the average interval prevailing in St. George from 1861 to 1880 was less than half that, evidence clearly buttressing Bitton and Lambson's argument about polygyny's unsustainability at the level observed in 1880 St. George.

The contrast with the experience in Manti is instructive. The percentages of husbands and wives in plural marriage in 1860 were at approximately the same level as those in St. George in 1880. In Manti, 28.7 percent of husbands and 49.7 percent of wives were living in plural marriage. The marriage age interval between husbands and wives marrying for the first time in the decade before the 1860 census varied between six and eight years. During the Mormon Reformation, when so many marriages took place, however, the age interval was at its greatest, at about eight years.[20] These percentages of polygamous husbands and wives are at the upper bound calculated by Bitton and Lambson, assuming an age interval of ten years. With only 1.6 percent of women sixteen years or older who had never been married in 1860 Manti, it is clear that the prevalence of polygyny was too high to be sustainable. And, in fact, twenty years later the percentages had declined. In the twenty years before 1880, the average age interval between husbands and wives at first marriage varied from four to six years, and the percentages of husbands and wives in plural marriage (15.7 percent and 26.7 percent, respectively) were at the high end but still within the upper bound of sustainable polygyny when the age interval was five years with a 3 percent annual growth rate (see figure 4). Unlike St. George, in Manti the prevalence of plural marriage had declined from the demographically unsustainable level in 1860 to a high but sustainable level in 1880.

Given that the prevalence of plural marriage in St. George exceeded the theoretical upper limits in a marriage market with an average four-year age interval between husbands and wives at first marriage, in-migration was clearly crucial. The majority of both first and plural wives were residing outside St. George when they entered plural marriage, as noted previously. The importance of in-migration may be further illustrated by the twenty-two plural wives who married after the dedication of the temple. Only one-half resided in St. George when they married, two others lived close by in Washington County, six lived elsewhere in Utah, and three emigrated from Europe within a year of being married. Of the eleven who resided in

FIGURE 3: Percentage of 1880 St. George Husbands and Wives Compared to Theoretical Upper Limits of Polygyny Prevalence[21]

	Husbands	Wives
1880 Actual	28.2	45.6
1880 Hypothetical (if the dedication of the temple in 1877 had not increased the rates)	21.8	39.5
Upper bound at 5-year marriage age interval	16	28
Upper bound at 10-year marriage age interval	34	51

FIGURE 4: Percentage of 1860 and 1880 Manti Husbands and Wives Compared to Theoretical Upper Limits of Polygyny Prevalence[22]

	Husbands	Wives
1860	28.7	49.7
Upper bound at 10-year marriage age interval	34	51
1880	15.7	26.7
Upper bound at 5-year marriage age interval	16	28

**FIGURE 5. St. George, Utah, 1880 Census Population
by Age and Sex**
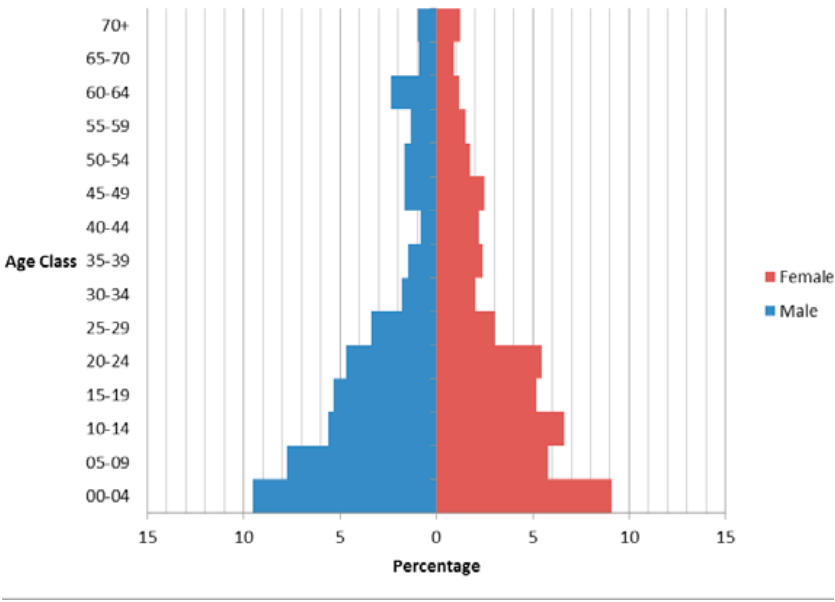
St. George, nine were single, never-married women. Those nine women becoming plural wives put no undue demographic strain on the ratio between men and women at prime marriage ages. As Bitton and Lambson explained, at a 3 percent growth rate, the cohort of women was larger than the cohort of men five years older.[23] In St. George, the mean marriage age for men was 23.4 years, while for women it was 19.4.[24] Comparing the relevant age cohorts in 1880 shows that 75 women were ages 15–19 and 68 men were 20–24. The next age cohorts were less equal, with 79 women ages 20–24 and 49 men ages 25–29. For the age cohorts at prime marriage age, there were 154 women and 117 men, and single women also outnumbered single men, with 46 single men ages 20–29 and 70 single women ages 15–24 (see figure 5). That is, even with the high prevalence of polygyny in the town, single men near the mean age of marriage would not be at a demographic disadvantage in the marriage market in the next few years, even without marrying wives from outside the town, as of course some did.

Despite the unusual upsurge in new plural marriages after the dedication of the temple, the continued high levels of polygyny in the town was to a large extent the result of in-migration of polygamous families and plural wives rather than unusual demographic patterns. To be sure, the high fertility rate created a demographic structure that could accommodate some plural marriages, as explained by Bitton and Lambson. The 1880 St. George population pyramid is bottom-heavy because of the large number of children: 44.4 percent of the population was fourteen years or younger.

In addition to a demographic structure and marital patterns that could accommodate some level of polygyny, a polygamous culture was embedded in St. George polygamous families. The relationship between the heightened religiosity in the wake of the St. George Temple's dedication and the Mormon Reformation goes beyond their both having a significant impact on fostering new plural marriages. Although the plural marriages of St. George residents had been solemnized throughout the period from 1844 to 1880, almost one-half (46 percent) were solemnized during six crucial years: the two and a half years surrounding the Mormon Reformation, a period of heavy immigration, and the three and a half years between the completion of the St. George Temple and the census taker's arrival in June 1880. Those couples who had entered plural marriage during the Mormon Reformation had a considerable number of daughters of marriageable age in the late 1870s. Not all of these became plural wives, of course, but almost half of those marrying between 1877 and 1880 were daughters of polygamous parents. St. George polygamists such as Stephen Wells, William Empey, and Joseph E. Johnson, who married plural wives during the Mormon Reformation, had daughters who in turn became plural wives in the wake of the St. George Temple's dedication. Plural marriages in the 1850s produced both the large numbers of children and the culture that perpetuated a second generation living the Principle.

But explaining the high prevalence of polygyny must also include understanding how St. George acted as a magnet for polygamous families. Bitton and Lambson have aptly pointed to the idea that committed Latter-day Saints answering church calls to hardscrabble Dixie were also more likely than others to enter plural marriage. In 1880, George Q. Cannon noted their faithfulness, stating that the Saints "in St. George, where the people are all poor, . . . paid more Tithing and more Temple donations in proportion to each soul than any other part of the Territory."[25] Bennion expands and complicates this explanation and also points to the importance of Church leaders' examples and encouragement to take additional wives.

Beyond these explanations is the importance of St. George as Utah's first temple city. Clearly the temple, as both the spiritual and economic center of

the community throughout the 1870s, held an important place in the lives of St. George residents. The influx of Church capital and the provision of jobs for builders had helped the community to survive the vicissitudes of droughts, floods, and falling grain yields.[26] About a third of polygamists living in St. George in 1870 held occupations associated in some way with building the temple, such as stone masons, brick masons, carpenters, or those running saw mills. Such occupations associated with construction were still prevalent in 1880 after the temple had been dedicated, including a plasterer, a painter, and a wood turner. That is, Church employment in building the temple brought to St. George those called to work on the temple and attracted some seeking jobs. In building the temple, the Church improved the local economy, but also upon its completion that sacred structure gave St. George residents easy access to the only holy place where at that time all the ordinances necessary for the living and the dead were performed. Both economic and religious reasons reinforced St. George Saints' commitment to the Church and its leaders, which in turn strengthened their commitment to plural marriage.

Building the temple demanded sacrifices, not only in enduring the difficult Dixie climate but also in providing the resources to finance construction of the temple. These sacrifices undoubtedly heightened commitment to the purposes for which the temple was built, sacrifice being a mechanism that increases commitment to the cause for which the sacrifice is made.[27] That purpose included sealing of marriages, both monogamous and plural.

Moreover, after its dedication, the temple required workers both to perform ordinances and to maintain the temple. And it attracted those who wished to perform ordinances for their deceased ancestors. Committed Saints came from other communities to spend varying lengths of time performing temple ordinances, sometimes spending several months in the town to do so. Plural wives also seem to have found the town and its temple attractive. Twelve of the plural families in St. George in 1880 consisted of wives usually with their children but without their husbands, who lived elsewhere. In addition, widows of two polygamists chose to remain in the town. These fourteen families constituted almost one-fifth of the polygamous families residing in the temple city in 1880.

Beyond the religious significance of the temple as a symbol of commitment was the opportunity that proximity to a temple provided for performing plural marriages. St. George was 350 miles south of the Endowment House in Salt Lake City, where plural marriages were performed. In 1870, the railhead was still 200 miles north of St. George, and by the time of the temple's dedication it was still over 100 miles away. A journey to Salt Lake
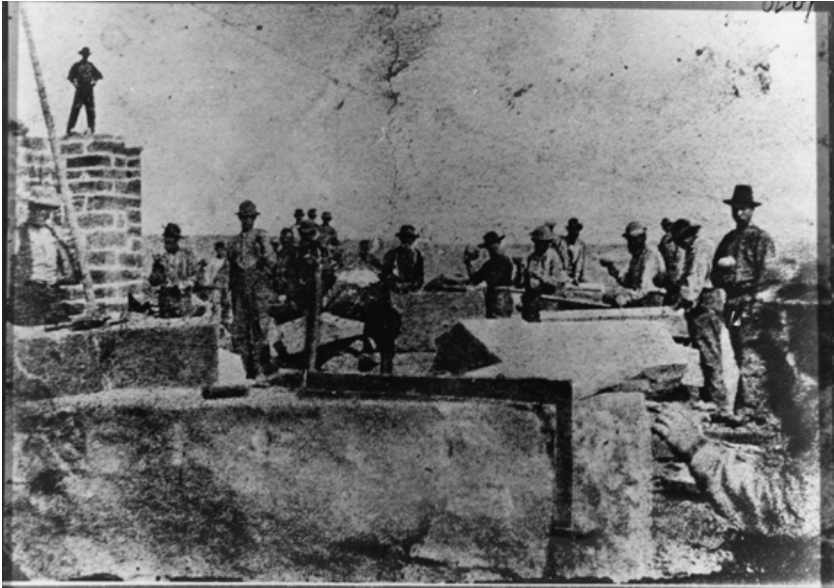
Figures 5 and 6. Construction of the St. George Temple. The temple represented much sacrifice for the Saints in hardscrabble Dixie but also was a symbol of their highest eternal aspirations. Courtesy J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.

City was long, arduous, and expensive. Such challenges were eliminated when the St. George Temple was dedicated and marriage sealings began to be performed.

St. George was unique both in its high prevalence of polygyny for a large town and its becoming Utah's first temple city, and these anomalous characteristics were related to each other. Bitton and Lambson's work is significant in providing a context for understanding the high prevalence of polygyny in the town. Given the demographic structure of St. George and the age interval between husbands and wives at first marriage, their formulations make clear that the high level of polygyny observed in 1870 and 1880 was not sustainable over the long term without considerable in-migration. This continuing high prevalence of polygyny contrasts with patterns in most other communities, which evidence, both narrative and statistical, suggests was high in the wake of the Mormon Reformation but declined thereafter.[28]

On the other hand, as the *percentage* of husbands and wives in polygamous marriages declined, the *numbers* increased. In 1882, the Utah Commission reported that about 12,000 polygamists had been disfranchised because of their marital status.[29] That figure is about twice the number of Saints who would have been in plural marriages in 1860. The aggregate count of men 20 years and older (the average age of men at first marriage was between 22 and 24) was 8,428, while that for women 15 and over was 10,245 (the mean marriage age for women varied between 16 and 19).[30] Taking the highest percentages of men and women involved in polygyny in 1860—22 percent of men in Manti and 50 percent of women in Mill Creek[31]—6,976 men and women would have been polygamous. That is the maximum number because the calculations include every person in Utah, no matter what religion or what race.[32] Assuming a high but not the maximum percentage of participation in polygyny observed in any community—20 percent of men and 40 percent of women—5,784 would have been husbands and wives in polygamous marriages in 1860, less than half the number disfranchised twenty years later. Note that the 12,000 mentioned by the Utah Commission did not include those polygamous families who had moved to other territories by the 1880s. In short, the percentage of husbands and wives living in plural marriages lagged behind the increase in the general population, thus reflecting a declining prevalence in Mormondom, but the absolute number of polygamous husbands and wives continued to increase.

Additional studies will expand, refine, and complicate our understanding of patterns of prevalence of plural marriage in nineteenth-century Mormondom; nevertheless, the overall contours are clear: in the wake of

the Mormon Reformation, prevalence of polygyny was high, too high to be perpetuated, and it thereafter declined to demographically sustainable levels, although the absolute numbers of polygamous husbands and wives continued to increase. In his path-breaking study, Stanley S. Ivins a half century ago claimed that plurality was unpopular and that as the proportion of Saints entering plural marriage had demonstrably declined over time, he claimed, "Left to itself, undisturbed by pressure from without, the church would inevitably have given up the practice of polygamy, perhaps even sooner than it did under pressure."[33] More recent studies and the theoretical work of Bitton and Lambson point to a different paradigm: the relative decline in the proportion living in plural marriages was a demographic necessity to bring down the prevalence to sustainable levels, even as the numbers practicing the Principle rose. When *Reynolds v. United States* was decided in 1879 and the Edmunds Act passed in 1882, two federal government actions paving the way for active prosecution of polygamists, plural marriage was in fact thriving in Utah. Although levels varied throughout Mormondom by 1880, in Manti, a fairly typical town, it remained near the upper limits of sustainability.[34]

Mormon pioneers are remembered for their sacrifices and tenacity in the face of drought, floods, grasshopper infestations, and the resulting poverty, to name only a few of the difficulties they endured. The minority who practiced plural marriage—at times a large minority—also deserve to be remembered for striving to obey the commandment then current in the Church to live in plural marriage, despite the manifold challenges plurality presented to family life.

Appendix A
St. George Precinct's Plural Households as of 1880
(* = those in St. George in 1870)

Census #	Name	Age	Family Members	Occupation	Place of Birth
161/164	ALGER*	60	John	Carpenter	OH
		55	Sarah P. (4 children)	KH [keeping house]	NY
			Jane Ann missing from census		
131/134	ANDRUS*	35	James	Stock Raiser	OH
		42	Laura	KH	MS
		38	Manomes (10 ch. total)	KH	MS
26/28	ANDRUS	66	Milo	Farmer	NY
		47	Mary A. (5 ch.)	KH	Eng.
8/9 (**Price City**)	ANDRUS	40	Margaret (7 ch.)	KH	MI
5/5	ASHBY	45	Nathaniel	Stock Raiser	MA
		39	Mary V.	KH	IN
		35	Martha A. (13 ch. total)	KH	UT
50/52	BAKER	62	George	Farmer	Eng.
		61	Mary A.	KH	Eng.
		58	Mary G. (2 ch.)	Music Teacher	Eng.
212/216	BARLOW*	49	Mary J. (1 ch.)	KH	Eng.
219/224	BARLOW*	53	Catherine (3 ch. & 1 grdch.)	KH	Eng.
			Oswald's widows		
238/243	BARNEY*	73	Edson	Carpenter	NY
		75	Lillis	KH	NY
210/214	BARNEY*	57	Louisa	KH	OH
10/11 (**Price City**)	BLAIR*	52	Tarlton	Farmer	IL
		51	Lydia (3 ch., 1 nephew)	KH	NJ
209/213	BLAIR*	37	Eliza A. (3 ch.)	KH	IL

Census #	Name	Age	Family Members	Occupation	Place of Birth
41/43	BLAKE*	65	B[enjamin]. F.	Cabinet Maker	Eng.
		50	H.	KH	Eng.
		36	Mary A. (2 ch., 2 stepch.)	KH	Eng.
197/201	BLEAK*	50	James G.	Accountant	Eng.
		33	Jane T. (7 ch.)	KH	Eng.
56/59	BLEAK*	48	C. B. (3 ch.)	KH	Eng.
204/208	BLEAK*	52	Elizabeth (2 ch.)	KH	Eng.
32/34	BOOTH	21	E. E. (2 ch.)	KH	UT
103/147	BOOTH	37	James	Photo-grapher	Eng.
(Frisco, Beaver Co.)		30	Annie E. (2 ch.)	KH	Eng.
201/205	BRYNER*	45	Casper (+ mother)	Farmer	Switz.
		48	Mathilena	KH	Switz.
		28	Susannah (8 ch. total)	KH	Switz.
58/61	BURT	48	William	Plasterer	Scot.
		26	Louisa (4 ch.)	KH	UT
36/43 (Beaver)	BURT	48	Margaret (4 ch., 1 grdch.)	KH	Scot.
11/13	BUTLER	56	William	Farmer	IN
(Price City)		52	Sarah	KH	IN
		29	Cathrine (1 stepch.)	KH	Switz.
6/6	CANNON*	42	David H.	Farmer	Eng.
		39	W.L.	KH	DE
		31	Josephine	KH	DE
		21	Rhoda A. (9 ch. total)	KH	UT
109/112	CARPENTER	59	William H.	Broom Maker	NY
		41	M.S. (3 ch.)	KH	NY
		42	Mary (1 adopted ch.)	KH	Switz.
1/1	CARTER*	69	William	Farmer	Eng.
		65	Ellen B.	KH	Eng.
		45	Harriet U.	KH	AL
		38	Sophronia (15 ch. total)	KH	AL

Census #	Name	Age	Family Members	Occupation	Place of Birth
178/181	CLARK*	74	Lorenzo	Tanner	NY
		45	Mary A. (6 ch., 1 grdch.)	KH	Eng.
165/168	CLARK*	74	Bulah	KH	VT
239/244	COX*	43	Isaiah	Farmer	MO
		44	Henrietta	KH	CT
		32	Elizabeth	KH	NE
		28	Martha (14 ch. total)	School Tchr	UT
91/94	CROFF	63	William C.	Blacksmith	NY
		31	Sophia	KH	Eng.
213/242 (**Logan**)	CROFF	63	Julia A. (with md. daughter)	KH	OH
232/237	EMPEY*	71	William	Farmer	Can.
		70	Mary A.	KH	Can.
		42	Martha F. (7 ch., 1 grdch.)	KH	Eng.
130/133	EYRING*	45	Henry	Merchant	Ger.
		49	Mary B.	KH	Switz.
		27	Deseret (6 ch. total)	KH	UT
28/30	FARNSWORTH	46	M[oses]. F.	Accountant	IN
		46	E. J.	KH	IL
29/31	BULKLEY	22	L. J. (M.F.'s pl. wf.)	KH	UT
7/8 (**Price City**)	GARDNER	60	Robert	Farmer	Scot.
		39	Leonora (5 ch.)	KH	Eng.
3/3	GARDNER	39	Mary A. (5 ch.)	KH	Eng.
48/50	GATES*	66	Mary	KH	VT
156/159	GATES*	49	Emma F. (4 ch.)	KH	Eng
__/9 (**Bellevue**)	GATES*	69	Jacob	Farmer	VT
		36	Mary (4 ch.)	KH	Eng.
___/___	HAMMOND	57	Joseph	Farmer	NY
		56	Elizabeth	KH	IN
141/144	HAMMOND	21	Delta [Kelsey]	KH	UT

Census #	Name	Age	Family Members	Occupation	Place of Birth
78/81	HARDY*	66	J[osiah]. G.	Carpenter	MA
		42	Ann D. (7 ch.)	KH	Eng.
81/86 (**SLC 12th**)	HARDY*	65	Sarah	KH	MA
79/82	HARDY	39	Warren	Wood Turner	MA
		34	Caroline	KH	Eng.
		26	Sarah (6 ch. total)	KH	PA
	JOHNSON	21	M. A. (1 ch.) (Warren's wife)	Boarder	IL
242/247	HEMENWAY	67	L[Luther]. S.	Laborer	MA
		47	Harriet	KH	Eng.
		35	Sarah (9 ch. total)	KH	Eng.
__/__ (**SLC 4th**)	HEMENWAY	59	Elvira	KH	NH
191/195	HENDRIX	27	Daniel L. (+ mother)	Farmer	UT
		25	Agnes A.	KH	Eng.
		26	Villeta (4 ch. total)	KH	UT
235/240	HENDRIX	25	Ed. A.	Farmer	MO
		24	Mary E. (2 ch.)	KH	NY
10/11 (**Price City**)	HENDRIX	20	Rosillia [Priscilla]	KH	UT
213/217	HUNT*	51	Isaac	Stone Mason	Eng.
		53	Ann (3 ch.)	KH	Eng.
213/218	HUNT*	29	Parthenia (5 ch.)	KH	IA
154/157	IVINS*	64	Israel	Doctor	NJ
		63	Anna L.	KH	PA
		46	Julia H. (4 ch. total)	Milliner	Eng.
256/261	JARVIS	26	Ellenor	KH	UT
		23	Roseinia (4 ch., 1 niece)	KH	UT
			Wives of Geo. F., missing from census		

Census #	Name	Age	Family Members	Occupation	Place of Birth
149/152 2/2 (**Gunlock**)	JEFFERY JEFFERY*	49 55 43	Mary A. (1 ch.) Thomas Elizabeth C. (7 ch.)	Seamstress Farmer KH	Eng. Eng. Scot.
87/90	JOHNSON*	63 57 40	J[oseph]. E. Harriet Eliza (total 9 ch.)	Merchant KH KH	NY Can. Eng.
84/87 (**Wash.**)	JOHNSON*	51	Hannah (2 ch.)	KH	PA
90/93	KEATE	66	Susannah (1 adptd ch.)	KH	Can.
73/73 (**Silver Reef**)	KEATE*	72	James	Shoemaker	Eng.
81/84 (**Wash.**)	KEATE*	35	Bena (8 ch.)	KH	Den.
141/144	KELSEY*	67 46	Easton Mary J. (3 ch., 2 grdch.)	Miller KH	NY IN
168/171	KELSEY*	46	Jennet M. (1 ch., 1 relative)	KH	Can.
39/41	LANG*	53 52 37	William Mary A. Ann (total 4 ch.)	Farmer KH KH	Eng. Eng. Eng.
116/119	LUND*	58	Eliza B. (3 ch.)	KH	Eng.
12/12 (**Hebron**)	LUND*	66 44	Wilson Ellen (7 ch.)	Farmer KH	Eng. Den.
69/72	MACFARLANE*	46 43 34 22	J[ohn]. M. A. C. A. E. H. E. J. (9 ch. total)	Surveyor KH KH KH	Scot. Eng. Austra-lia UT
40/42	MANSFIELD*	69 66 50	M[athew]. Isabella Johanna (2 ch.)	Farmer KH KH	Eng. Scot. Swed.
200/204	MATHIS*	47 50 	John Barbara (4 ch.) Maria S. (missing from census)	Farmer KH	Switz. Switz.

Census #	Name	Age	Family Members	Occupation	Place of Birth
53/56	McALLISTER	53	J[ohn]. D. T.	Minister	DE
		52	E. H.	KH	Nova Scotia
		36	C. A.	KH	PA
		24	M. N. (8 ch., 2 grdch.)	KH	Den.
145/148	McARTHUR*	60	D[aniel]. D.	Farmer	NY
		60	Matilda C.	KH	NY
		38	Elizabeth	KH	Can.
		26	Mary (9 ch. total)	KH	UT
266/271 (**Middleton**)	McDONALD	49	E. G.	KH	Scot.
		41	Agnes (3 ch.)	KH	Scot.
			Wives of A. F. McDonald in AZ		
__/__	MILLER*	73	Henry W.	Farmer	NY
		42	Fanny (5 ch.)	KH	Eng.
240/245	MILLER*	69	Elmira	KH	OH
43/45	MILNE*	47	David	Painter	Scot.
		44	S. Y.	KH	Scot.
		31	C. J.	KH	Eng.
		26	Anna H. (7 ch. total)	KH	Switz.
143/146	MOODY*	58	John M.	Farmer	AL
		20	Margaret P. (1 ch.)	KH	UT
228/233		41	Elizabeth (7 ch.)	KH	Eng.
177/180 (**Mohave County, AZ**)	NIXON	36	Johannah (8 ch.)	KH	Den.
			James Wm. w/ 2 wives (missing from census)		
54/57	OXBORROW	63	Joseph	Laborer	Eng.
		27	Mary (5 ch.)	KH	Eng.
203/207	OXBORROW	63	Jennet	KH	Eng.
233/238	PACE	48	William		TN
234/239	GOULD	35	Marie (2 ch)	KH	IL
233/244 (**Provo**)	PACE	49	William (counted 2x)	Miner	TN
49			Epsie (5 ch)	KH	IL

Census #	Name	Age	Family Members	Occupation	Place of Birth
99/102	PENDLETON*	62	B[enjamin]. F.	Blacksmith	NY
		44	Alice (5 ch.)	KH	Eng.
234/278 (**SLC 9th**)	PENDLETON	59	Lavina (2 ch.)	Seamstress	NY
10/10	PERKINS*	83	Decy	no occup.	VA
10/11	PERKINS*	79	W[illiam] G.	no occup.	SC
		71	Hannah	KH	Eng.
36/38	ROMNEY*	36	M[iles]. P.	Carpenter	IL
		37	H. H.	KH	Can.
		25	C. J. (11 ch. total)	KH	UT
3/3	ROMNEY*	22	Anna W.	KH	UT
196/200	SANDERS	70	Amanda	KH	TN
		70	Mary (2 ch., 5 grdch.)	KH	MA
			Widows of Moses M.		
17/19	SLAGOWSKI	50	X[avier]. F.	Tailor	Poland
		61	Mary	KH	Ger.
		35	R. (2 ch.)	KH	Switz.
118/121	SMITH*	60	Charles	Watch Maker	Eng.
		58	Sarah	KH	Eng.
		45	Eliza (5 ch., 1 grdch.)	KH	Eng.
107/110	SMITH	63	William	House Painter	Eng.
		71	Jane T.	KH	Eng.
		38	Maria H.	KH	Eng.
		36	Annie E.	KH	Eng.
31/33	SNOW*	61	Erastus	Minister	VT
		61	A. B. (3 ch.)	KH	NY
7/7	SNOW*	58	Minerva	KH	MA
8/8	SNOW*	48	Elizabeth (7 ch.)	KH	MA
46/48	SNOW*	43	J. J. (6 ch.)	KH	NY
223/228	TERRY	26	William A.	Farmer	UT
		23	Martha (3 ch.)	KH	UT
50/52	BAKER	21	M[ary] A. (Wm's pl. wf.)		NJ

Census #	Name	Age	Family Members	Occupation	Place of Birth
170/173	THOMAS*	40	Harriet (3 ch.)	KH	Eng.
26/26 (**Leeds**)	THOMAS*	63	Elijah	Farmer	NC
		55	Ann	KH	Eng.
70/73	THOMPSON	42	W[illiam]. H[enry].	Engineer	Eng.
		29	Emma (6 ch.)	KH	MO
35/37	THOMPSON	40	A. E. (3 ch.)	Midwife	Eng.
20/22	WALKER*	47	C[harles]. L.	Stone Cutter	Eng.
		38	Anna	KH	Nova Scotia
		22	Sarah (7 ch.)	KH	UT
198/202	WELLS*	50	Annie (5 ch.)	KH	Eng.
30/30 (**Leeds**)	WELLS*	57	Stephen R. (Boarder)	Clerks in Store	Eng.
24/24 (**Leeds**)	WELLS*	65	Mary A. (w/ 1 md. daughter)	House Keeper	Eng.
103/106	WHIPPLE*	40	Caroline (6 ch.)	KH	IL
10/11 (**Pine Valley**)	WHIPPLE*	60	Eli	Lumber Mill	VT
		65	Patience	KH	NY
13/14 (**Pine Valley**)	WHIPPLE*	22	Mary Jane (2 ch.)	KH	UT
84/87	WHITEHEAD	38	A[dolphus] R.	County Recorder	Eng.
		35	Mary G. (4 ch.)	KH	Eng.
	WELLS	28	Mary E. (listed as boarder)	KH	UT
3/3	WOODBURY*	51	Orin N.	Farmer	MA
		48	Anna (7 ch.)	KH	Eng.
1/1	WOODBURY	52	Orin N. (counted 2x)	Farmer	MA
(**Gunlock Prec.**)		36	Frances (5 ch.)	KH	Eng.
140/143	WOODWARD*	62	George	Brick Mason	NJ
		65	T. D.	KH	PA
		37	Mary A.	KH	PA

Census #	Name	Age	Family Members	Occupation	Place of Birth
186/189	WOOLLEY	35	Edwin [D. Jr.]	Farmer	IL
		33	Emma (4 ch.)	KH	MO
8/8	WOOLLEY	24	Flora S[now]. (1 ch.)	KH	UT
16/18	WORTHEN	54	Sarah (2 ch.)	KH	Eng.
80/89	WORTHEN*	54	Samuel	Brick Mason	Eng.
(Panguitch)		42	Maria D.	KH	PA
		39	Jane (total 7 ch.)	KH	Eng.
5/6	WULFFENSTEIN	47	B. P.	Farmer	Swed.
(Price City)		49	Olina (2 ch.)	KH	Nor.
95/98					
(Logan Prec.)	WULFFENSTEIN	56	Betsy	KH	Swed.

Census Population of St. George Precinct (including nearby tiny Middleton & Price City) in 1880: 1,449.

Number of People in Precinct's Plural Families: 600 = 41.4% of Census Population (not counting at least 75 plural family members living outside of the St. George Precinct).

Kathryn M. Daynes (who can be contacted via email at byustudies@byu.edu) is Associate Professor of History Emerita at Brigham Young University and serves on the Church History Board of *BYU Studies Quarterly*. Her book *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System* received the Best Book of the Year on Mormon History award for 2001 from the Mormon History Association and the Best Book award for 2001 from the Utah State Historical Society. She has published a number of articles and chapters in her specialty and is now engaged in two book projects that continue her study of plural marriage. In 2008–2009 she served as president of the Mormon History Association.

1. Larry M. Logue, *A Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Lowell "Ben" Bennion, "The Incidence of Mormon Polygamy in 1880: 'Dixie' versus Davis Stake," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 27–42. ⌃

2. Bennion, "Incidence of Mormon Polygamy," 27–42. ⌃

3. 1880 U.S. Census, Washington County, Utah, population schedule, St. George, enumeration district (ED) 93, pp. 345A–362C, 363A–364C (stamped); digital images, Ancestry.com, http://www.ancestry.com; citing NARA microfilm publication T9, roll 1339. Logue counted eighty households as polygamous in 1880. Logue, *Sermon in the Desert,* 49. Ben Bennion's and my research counted seventy-two households as polygamous families. Two of these families were composed of widows of two deceased polygamists, twelve were families in which the husband was not enumerated in St. George with his wife or wives, and fifty-eight were families with the husband and at least one of his wives resident in St. George as enumerated on the census. Logue's larger number of polygamous households probably includes some in which the family had been in plural marriage previously but were no longer by 1880. See Bennion, "Incidence of Mormon Polygamy," 32. My calculations do not count such families as polygamous. Had I counted polygamists as Logue did, my calculations of the number of polygamous husbands in 1880 would have been within a percentage point of his figure of 33 percent. As a snapshot of the population in June 1880, the figures in this study do not indicate the full extent of the practice of plural marriage over time. ^

4. When a polygamous wife or husband was the household head, all family members were counted as part of the polygamous population. This includes parents, in-laws, grandchildren, nieces, and nephews if they resided in the same household. Servants and boarders enumerated in polygamous households but not related to the family were not counted. ^

5. Lowell C. Bennion, "Plural Marriage," in *Mapping Mormonism: An Atlas of Latter-day Saint History,* ed. Brandon Plewe (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2012), 122–25. ^

6. Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 101. ^

7. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and David A. Allred, "A Peculiar People: Community and Commitment in Utah Valley," in *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah's Mormon Pioneers*, ed. Ronald W. Walker and Doris R. Dant (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), 97; citing Brigham Young to James Snow, March 5, 1857, Brigham Young Papers, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; as cited in Paul H. Peterson, "The Mormon Reformation" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1981), 132. ^

8. Wilford Woodruff to George A. Smith, Church Historian's Office, Journal History of the Church, April 1, 1857, Church History Library (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. ^

9. Daynes, *More Wives Than One,* 108–9. ^

10. Kathryn M. Daynes, "Breaking the Seal: Analysis of Cancellations of Sealing by Brigham Young," Mormon History Association Conference, Killington, Vermont, May 26–29, 2005. ^

11. Men in nineteenth-century Utah were able to find wives by marrying women who were older or considerably younger than themselves. Kathryn M. Daynes, "Single Men in a Polygamous Society: Male Marriage Patterns in Manti, Utah," *Journal of Mormon History* 24 (Spring 1998): 89–111. ^

12. Of the seventy St. George families living in plural marriage, twenty-four (34.2 percent) had at least one spouse living outside the locality as shown by their

location in the 1880 census. Another three polygamists had wives who could not be found after extensive searches in the 1880 federal census. ^

13. Martha Cragun Cox, *Face toward Zion: Pioneer Reminiscences and Journal of Martha Cragun Cox* (n.p., Francis N. Bunker Family Organization, Isaiah Cox Family Organization, Martha Cragun Branch, 1985), 1:108, 111. ^

14. Cox, *Face toward Zion,* 1:108, 111. ^

15. Lowell C. "Ben" Bennion, "Mapping the Extent of Plural Marriage in St. George, 1861–80," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (2012): 44, figure 8. ^

16. Although the dedication date for the St. George Temple is officially April 6, 1877, an earlier dedication on January 1, 1877, took place to dedicate that portion of the temple completed at that point. Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Washington Chapter, *Under Dixie Sun: A History of Washington County,* rev. ed. (St. George: The Chapter, 1978), 342–43. The first plural marriage among St. George residents took place on January 11, 1877. ^

17. Logue calculated that 32.3 percent of husbands in his study from 1861 to 1880 were polygamists, and in 1880, 33 percent were. Logue, *Sermon in the Desert,* 49. See note 3 for explanation of the differences between our figures. Moreover, my calculations are for St. George, Middleton, and Price City, so the figures are not exactly comparable. ^

18. *Miles v. United States,* 103 U.S. 304. ^

19. Daynes, *More Wives Than One,* 100–101. ^

20. Daynes, "Single Men in a Polygamous Society," 95, 100. ^

21. The percentages of husbands and wives in plural marriage compared to all husbands and wives is based on an analysis of the 1880 U.S. census, calculated to include only those actually enumerated in the St. George census. The hypothetical percentages are based on the 1880 census while subtracting the twenty-two new marriages sealed from January 1877 to June 1880 and adding four marriages based on the average marriages per year for St. George polygamists from 1871 to 1876. The upper bound for polygyny prevalence is from Davis Bitton and Val Lambson, "Demographic Limits of Nineteenth-Century Mormon Polygyny," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (2012): 11, figure 2. ^

22. The percentages of husbands and wives in plural marriage compared to all husbands and wives is based on an analysis of the 1860 and 1880 U.S. manuscript censuses for Manti, Utah. 1860 U.S. Census, Sanpete County, Utah, population schedule, Manti, pp. 636–59 (stamped); digital image, Ancestry.com, http://www.ancestry.com; citing NARA microfilm publication M653, roll 1314. 1880 U.S. Census, Sanpete County, Utah, population schedule, Manti, enumeration district (ED) 65, pp. 407A–428B (stamped); digital image, Ancestry.com, http://www.ancestry.com; citing NARA microfilm publication T9, roll 1337. The denominator included all husbands and wives because two families labeled as apostate Mormons continued as plural families. The upper bounds for polygyny prevalence are from Davis Bitton and Val Lambson, "Demographic Limits," 11, figure 2. ^

23. Bitton and Lambson, "Demographic Limits," 9, figures 1a and 1b. ^

24. Logue, *Sermon in the Desert,* 56. ^

25. George Q. Cannon, in *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 22:128, October 31, 1880. ^

26. Logue, *Sermon in the Desert,* 10; Michael Lyle Shamo, "Making the Desert Blossom: Public Works in Washington County, Utah" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2010), 27–56. ^

27. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Uto-pias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 76. ^

28. Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Western Humanities Review* 10 (Summer 1956): 229–39; Bennion, "The Incidence of Mormon Polygamy in 1880," 27–42; Bennion, "Plural Marriage," 122–25; Bennion, "Mapping the Extent of Plural Marriage in St. George, 1861–80," 32; Daynes, *More Wives Than One,* 93–119; Marie Cornwall, Camela Courtright, and Laga Van Beek, "How Common the Principle? Women as Plural Wives in 1860," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Sum-mer 1993): 139–53; Jan Shipps, Cheryll L. May, and Dean L. May, "Sugar House Ward: A Latter-day Saint Congregation," in *Portraits of Twelve Religious Communi-ties,* ed. James P. Wind and James W. Lewis, vol. 1 of American Congregations (Chi-cago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 307; Dean L. May, "People on the Mormon Frontier: Kanab's Families of 1874," *Journal of Family History* 1 (Winter 1976): 172. ^

29. Utah Commission Report, November 17, 1882, "The Edmunds Act: Reports of the Commission, Rules, Regulations and Decisions, and Population, Regis-tration and Election Tables, &c. For the Information of Registration and Elec-tion Officers in Utah," Internet Archive, 2007, http://www.archive.org/stream/edmundsactreportoounitrich/edmundsactreportoounitrich_djvu.txt. The figure of 12,000 polygamists is plausible. Dividing that number proportionate to the percent-age of men who had two, three, four, and five or more wives yielded approximately 3,500 polygamous families in 1882. In 1890, the number of families had declined to 2,451, a reasonable decrease in the number of families, given the prosecutions of the 1880s and those polygamists who moved to Canada and Mexico. The percentages for number of wives per polygamist were calculated by Ivins and my slightly dif-ferent figures, but both yielded a number close to 3,500. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," 233; Daynes, *More Wives Than One,* 130. ^

30. *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 574–75. ^

31. Manti figures come from my extensive study of Manti; Mill Creek figures are from Cornwall and others, "How Common the Principle?" 148. ^

32. Dean May calculated that non-Mormons accounted for 12 percent of Utah's population in 1860, so the figures given in the text overestimate the numbers in polygyny that year. Dean May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830–1980," in *After 150 Years: The Latter-day Sesquicentennial Perspective,* ed. Thomas G. Alexander and Jessie L. Embry, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, no. 13 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), 51. ^

33. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," 239. ^

34. For analysis of variations in percentages of the 1880 population living in plural families, see Bennion, "Incidence of Mormon Polygamy in 1880," 27–42. ^

Plural Marriage in St. George

A Summary and an Invitation

*Davis Bitton, Val Lambson, Lowell C. "Ben" Bennion, and
Kathryn M. Daynes*

These three papers offer new insights into the importance of polygyny, or polygamy, in nineteenth-century Mormondom. The Bitton-Lambson article derives theoretical limits on the sustainability of polygyny, suggesting that, given the parameters observed in nineteenth-century Utah, a prevalence exceeding 15 to 20 percent of males and 25 to 30 percent of females is implausible. Bennion's paper provides detailed information on how prevalent polygyny was in St. George and in its wide hinterland. It also includes a number of personal stories to shed light on who the settlers were, what motivated their move to Utah's Dixie, and how their marital status fit into the makeup of the population. Daynes's article compares the prevalence in St. George and Manti with sustainable levels over time. The picture painted by this trilogy is one of a thriving plural marriage system that approached the limits of what was mathematically possible. Naturally, there remains much room for further research.

St. George, of course, was only one small, albeit significant, part of nineteenth-century Mormon Country, which implies that research in other regions is overdue. These three articles began independent of each other. Bitton and Lambson began to apply their model to St. George about the same time (2002) that Daynes published her book about the changing patterns of polygamy in Manti. Two decades earlier, Bennion had published an article that compared the incidence of polygyny in Utah's Dixie with its frequency in Davis County (north of Salt Lake) as of 1880. All four of us must credit Larry Logue for our selection of St. George, owing to the importance of his groundbreaking *A Sermon in the Desert* (1988).

Comparing St. George to many other locales seems essential to understanding the causes and effects of polygyny's prevalence in Mormon society

more generally. We hope future research will address remaining questions, such as the following. How did the incidence of plurality in St. George compare to levels elsewhere in Dixie and the rest of Mormon Country? Would the procedure set forth by Bennion for examining the relationship between polygyny and the settlement of St. George apply to other communities? What motivated those who entered plural living, and was it different for those in St. George than for Mormons elsewhere? Did the dedication of the St. George Temple encourage the faithful to live the Principle? Was there an upsurge in plural marriages after the 1884 dedication of the Logan Temple? No upsurge occurred after the dedication of the Manti Temple, but that was just two years before the Church issued its 1890 Manifesto to end the practice.

Despite both narrative and statistical evidence that the incidence of polygyny peaked in the wake of the Mormon Reformation (1856–1857), present studies cover only Brigham City, Manti, and about eight wards in and around Salt Lake City. More community studies are needed. Census takers for 1860 and 1870 were probably not paid for their attention to detail, and names all too often prove difficult to identify without persistent effort. And with Church membership records either missing or incomplete, the accurate identification of families and the construction of reliable counts make such efforts most challenging.

Using the Bitton-Lambson model, we now understand polygyny's prevalence in relation to demographic sustainability for a small number of places, most notably St. George, but additional studies of a similar nature would fill in the portrait for which we have offered only an outline. Some of the questions asked require more quantitative data. Others need more qualitative analysis of diaries and other contemporary evidence. Much remains to be done to better understand the extent and effects of Mormonism's once most challenging principle. We invite other scholars to join in this endeavor.

Teinoscope

(Physics) An instrument formed by combining prisms so as to correct the chromatic aberration of the light while linear dimensions of objects seen through the prisms are increased or diminished; called also prism telescope.

I have seen you standing still beneath
rapid clouds at dusk, collecting the light,
drawing the gathered radiance in like breath.

You store it everywhere—as lines, faces,
in crowded notebooks—till it spills out, bright,
new-made. Is this creation, these mixed pieces,

When patched-together, conglomerate, they
emerge like sparks from your hands, lightened
and whole?
                    Some men stockpile days

Like weapons, against the cataclysm.
From you, the stored scraps of collected light
leak like constant suns. And what wrought prisms

allow these sudden visions: myself, made
larger and more beautiful, all the bright
fragments ripened and mingled, naked, laid

like webs of stars together? Those saved skies
reflected back to me, mirrors on mirrors,
A tiny universe within your eyes?

—Marilyn Nielson

This poem received honorable mention in the BYU Studies 2012 poetry contest.

Some Textual Changes for a Scholarly Study of the Book of Mormon

Royal Skousen

I have been working on the critical text project of the Book of Mormon for the past twenty-four years, since 1988. The first critical text of the Book of Mormon was published by the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) in 1984–86. That first version helped to establish criteria for the current project, especially the need for direct access to the original and printer's manuscripts as well as the clearest photographs of those manuscripts.

Near the beginning of my work on producing a second critical text, I published a paper in the winter 1990 issue of *BYU Studies* outlining the main goals and approach that this new critical text project would take.[1] Although this article was preliminary in some respects, subsequent work on the project has been consistent with the overall approach that I proposed there. In the first decade of this century, three of the five volumes of the proposed project were published, including facsimile transcripts of the original and printer's manuscripts (volumes 1 and 2, in 2001) and a complete analysis of the substantive changes that the text has undergone, from its oral dictation to the most recently printed editions (volume 4, in six books, from 2004 to 2009).

I have concluded that there are three important findings resulting from the critical text project of the Book of Mormon. The first is that Joseph Smith received an English-language text word for word, which he read off to his scribe. The second finding is that the original English-language text itself was very precisely constructed; where textual error has occurred in its transmission, the earliest reading is usually the superior reading. The third finding is the identification of 256 changes in the text that make a difference in the meaning or in the spelling of a name, changes that would show up in

any translation of the book. Ultimately, these findings have led me to the conclusion that a rigorous study of the Book of Mormon requires the most accurate text possible.

The most important of the proposed changes to the text can be found in the appendix to *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text*, edited by me and published by Yale University Press in 2009. This appendix, referred to as "Significant Textual Changes", lists 719 alternative readings that have occurred in the history of the Book of Mormon text. These changes make important differences in the text and provide significant information about the nature of that text. Yet from the list itself, many of the changes look rather innocuous. To get a full understanding of the significance of these textual changes, one must turn to volume 4 of the critical text of the Book of Mormon, namely, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, published in six parts from 2004 to 2009 by FARMS, now a part of the Neal A. Maxwell Institute at Brigham Young University. These books are for the serious scholar and cannot be casually approached. The purpose of this paper is to discuss some of the more significant changes introduced by the Yale text of the Book of Mormon (and argued for in volume 4 of the critical text). My intent here is to show why these changes are necessary for a scholarly study of the Book of Mormon.

In reviews of the Yale edition, a number of objections have been voiced about whether these changes need to be made in the standard canonized text. One objection has been that the changes are insignificant, or appear to be so.[2] And since they don't change the doctrine or the basic narrative of the book, some have felt that there's no need to make any changes at all.[3] For some general readers of the Book of Mormon, this may well be the case. Readers get spiritual confirmation of the book despite the fact that there are textual errors in it. Mine came to me thirty-three years ago, in 1979, as I was reading the story of the conversion of King Lamoni's queen, in Alma 19:28–30, when the Spirit witnessed to me that "this really happened". The Lord provides spiritual confirmation of his book despite its errors. But there are two ways to read the Book of Mormon. Once we move beyond a casual reading of the text (or the need to quote a random passage) and turn to study the Book of Mormon in detail, the textual differences become important.

One further objection has been that some of the readings in the Yale edition restore earlier readings that Joseph Smith himself removed in his editing for the second and third editions of the Book of Mormon (in the 1837 Kirtland edition and in the 1840 Cincinnati/Nauvoo edition).[4] Indeed, the Yale edition does reverse most of Joseph Smith's later editing of the text. Yet it is worth noting that the editors for the canonical 1981 LDS edition also reversed some of Joseph's editing:

- In four places, the 1981 edition restored *founder*, which had been changed to *foundation* by Joseph Smith in his editing for the 1837 edition (in 1 Nephi 13:6 and 1 Nephi 14:17, and twice in 2 Nephi 26:22).

- In his editing for the 1837 edition, Joseph Smith replaced the strange *preparator* in 1 Nephi 15:35 with *foundation*. The 1981 edition restored the strange word, while the Yale edition emends *preparator* to *proprietor*.

- In Alma 62:36, the 1981 LDS edition rejected Joseph Smith's 1840 emendation (which states that King Ammoron had one servant protecting him) by supplying its own conjectural emendation (which states that there were several servants protecting the king):

earliest extant reading

> but behold the king did awake his **servant** before he died
> insomuch that **they** did pursue Teancum and slew him

1840 conjectural emendation

> **servant** . . . **he**

1981 conjectural emendation

> **servants** . . . **they**

> There is more than one servant guarding Ammoron, just as there was more than one servant guarding his brother Amalickiah when he was assassinated by Teancum earlier in the war: "and he did cause the death of the king immediately that he did not awake his **servants**" (Alma 51:34). In Alma 62:36, the loss of the plural *s* for a noun is more likely than the accidental replacement of the singular pronoun *he* with the plural *they*. In this case, the Yale edition agrees with the 1981 conjectured reading.

- And finally, in one case Joseph Smith later rejected (in 1840) his own earlier emendation (in 1837) of *my* to *thy* in 1 Nephi 3:3:

earliest reading

> for behold Laban hath the record of the Jews
> and also a genealogy of **my** forefathers

1837 emendation by Joseph Smith

> and also a genealogy of **thy** forefathers

1840 restoration of earliest reading

> and also a genealogy of **my** forefathers

In each case, editors have sought to use the best reading, even if it means reversing earlier decisions.

All of the thirty changes discussed in this paper make a difference. Nearly all of them would show up when translating the text into a foreign language. Here I group the changes according to various types of change. In each case, I provide a brief summary of the evidence for the change and why it is significant for serious study of the text. The more complete arguments for the changes are found in *Analysis of Textual Variants.*

In the following list of changes, the original manuscript is represented as O. This is the dictated manuscript, of which 28 percent is extant. The printer's manuscript is represented as P. This manuscript is the copy that scribes made to take to the printer to set the type for the 1830 edition. An asterisk after O or P refers to the original reading in that manuscript (thus O* or P*), while a following small *c* refers to a corrected reading (thus Oc or Pc). A correction in P by John Gilbert, the 1830 typesetter, is marked as Pjg.

I. I first list a number of cases where the original reading (often the reading of the original manuscript) provides not only the correct reading, but one that makes the text wholly consistent in usage.

1 Nephi 8:31

> and he saw other multitudes **pressing** their way (O)
> towards that great and spacious building
> >
> and he saw other multitudes **feeling** their way (P, 1830)

> Are the multitudes pressing or feeling their way towards the great and spacious building? Everywhere else in Lehi's dream, people are pressing forward (five times). One of these passages, in the preceding verse, uses virtually the same phraseology as here in verse 31: "and they did press their way forward" (1 Nephi 8:30). On the other hand, there are no instances anywhere in the scriptures of people feeling their way. Here in 1 Nephi 8:31, these people are determined to get into that great and spacious building. Oliver Cowdery, when he copied the text from O into P, misread scribe 3 of O's *pressing* as *feeling*. In O, the *p* had a high ascender, the first *s* was an elongated *s*, and the *e* vowel was missing, so it is not surprising that Oliver had difficulty reading the word here and replaced it with *feeling*.

1 Nephi 12:18

> and a great and a terrible gulf divideth them
> yea even the **sword** of the justice of the Eternal God (O)

>
yea even the **word** of the justice of the Eternal God (P, 1830)

> Is the justice of the Eternal God his word or his sword? Here Oliver
> Cowdery misread scribe 2 of O's *sword* as *word*. One could argue
> that God's judgment will be declared by his word, which seems
> very likely true. But elsewhere the Book of Mormon text itself
> refers only to the sword of God's justice (seven times), including
> one in Ether 8:23 that precisely agrees with the original phraseol-
> ogy in 1 Nephi 12:18: "yea even the sword of the justice of the Eter-
> nal God shall fall upon you". The specific phraseology in Ether 8:23
> also demonstrates the consistency of the original text of the Book
> of Mormon.

Alma 17:1

behold to his astonishment he met ^ the sons of Mosiah (P)
a journeying towards the land of Zarahemla
>
behold to his astonishment he met **with** the sons of Mosiah (1830)

> Here the additional *with*, added by the 1830 typesetter, suggests
> a kind of planned meeting between Alma and the sons of King
> Mosiah, when in fact the meeting was unplanned (note the phrase
> "to his astonishment"). Elsewhere in the Book of Mormon text
> there are no instances where "X meets with Y", only examples of
> "X meets Y" (fifty-one times). This includes two other examples
> (later in the book of Alma) that refer to this specific meeting in
> Alma 17:1, and both of these lack the *with*:

> > Alma 27:16

> > > as Ammon was going forth into the land
> > > **he and his brethren met Alma** over in the place
> > > of which has been spoken

> > Alma 27:19

> > > now the joy of Alma in **meeting his brethren** was truly great

II. One important aspect regarding the consistency of the original text is
how closely it follows the phraseology of the King James Bible, includ-
ing paraphrases and even allusions to biblical language. Various examples
provide a clear indication that the Book of Mormon text is being closely
controlled, word for word.

1 Nephi 10:10

and after that he had baptized the Messiah with water
he should behold and bear record
that he had baptized the Lamb of God
which should take away the **sin** of the world (O, P*)
>
which should take away the **sins** of the world (Pc, 1830)

2 Nephi 31:4

wherefore I would that ye should remember
that I have spoken unto you concerning that prophet
which the Lord shewed unto me
that should baptize the Lamb of God
which should take away the **sin** of the world (P)
>
which should take away the **sins** of the world (1830)

In these two passages, the original Book of Mormon text refers to John the Baptist and how he baptized the Lamb of God. In 1 Nephi 10:10, the original text refers to Christ as the one "which should take away the **sin** of the world"—that is, *sin* rather than *sins*. And when we compare this language with the parallel Gospel account, in John 1:29, we find the same use of the singular: "the next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him and saith: behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the **sin** of the world". The same reference to the words of John the Baptist is found later in the Book of Mormon, in 2 Nephi 31:4. Despite this identical use of the singular *sin* in these two accounts of Christ's baptism, scribes and typesetters have expected the plural usage, "the **sins** of the world". And thus they have changed the singular *sin* to *sins* in these two passages (Oliver Cowdery consciously corrected P in 1 Nephi 10:10, while the 1830 typesetter changed the grammatical number when he set 2 Nephi 31:4). The plural *sins* is what we get everywhere else in the Book of Mormon (twelve times). Whenever John the Baptist is not mentioned, we get only references to Christ paying for "the **sins** of the world"—that is, in the plural. Three examples refer to Christ being slain for the sins of the world, four to him atoning for the sins of the world, three to him taking away the sins of the world, and two to him taking upon himself the sins of the world. (There are also references to the three Nephite disciples of Christ's who will sorrow for "the **sins** of the world".) In other words, the original text pays close attention to the singular *sin* when referring to

John the Baptist's own words, whereas the printed text has reduced everything to a uniform plural, the phraseology that we expect in modern English.

1 Nephi 20:1

hearken and hear this / O house of Jacob
which are called by the name of Israel
and are come forth out of the waters of Judah ^ (O, P, 1830)
>
(or out of the waters of baptism) (1840)
>
or out of the waters of baptism (1920)

> In the 1840 edition, in a quote from Isaiah 48:1, Joseph Smith added in parentheses after "out of the waters of Judah" the extra words "or out of the waters of baptism". The parentheses indicate that Joseph very likely considered this extra text as explanatory rather than as a restoration of the original reading of the Isaiah text. In the editing for the 1920 LDS edition, the extra words were added to the LDS standard text, but the parentheses were removed, so that now it looks like the original text read "out of the waters of Judah or out of the waters of baptism". Since Isaiah 48:1 itself lacks the extra text, some LDS commentators have misinterpreted the situation here and assumed that this phrase was consciously stripped from the Hebrew text, perhaps by some Jewish scribe with an anti-Christian animus, with the result that the Old Testament ended up with no specific reference to the practice of baptism. The critical text of the Book of Mormon follows the original reading here, which follows the Isaiah original.

1 Nephi 22:8

wherefore it is likened unto the being **nursed** by the Gentiles (O)
and being carried in their arms and upon their shoulders
>
wherefore it is likened unto the being **nourished** by the Gentiles (P, 1830)

> Here Nephi is commenting on the biblical passage (from Isaiah 48–49) that he has just quoted in 1 Nephi 20–21. In that passage, Isaiah refers to the house of Israel as being nursed by the Gentile kings and queens: "and they shall bring thy sons in their arms and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders // and kings shall be thy **nursing** fathers and their queens thy **nursing**

mothers" (1 Nephi 21:22–23; Isaiah 49:22–23). In his commentary here in 1 Nephi 22:8, Nephi uses the word *nursed.* But when Oliver Cowdery copied the text from O into P, he accidentally misread *nursed* as *nourished.* Earlier, in verse 6 of this chapter, Oliver correctly copied the word *nursed:* "after that they have been **nursed** by the Gentiles". The correct word, in both cases, is *nursed.*

Alma 42:2

after the Lord God sent our first parents forth from the garden of Eden
to till the ground from whence he was taken
yea he **drove** out the man (O)
>
yea he **drew** out the man (P, 1830)

> Indeed, God drove out the man, as it says in Genesis 3:23–24: "the Lᴏʀᴅ God sent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the ground from whence he was taken // so he **drove** out the man". O correctly has *drove*, but Oliver Cowdery accidentally misread *drove* as *drew* when he copied the text from O into P. Perhaps some interpreters may prefer the less violent image of the word *drew*, but the original text insists upon the biblical reading.

III. Frequently, a transmission error will introduce an odd or unexpected reading that was not at all present in the original text.

1 Nephi 15:16

yea they shall be **numbered** again among the house of Israel (O)
>
yea they shall be **remembered** again among the house of Israel (P, 1830)

> In the original Book of Mormon text, people are referred to as being numbered among or with some other people. Whether they are remembered or not is textually irrelevant, so the use of *remembered* in this passage seems a little odd. In this instance, the past participle *numbered* was misread as *remembered* when the text was copied from O into P.

1 Nephi 15:36

wherefore the wicked are **separated** from the righteous (O)
and also from that tree of life
>
wherefore the wicked are **rejected** from the righteous (P, 1830)

Can people be rejected from the tree of life as well as from the righteous? The tree of life is freely available to all who come to it. It is the wicked themselves who reject the tree of life. Here Oliver Cowdery misread the word *separated*, written by scribe 2 of O near the end of the last line on the manuscript page, as *rejected*. Verse 28 earlier in the chapter supports the use of the verb *separate* in referring to the righteous and the tree of life: "it was an awful gulf which **separateth** the wicked from the tree of life and also from the saints of God".

1 Nephi 19:4

wherefore I Nephi did make a record upon the other plates
which gives an account or which gives a greater account
of the wars and contentions and destructions of my people
and now this have I done and commanded my people
that they should do (O, P, 1830)
>
what they should do (1837)

Here Nephi's commandment is specific, namely, his people are commanded to keep a larger secular record on other plates, as he has done, according to what he has just explained. He is not giving a general commandment about "what they should do". The change of *that* to *what* in the 1837 edition may simply be a typo since it was not marked in P by Joseph Smith in his editing for the 1837 edition.

2 Nephi 28:23

yea they are grasped **with death and hell //**
and death and hell and the devil and all that have been seized therewith
must stand before the throne of God and be judged (P, 1830)
>
yea they are grasped **with death and hell and the devil //**
and all that have been seized therewith
must stand before the throne of God and be judged (conjectured)

Here we have a case of dittography, the accidental repetition of "death and hell and". This mistake very likely occurred when Oliver Cowdery copied the text from O into P (O is not extant here). In order to deal with the resulting repetition, the 1830 typesetter placed a semicolon between the two statements so that the standard text reads "and death and hell and the devil and all that have been seized therewith must stand before the throne of God and be

judged according to their works". There is no scriptural support for the idea that the devil himself will be judged by God on the day of judgment. That judgment already occurred when Satan and his angels were cast out of heaven. But going further, it is obvious that death and hell, even as personified beings, will not stand before God to be judged of their works. Such a scene seems quite impossible, especially for the literally minded writers of the Book of Mormon. The correct reading here in 2 Nephi 28:23 simply states that those who have been seized with death and hell and the devil will stand before God and be judged.

Mosiah 17:13

they took him and bound him
and **scourged** his skin with fagots (P, 1830)
yea even unto death
>
and **scorched** his skin with fagots (conjectured)

It was very unlikely that Abinadi was whipped with fagots (bundles of sticks) prior to burning him at the stake with those fagots. The following verse refers to scorching Abinadi, not scourging him: "and now when the flames began to **scorch** him" (Mosiah 17:14). Moreover, the entire Book of Mormon text consistently refers to Abinadi as having died from burning, not whipping (there are, for instance, seven references to Abinadi's "death by fire"). Language from Early Modern English supports the use of the verb *scorch* to refer to burning people at the stake, as in John Hooker's 1586 account of how Europeans had treated American natives: "they subdued a naked and a yielding people . . . and most tyrannically and against the course of all human nature did **scorch** and roast them to death". Moreover, the frequent manuscript spelling of *scourge* as *scorge* in O and P argues that Joseph Smith pronounced the word with an *or* sound rather than with *er,* thus readily leading to the mishearing of *scorched* as *scourged* when Joseph dictated the text here to Oliver Cowdery. O is not extant here, but probably read incorrectly as P does.

Alma 19:30

and when she had said this
she **clapped** her hands (P)
being filled with joy
speaking many words which were not understood

>
she **clasped** her hands (1830)

> Did the queen clap or clasp her hands? The printer's manuscript here reads *claped*, which the 1830 typesetter misread as *clasped*. Earlier, in Mosiah 18:11, he correctly interpreted the *claped* in P as an instance of *clapped*: "and now when the people had heard these words / they **clapped** their hands for joy". Here, in Alma 19:30, the correct *clapped* represents the more emotional, even pentecostal, expression of the queen instead of the rather anemic *clasped* that occurs in the current text.

Alma 27:27

and they were **numbered** among the people of Nephi (O)
and also numbered among the people which were of the church of God
>
and they were among the people of Nephi (P, 1830)

> In Alma 27:27, the past participle *numbered* was accidentally omitted in the copywork, so that the text ended up having the rather vacuous statement that the people of Ammon "were among the people of Nephi". This reading is also strange because these former Lamanites lived separately from the Nephites (see Alma 27:20–26). The original reading with *numbered* simply means that the people of Ammon were now considered Nephites, no longer as Lamanites.

Alma 39:13

but rather return unto them
and acknowledge your faults and **repair** that wrong which ye have done (O)
>
and acknowledge your faults and **retain** that wrong which ye have done (P, 1830)
>
and acknowledge your faults and that wrong which ye have done (1920)

> Here the original manuscript has Alma telling his son Corianton to return to the Zoramites to acknowledge his failures as a missionary and to repair the wrong he had done. After writing the text on this page of O, Oliver Cowdery accidentally spilled quite a few ink drops on the page. One dropped on the ascender of the letter *p* in the word *repair*, which led Oliver to misread the word as the nonsensical *retain* when he copied the text from O into P. The editors for the 1920 LDS edition removed the word *retain* here since it didn't make much sense, but now the text reads as if all Corianton

had to do was say he was sorry for his mistakes. In repentance, there is a need for restitution as well as admitting you're at fault, as can be found in Mosiah 27:35 and Helaman 5:17. Note especially the same phraseology in the second of these passages: "to endeavor to repair unto them the wrongs which they had done".

Alma 43:13–14

and thus the Nephites were compelled alone
to withstand against the Lamanites . . .
and all those which had dissented from the Nephites
which were Amlicites and Zoramites
and the descendants of the priests of Noah
now those **dissenters** were as numerous nearly as were the Nephites (O)
>
now those **descendants** were as numerous nearly as were the Nephites (P, 1830)

Here in Alma 43:14, when Oliver Cowdery copied from O into P, he misread *dissenters* (spelled as *desenters* in O) as *descendants* (which he spelled as *desendants* in P). He was undoubtedly influenced by the *descendants* (also spelled as *desendants*) in the immediately preceding text ("the descendants of the priests of Noah"). Thus the standard text nonsensically ends up stating that within a few generations the offspring of the priests of King Noah had multiplied so rapidly that now there were almost as many of them as Nephites. An incredible population explosion! Of course, what the original text says here is much more reasonable, that there were now almost as many Nephite dissenters among the Lamanites as there were Nephites proper—a very ominous situation.

Alma 43:38

there was now and then a man fell among the Nephites
by their **wounds** and the loss of blood (O)
>
by their **swords** and the loss of blood (P, 1830)

The Nephites fell because of their wounds in battle rather than by their own swords. If *swords* were correct, the pronominal determiner *their* would have to refer to their opponents, the Lamanites, yet the nearest reference to the Lamanites is some distance earlier, in verse 37. Here Oliver Cowdery misread his own handwritten *wounds* as *swords* when he copied the text from O into P.

Alma 47:13

and that he would deliver them up into Lehonti's hands
if he would make him Amalickiah
the second leader over the whole army (O)
>
a second leader over the whole army (P, 1830)

There is only one second leader over the whole army, not more than one. Note the language later in verse 17: "now it was the custom among the Lamanites if their chief leader was killed to appoint **the** second leader to be their chief leader". Such a rule allowed for automatic succession in the army, especially helpful in time of war and absolutely necessary in battle. In verse 13, the definite article *the* occurred at the end of a manuscript line in O, a place where Oliver Cowdery frequently misread the text as his eye skipped too quickly to the beginning of the next line. Here Oliver mistakenly replaced the definite article *the* with the indefinite article *a* when he copied the text into P.

Alma 51:7

and Parhoron retained the judgment seat
which caused much rejoicing among the brethren of Parhoron
and also **among** the people of liberty (O)
>
and also **many** the people of liberty (Pc)
>
and also **many of** the people of liberty (Pjg, 1830)

Here Oliver Cowdery accidentally misread *among* as *many* when he copied the text from O into P. The text clearly intends to say that all the people of liberty supported Parhoron, not just some of them. Political divisions between peoples seem to have been rather sharp in the Book of Mormon text.

Alma 51:15

he sent a petition with the voice of the people unto the governor of the land
desiring that he should **head** it (O, Pc)
>
desiring that he should **read** it (Pjg, 1830)
>
desiring that he should **heed** it (conjectured)

Did Moroni first request the governor to read his petition or simply to heed it? The difficulty here arose because Oliver Cowdery misspelled the word *heed* in both O and P as *head*. Although Oliver frequently used this misspelling in O, this is the only place where he permanently ended up copying *heed* as *head* into P. Unfortunately, the 1830 typesetter was unable to recognize from the context that the misspelling *head* was an error for *heed*. Since the statement that the governor should "head" the petition seemed impossible, the typesetter ended up correcting *head* to *read* in P (he overwrote the initial *h* with an *r*) and then set *read* in the 1830 edition.

Ether 1:41

go to and gather together . . . thy **family** (P)
and also Jared thy brother and his family
and also thy friends and their families
and the friends of Jared and their families
>
go to and gather together . . . thy **families** (1830)

In Ether 1:41, the 1830 typesetter accidentally set *thy families* rather than the correct singular, *thy family*, thus making it appear that the brother of Jared was a polygamist. The typesetter was probably influenced by the two instances of *their families* that occur later in the passage. Correcting the text here removes a tendentious reading that was earlier used by some LDS polemicists to defend the practice of polygamy.

IV. There are numerous examples of Early Modern English lexical usage in the original text of the Book of Mormon. In fact, there appears to be no example of word usage in the Book of Mormon that entered the English language after 1700. The Book of Mormon is indeed archaic linguistically. Such a finding is highly significant and definitely needs to be retained in a scholarly text of the Book of Mormon.

Mosiah 3:19

for the natural man is an enemy to God
and has been from the fall of Adam and will be forever and ever
but if he yieldeth to the enticings of the Holy Spirit (P, 1830)
>
unless he yieldeth to the enticings of the Holy Spirit (1920)

The archaic conjunctive *but if* meant 'unless' and was used with this meaning in English up to the late 1500s, as in the following

example from Philip Sidney (1580): "he did not like that maids should once stir out of their fathers' houses **but if** it were to milk a cow". Here in Mosiah 3:19, the editors for the 1920 LDS edition replaced *but if* with *unless*, which is what it means in this passage.

Alma 37:37

counsel ^ the Lord in all thy doings (O, P, 1830)
and he will direct thee for good
>
counsel **with** the Lord (1920)

Alma 39:10

and I command you to take it upon you
to counsel ^ your elder brothers in your undertakings (O, P, 1830)
>
to counsel **with** your elder brothers (1920)

> In these two passages, editors for the 1920 LDS edition added the expected *with*. Yet the lack of the *with* in the earliest text in these two examples appears to be intentional. In earlier English, the *with* was not necessary, as in this 1547 example from John Hooper: "Moses . . . counseled the Lord and thereupon advised his subjects what was to be done". In today's English, we would say that Moses "counseled **with** the Lord".

Helaman 8:11

have ye not read that God gave power unto one man / even Moses
to smite upon the waters of the Red Sea
and they **departed** hither and thither (P)
>
and they **parted** hither and thither (1830)

> The 1830 typesetter apparently assumed that *departed*, the reading in P, was an error for *parted*, so he set *parted*. By 1600, the meaning 'to part, separate' for the verb *depart* had become archaic in Early Modern English. Such usage was systematically eliminated, for instance, from the 1611 King James Bible. But previous English translations used the word *depart* with this earlier meaning, as in the Geneva Bible's 1557 translation of John 19:24: "they **departed** my raiment among them". There the King James Bible reads, "they **parted** my raiment among them". Similarly, the Book of Common Prayer originally had in the ceremony of matrimony

the phraseology "till death us **depart**" (1549 and 1559), but this had become archaic by the 1600s and was altered in 1662 to "till death us **do part**".

V. There are over a dozen changes in various Book of Mormon names. Some of these have a significant effect on how we interpret the historical record.

Mosiah 25:2

now there were not so many of the children of Nephi
or so many of those which were descendants of Nephi
as there were of the people of Zarahemla
which was a descendant of **Muloch** (P)
and those which came with him into the wilderness
>
which was a descendant of **Mulok** (1830)
>
which was a descendant of **Mulek** (1879)

> Here in the book of Mosiah, the name of the youngest son of King Zedekiah is given as *Muloch*, not *Mulek*. This is the earliest extant form of his name. The name *Mulek* was substituted for *Muloch* later in the text (in Helaman 6:10 and Helaman 8:21), probably because *Muloch* and *Mulek* were both pronounced identically by Joseph Smith. However, close to these two passages in Helaman, Joseph dictated thirteen instances of the city *Mulek* to his scribe Oliver Cowdery (twelve times in Alma 51–53 and one time close by, in Helaman 5:15), thus leading Oliver to misspell the two later instances of *Muloch* as *Mulek*. It is interesting to consider the implications of Zedekiah giving his last son the name of the pagan god Molech or Moloch.

Alma 24:1

the **Amelicites** and the Amulonites (O)
and the Lamanites which were in the land of Amulon
and also in the land of Helam . . .
>
the **Amalekites** and the Amulonites (P, 1830)
>
the **Amlicites** and the Amulonites (conjectured)

> In the Book of Mormon, there are no Amalekites, only Amlicites. In Alma 2–3, the text refers to the Amlicites, but in Alma 21–24 and later on (in Alma 27 and 43) the current text refers to Amalekites. Yet for this latter part of the text, extant portions of the original

manuscript actually read *Amelicites* (in Alma 24:1; 24:28; and 27:2), which is one vowel letter off from the correct *Amlicites*. In the printer's manuscript for these examples from Alma 21 on, Oliver Cowdery misinterpreted *Amelicites* as the biblical name *Amalekites*. Thus the text ends up with two distinct apostate groups, the Amlicites (in Alma 2–3) and the Amalekites (from Alma 21 on). The Amalekites are definitely not a previously unidentified ethnic group that have somehow joined the Lamanites. Rather, the name is an error due to Oliver Cowdery's expectation of the biblical name.

Alma 33:15

but **Zenock** also spake of these things (O*)
>
but **Zenoch** also spake of these things (Oc)
>
but **Zenock** also spake of these things (P, 1830)

> Oliver Cowdery initially wrote *Zenock* instead of *Zenoch* in O, in Alma 33:15, the place where he met the name for the first time. Immediately after writing *Zenock*, he crossed out that spelling and wrote inline the correct *Zenoch*, undoubtedly prompted by Joseph Smith's spelling out of the name, letter by letter. The name *Zenoch* parallels the spelling of the biblical name *Enoch*. But when he copied the text into P, Oliver Cowdery replaced *Zenoch* with *Zenock*, and the current text has systematically ended up with the incorrect spelling. Biblical names can end in *-c*, *-k*, and *-ch*, but never *-ck* (an English-language spelling). The original Book of Mormon name *Zenoch* is clearly Hebraistic in spelling.

VI. Sometimes a very strange original reading is actually correct. We may think that the original reading is an obvious error, yet that difficult reading actually helps to interpret the larger text.

3 Nephi 16:17–18

and **when** the words of the prophet Isaiah shall be fulfilled (P, 1830)
which saith : thy watchmen shall lift up the voice . . .
>
and **then** the words of the prophet Isaiah shall be fulfilled (1920)

> Here begins Jesus's first quotation from the writings of Isaiah to the Nephites at Bountiful. After quoting three verses (from Isaiah 58:8–10), Jesus cuts off in the middle of his discourse when he

sees that the crowd's attention is waning. The original use of *when* here is supported by the same use of *when* on the following day, when once more Jesus brings up this Isaiah passage:

> 3 Nephi 20:11
>
>> ye remember that I spake unto you
>> and said that **when** the words of Isaiah should be fulfilled—
>> behold they are written
>> ye have them before you
>> therefore search them

This time, however, Jesus declines to quote from the Isaiah passage a second time. In fact, he tells the people to go read the passage themselves. All of this part of 3 Nephi, from chapters 15 through 28, shows Jesus interacting personally with the Nephite people, including several cases where he changes his mind.

In conclusion: Recently it has been claimed that the authorized LDS text of the Book of Mormon is "open to revision by the Church's inspired leader and prophet at any time" (an obvious truism) but also that "the Church revises the book only as is necessitated by revelation, not in response to recovery work" such as that resulting from scholarly analysis of the text.[5] It is indeed the case that the right to receive a corrected text by inspiration or revelation remains with the Church leaders. And one can assume this position in evaluating the editing of the Church's own authorized text, yet there is little, if any, textual evidence to support the idea that the specific changes to the text have been the result of revelation. Joseph Smith's later editing of the text shows all the signs of human editing. He referred to earlier textual sources in making nongrammatical corrections in the text—namely, the printer's manuscript (for the 1837 edition) and the original manuscript (for the first part of the 1840 edition). Nor did he ever claim any revelatory source for his editing of those two later editions. It is worth noting that he missed the vast majority of errors that the scribes and the 1830 typesetter had earlier introduced into the text.

Since Joseph Smith's time, Church leaders have continued making changes to the text, yet virtually all of those changes, excluding ones dealing with grammatical issues, recover earlier readings in the text—by reference either to the manuscripts or to the earliest editions (especially the 1830 and 1840 editions). In referring to those changes, the 1981 LDS edition itself stated that "this edition contains corrections that seem appropriate to bring the material into conformity with prepublication manuscripts and early editions edited by the Prophet Joseph Smith". As far as I have been able to

determine, the Church has never publicly claimed any revelatory source for its emendations to the text. To be sure, everyone has worked very hard to produce the best results, but all the work appears to be the result of human effort. There is simply no independent evidence that any of these changes were directly revealed (although, to be sure, there is always the possibility that they may have been spiritually confirmed).

Royal Skousen (who can be contacted at royal_skousen@byu.edu) is Professor of Linguistics and English Language at Brigham Young University and has been the editor of the Book of Mormon Critical Text Project since 1988. In 2001, he published the first two volumes of the project, namely, typographical facsimiles for the original and printer's manuscripts of the Book of Mormon. From 2004 through 2009, he published the six books that make up volume 4 of the critical text, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*. This work represents the central task of the Critical Text Project, to restore by scholarly means the original text of the Book of Mormon, to the extent possible. In 2009, using the results of volume 4, Skousen published with Yale University Press the culmination of his critical text work, *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text*. He is currently writing volume 3 of the critical text, *The History of the Text of the Book of Mormon*, which will be available in about three years. And he has recently accepted the assignment to be one of the editors for the Joseph Smith Papers, along with Robin Jensen, charged with the task of preparing the three volumes that will reproduce photographs and facsimile transcripts for the two manuscripts of the Book of Mormon.

In 1972, Skousen received his PhD in linguistics from the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana. He has also taught at the University of Illinois, the University of Texas, the University of California at San Diego, and the University of Tampere in Finland as a Fulbright lecturer. In 2001, he was a research fellow at the Max Planck Institute in the Netherlands. He is known for his work on exemplar-based theories of language and quantum computing of analogical modeling. His publications include three books on nonrule approaches to language description: *Analogical Modeling of Language* (1989), *Analogy and Structure* (1992), and *Analogical Modeling: An Exemplar-Based Approach to Language* (2002).

1. See Royal Skousen, "Towards a Critical Edition of the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 30, no. 1 (1990): 41–69. ^

2. Stephen Prothero, "Revelation Revised," *Wall Street Journal,* October 2, 2009, W13. ^

3. Robert L. Maxwell, review of *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text,* ed. Royal Skousen, *BYU Studies* 50, no. 2 (2011): 178–82 (with an important correction on page 191 in the subsequent issue, 50, no. 3). ^

4. Brant A. Gardner, review of *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text,* ed. Royal Skousen, *Journal of Mormon History* 37, no. 2 (2011): 215–20. ^

5. Paul C. Gutjahr, *The Book of Mormon: A Biography* (Princeton University Press, 2012), 146–48, 196–98. ^

This Beginning of Miracles

Daily, my children come scraped and howling:
Blood brimming lavishly in their magnificent
Fear. And there I am at my best: cocooning them
In my calm, my words water and honey on their skin.
Panic, that luxury renounced at childbirth,
Finds no place in me. I scrub at bloodstains,
Knuckles red in the cold water: at my back stand
Generations of sturdy Danish farmwives
Brandishing their washboards with callused hands.

But at odd times the deferred fear returns,
Surprising me in the lamplight as I sing
Above small heads. I keep losing moments,
Days snatched into the jaws of weeks,
Small limbs lengthened, cheeks roughened—
Changes only visible when, my guard up,
I see my children with a hireling's neutral eye.
Just so quickly, they heal; and the new skin?
Well, it is their own, of course, just as the old.

Bloodstains can be whitened, God and the farmwives tell me.
But although I hate to mention it under their upright gazes,
Their ample arms and bosoms—Still, what of the irreversible:
The soul transformed, the water into wine?
Yet what myopic weakling (they would marvel)
Looks back longingly at water, when good wine is ahead?
And who would begrudge water its new status:
"Rich, fine, full-bodied; notes of oak and earth"?
True, I can imagine the slow change: clear drops

Filling and deepening: reflection and darkness,
Shadow and glimmer: until at last the color spreads,
Deeper than blood. As soon mourn birth, or flight;
As soon regret the sunrise. As soon mourn the raw skin,
Healed. And yet it feels like loss, seeing it—
These spreading spirits, their oblivious unfurling,
Stepping delicately from their broken shells:
Filling their lungs, turning their faces up,
Seeing the sudden dawn.

—Marilyn Nielson

This poem won first place in the BYU Studies 2012 poetry contest.

help of these king Benjamin by laboring with all the might of his body & the faculty of his whole soul & also the prophets ~~did once more establish~~ peace in the land [Book of Mosiah Chapter] And now there was no more contention in all the land of Zarahemla among all the people who belonged to king Benjamin so that king Benjamin had continual peace all the remainder of his days & it came to pass that he had three sons & he called their names Mosiah & Helorum & Helaman & he caused that they should be taught in all the language of his fathers that thereby they might become men of understanding & that they might know concerning the prophecies which had been spoken by the mouths of their fathers which were delivered them by the hand of the Lord & he also taught them concerning the records which were engraven on the plates of brass saying my sons I would that ye should remember that were it not for these plates which contain these records & these commandments we must have suffered in ignorance even at this present time not knowing the mysteries of God for it were not possible that our father Lehi could have remembered all these things to have taught them to his children except it were for the help of these plates for he having been taught in the language of the Egyptians therefore he could read these engravings & teach them to his children that thereby they could teach them to their children & so fulfilling the commandments of God even down to this present time I say unto you my sons were it not for these things which have been kept & preserved by the hand of God that we might read & understand of his mysteries & have his commandments always before our eyes that even our fathers would have dwindled in unbelief & we should have been like unto our brethren the Lamanites who know nothing concerning these things or even do not believe them when they are taught them because of the traditions of their fathers which are not correct O my sons I would that ye should remember that these sayings are true & also that these records are true & behold also the plates of Nephi which contain the records & the sayings of our fathers from the time they left Jerusalem until now & they are true & we can know of their surety because we have them before our eyes & now my sons I would that ye should remember to search them diligently that ye may profit thereby & I would that ye should keep the commandments of God that ye may prosper in the land according to the promises which the Lord made unto our fathers & many more things did king Benjamin teach his sons which are not written in this book & it came to pass that after king Benjamin had made an end of teaching his sons that he waxed old & he saw that he must very soon go the way of all the earth therefore he thought it expedient that he should confer the kingdom upon one of his sons therefore he had Mosiah brought before him & these are the words which he spake unto him saying my son I would that ye should make a proclamation throughout all this land among all this people

Page from the printer's manuscript of the Book of Mormon, showing on line 3 the beginning of the book of Mosiah. Courtesy Community of Christ, Independence, Missouri.

When Pages Collide

Dissecting the Words of Mormon

Jack M. Lyon and Kent R. Minson

Verses 12–18 of the Words of Mormon have always been a bit of a puzzle. For stylistic and other reasons, they do not really fit with verses 1–11, so commentators have tried to explain their presence as a sort of "bridge" or "transition" that Mormon wrote to connect the record of the small plates with his abridgment from the large plates.[1] This paper proposes a different explanation: Rather than being a bridge into the book of Mosiah, these verses were originally *part* of the book of Mosiah and should be included with it. To understand why that is so requires some background information about the Book of Mormon manuscript and the order in which the plates were translated.

The Manuscript

There are actually *two* Book of Mormon manuscripts—the original manuscript and the printer's manuscript. The original manuscript was written by various scribes (but primarily Oliver Cowdery) as Joseph Smith dictated his translation from the golden plates. The printer's manuscript is (primarily) Oliver's copy of the original manuscript; as the name implies, he made the copy for the printer to work from, keeping the original manuscript as a backup.[2]

Original manuscript	Printer's manuscript
Written by various scribes as Joseph dictated	Copied primarily by Oliver from the original manuscript

Jack M. Lyon and Kent R. Minson

I (Jack) have been struggling to understand the Words of Mormon for more than twenty years now. I've studied it many times, coming back to it again and again, like a dog worrying an old bone. But until Royal Skousen published his transcriptions of the Book of Mormon manuscripts, I couldn't make sense of the record. When I saw Oliver Cowdery's editing of "III" at the beginning of the book of Mosiah in the color plate in Skousen's volume of the printer's manuscript, I knew immediately that the end of the Words of Mormon must be part of the original Mosiah chapter 2. I wrote a preliminary paper on the subject, and was encouraged by John W. Welch to further pursue the topic. He wanted me to explore other possibilities and provide actual evidence for my conclusions—something more than just my gut reaction to the color plate in Skousen's book. My coworker Kent Minson and I discussed the subject at great length, with Kent finally rewriting the paper. After letting it simmer for several more years, I finally reworked Kent's paper into the version published here. We hope it stands as a worthy example of the kind of textual study that can now be done thanks to Royal Skousen's landmark work.

Jack M. Lyon

Kent R. Minson

The Translation

Joseph Smith began his translation with Mormon's abridgment of the large plates. As he explained in his preface to the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon, "I translated, by the gift and power of God, and caused to be written, one hundred and sixteen pages, the which I took from the Book of Lehi, which was an account abridged from the plates of Lehi, by the hand of Mormon." This account, of course, was lost by Martin Harris when he borrowed the 116 pages to show to his wife and family.[3] The book of Lehi was followed

by the book of Mosiah, which Joseph and Oliver continued to translate after the 116 pages were gone, followed by Alma, Helaman, and so on. *After* finishing their translation of Mormon's and Moroni's work, they translated the small plates, beginning with 1 Nephi and ending with the Words of Mormon.[4] Apparently Joseph read the plates in sequence, without jumping around, and the Words of Mormon was probably the last book to be translated.

Order of Translation

Mormon's Abridgment from the Large Plates of Nephi:
Lehi, Mosiah, Alma, Helaman, 3 Nephi, 4 Nephi, Mormon 1–7

Moroni's Writings and Abridgment:
Mormon 8–9, Ether, Moroni

Small Plates of Nephi:
1 Nephi, 2 Nephi, Jacob, Enos, Jarom, Omni, Words of Mormon (at least 1–11)

Oliver's Problem

As Oliver Cowdery copied the text of the original Book of Mormon manuscript into the printer's manuscript, he encountered a problem early in the book of Mosiah (see page 124). He had faithfully copied the chapter designation "Chapter III" from the original manuscript, but where were Chapter I and Chapter II? The previous heading was "The Words of Mormon," with no other chapters intervening. Oliver fixed the problem as best he could, inking out the last two characters of "Chapter III" (making it "Chapter I") and inserting "Book of Mosiah" above the line,[5] something like this (for clarity, we are using the modern, edited text here; ellipses indicate text omitted for brevity):

> The Words of Mormon . . .
>
> . . . And they were handed down from king Benjamin, from generation to generation until they have fallen into my hands. And I, Mormon, pray to God that they may be preserved from this time henceforth. And I know that they will be preserved; for there are great things written upon them, out of which my people and their brethren shall be judged at the great and last day, according to the word of God which is written. And now, concerning this king Benjamin—he had somewhat of contentions among his own people. . . . Wherefore, with the help of these, king Benjamin, by laboring with all the might of his body and the faculty of his whole soul, and also the prophets, did once more establish peace in the land.
>
> Book of Mosiah
> ^ Chapter I̶I̶I
> And now there was no more contention in all the land of Zarahemla among all the People which belonged to King Benjamin. . . .

Detail of page from the printer's manuscript of the Book of Mormon. Courtesy Community of Christ, Independence, Missouri.

But *why* had Oliver originally written this, as follows:

> The Words of Mormon . . .

> . . . And they were handed down from king Benjamin, from generation to generation until they have fallen into my hands. And I, Mormon, pray to God that they may be preserved from this time henceforth. And I know that they will be preserved; for there are great things written upon them, out of which my people and their brethren shall be judged at the great and last day, according to the word of God which is written. And now, concerning this king Benjamin—he had somewhat of contentions among his own people. . . . Wherefore, with the help of these, king Benjamin, by laboring with all the might of his body and the faculty of his whole soul, and also the prophets, did once more establish peace in the land.

> Chapter III
> And now there was no more contention in all the land of Zarahemla among all the People which belonged to King Benjamin. . . .

Oliver's unedited copy provides the key to understanding the true structure of the Book of Mormon—something that has been misunderstood even from before the book's initial publication. Based on the documentary evidence, here is what we believe happened:

The original Book of Mormon manuscript was structured something like this (the *x*'s indicate unknown text):

> The Book of Lehi
> Xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx . . .

> The Book of Mosiah

> Chapter I
> Xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx . . .

> Chapter II
> Xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx . . . [end of page 116]

[top of page 117] And now, concerning this king Benjamin—he had somewhat of contentions among his own people. . . . Wherefore, with the help of these, king Benjamin, by laboring with all the might of his body and the faculty of his whole soul, and also the prophets, did once more establish peace in the land.

Chapter III
And now there was no more contention in all the land of Zarahemla among all the People which belonged to King Benjamin . . .

At least, that is what it looked like before Martin Harris lost the first 116 pages of the manuscript. *After* that unfortunate episode, the first remaining page of the original manuscript thus started with this:

[top of page 117] And now, concerning this king Benjamin—he had somewhat of contentions among his own people. . . . Wherefore, with the help of these, king Benjamin, by laboring with all the might of his body and the faculty of his whole soul, and also the prophets, did once more establish peace in the land.

Chapter III
And now there was no more contention in all the land of Zarahemla among all the People which belonged to King Benjamin . . .

Later, to replace the lost 116 pages, Joseph and Oliver put the pages of their translation of the small plates (1 Nephi through Words of Mormon) at the *beginning* of the manuscript, like this:

1 Nephi . . .

The Words of Mormon . . .

. . . And they were handed down from king Benjamin, from generation to generation until they have fallen into my hands. And I, Mormon, pray to God that they may be preserved from this time henceforth. And I know that they will be preserved; for there are great things written upon them, out of which my people and their brethren shall be judged at the great and last day, according to the word of God which is written. [end of small plates translation]

[top of page 117] And now, concerning this king Benjamin—he had somewhat of contentions among his own people. . . . Wherefore, with the help of these, king Benjamin, by laboring with all the might of his body and the faculty of his whole soul, and also the prophets, did once more establish peace in the land.

Chapter III
And now there was no more contention in all the land of Zarahemla among all the People which belonged to King Benjamin . . .

Thus, what was originally the last part of Mosiah chapter 2 became appended to the Words of Mormon. Oliver copied it that way into the printer's manuscript,

changed "Chapter III" to "Chapter I," and inserted the title "Book of Mosiah"—and that is how we have the text today:

> 1 Nephi . . .
>
> The Words of Mormon . . .
>
> . . . And they were handed down from king Benjamin, from generation to generation until they have fallen into my hands. And I, Mormon, pray to God that they may be preserved from this time henceforth. And I know that they will be preserved; for there are great things written upon them, out of which my people and their brethren shall be judged at the great and last day, according to the word of God which is written. And now, concerning this king Benjamin—he had somewhat of contentions among his own people. . . . Wherefore, with the help of these, king Benjamin, by laboring with all the might of his body and the faculty of his whole soul, and also the prophets, did once more establish peace in the land.
>
> Book of Mosiah
> Chapter I
> And now there was no more contention in all the land of Zarahemla among all the People which belonged to King Benjamin. . . .

But that is not how it should be; the Words of Mormon should end with verse 11. Verses 12–18 should be part of the book of Mosiah.

Royal Skousen explains, "Based on the misnumbering of the chapters near the beginning of Mosiah, I would argue for the following relationship between the large and small plates:

Large Plates	Small Plates
Lehi	Nephi (I) Nephi (II) Jacob Enos Jarom Omni (Amaron, Chemish, Abinadom)
Mosiah "Chapter I"	(Amaleki) [concerning the reign of king Mosiah and the ascension of king Benjamin]
Mosiah "Chapter II"	The Words of Mormon [concerning the reign of king Benjamin]
Mosiah "Chapter III"	[beginning of our present Mosiah]

"Thus the beginning of our current Mosiah corresponds originally with the beginning of the third chapter of Mosiah."[6]
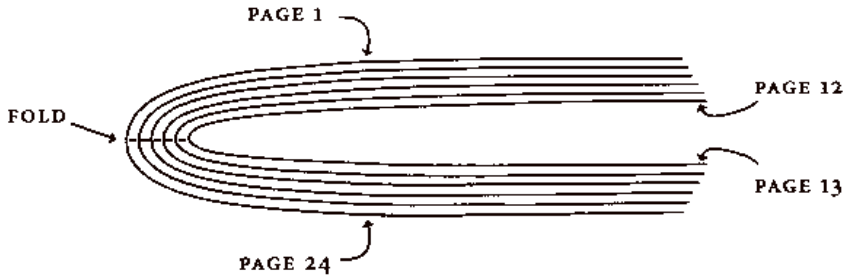
Drawing of a twelve-leaf gathering. © 2001 Royal Skousen and the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies. Used by permission.

Pages "Retained"

D&C 10:41 shows that Joseph had translated more than the 116 pages he gave to Martin Harris: "You shall translate the engravings which are on the [small] plates of Nephi, down even till you come to the reign of king Benjamin, or until you come to that which you have translated, *which you have retained*" (emphasis added).[7] What he had retained was the end of Mosiah chapter 2 (which is now Words of Mormon verses 12–18) and perhaps more. Why did he retain it? Probably because it was written in the next gathering of manuscript pages, which, at the time, was only partially filled.

The original Book of Mormon manuscript was not a stack of separate pages; rather, it consisted of gatherings of (usually) six large sheets of paper folded lengthwise and held together with string. Royal Skousen estimates the original 116 pages to have been five such gatherings, four with six sheets (and thus twenty-four pages each) and one with five sheets (and thus twenty pages). He labels these gatherings A1 through A5 and describes them as containing "the book of Lehi plus the first part of Mosiah." The following gathering, A6, is also no longer extant, but it probably included (in Skousen's words) "a few pages from the original first two[8] chapters of Mosiah, plus the current text from Mosiah 1 into Alma 5." Skousen also reconstructs the gatherings for 1 Nephi through the Words of Mormon, noting, "After buying some new paper . . . , Oliver put together the last gathering [of the entire translation] (B6), which went from Jacob 5 to the end of the small plates of Nephi and probably included the Words of Mormon."[9] Here is another illustration of what was shown above, this time using Skousen's analysis. Originally the manuscript had this:

Gathering	Contents
A1–A5	"the book of Lehi plus the first part of Mosiah"
A6–A9	"a few pages from the original [second chapter] of Mosiah, plus the current text from Mosiah 1 into Alma 5"

But after A1–A5 were lost and the translation from the small plates was finished, the manuscript had this:

Gathering	Contents
B1–B5	"the text extends from 1 Nephi . . . to Jacob 4:1–4"
B6	"went from Jacob 5 to the end of the small plates of Nephi and probably included the Words of Mormon"
A6–A9	"a few pages from the original [second chapter] of Mosiah, plus the current text from Mosiah 1 into Alma 5"

Textual Evidence

Everything above constitutes the documentary evidence. But textual evidence, too, supports the idea that Words of Mormon verses 12–18 are really the last part of what was originally Mosiah chapter 2:

- The verses do not match the personal style used in the beginning of the Words of Mormon. Instead, they match the narrative style of Mormon's abridgment as it continues in what is now Mosiah chapter 1.

- The verses do not use the first-person form ("I, Mormon") seen earlier in the Words of Mormon.

- The verses do not mention the small plates of Nephi (the main focus of the preceding text).

- The verses do not discuss Mormon's editorial method or purpose (another focus of the preceding text).

- The verses discuss the problem of contention among King Benjamin's people and how it was resolved: "And now, concerning this king Benjamin—he had somewhat of contentions among his own people. . . . Wherefore, . . . king Benjamin, by laboring with all the might of his body and the faculty of his whole soul, and also the prophets, did once more establish peace in the land." Our current Mosiah chapter 1 is a *continuation* of the same story: "And now there was no more contention in all the land of Zarahemla, among all the people who belonged to king Benjamin . . ."

- The transition between verses 11 and 12 is abrupt and disconnected. This is even more evident when reading the unedited text of the

printer's manuscript (the original manuscript text is missing): "there are great things written upon them out of which my People & their Brethren shall be Judged at the great & last day according to the word of God which is written & now concerning this King Benjamin he had somewhat contentions among his own People . . ."

- Verse 12 says that king Benjamin "had somewhat of contentions among his own people." The word "own" implies that the preceding text discussed contentions among *other* people; if that were not so, there would be no need for the word "own." The missing text may have discussed contentions among the people of Zarahemla before they were discovered by Mosiah (see Omni 1:17).

- The end of verse 11 is typical of Mormon's other endings (which often mention future judgment): "And I know that they [the small plates] will be preserved; for there are great things written upon them, out of which my people and their brethren shall be judged at the great and last day, according to the word of God which is written." (See, for example, Mormon 3:20–22; 7:10.)

- The book of Mosiah is the only book from Mormon's abridgment that lacks an introductory heading.[10] For example, the introductory heading of the book of Alma reads:

  The account of Alma, who was the son of Alma, the first and chief judge over the people of Nephi, and also the high priest over the Church. An account of the reign of the judges, and the wars and contentions among the people. And also an account of a war between the Nephites and the Lamanites, according to the record of Alma, the first and chief judge.

  The heading for Mosiah probably did exist but appeared before the missing chapter 1.

- Mosiah is the only book from Mormon's abridgment that does not begin with an account of the person for whom it is named: Alma begins with Alma, Helaman begins with Helaman, and so on. The book of Mosiah, however, begins with Benjamin. The missing pages probably discussed the reign of Benjamin's father, Mosiah. Thus, the book's title does not refer to Benjamin's son Mosiah, who is featured later.

- The current beginning of Mosiah is oddly abrupt for the start of a book, in both wording and subject matter: "And now there was no more contention in all the land of Zarahemla . . ."

- There is also the obvious question of what comes before "Chapter III." The answer, of course, is "Chapter II." The text at the top of the printer's

manuscript page where the book of Mosiah begins, *before* Oliver did his editing, actually looked like this:

> help of these King Benjamin by labouring with all the might of his
> > body & the faculty
> of his whole soul & also the Prophets wherefore they did once more
> > establish
> peace in the land ~~~~ Chapter III ~~~~ And now there was no
> > more con
> -tension in all the land of Zarahemla among all the People which
> > belonged to King Ben

There is no original indication of a separation between the words preceding "Chapter III" and those following it. Seen in their unedited context, the lines before "Chapter III" clearly constitute the end of what was likely titled "Chapter II" rather than being part of the Words of Mormon.[11]

In his typographic facsimile of the printer's manuscript, Royal Skousen includes a color photograph of the manuscript page containing the beginning of the book of Mosiah. Under the photograph, he notes, "Originally, Oliver Cowdery simply wrote *Chapter III* (on line 3). This chapter specification reflects the probable reading of the original manuscript, which is no longer extant for any of the book of Mosiah. *Chapter III* implies that the beginning of the current book of Mosiah was indeed the beginning of chapter 3 of Mosiah in the original Book of Mormon text. The 116 lost pages containing the book of Lehi probably included part of the original first two chapters of the book of Mosiah."[12]

If the 116 pages included part of the book of Mosiah, what was at the beginning of page 117? Was it the Words of Mormon? No, because that was part of the small plates translation, which occurred later. Was it (at least) part of the book of Mosiah? Yes, because that is how the record continues until it gets to the book of Helaman, and because that must have been the part of the record that Joseph "retained," as described in D&C 10.

There may be different ways to interpret Oliver's later editing, but what he originally copied into the printer's manuscript was this:

> The words of Mormon And now I Mormon being about to deliver up
> the record which I have been making into the hands of my Son Moroni
> > . . .
> my People & their Brethren shall be Judged at the great& last day according
> > to the word
> of God which is written & now concerning this King Benjamin he had
> > somewhat co
> -ntensions among his own People & it came to pass also that the armies of
> > the Lamanites

> . . . with the
> help of these King Benjamin by labouring with all the might of his body & the
> faculty of his whole soul & also the Prophets wherefore they did once
>   more establish
> peace in the land ~~~~ Chapter III ~~~~ And now there was no more con
> -tension in all the land of Zarahemla among all the People which belonged
>   to King Ben

So *somewhere* in that text is the end of the Words of Mormon and the beginning of page 117.

It is easy to see why Oliver edited as he did; his only clue to where the break might be was the designation "Chapter III." But the fact that he had to change it to "Chapter I" and insert "The Book of Mosiah" shows us that the real break was earlier than that. The real question is where?

We believe the break was after verse 11, but other interpretations are possible. On this point, Royal Skousen noted in personal correspondence to Jack Lyon:

> It strikes me that it is verse 12 that does not belong to the original Mosiah chapter II, but from verse 13 to the end of the Words of Mormon could be the end of Mosiah chapter II (original chapters). It is also possible that page 117 began with verse 13. Another possibility is that the page began with something dealing with the topic of verse 12, namely, "somewhat contentions"—a very odd expression for the Book of Mormon. I don't think we have the word "somewhat" occurring right before a noun anywhere else in the text. Maybe we would expect "they had contentions somewhat." Moreover, there is some novelty in the first sentence of verse 12, "and now concerning this king Benjamin." The only other time "now concerning X" is used in the text is in Alma 40 (two times), when Alma is speaking to Corianton.
>
> Maybe verse 12 is the basic link between the Words of Mormon and the book of Mosiah. It could have even been added by Joseph Smith to connect things up. You've probably already noticed the overlap between Omni 1:24 and the Words of Mormon 1:13–14, with both sounding like original abridged text (the first from the small plates, the second from Mormon's abridgment of the large plates). It would have been from the original Mosiah chapter II.
>
> There might have been only a part of a sentence at the top of page 117 dealing with the contentions that king Benjamin had to deal with, which could have been ignored by Joseph Smith (and Oliver Cowdery) or perhaps even rewritten as verse 12 of the Words of Mormon.
>
> . . . As far as how pages of O [original manuscript] can end, it appears that the scribe would write to the end of the page and then continue on the next page, no matter where he was. I went through pages 3–14 of O, as a sample, and found 9 cases where the page begins with a sentence fragment but 3 cases where the page begins with a sentence (pages 5, 7, and 8 of O).

So page 117 beginning with either a sentence or the end of a sentence is possible, with the latter three times more probable (as an estimate).

So it is possible, I think, to go at least with the Words of Mormon 1:13–18 as being the ending of Mosiah chapter II. One little problem, perhaps, is the partial restatement of the ideas in verse 18 with the first verse in Mosiah chapter III, since both refer to the establishment of peace and the end of contention. One could use that for keeping the Words of Mormon [as currently published] intact.[13]

To summarize, Skousen's analysis here suggests (at least) the following possibilities:

- Page 117 began with verse 13, with Joseph and Oliver adding verse 12 to make the connection with the preceding text.

- Page 117 began with part of a sentence about contentions that was ignored by Joseph and Oliver or perhaps even rewritten as verse 12.

- Page 117 began with "he had somewhat contentions among his own people," with Joseph and Oliver adding "& now concerning this King Benjamin." In other words, the break came at the point where the current edition includes a dash: "And now concerning this king Benjamin—" The printer's manuscript has no dash (indeed, very little punctuation at all), and the first edition used a colon.

- Page 117 began with "contentions among his own people," with Joseph and Oliver adding "& now concerning this King Benjamin he had somewhat"—forgetting to add the "of" for "somewhat of contentions." This would explain the odd expression "somewhat contentions" as well as the novelty of the phrase "& now concerning this King Benjamin."

Oliver's Other Editing

Oliver's editing on other nearby pages also shows his confusion about what was going on in the manuscript at this point. For example, after he had written the phrase "The Words of Mormon," he inserted "Chapter 2.d" (meaning "Chapter Second") above it, indicating that he may initially have seen the Words of Mormon as a second chapter in the book of Omni.[14] If so, that could also explain the "Chapter III" at the beginning of the book of Mosiah.[15]

One must keep in mind, however, that "Chapter 2.d" is a supralinear addition, while "Chapter III" is not, indicating that "Chapter III" was part of the original manuscript. In addition, if Oliver had simply been continuing

the numbering in the printer's manuscript, he likely would have written "Chapter 3.d" rather than "Chapter III."

Most of the remaining chapter numbers in Mosiah (through chapter 11) are in Roman numerals (II, III, and so on), but they were added later, as shown by darker ink. The scribe also often added serifs to the numbers, as if to say, "Yes, that's the right number for the chapter." Unfortunately, none of the book of Mosiah is extant in the original manuscript, so we cannot compare its chapter numbers with those in the printer's manuscript. The fact that the numbers through chapter 11 were added later may indicate Oliver's uncertainty after having had to deal with "Chapter III," but it also argues that the chapters in the original manuscript were numbered III, IIII (Oliver's usage in the printer's manuscript), V, VI, VII, and so on, and that chapters I and II were therefore lost with the 116 pages.[16]

Chapter numbers were not part of the original Book of Mormon translation but were added later by Joseph's scribe. As Royal Skousen explains, "Evidence suggests that as Joseph Smith was translating, he apparently saw some mark (or perhaps extra spacing) whenever a section ended, but was unable to see the text that followed. At such junctures, Joseph decided to refer to these endings as chapter breaks and told the scribe to write the word 'chapter' at these places, but without specifying any number for the chapter since Joseph saw neither a number nor the word 'chapter.'"[17] The scribe later added chapter numbers in the original manuscript, as indicated by darker or different-colored ink, and then copied the designations and numbers into the printer's manuscript.

On the specific instance of "Chapter 2.d," Skousen has written:

There is a need for a complete analysis of the chapter insertions and their numbers in both O and P [original manuscript and printer's manuscript] (always later in O). I have commented on these in various places along the way, but I haven't dealt too much with the small books except to say that in each case they were each originally given a chapter specification (but extracanonically) when Joseph dictated the text to his scribe. P shows evidence of the process as it seems to have occurred when O was written down from Joseph Smith's dictation. I will have to deal with the chapter 2.d instance in P and its source. I would say right now that since the "chapter first" is listed for the book of Omni, then Oliver Cowdery simply thought at first that the Words of Mormon were a second chapter for Omni. See what I've written on the general issue in Noel Reynolds' *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited*. It's under "The Word *Chapter*" and "Corresponding Chapter Numbers Were Not Part of the Revealed Text," found near the end of my article "Translating the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the original manuscript" (61–93).[18]

The Original Text

Without the benefit of Royal Skousen's landmark publications on the original Book of Mormon text, scholars have previously described Words of Mormon verses 12–18 as a "bridge" or "transition" that Mormon wrote to connect the record of the small plates with his abridgment from the large plates. Based on the now-available documentary evidence, that analysis can be seen as faulty—an attempt to explain what should never have needed explaining. There is no "bridge" between the small plates and the rest of the Book of Mormon. There is only the Words of Mormon itself (consisting of verses 1–11), where Mormon simply explains why he is including the small plates with the rest of the record.[19] The verses that follow (12–18) belong in the book of Mosiah.

So, in conclusion, here is the text of the Words of Mormon and the beginning of Mosiah as it should be (and originally was):

> The Words of Mormon
>
> And now I, Mormon, being about to deliver up the record which I have been making into the hands of my son Moroni, behold I have witnessed almost all the destruction of my people, the Nephites. . . .
>
> And they were handed down from king Benjamin, from generation to generation until they have fallen into my hands. And I, Mormon, pray to God that they may be preserved from this time henceforth. And I know that they will be preserved; for there are great things written upon them, out of which my people and their brethren shall be judged at the great and last day, according to the word of God which is written.
>
> [The Book of Mosiah]
>
> [Chapter 1: In lost 116 pages]
>
> [Chapter 2: First part in lost 116 pages]
> . . . And now, concerning this king Benjamin—he had somewhat of contentions among his own people. . . .
>
> Wherefore, with the help of these, king Benjamin, by laboring with all the might of his body and the faculty of his whole soul, and also the prophets, did once more establish peace in the land.
>
> Chapter 3
> And now there was no more contention in all the land of Zarahemla among all the People which belonged to King Benjamin . . .

Unless the original manuscript pages for the Words of Mormon and the beginning of the book of Mosiah someday come to light, we may never know precisely what happened to this text during the translation of the Book of Mormon. However, this paper provides a new explanation of what may have occurred—one that makes sense based on the documentary

and textual evidence. This may seem like a small matter, but it could have important ramifications for study and scholarship, and the closer we can get to the original text of the Book of Mormon, the better we will understand the meaning and history of that sacred record.

1. See, for example, Sidney B. Sperry, *Book of Mormon Compendium* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968), 284–85; John L. Sorenson and Melvin J. Thorne, eds., *Rediscovering the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies [hereafter FARMS], 1991), 33; Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate Jr., eds., *Jacob through Words of Mormon: To Learn with Joy* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1990), 253; Thomas W. Mackay, "Mormon as Editor: A Study in Colophons, Headers, and Source Indicators," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 2, no. 2 (1993): 96. ^

2. Both manuscripts have been meticulously transcribed and published by Royal Skousen in *The Original Manuscript of the Book of Mormon* and *The Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, Utah: FARMS and Brigham Young University, 2001). ^

3. See Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 89–94; Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith,* 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989–92), 1:9–10, 287–88; Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956), 124–32. ^

4. For details and analysis, see John W. Welch, "How Long Did It Take Joseph Smith to Translate the Book of Mormon?" *Ensign* 18, no. 1 (January 1988): 46–47; and John W. Welch, "The Miraculous Translation of the Book of Mormon," in *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820–1844,* ed. John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 2005), 77–213. We are so used to thinking of the small-plate writings (1 Nephi through Omni) as part of the Book of Mormon that we usually forget that they constitute an independent work and deserve to be studied as such. Beginning nearly a thousand years earlier than Mormon's abridgment, they were originally a completely separate record. Mormon's abridgment, too, needs to be studied for what it is: a later document that is now incomplete, missing its first book (Lehi) and part of its second book (Mosiah). ^

5. A photograph of the page in question (coincidentally page 117) is reproduced in Skousen, *Printer's Manuscript*, part one, plate 3. ^

6. Royal Skousen, "Critical Methodology and the Text of the Book of Mormon," *FARMS Review* 6, no. 1 (1994): 138–39, available at http://maxwellinstitute.byu.edu/publications/review/?vol=6&num=1&id=137. ^

7. See also the preface to the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon, available at josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/book-of-Mormon-1830#9. ^

8. Actually, gathering A6 probably did not include any of the first chapter of Mosiah. If it had, Oliver's copy would have included a heading for "Chapter II" as

well as "Chapter III." What we believe Skousen meant to say was "a few pages from the original second chapter of Mosiah, plus the current text from Mosiah 1 into Alma 5." ^

9. Skousen, *Original Manuscript,* 35–36, plate 4. See also Welch, "How Long Did It Take?" 46. ^

10. See John A. Tvedtnes, "Colophons in the Book of Mormon," in *Rediscovering the Book of Mormon,* ed. Melvin Thorne and John Sorenson (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1991), 29–37; Mackay, "Mormon as Editor," 90–103. ^

11. John Tvedtnes included the same conclusion as part of a book review, but with only a brief discussion and slightly different details: "I . . . believe that Words of Mormon 1:12–18 is part of the translation from Mormon's abridgment of the large plates of Nephi, and that these verses were *not* found on the small plates and should therefore not be part of the Words of Mormon." John A. Tvedtnes, "Covering Up the Black Hole in the Book of Mormon," *FARMS Review* 3, no. 1 (1991): 188–230. See also Skousen, "Critical Methodology," 137–39. ^

12. Skousen, *Printer's Manuscript,* part one, plate 3. See also Skousen, "Critical Methodology," 138. ^

13. In an email to Jack Lyon on August 8, 2012, Royal Skousen also suggested another possibility: "It may be that page 117 began with some part of chapter II, which was then crossed out and ignored by Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery." This could apply if verses 12–18 are actually part of the Words of Mormon, written to summarize the missing chapters. ^

14. Thanks to John W. Welch for this insight. ^

15. As shown by the heavier ink flow, Oliver later crossed out the "2" and added "I." to indicate chapter 1 (ostensibly of the Words of Mormon). ^

16. Royal Skousen has more to say about this numbering in "Critical Methodology," 137–39. ^

17. Skousen, "Critical Methodology," 131. See also Royal Skousen, "Translating the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript," in *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins,* ed. Noel B. Reynolds (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997), 85–87, available at http://maxwellinstitute.byu.edu/publications/books/?bookid=41&chapid=182. ^

18. Royal Skousen to Jack Lyon, email, August 5, 2012. ^

19. As Brant Gardner astutely observes, "When Mormon wrote Words of Mormon, the first two chapters of Mosiah were part of the plate text, and there was no reason to have any verses recapitulate them. . . . As Mormon admits not knowing the reason for including the small plates, he could not have known precisely at what point he would have to supply the connecting narrative between the two." Brant A. Gardner, *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011), 246, 283. Gardner, however, explains verses 12–18 as a "prophetic expansion" supplied by Joseph Smith: "Because that material so precisely fits the information required to establish the context for the remaining text of Mosiah, it is highly unlikely to represent Mormon's prophetic fore-knowledge of exactly what had been lost. It is much better seen as Joseph's [modern] prophetic replacement of the lost chapters of Mosiah." *Gift and Power,* 283. Gardner is correct in his assessment that the "material so precisely fits" with the remaining text of Mosiah, but, in our view, he is incorrect in his conclusion of what that means. The documentary and textual evidence supports the simpler explanation outlined in this paper. ^

Trailing Clouds of Zombies

Eric d'Evegnée

"And not in utter nakedness,
  But trailing clouds of glory do we come"

  —*William Wordsworth, "Intimations of Immortality"*

In the darkened room, the only visible light comes from a computer screen. I hear a soft, muddled tapping. My stomach tightens. Then I hear it. The light fingernail strokes on the floor and hushed guttural groans that seep into the room from under the door.

"They're here," my wife whispers. We know what's coming; we know it's the end.

The tapping on the door escalates to thumping.

"It's over," I say, daunted. I rise and turn off the computer. I slowly reach to turn the handle on the door when it violently explodes open.

They rush the threshold and scatter like roaches into the room. One of them hurtles at me. Another, oozing from the mouth and nose, lunges at my wife. Groaning, with tears streaking down his face, one captures her leg and arm.

"Hey, guess what? Hey, guess what? Hey, guess what?" another yelps, sapping my remaining energy. There is no escape. I sink to the ground, enveloped now by two more of them as another wails about not being the first one through the door.

"Make it quick," I grumble as the soft carpet cushions my head.

This is how I imagine most people see my life with six kids twelve and younger—a twisted, George Romero–directed remake of *Cheaper by the*

Dozen. But I didn't always see my life as a zombie horror film—it was having kids that did it to me.

Before I was confronted by life with six young children, the appeal of the horror genre baffled me. In high school, I yawned through Romero's zombie film *Night of the Living Dead* one weekday night because I had homework to avoid and a busy signal from my only form of social media. Watching legions of once-human compost piles sauntering in slow motion toward victims trapped in a farmhouse made memorizing French past participles downright chilling by comparison. Sure, there were swarms of dead people craving the brains of the living, but at fifteen I thought those who couldn't outrun moldering monsters with rigor mortis probably deserved to die. The listless fray around the farmhouse crept onward as I chose verb conjugation over the seemingly monotonous conclusion of the film.

In an effort to enhance the action, some recent films have more rapacious monsters, but these Super Zombies seem to miss the point in the same way I did in my younger, childless days. The terror from the original movie doesn't come from the zombies possessing superior speed or athleticism—it comes from the characters' deliberate decisions about how to survive the sheer number of pervasive and persistent undead. Choosing the best method of survival in a house surrounded by zombies resonates with me now like I'm one of those poor souls enclosed in a farmhouse, suffocating with fear. Now I understand that slow-moving, sluggishly eerie dread. I know the terror of ubiquity—I have six children under twelve. None of them were "mistakes" or are poorly behaved; they ask to be excused from the dinner table and help out around the house. But they are pervasive and persistent, and they outnumber me significantly. And I'm afraid my wife wants another one.

But how much different is seven from six, really? I already worry about the bewildered stares as we trundle out of our Suburban, like circus clowns out of a Volkswagen, or as I see people scan the kids at a restaurant to see who is the birthday boy or girl at the party. Having six kids is still more than most families, but six children feels more like a quaint antiquated idea, like naming a child Eben or Mabel. Seven kids seems like we're trying to make a point. It's the difference between having a home and having a compound. I sense the need to provide people who stare with an explanation for my wife's seemingly unrestrained fecundity. People already ask me at the store on Saturdays about my party this weekend as they look at our overflowing shopping cart.

"Nope. Just for the family," I say, speculating if the subtext is that I have too many kids or I need to lose weight or both.

I tell myself a seventh child is simply one more child than I have now, as if adding more children to a family is only a matter of more noodles to a pot or another hamburger on a grill. But it's another life, another desire for Dad among six others. Another voice joining the chorus clamoring for what I can give of my love. One more who deserves paternal perfection. If only they wanted to eat my brains, but they need love, attention, rides, birthday parties, practices, bikes, braces, compassion, and help from someone who must do the same for six other children.

This panic over number seven, I fear, is similar to drowning in a rising tide of lumbering, muttering zombies. Can I make it? Do I have enough to get past the swarming fears? Like the people trapped in that farmhouse, I must consider whether to withstand the onslaught within the boarded-up house with seven children or run past the yard of writhing, undead paternal fears toward the freedom of no more diapers or tantrums.

As I contemplate the horror movie that is my attempt to father seven children, I wonder what it is about taking on encroaching hordes of the undead or hordes of children that attracts people to zombie movies and to parenting. The horror genre had always left me hungry for the sort of transcendent epiphany I'd find from something like Caddie's mournful presence in the lives of her brothers in Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*. Horror movies just seemed like a succession of involuntary amputations and bloodlettings without any real purpose other than survival. For those who zealously haunt movies depicting homicidal maniacs or genetically altered cannibals, I wondered what it is about car crashes, job loss, flesh-eating diseases, and parenting that isn't terrifying enough. I envisioned these fright fiends as the overexuberant toddlers they must have been, eating shiny, colorful objects under restaurant tables and cramming different sized beans and pebbles up their noses, gleefully taking their continued survival as a challenge rather than a relief. But I've realized maybe there's something of a fright fiend in me too, something in my reaction to what both terrifies and compels me that keeps me from refusing to have a seventh child.

In zombie apocalypse movies, each decision could lead to death—choices as routine as turning to the left or running through a darkened doorway. The trepidation heightens and intensifies the significance of every decision, of every move. Zombie movies restore meaning to the minutiae of the mundane: the endlessness of life's inanity transformed into the stuff of life and death. And the same is true of having seven children. That I could fritter away most of my life with errands, glazed eyes fixed on computer screens, and mowing lawns is the truth of my everyday. But my children give me the choice to find meaning.

This is the Zombie Epiphany. The moments of panic trapped in our home, the overscheduled children, the carousel of illnesses, the cries in the middle of the night all help me see the importance of the moments I rush by on the way to living my life. With six children, I don't only think of love as just seismic events like weeklong vacations to Disneyworld or camping trips in the Grand Tetons. Love, even for seven children, can exist in the moments I forget to notice, moments I absentmindedly toss aside like loose change in a kitchen drawer only to lose them later when I need them—those small, negligible moments I'd ignore if it weren't for the people who want to share them with me. The washcloth that tickles dirty summer feet, the cracked autumn leaves newly gathered and scattered by flung little bodies are transformed into something unequalled by the horde of children who crave such moments.

Like fear, parenting has the ability to heighten and intensify. I can go through a day with vomit and sores and sleeplessness, and then a child cries in the middle of the night, her voice concentrated with fright. I open her door and see her arms outstretched, and I know they're reaching for me. That space between her arms is the place where only I fit. A space carved out from all my attempts at patience. All previous struggle, all previous fatigue, and all previous fears about my capacity disperse in the shadows of the room. But they do not altogether disappear, because I realize the kind of love I feel for those children, the kind of hug I get in the middle of the night is not despite but because of what's been done in the middle of that long day I thought would never end. Parental love sometimes requires both unnerving and banal sacrifices and, after having required them, hallows those imperfect offerings by beleaguered believers.

This avalanche of seven children precipitously poised above my life is overwhelming when contemplated in its totality, but my daily life gains meaning in its shadow. I understand better now that those who stare at the eight and soon to be nine of us and gasp are not just prying gawkers but people who, like me, gain some pleasure, and even some meaning, from what shocks and scares them.

On Mormon Laughter

Shawn R. Tucker

From the time that I spent as both a missionary and as a teacher at Provo's Missionary Training Center, I recall several discussions about loud laughter. Many hours a day in a small classroom with the same eight to twelve people can make anyone a little stir-crazy, and by the end of such long days, missionaries could become rather silly, laughing at the least provocation. I recall one particular conversation in which several missionaries and instructors disagreed about the connection between that jovial silliness and the scripturally prohibited excess of laughter. I wonder what that same conversation about loud laughter might have been like had it happened after the October 2008 General Conference. It was during that conference that Elder Joseph B. Wirthlin gave an address entitled "Come What May and Love it." In this talk, the Apostle affirmed how "over the years I have learned a few things that have helped me through times of testing and trial. I would like to share them with you. The first thing we can do is learn to laugh."[1] To illustrate the value of laughter, Elder Wirthlin offered many experiences that elicited loud laughter from the congregation at the Conference Center.

The conflict created by the scriptural injunction against laughter and an Apostle commending its value is difficult to resolve.[2] In fact, retaining some of that conflict might be worthwhile. Without trying to resolve the conflict completely, what follows begins with a brief contextualization of some of the commands against laughter and an examination of laughter's potential dangers. To this examination I will try to add insights from current social science research about laughter in relationships. That research reveals the conflictive nature of laughter, including its positive and negative potentials.

Shawn R. Tucker

I grew up in a home with lots of joyous, good-natured laughter, so commands against "loud laughter" puzzled and troubled me. I had largely set those concerns aside, until I began teaching a seminar on laughter here at Elon University (in Elon, North Carolina). Teaching the course brought back those old questions, but this time I had some tools to re-examine them. In this research process, I am grateful for insights provided by Jacob Baker, the encouragement of Joe Spencer at the Mormon Scholars in the Humanities conference, and the manuscript reviewer's comments. As you can see from the photograph of me with my youngest son, we love to laugh.

One of those positive potentials is how laughter may help individuals gain insights into themselves. Laughter can be a pleasant way to recognize one's flaws and shortcomings, and it may also be a powerful tool for inviting others to reflect and grow. An appreciation for laughter's connection with growth and humility opens yet another connection, the connection between laughter and *Sehnsucht,* or spiritual longing.[3] Such a connection between laughter and *Sehnsucht* elevates laughter to its highest celestial potential, a potential that is perhaps nowhere more powerfully expressed than in the personal account by F. Enzio Busche that concludes this essay.

Commands against Laughter

The most commonly cited scriptural commands against laughter come in the eighty-eighth section of the Doctrine and Covenants: "Remember the great and last promise which I have made unto you; cast away your idle thoughts and your excess of laughter far from you" (D&C 88:69). Several verses later the section further elaborates: "Therefore, cease from all your light speeches, from all laughter, from all your lustful desires, from all your pride and light-mindedness, and from all your wicked doings" (D&C

88:121). In these verses, laughter or excess of laughter combine with light speeches, lustful desires, pride, light-mindedness, and wicked doings. This is pretty nefarious company. The commands in this section and elsewhere prompt us to take laughter seriously and examine it critically.

It is Thomas Hobbes who is most closely associated with the dangerous ways that laughter mixes with pride. In *Leviathan*, Hobbes concludes that "*Sudden Glory*, is the passion which maketh those *Grimaces* called Laughter: and is caused either by some sudden act of their own, that pleaseth them; or by the apprehension of some deformed thing in another, by comparison whereof they suddenly applaud themselves."[4] Hobbes's view expresses what has been called the superiority theory of laughter, the core of which is that laughter's explosive response is triggered by the sudden realization of one's preeminence over another.[5] Among the contemporary thinkers who have extended Hobbes's observations is Joseph Boskin, who explores laughter's aggressive aspects, especially how effective it is in transmitting and perpetuating stereotypes.[6]

The injunction against laughter in section 88 not only links laughter with pride, a connection made clearer with Hobbes's views on laughter, but it also links it with idle thoughts, light speeches, wicked doings, and lustful desires. Some insight into the particular historical and cultural context for section 88 may also shed light on these injunctions. Richard Bushman, talking about this section, has said, "The School of the Prophets tells more about the desired texture of Joseph's holy society than anything he had done thus far—and more of what he was up against. The directions to quell excessive laughter and all light-mindedness implicitly reflect the rough-hewn characters who had joined him in the great cause. Few were polished—and he would never teach them gentility—but he wanted order, peace, and virtue."[7] Along with Bushman's insight that this revelation spoke to "rough-hewn characters" who were rather unpolished, we can note that two months after receiving this revelation Joseph received the revelation known as the Word of Wisdom.

Given Bushman's observation about the rather coarse early Saints who were given this revelation as well as the revelation's timing, we could surmise that the Lord is condemning what we might call carousing. The kind of drinking and raucousness associated with carousing seems rather foreign to the contemporary Latter-day Saint experience.[8] If contemporary Mormons differ from the "rough-hewn characters" of eighteenth-century frontier America, and if contemporary Mormons instead abide by the Word of Wisdom and eschew derisive, ribald, and sacrilegious laughter, then we could conclude that the nature of the laughter that the Lord condemns is quite

different from how contemporary Mormons generally laugh. The jovial and light-hearted yet loud laughter of exhausted and stressed missionaries-in-training, though silly, does not seem to fit the loud laughter prohibited in the Doctrine and Covenants and other places. While these conclusions about contemporary Mormon laughter may be accurate, such conclusions should not take the seriousness out of the Lord's condemnation of laughter that accompanies pride, lust, and, we could add, disrespect of others and of all that is holy. If God's people laugh, such laughter, to use a phrase from section 88, should be "sanctified from all unrighteousness" (D&C 88:18). The danger lies in how one may not recognize pride and unrighteousness seeping into what one might believe to be innocuous laughter.

Positive and Negative Laughter

One place where we can see the pitfalls and the positive potentials of laughter is in current social science research about its role in relationships. Such insights bring out how laughter can damage relationships and encourage our pride, but that same research shows how it can create positive bonds. Bethany Butzer and Nicholas A. Kuiper's research connects relationship satisfaction with the types of humor that romantic couples use. While Butzer and Kuiper examine humor instead of laughter, their use of the term "humor" seems to include both that which evokes laughter and the nature of the laughter itself. Thus these researchers examine different types of humor, including what they call "negative humor," or humor that "is used to express hostility towards one's partner," positive humor, which is "used to feel closer to one's partner and to ease tension," and avoiding humor, which "is used to either minimize or avoid conflict entirely, often by changing the focus of conversation."[9] Couples who use positive humor employ language, gestures, allusions, inside jokes, and laughter itself to affirm their bond and increase intimacy. Butzer and Kuiper built their research on previous work that had linked positive humor with greater relationship satisfaction. That same research had linked negative humor, which is "a form of aggression or manipulation against their partner," to decreased satisfaction.[10] These researchers examined whether the nature of the humor changed when individuals were in pleasant or in conflictive events. What they found was that, whether they were in pleasant or conflictive events, individuals with high satisfaction in their romantic relationships had very high levels of positive humor and low levels of avoiding or negative humor. By the same token, the situations did not alter the negative and avoiding humor of those who reported low relationship satisfaction.

There are three insights that emerge from this research. One insight is that it is interesting to have some empirical evidence for what we may naturally assume is true—that positive, supportive, bonding humor corresponds with high relationship satisfaction. Another is the frightening insight into relationships where humor is a tool of aggression and manipulation. Such humor could start with subtle derision and put-downs, escalating to increasingly cold and bitter sarcasm. This humor is all the more painful because of the intimacy of the perpetrators and victims. These are weapons that cut so deep because they are wielded in such close proximity. The third insight this research offers is a partial explanation for some of the experiences that Elder Wirthlin described in his final general conference address. Butzer and Kuiper examine the role of laughter in conflict events, pointing out that even in such events there is a prevalence of positive humor for those who report high relationship satisfaction. In his talk, Elder Wirthlin described two conflictive events. In one event, the family got lost on a long car trip, and in the other, a daughter mistook a man coming to pick up a sibling to babysit as her blind date.[11] The accounts are very funny in Elder Wirthlin's telling. Elder Wirthlin also noted that the participants did not choose to get angry or to feel humiliated. Instead, everyone laughed. Elder Wirthlin reported that these experiences became fond family memories. Butzer and Kuiper's empirical research corroborates how this positive humor is part of a high-satisfaction family relationship.

Laughter, Pedantry, and Proportion

The warnings and commands about laughter—warnings and commands that equally apply to humor—invite us to examine laughter critically and to take it seriously. These commands, supported by some empirical research, encourage us to search out overt and subtle evils in our laughter, including any ways that such laughter may accompany lust, pride, anger, derision, manipulation, and resentment. That same research and Elder Wirthlin's injunction encourage us to seek and cultivate laughter that builds bonds and helps us "love" whatever may come our way. Another benefit of cultivating the right kind of laughter is that it can help us overcome what Arthur Schopenhauer calls "pedantry."

According to Schopenhauer, pedantry is a form of intellectual arrogance, where one "tries always to proceed from general concepts, rules, and maxims, and to confine himself [or herself] strictly to them in life, in art, and even in moral conduct."[12] For Schopenhauer, such abstract, general concepts fail to account for real particulars. What causes laughter, according to Schopenhauer, is how "the incongruity then between the concept

and reality soon shows itself here, and it becomes evident that the former never condescends to the particular case, and that with its generality and rigid definiteness it can never accurately apply to the fine distinctions of difference and innumerable modification of the actual."[13] The incongruity that arises from the failure of the general to account for the particular is always funnier given how the pedant, "with his [or her] general maxims, almost always misses the mark in life, shows himself [or herself] to be foolish, awkward, useless."[14] While these may be somewhat harsh words, Schopenhauer gives the humorous example of Don Quixote to further illustrate his point.[15] Quixote has so filled his mind with tales of knights and damsels and is therefore so set on these general concepts that he fails to see how the actual people and events in his life, the particulars, do not correspond with his general concepts. Quixote's foolishness is that of the pedant, and we laugh at his failure to recognize the incongruity.[16]

A personal experience may further illustrate Schopenhauer's insights. While serving as a missionary, I was not as effective as I could have been because I was not sleeping well. I was waking up in the night very frequently because, as I would shift in bed, one cold foot would touch the other leg, a startling sensation that would wake me up. During a rather drowsy teaching day, the scripture from James about lacking wisdom and asking God suddenly struck me. I could ask God. That night I fervently prayed, laying out my problem, assured that the inspiration of divine wisdom would make me a better instrument in God's hands. I received a sudden answer: "Shawn, put on socks." This answer, of course, made me laugh. God really did answer my prayer, but it did not conform to the *gravitas* of my expectations of the divine or divine inspiration. In fact, I felt as if God were smiling, lovingly, at my pedantry.[17] Diana Mahoney and Marla Corson seem to report a similar experience when they tell of a forty-six-year-old LDS woman who reported, "I also had an experience where I *know* that Heavenly Father was chuckling at something I did. I will always remember the feeling of surprise I felt."[18]

Laughing at our immaturity or at the limitations of our understanding and experience is a valuable and healthy response to some of the difficulties we encounter. This could be part of the reason why Elder Wirthlin recommended learning to laugh as part of learning how to love whatever may come our way. Laughing at our limited notions of God, especially while God challenges those notions, can invite us to seek a more mature and sophisticated relationship with God.[19]

An additional benefit this sort of laughter may offer is that it helps us to not take ourselves too seriously. Laughter seems to have a way of putting

things back in perspective. The way that laughter acts as an antidote to our pedantry and brings proper perspective is mirrored in the advice that C. S. Lewis's demonic Screwtape gives to his pupil Wormwood.[20] When talking about humility, Screwtape counsels Wormwood to get the "patient" to become aware of his own humility as a way to develop pride in that very humility. Screwtape shows how any virtue can become a vice when we are proudly aware that we possess it. But when talking about raising such awareness again and again, Screwtape warns, "Don't try this too long, for fear you awake his sense of humor and proportion, in which case he will merely laugh at you and go to bed."[21] Lewis's demon seems to see how a sense of humor is, at least in part, the ability to recognize one's foolishness or pedantry, to laugh at it, and to find thereby proper perspective and proportion.

Laughter's Humble Persuasion

Besides revealing limitations and bringing perspective, there is another role that laughter may play in one's growth, and the best example of this role is also drawn from C. S. Lewis's fiction. Lewis's *The Great Divorce* is the imaginative account of various characters confronting invitations to heaven. One character is a very small man with a large ventriloquist's dummy. The man, whom the narrator calls the "Dwarf," with a puppet called the "Tragedian," meets a glorious being who turns out to have been his earthly wife. That radiant Lady does all she can to persuade her husband to set aside the pride and self-pity that are embodied in the grotesque puppet. While trying to persuade him, the narrator describes how "merriment danced in her eyes" as "she was sharing a joke with the Dwarf, right over the head of the Tragedian."[22] In response to her love and her joke, "something not at all unlike a smile struggled to appear on the Dwarf's face. For he *was* looking at her now. Her laughter was past his first defenses."[23] It is the combination of all of those elements, including her love, her genuine concern for her husband, and her laughter that gives the wife's invitation the power to penetrate, initially, her husband's pride and self-pity.

This account makes clear that, when combined with love and humility, laughter can circumvent, if only momentarily, resistant attitudes. In this respect, laughter can be persuasive, for it can make joy and humility seem sweet and inviting.[24] Laughter can combine with long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, love unfeigned, kindness, and pure knowledge to encourage the best in others (see D&C 121:41–42). But laughter is a tool of humble persuasion. Of course we should not mock others as a self-righteous way to manipulate them into doing what we believe they should do.[25] Still, even

when laughter is used with genuine love, there is no guarantee that those who hear its invitation will be persuaded. In Lewis's story, the husband ultimately rejects the invitation, accusing his wife of laughing at him.[26] The Lady could not control how he received her joke and her laughter as an invitation, and, although it penetrated his first defenses, the Dwarf's pride and self-pity finally transformed her gift into an insult.

Laughter and *Sehnsucht*

Not only can laughter gently and pleasantly draw others toward what is good, but, as it comes with the realization of our pedantry, it can also delightfully beckon us to a humility born of the recognition of our limited expectations and ideas. When laughter is mixed with pride, it can be a debilitating poison that destroys lives and relationships; when laughter is accompanied by love, it can be a healing, curing, and bonding agent. But there is yet another role that laughter may play, that of offering us a foretaste of heaven. Laughter can evoke a longing for the divine, a longing that is often identified with the German word for longing, *Sehnsucht*.

One of the thinkers most closely associated with *Sehnsucht* is, again, C. S. Lewis.[27] Lewis's autobiography traces his vague longing for something that no mortal experience could satisfy. As he came to embrace theism and then Christianity, he associated this longing with an emptiness that only God could fill. Lewis described this desire: "We cannot tell it because it is a desire for something that has never actually appeared in our experience. We cannot hide it because our experience is constantly suggesting it, and we betray ourselves like lovers at the mention of a name."[28] Lewis further elaborates that there are common yet inaccurate names that we give to this constant yet vague desire:

> Our commonest expedient is to call it beauty and behave as if that had settled the matter. Wordsworth's expedient was to identify it with certain moments in his own past. But all this is a cheat. If Wordsworth had gone back to those moments in the past, he would not have found the thing itself, but only the reminder of it; what he remembered would turn out to be itself a remembering. The books or the music in which we thought the beauty was located will betray us if we trust to them; it was not in them, it only came through them, and what came through them was longing. These things—the beauty, the memory of our own past—are good images of what we really desire; but if they are mistaken for the thing itself they turn into dumb idols, breaking the hearts of their worshippers. For they are not the thing itself; they are only the scent of a flower we have not found, the echo of a tune we have not heard, news from a country we have never yet visited.[29]

The longing that Lewis described is evoked by experiences with beauty, for example, but for Lewis those experiences give a taste of the divine but are not identical with it.

Elder Neal A. Maxwell seems to draw upon Lewis's ideas when he talks about the need to be patient in mortality:

> I have struggled to find adequate words to express these concluding feelings and thoughts about our need to be patient with ourselves and our circumstances in this second estate. Some of us have been momentarily wrenched by the sound of a train whistle spilling into the night air—and we have been inexplicably subdued by the mix of feelings this evokes. Or perhaps we have been beckoned by a lighted cottage across a snow-covered meadow at dusk. Or we have heard the warm and drawing laughter of children at a nearby playground. Or we have been tugged at by the strains of congregational singing from a nearby church. Or we have encountered a particular fragrance which has awakened memories deep within us of things which once were. In such moments we have felt a deep yearning—as if we were temporarily outside something to which we actually belonged and of which we so much wanted again to be a part.[30]

Elder Maxwell notes our need for patience as a response to so many experiences that may evoke the very longing or *Sehnsucht* that he and Lewis associate with a taste of the divine.

Maxwell mentions hearing the "warm and drawing laughter of children" as one experience that might evoke a powerful sense of belonging, a belonging that we want to be part of again. While it may be true that hearing such laughter, like so many other experiences that Maxwell cites, could evoke that longing, what about our own experience of laughing? Could the act of laughing also evoke *Sehnsucht*? When Lewis talks about the connection between beauty and *Sehnsucht*, he says, "We do not want merely to *see* beauty, though, God knows, even that is bounty enough. We want something else which can hardly be put into words—to be united with the beauty we see, to pass into it, to receive it into ourselves, to bathe in it, to become part of it."[31] Such a complete union with beauty may also describe the wholeness and fullness that we may feel with laughter. During the moment of laughter, it can almost seem as if all existence were temporarily suspended, as the spontaneous joy, delight, and wonder of whatever triggers the laughter, for a split second, allows us to be caught up in the laugh and to feel connected with the divine, seamlessly a part of the whole. In the best moments of our laughter, we seem to pass into something heavenly, receive it, bathe in it, and become part of it.

If laughter can indeed trigger the *Sehnsucht* for the divine, then it makes sense that God would place commands around its use. Such a powerful

means of contacting the divine should be edifying, encouraging, and positive. It should lift us toward the divine and encourage the best bonds with those around us. The joyous experience of laughter that might, to use Elder Maxwell's words, awaken "memories deep within us of things which once were," can also strongly bond friends, families, missionaries, and others. If, at its best, laughter does have such a power, then it should not surprise us to find Satan's counterfeit in laughter that belittles, coerces, cuts, or destroys, degrading *Sehnsucht* into despair. Laughter can, in a delightful way, reveal weaknesses and limitations for the humble; it should not flatter the proud. Laughter can draw people together toward the divine; it should not divide or manipulate. If laughter, by its very nature, can evoke the longing for the divine, then it is a natural complement to love, friendships, families, marriage, and God's great plan of happiness. And if that is the case, so can the pairing of laughter and objectifying lust create a powerful, devilish, and damning imitation.

God's Laughter and Satan's Seriousness

The contrast between laughter's divine potential and satanic seriousness is perhaps nowhere more evident than in a personal experience that Elder F. Enzio Busche's recounts in his memoir *Yearning for the Living God.* In what he describes as one of the most sacred experiences of his life, Elder Busche explains that as a new General Authority, he was visiting a mission when one of the elders became possessed by an evil spirit. Elder Busche was called to assist. When he arrived, the missionary was shaking all over and foaming at the mouth, while his companion, the mission president, and the president's family looked on in shock and fear. Elder Busche recounts that at that moment he felt he had a decision to make. He then explains, "I knew immediately what decision it was. I had to decide whether to join the fear and amazement and helplessness or to let faith act and let courage come in."[32]

Wanting to respond with faith and courage, Elder Busche recalled scriptures about how perfect love casts out fear and that one could pray to be filled with such love. In his own words, Elder Busche recounts what happened next and what he learned:

> I prayed with all the energy of my heart, "Father, fill my soul with love." I cried from the depths of my being, without wasting any time. It all happened in a split second. After that it was as if my skull was opened and a warm feeling poured down into my soul—down my head, my neck, my chest. As it was pouring down, it drove out all of the fear. My shivering knees stopped shaking. I stood there, a big smile came to my face—a smile of deep, satisfying joy and confidence.

Suddenly, those in the room looked not scary, but amusing. It was just funny to see them all there. I learned in that moment that when we are under the influence of the Spirit, we can find a sense of humor and the ability to smile and not take ourselves too seriously, and we can laugh at ourselves. Then it dawned on me that the adversary's weapons are sarcasm, irony, and cynicism, but that the Lord's power is a gentle sense of humor. I have learned more and more since then that the adversary cannot deal with a sense of humor. He does not have a sense of humor; he does not even know what that is. He is always dead serious, and when you have a sense of humor, you are in control of the adversary's influence.[33]

With Elder Busche's act of faith and love came an endowment of joy and confidence. With that joy and confidence came the insight about the connection between the Spirit and a sense of humor. This sense of humor corresponds with Elder Wirthlin's commendation about learning to laugh. Such a sense of humor or faculty for laughter, can, as Elder Busche describes, be a heavenly gift that delightfully frees us from a seriousness that would cause us to lose perspective and proportion and to be lost in foolishness, pedantry, and fear. The Lord's gift and faculty for laughter is building and encouraging. This divine laughter contrasts as sharply as good contrasts with evil when compared with Satan's sarcasm, irony, and cynicism.

As Elder Busche concludes his account, he states that after the evil spirit had left the missionary, "for about an hour after that, we had a spontaneous sharing of testimonies, jubilantly praising God and singing and praying. It was an exuberant experience of the workings of the spirit of love, which is the Spirit of Christ and by it overcoming all evil."[34] Their jubilation, naturally, included joyous, divine laughter. One of the things Elder Busche learned, dramatically, was Satan's seriousness and his perverted form of laughter, a laughter that is cold, cynical, derisive, and belittling. It is a perversion of a God-given faculty that should delightfully lift and edify. When used and enjoyed properly, that same faculty for laughter, like other faculties that God gives to bless his children, builds bonds, delightfully instructs, and gently persuades, at the same time that it offers a foretaste of divine oneness, joy, and power.

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Around—Running the Offense—Generating the Offense: Improving All Levels of Humanities Instruction," *Interdisciplinary Humanities* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 88–97.

1. Joseph B. Wirthlin, "Come What May, and Love It," *Ensign* 38 (November 2008): 26. Please note that "laughter" in this essay refers to the particular reaction to certain stimuli, while "humor" refers to that which seeks to provoke laughter. When Elder Wirthlin encourages Latter-day Saints to "learn to laugh," he seems to mean, among other things, that they should find appropriate humor even in life's difficulties. It is interesting to note that the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* includes an entry on humor but not one on laughter. ∧

2. For more on laughter, humor, and Mormonism, see William A. Wilson, "The Seriousness of Mormon Humor," *Sunstone* 10, no. 1 (1985): 6–13; and Diana L. Mahony and Marla D. Corson, "Light-Mindedness versus Lightheartedness: Conflicting Conceptions of Laughter among Latter-Day Saints," *BYU Studies* 42, no. 2 (2003): 115–29. ∧

3. For more on the connections between laughter, spirituality, and religion, see Karl-Josef Kushel's insightful and foundational treatment, including his history of laughter in the West, in *Laughter: A Theological Essay* (New York: Continuum, 1994); Patrick Laude's excellent exploration of the role of ambiguity and surprise in spiritual enlightenment in *Divine Play, Sacred Laughter, and Spiritual Understanding* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Peter L. Berger's study of how laughter can point toward a transcendent, redemptive reality in *Redeeming Laughter: The Comic Dimension of Human Experience* (New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1997); Ingvild Sælid Gilhus's examination of the history of laughter and religion in *Laughing Gods, Weeping Virgins: Laughter in the History of Religion* (New York: Routledge, 1997); as well as James Martin's recent scholarly affirmation of the centrality of laughter in spiritual life in *Between Heaven and Mirth: Why Joy, Humor and Laughter Are at the Heart of the Spiritual Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 2011). ∧

4. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 37. ∧

5. For a discussion of the superiority theory of laughter, see John Morreall, *Taking Laughter Seriously* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983); and John Morreall, *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humor* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987). It should also be noted that these two books, as foundational explorations of laughter, explore other theories of laughter, including relief theory and incongruity theory. ∧

6. Joseph Boskin, "The Complicity of Humor: The Life and Death of Sambo," in Morreall, *Philosophy of Laughter and Humor*, 250–63. ∧

7. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 211–12. ∧

8. The "foreignness" of carousing in contemporary LDS experience is perhaps nowhere more evident than in BYU's consistently high ranking as the most "stone-cold sober" institution of higher learning in college guides like the *Princeton Review*. ∧

9. Bethany Butzer and Nicholas A. Kuiper, "Humor Use in Romantic Relationships: The Effects of Relationship Satisfaction and Pleasant Versus Conflict Situations," *Journal of Psychology* 142, no. 3 (2008): 246. ∧

10. Butzer and Kuiper, "Humor Use," 246. ∧

11. Wirthlin, "Come What May," 26–27. ^

12. Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, trans. R. B. Haldane and John Kemp (London: Trübner and Co., 1883), 78. Laude does not mention Schopenhauer, but Schopenhauer's idea of laughter as revealing the incongruity between abstractions and realities fits nicely with Laude's arguments about how the unexpected, the surprising, and even the scandalous that are at play in laughter can lead to spiritual awakening and rebirth. See Laude, *Divine Play*. ^

13. Schopenhauer, *World as Will and Idea*, 78. Schopenhauer is one of the thinkers associated with the incongruity theory of laughter. For more on this theory, see Morreall, *Taking Laughter Seriously*, 15–19; and *Philosophy of Laughter and Humor*. ^

14. Schopenhauer, *World as Will and Idea*, 78. ^

15. Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, trans. E. F. J. Payne (New York: Dover, 1966), 97. ^

16. In *Redeeming Laughter*, Berger places Don Quixote in the tradition of the holy fool and the Kierkegaardian "knight of faith," one who sees and lives by a transcendent, redeemed reality that contrasts, starkly and comically, with the rational, mundane, and unredeemed everyday world (193–95). ^

17. This example also fits well with the idea of humor as the gentle art of reframing that Donald Capps puts forward in his book *A Time to Laugh: The Religion of Humor* (New York: Continuum, 2005). ^

18. Mahoney and Corson, "Light-Mindedness versus Lightheartedness," 126. ^

19. I prefer to charitably imagine that this laughing at one's pedantry and limited understanding describes the nature of Abraham and Sarah's laughter in response to the announcement of Isaac's birth (see Gen. 17:15–21; 18:1–15). ^

20. C. S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters* (New York: HarperOne, 2001), 53–56. As this essay draws on many of C. S. Lewis's ideas and insights, it is important to note the scholarship that differentiates several of Lewis's ideas from Mormon theology, scholarship that includes Evan Stephenson, "The Last Battle: C. S. Lewis and Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 30, no. 4 (1997): 43–69; and Blair Dee Hodges, "'All Find What They Truly Seek': C. S. Lewis, Latter-day Saints, and the Virtuous Unbeliever," *Dialogue* 43, no. 3 (2010): 21–61. While that scholarship is important in seeing that Lewis's ideas and Mormon theology are not synonymous, Lewis's insights that are part of this essay do show a fruitful overlap. See also Andrew C. Skinner and Robert L. Millet, eds., *C. S. Lewis: The Man and His Message* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1999). ^

21. Lewis, *Screwtape Letters*, 69–70. ^

22. C. S. Lewis, *The Great Divorce* (New York: HarperOne, 2001), 126. ^

23. Lewis, *Great Divorce*, 126–27. ^

24. There is substantial scholarship on the role of laughter in the therapeutic process, a process that is also concerned with nurturing the growth of others, often by carefully revealing maladaptive patterns. This scholarship includes Waleed A. Salameh and William F. Fry Jr., *Humor and Wellness in Clinical Intervention* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001); Frank M. Lachmann, *Transforming Narcissism: Reflections on Empathy, Humor, and Expectations* (New York: Routledge, 2007); and Rachelle G. Berg, Gerald Parr, Loretta J. Bradley, and Jeremy J. Berry, "Humor: A Therapeutic Intervention for Child Counseling," *Journal of Creativity in Mental Health* 4 (2009): 225–36. ^

25. See C. S. Lewis, *Mere Christianity* (New York: HarperOne, 2001), 121–28, for a discussion of how pride can be used to cure "minor vices," but, unfortunately, in ways that give one spiritual "cancer" instead of just spiritual "plantar's warts." ^

26. Lewis, *Great Divorce*, 129. ^

27. For a thorough examination of the relationship between Lewis and *Sehnsucht*, see Corbin Scott Carnell, *Bright Shadow of Reality: Spiritual Longing in C. S. Lewis* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1974). ^

28. C. S. Lewis, *The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses* (New York: HarperOne, 2001), 30. ^

29. Lewis, *Weight of Glory*, 30–31. ^

30. Neal A. Maxwell, "Patience," in *Brigham Young University Speeches of the Year* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1979), 215–20. ^

31. Lewis, *Weight of Glory*, 42. ^

32. F. Enzio Busche, *Yearning for the Living God: Reflections from the Life of F. Enzio Busche,* ed. Tracie A. Lamb (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2004), 270. ^

33. Busche, *Yearning*, 270–71. ^

34. Busche, *Yearning*, 271. ^

Lehi's Dream and Nephi's Vision

Apocalyptic Revelations in Narrative Context

Matthew Scott Stenson

Isaiah 49:23–26 expresses the following dramatic prophecy portraying the Lord as a divine warrior:

> And thou shalt know that I *am* the LORD: for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me. Shall the prey be taken from the mighty, or the lawful captives delivered? But thus saith the LORD, Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken away, and the prey of the terrible shall be delivered: for I will contend with him that contendeth with thee, and I will save thy children. And I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine: and all flesh shall know that I the LORD *am* thy Saviour and thy Redeemer, the mighty One of Jacob.[1]

This theme of the Lord as a divine warrior protective of his people is also used extensively by the early Nephite prophets in their teachings to describe the eschatological dualism between righteousness and wickedness that will exist in the last days. This passage, quoted both by Nephi (1 Ne. 21:23–26) and Jacob (2 Ne. 6:6–18), is in a way as messianic and apocalyptic in content and symbolic quality as are the biblical books of Daniel, Zechariah, and Revelation. While it is arguably the most significant passage on deliverance in the first half of the Book of Mormon, many other Nephite texts likewise give valuable knowledge and assurances to the covenant people of the Lord on earth in the last days in the form of sweeping apocalyptic revelations. These densely allusive prophetic teachings are similar in message to the prophetic writings of Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature.[2]

This particular study examines Lehi's fundamental and symbolic dream as being profoundly apocalyptic. Recorded at some length in 1 Nephi 8, its symbols and themes pervade 1 and 2 Nephi. In contrast to those capable

scholars who have spoken only of Nephi's vision (1 Ne. 11–14) as apocalyptic,[3] I claim that Lehi's dream, Nephi's vision, and Nephi's narrative use of these revelations in 1 and 2 Nephi are pervasively apocalyptic in content and quality. I wish to show that Lehi's dream, like Nephi's vision, represents different worlds of time (present and future) and of global and cosmological space (heaven and hell); that each revelation is not only intensely symbolic but also nuanced and evolving, becoming ever more complex and interesting; and that each revelation symbolically represents the events and people near the end of the world.

The first section of this paper explains some of the general characteristics of apocalyptic literature. The next two sections, using these characteristics of apocalyptic as a guide, identify and describe the unfolding symbols of Lehi's dream. The fourth section examines certain parts of 1 and 2 Nephi, highlighting some of the thematic and symbolic intersections with the earlier material. Finally, I discuss within this apocalyptic context Nephi's sustained emphasis on obedience and enduring to the end.

What Is Apocalyptic Literature?

Apocalyptic revelations unveil, discover, or describe events just before, during, and after the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. Other apocalyptic periods or events occurring before that time, such as the destruction of the temple described in the early part of Matthew 24, are but foreshadowings of this later period. M. H. Abrams, a Romantic literary critic who wrote in the 1960s during a time of renewed interest in apocalyptic, has given this helpful description of what this literature entails: "In its late and developed form an apocalypse (Greek *apokalypsis*, 'revelation') is a prophetic vision, set forth in arcane and elaborate symbols, of the imminent events which will bring an abrupt end to the present world order and replace it by a new and perfected condition of man and his milieu."[4]

Apocalyptic literature can be described in various other ways, not all of which apply to the early pages of the Book of Mormon. For instance, the apocalyptic passages in the Book of Mormon do not describe angelic trumpets or strange creatures, familiar characteristics of canonical and noncanonical apocalyptic literature.[5] Nevertheless, in many respects the early parts of the Book of Mormon are both apocalyptic and, perhaps ironically, textually coherent, as I will show in what follows, using primarily Greg Carey's recent book *Ultimate Things* to frame my observations.[6] While my observations will be new to a degree, it should be noted that Carey's treatment of the subject is more or less commonplace to those who analyze apocalyptic literature.

Many of Carey's criteria do in fact apply to Lehi's dream, Nephi's vision, and the related material subsequently running through 1 and 2 Nephi. For instance, John Collins argues, "'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendental reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it involves another, supernatural world."[7] Bruce R. McConkie has candidly written that by these sorts of definitions much of the standard works would qualify as apocalyptic,[8] and yet the genre has distinguishing features. Carey, perhaps drawing on those before him like Collins, explains that apocalyptic is a literature of: (1) "alternative worlds"; (2) "visions and/or auditions"; (3) "heavenly intermediaries"; (4) "intense symbolism"; (5) "catastrophe"; (6) "dualism"; (7) "determinism"; and (8) "judgment and the afterlife."[9] Beyond Carey's helpful categories, other scholars have described apocalyptic literature as multidimensional, physical,[10] and messianic.[11] These widely accepted criteria for analyzing apocalyptic literature may be used to establish that the early parts of the Book of Mormon can, to a fascinating degree, especially in terms of its themes and symbols, be correctly understood and classified as apocalyptic literature.

Apparently not really solidifying as a literary genre until the intertestamental period,[12] apocalyptic literature was written primarily by Jews and Christians living in Egypt and Palestine between 200 BC and AD 200.[13] Examples include texts composed by Matthew (Matt. 24–25), Paul (1 and 2 Thes.), Peter (2 Pet. 3:1–13), and, of course, John (Revelation). This literature, however, like parts of the Book of Mormon itself, has a strong relationship going back to preexilic prophetic writings. Fragments of this literature found at Qumran, such as those from the apocalypse of Enoch, "antedate the book of Daniel [itself exilic][14] by at least a century, [which] suggests that the phenomenon had a long history in Judaism."[15] Moreover, apocalyptic may have had its ultimate roots in "ancient mythic themes" or in the Hebrew Psalter and more fully emerged sometime during the second half of the sixth century BC.[16] Furthermore, however wide-ranging the estimates for the dates of its origin and continuance, many scholars agree that this literature in part developed from earlier prophetic writings in the Old Testament,[17] sometimes referred to as proto-apocalyptic. The most common examples of apocalyptic literature's apparent emergence in the Old Testament include such books as those composed by Isaiah (24–27; 33–35), Ezekiel (38–39), Daniel (7–12), and Zechariah (9–14).

Considering the foregoing estimates, it is entirely conceivable that Lehi and Nephi knew this genre and recorded apocalypses themselves.[18] In fact, the embedded apocalyptic imagery[19] in the first pages of the Book of

Mormon suggests that this literature significantly predates the intertesta-
mental period (1 Ne. 8:23; 19:11). Nephi recorded his apocalyptic accounts
around 570 BC; tellingly, Nephi more closely aligns with the proto-
apocalyptic narratives of the Old Testament than with later stylistic forms.

It is clear from the Book of Mormon that apocalyptic literature comes
forth along *with* prophecy and not merely as a separate result *of* prophecy.
In other words, apocalyptic literature attempts to mirror an actual apoca-
lyptic experience. For example, if apocalyptic literature is written to be
disorienting, it may be that the revelatory experience itself was disorient-
ing. Apocalyptic literature, therefore, may not be so much derivative as it is
generative; the prophecy and apocalyptic apparently emerge together and
work together. Hence apocalyptic experience, and its resultant literature,
inspires and shapes Nephi's and Jacob's recorded prophecies and teachings
to a degree that we have not understood or appreciated enough.[20]

Within the first eight chapters of the Book of Mormon, it appears that
Lehi, "a visionary man" (1 Ne. 5:4), experienced at least three apocalyp-
tic revelations (1 Ne. 1:6; 1:8–13; 8:2–33) in addition to many other rev-
elations (1 Ne. 2:1–2; 3:2; 7:1). The second of Lehi's apocalyptic revelations
(1 Ne. 1:8–13; see also 1 Ne. 10:17) appears to be a very condensed narrative;
Nephi, who abridged his father's record, dedicates more of his limited space
to Lehi's third recorded apocalyptic revelation, his well-known dream.[21]
Nephi's selection of detail highlights opposition, as symbolized by the tree
(later Zion) and the building (later Babylon), as well as another opposi-
tional principle—one must endure persecution and all that follows in its
wake (1 Ne. 8:33–34). The noncanonical literature of apocalypse, like the
canonical, was a "literature [born] of crisis" and of persecution, predicting
the coming of the Messiah, destruction of the wicked, and final judgment.[22]
Persecution is a sign that catastrophe and, therefore, a new creation are
imminent.[23]

This reading differs from most modern portrayals of Lehi's dream.
Latter-day Saints often focus on the tree, which is usually said to represent
the love of God in sending his Son to redeem fallen humankind (John 3:16;
see Rom. 5:5). However, Nephi used the tree, a very complex symbol, differ-
ently.[24] The tree for Nephi was apparently as much a representation of "the
presence of the Lord" (1 Ne. 8:36), "the kingdom of God" (1 Ne. 15:33–35),
and "eternal life" as it was the love and condescension of God in sending
his Son (2 Ne. 31:20–21). It ought to be noted also that Nephi in his later
teachings spent a disproportionate amount of time describing directly and
indirectly the symbols of the river (1 Ne. 15:26–36) and of the building (1 Ne.
22:13–14, 23). The tree is seemingly treated with less frequency in the same
material. Verses 24–33 of 2 Nephi 26 appears to be the one place where the

later material prophetically embodies the familiar idea that the tree represents the love, condescension, and inclusiveness of God. It is clear that Nephi sought to describe and interpret Lehi's dream holistically, even if he was instructed to omit those scenes describing the very end of the world (1 Ne. 14:25).

Interestingly, Lehi's dream is distinctly placed near the end of the opening abridged material (ending at 1 Ne. 9:6) and at the beginning of Nephi's autobiographical narrative (beginning at 1 Ne. 10:1), which extends through 2 Nephi. The dream's significant location draws the reader's attention to it, so that its densely packed symbols can lay the foundation for the apocalyptic themes of 1 and 2 Nephi.

In What Ways Is Lehi's Dream Apocalyptic?

Based on the foregoing, Lehi's dream can be classified as apocalyptic literature in at least four ways: (1) the abridged dream or vision[25] is apparently a survey[26] of time and space and otherwordly places initiated by a heavenly intermediary or angel; (2) the complex dream is intensely symbolic, textually disorienting, and indeterminate in tone; (3) it represents an unresolved personal and global dualism that is eschatological, or that deals with human salvation and with the events just prior to the catastrophic end; and finally (4) it supplies the symbolic, conceptual, and doctrinal basis for the apocalyptic content of messianic deliverance found in 1 and 2 Nephi. These four points will assist readers in appreciating the apocalyptic features of Lehi's dream.

1. Lehi's dream is a guided survey of space and time, especially the last days. Carey explains that "the most distinctive trait of apocalyptic discourse is its interest in alternative worlds, whether in terms of *time* (such as the age to come) or *space* (as in the heavenly realms)."[27] The textual evidence for seeing in Lehi's dream a personal "alternative world" and a global "age to come" is found in the patriarch's words to his family in 1 Nephi 8:3: "I have reason to rejoice in the Lord," Lehi said, "because of Nephi and also of Sam; for I have reason to suppose that they, and many of their seed, will be saved." Nephi and Sam were Lehi's living sons; the phrase "many of their seed," however, suggests that in his dream Lehi saw future generations and, therefore, alternative worlds on a forthcoming temporal plane. Perhaps his seed were also among the numberless multitudes in the series of scenes appearing in the second half of his dream.

In confirmation of a reading that emphasizes the present and future, modern prophets often apply the dream to the people of the last days, including Lehi's seed (Lamanites) and believing Gentiles, who would be

"numbered among" the house of Israel after gathering to the gospel tree (1 Ne. 14:2). Furthermore, the familiar phrase "And it came to pass" may to a degree mark the passage of time (whether narrative or historical or both) between the first and second set of groups who "press forward" toward the tree (1 Ne. 8:24).[28] This suggestion of a redemptive age to come, where many of the seed would be saved, is apparently confirmed when the patriarch, after seeing his dream and because of concern for his sons, felt compelled to prophesy of the Jews and Gentiles and his seed's future redemption along with the house of Israel (1 Ne. 8:38; 10:2–15). Moreover, according to the important apocalyptic pattern found in Daniel 12:4, the Book of Mormon itself would eventually be "shut up" and "sealed" after the sudden fall of a nation, to come forth in another world at "the time of the end." The book would provide correction, warning, hope, and promises of deliverance from destruction for the repentant righteous just before the Second Coming.[29]

In his dream, Father Lehi apparently not only saw his family and his future seed but was also escorted, by an anonymous intermediary or angelic guide, from a personal world of darkness into other realms (1 Ne. 8:8–9). The movement of the protagonist more or less follows a pattern also seen in the writings of Daniel (Dan. 8:16–19) and Ezekiel.[30] Lehi's dream is global and perhaps even cosmic. His personal journey is not a traditional ascent into heaven or descent into hell (although Nephi later explained that the tree in part represents the supernal "kingdom of God"[31] and the river an "awful hell," which may strike readers as rather Dantean) but a journey through a wasteland to a "large and spacious field" representing "a world" (1 Ne. 15:35; 8:20). Verses 4–7 in 1 Nephi 8 describe a man "dressed in a white robe," who, after bidding Lehi to "follow him," led him through a "dreary wilderness" to a symbolic scene involving his family and many others searching or wandering about.

This journey from a wilderness to a place full of extraordinary symbols is not entirely unlike the ascent or descent common to apocalypses, since it associates the guided movement of the visionary with obtaining special knowledge or enlightenment. Moreover, because God's deliverance is a major theme in Nephi's writings (see 1 Ne. 1:20), it should be noted that on Lehi's journey toward meaning, one that took "many hours," he prayed to the Lord for mercy and was delivered from darkness and a foreboding sense of destruction (1 Ne. 8:8). In his intensely symbolic dream, Lehi was guided by an angel to survey alternative worlds of time and space, including his family's own world and the future world of his seed, which is the world of the last days.

2. Lehi's dream is symbolically and tonally disorienting. Literary critic Leland Ryken argues that apocalyptic literature, because it is structurally complex, intensely symbolic, and disjointed, "attacks" the reader's rationality.[32] In other

words, this literature forces interpretive choices. For example, it often employs the coordinating conjunction *or,* and therefore tends to read the reader, so to speak (1 Ne. 8:2; see 11:25). Not unlike the ambiguous imagery of Lehi's earlier apocalyptic revelations in 1 Nephi 1, a symbolic assault on rationality occurs when Nephi's readers learn that the building juxtaposed with the tree in Lehi's dream "stood as it were in the air, high above the earth" (1 Ne. 8:26). What is one to make of this strange floating symbol? This vague metaphorical language disorients, for saying "*as it were* in the air, high above the earth" is not the same as saying "*it was* in the air, high above the earth."[33] Is the building's height to be understood archetypally, as emblematic of pride? (1 Ne. 11:35–36). If so, the image may illuminate later references to the churches "built up" in the last days whose inhabitants "must be brought low in the dust" and finally "consumed [by fire] as stubble" (1 Ne. 22:23; see Morm. 8:27–41). Pride is a distinguishing feature of those in the foundationless building and fundamental to connecting the later prophecies to Lehi's dream (see 2 Ne. 25–30), but such vague language invites other symbolic possibilities.

That Lehi's dream is intensely symbolic is common knowledge. However, it is less evident that many symbols in 1 Nephi 8 (wilderness, tree, fruit, river, rod, paths, multitudes, mist, and building) transform themselves and, therefore, disorient the reader. For instance, in 1 Nephi 8:20, one might ask what Lehi meant with the phrase "strait and narrow path." Is the phrase redundant, since "strait" can mean "narrow"?[34] Or is that double construction used for rhetorical emphasis or pneumonic effect? Moreover, is the "fountain" mentioned in verse 20 the same as the "river" described in verse 13, or something else? (The word "fountain" is also later confusedly used to describe the tree.) Furthermore, is the "field" in verse 20 the same as the "field" referred to in verse 9? If so, why did Lehi not refer to it using the definite article "the" instead of the indefinite article "a" when he mentioned it again? His use of "a" the second time implies that he has not mentioned the field yet. This nuance in the dream's language may suggest two settings—the field in verse 9, and another "field, as if it had been a world" in verse 20—each an alternative world, as explained above. Furthermore, what is the relationship between the field and the building, since both are called "large," "great," and "spacious?" To complicate the symbolism further, the phrase describing the field as "large and spacious" is eventually used in 1 Nephi 12:18 in reference to the building, which was earlier called "great and spacious" (1 Ne. 8:26). That said, should these symbols be linked in the reader's imagination in some way?

Questions like these often go unanswered, because great literature does not attempt to explain itself fully.[35] While the ambiguous symbols and use of language in Lehi's dream can disorient readers, this effect does not discredit the account. To the contrary, it suggests that this is an authentic

apocalyptic text. Any attempts at interpretation of 1 Nephi 8 must follow Lehi's humble pattern: "I have reason to suppose . . . ," a phrase that is hardly dogmatic (1 Ne. 8:3).

In addition to the language and symbols of Lehi's dream, its organic tonality also disorients. One may ask whether the account of the dream evokes happiness or sadness, or both. Lehi clearly was saddened by his own understanding of the dream, as Nephi later was by his vision (1 Ne. 15:5). Yet in both Lehi's dream and Nephi's vision, great joy is experienced and salvation obtained, at least by some. Apparently, the original dream powerfully moved Lehi's heart, even if this pathos is somewhat lost on modern readers, because Nephi radically simplified and condensed the account of his father's dream. Nephi reported that "because of these things which he [Lehi] saw in a vision, he *exceedingly feared* for Laman and Lemuel; yea, he *feared* lest they should be cast off from the presence of the Lord [a first glance at one of the tree's meanings]. And he did exhort them *with all the feeling* of a tender parent" (1 Ne. 8:36–37, italics added).

As Carey explains, suffering fear and feeling emotion on this scale is a mark of apocalyptic experience; it is often emotionally and physically overpowering.[36] On seeing his interpreting guide approach him, Daniel similarly reports fearing and falling prostrate on the ground, even fainting with sickness for days (Dan. 8:17, 27). The visionary Lehi was moved profoundly by the settings, characters, actions, and symbols of his dream. This is true as well of his earliest recorded vision, itself a disorienting apocalyptic ascension (1 Ne. 1:6–7). Nephi accommodates his father's dream in 1 Nephi 8 to his readers in clear, didactic terms. In other words, he uses Lehi's ambiguous dream to teach them a pointed lesson. Despite this, the intense symbolism, occasional textual disorientation, and ambiguous tonality mark 1 Nephi 8 as a troubling apocalyptic experience.

Carey points out that the tone of apocalyptic literature is "pessimistic" or tragic, which supports the idea that it develops from a deep dissatisfaction with the way things are in the actual world.[37] However, this same literature promises deliverance and a better day beyond the temptations and tribulations of this world. And so, paradoxically, like prophetic literature in general, it also strengthens hope and is optimistic in tone.[38] Apocalypse is ultimately a literature of consolation that promises, as in Isaiah, a day when "the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces" (Isa. 25:8).

3. Lehi's dream contains personal, global, and cosmic dualism that is ultimately eschatological. In one sense, dualism is at least as old as the Creation account. God created order from chaos, and he divided the sea from the land and the light from the dark. Even in Eden, Adam was required

to choose between alternatives (2 Ne. 2:15). After the Fall, Adam could progress by choosing the better part of corresponding alternatives or realities (2 Ne. 2:11). Dualism, as defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is "the division of something conceptually into two opposed or contrasted aspects, such as good and evil." Later biblical examples of personal and global dualism include the writer of Proverbs juxtaposing the "whorish woman" (Prov. 7) with wisdom (Prov. 8) or Zechariah describing Jerusalem in contrast to "all the nations that come against Jerusalem" (Zech. 12:2, 9). Of course, in the case of the prophecies of Zechariah, the global conflict necessitates a cosmic messianic deliverance, ending in millennial safety and holiness for those who remain (Zech. 14).

This same dualism is threaded throughout Old Testament prophecy. For instance, Isaiah juxtaposes the joyous "meek" and "poor" of Zion against the "terrible one" and "scorner" of Babylon (29:19–20). Ezekiel speaks of Gog and Magog rising up against "my people of Israel" (Ezek. 38:16). Daniel writes of "the king of fierce countenance . . . [who] shall stand up" against the "holy people," and even against the "Prince of princes," or the promised Messiah (Dan. 8:23, 25). The "meek" and "poor," or "holy people," are those who, despite their relatively small numbers and the greatness of the number of their adversaries, are said repeatedly to wait on the Lord and for the Lord (Isa. 27–35; Dan. 12:12).

Having this definition and these examples of dualism in place helps one appreciate Carey's statement as it works in apocalyptic literature: "Dualism provides the ideological lens through which apocalyptic discourse evaluates people, institutions, events, and even time."[39] In other words, symbols in apocalyptic literature represent at least one side or part of an opposition, as when Lehi's symbolic dream revealed to him that part of his family is saved and part damned. This apparently final assessment, "saved" or "damned," is a common evaluation inherent in dualism. In this case, we are to understand Lehi's personal family in terms of those who come to the tree and partake and those who do not. Readers are to empathize with those who do partake and fear for those who do not, and they should also understand the ideology of righteousness from that of wickedness (see 2 Ne. 2:11) by observing what the people in the dream choose. Lehi's dream is an example of conflict and personal dualism, or what Halverson calls "prophetic dualism," as it represents Lehi's family and his personal concern for those he sees as rejecting his offer of fruit. This personal level, however, constitutes only half of the dream. The other half is global and is less well defined. It must be understood in apocalyptic terms to be more fully appreciated as the basis for Nephi's vision and his subsequent prophetic writings.

Chapter 8 of 1 Nephi is an example not only of personal dualism, therefore, but of global dualism—the eschatological and global conflict between good and evil, between Zion and Babylon. Structurally, chapter 8 can be divided into two equal parts (verses 9–20 and verses 21–33, minus verse 29). Symbolically and doctrinally, Lehi's dream is really about the relationship between two major symbols—the tree of life (Christ, his people, and their future) and the great and spacious building (Satan, his people, and their future). These opposed and yet balanced symbols capture the central thematic conflict of Nephi's writings between the righteous and the wicked, between those who "labor for Zion" (2 Ne. 26:31) and those who "fight against Zion" (2 Ne. 27:3). Nephi's two books are filled with this dualist prophetic worldview and should be read in this light. The symbols from Lehi's dream therefore inform the later eschatological prophecies and teachings of Nephi and Jacob that stress sudden messianic deliverance, such as their use of Isaiah 49:23–26, discussed at the head of this article.

4. Lehi's dream provides the conceptual and doctrinal basis for the apocalyptic content in 1 and 2 Nephi. In the first half of Lehi's dream, Nephi as narrator allows Lehi in his own voice (through what appears to be an embedded document)[40] to share his deeply dualistic dream (1 Ne. 8:2–33). Nephi first focuses his reader on the tree of life, its fruit, and those symbols that lead to the tree, such as the rod of iron and the strait and narrow path. In the second half of the dream, the emphasis shifts from the tree to the great and spacious building and its associated symbols, such as the mist of darkness, strange roads, and river; the focus likewise turns to four complex groups of people who have some connection with the tree. The first groups commence in the path that leads to the tree but eventually fall away (1 Ne. 8:21–23); the second groups arrive there, partake of the fruit, but also fall away (1 Ne. 8:24–28); the third, oddly only briefly treated in the narrative by Nephi, arrive at the tree, partake, but do not fall away (1 Ne. 8:30);[41] and the final groups, apparently due to thick darkness, only feel their way towards the building (1 Ne. 8:31–33).

Appropriately, the dualistic dream contains no middle ground. The river running between the tree and the building is not middle ground, as I will explain later. Lehi's dream symbolically depicts, among other things, the early stages of the spiritual battle between good and evil near the end of the world (Rev. 12:9, 17). This conflict, suggested by the balanced structural and symbolic separation between the tree and the building, the righteous and the wicked, is the doctrinal essence of both apocalyptic literature and of Nephi's subsequent writings (1 Ne. 22; see 2 Ne. 29–30).

In summary, Lehi's dream qualifies as apocalyptic literature because it seems to be a guided survey of time and space, or alternative worlds;

it is densely symbolic, particularly disorienting, challenging, and tonally complex; and it contains a structural and doctrinal dualism that thematically relates to events at the end of time, namely persecution, apostasy, destruction, and deliverance. Persecution prefigures the end but is not itself the actual end. Nephi's apparent omission of the actual end of his father's dream tends to cause the reader to pay more attention to the material that follows, material that itself is also cut short. In this broad apocalyptic context, Nephi emphasizes endurance in the face of such persecution. Lehi's apocalyptic dream, moreover, is the symbolic and conceptual basis of 1 and 2 Nephi, especially of Nephi's great vision recorded in 1 Nephi 11–14.

In What Ways Is Nephi's Vision Apocalyptic?

This section applies some of the same principles used above to examine Nephi's more obviously apocalyptic vision, together with related eschatological and messianic prophecies in 1 and 2 Nephi. Although Nephi's vision, unlike Lehi's earlier revelations and Lehi's dream, has been widely accepted as apocalyptic literature by LDS scholars, I hope to add to the discussion by applying Carey's criteria. The symbols of Lehi's dream continue to challenge, illuminate, and transform during Nephi's vision to a degree that has not been fully appreciated and understood. Three points will be made about Nephi's vision: (1) it is an ascension text that surveys future temporal time and reveals at least three apocalyptic or catastrophic events projected to occur beyond Nephi's day; (2) it becomes increasingly complex in terms of its symbolism, a quality it shares with Lehi's dream; and (3) it is deeply dualistic and immediately contextualized in a way that marks it as apocalyptic literature.

1. Nephi's vision, or ascension, is a survey of time periods and places, three of which end catastrophically. Understanding these alternative historical worlds apparently depends on Lehi's symbolic dream (1 Ne. 8) and a framing prophecy (1 Ne. 10).[42] Nephi clearly felt compelled to place before his reader Lehi's prophecy concerning the Jews and Gentiles in the narrative before he described his own seeric vision of all things. In fact, Nephi explicitly responded to the Spirit's opening question "What desirest thou?" by confessing, "I desire to behold the things which my father saw" (1 Ne. 11:3), which we know was much more extensive than what is recorded (1 Ne. 8:29, see 1 Ne. 8:36). Even more, Nephi desired to see not only what his father saw but also what his father had prophesied of "by the power of the Holy Ghost" (1 Ne. 10:17; see 1 Ne. 11:3, 5). His request was apocalyptic in scale, not simply a request to understand the tree as symbol.

Nephi's readers are apparently to understand his vision by the same power enjoyed by Lehi and Nephi (1 Ne. 10:17–19). Furthermore, 1 Nephi

10:17 and 11:5 make it clear that Nephi desired his readers to bring together Lehi's dream and his prophecy. The dream and subsequent prophecy prepare the reader for Nephi's fast-moving and complex vision, which is unfolded in 1 Nephi 11–14. Within this vision, the second intermediary or angel showed Nephi at least three catastrophic events from "an exceedingly high mountain" (1 Ne. 11:1).[43] The seer was transported to a place above the earth, where he could see things as they really would be.[44]

In the course of the angelically guided vision, Nephi stood in a place he "never had before seen" or "set his foot" and was shown three apocalyptic (or dispensation-ending) events, each in an alternative world that was future to him (1 Ne. 11:1). First, Nephi viewed the rejection of the "apostles of the Lamb" by the "multitudes of the earth" in the meridian of time (1 Ne. 11:34–36; see 2 Ne. 25:14); second, he viewed the destruction of the wicked and the preservation of the righteous at Christ's coming to the Nephites (1 Ne. 12:4–6; see 2 Ne. 26:1–9); and third, he viewed the persecution of the Latter-day Saints and alluded to the destruction of the wicked and the deliverance of the righteous at the end of the world (1 Ne. 14:10–17). These are themes that Nephi fleshed out in later prophecies in 1 and 2 Nephi (see 2 Ne. 27:3). Each of these events has a symbolic relationship to Lehi's dream and either typologically foreshadows or directly refers to the events of the last days, as shall be demonstrated (1 Ne. 11:36).

The second of the three catastrophic events foreseen and recorded is central to the mystery unfolded to Nephi in his apocalypse. Again, a symbol from Lehi's dream is involved, but this time it is incorporated in a delayed way that may slightly disorient readers. When the central purpose of the vision was announced to Nephi by the Spirit (the first intermediary) in 1 Nephi 11:7, it was made clear to him that the tree itself was not so important but rather what the tree represents—a specific future messianic advent. (This advent is yet another way to understand the symbol of the tree.) Apparently, the tree represents, among other things, the "love of God" as manifest to Lehi's and Nephi's seed in the account of 3 Nephi and, by extension, as manifest to all those who would eventually receive the record of the event before the Second Coming. "And behold this thing [a special future event that will be revealed for the first time to Nephi and his people] shall be given unto thee for a sign, that after thou hast beheld the tree which bore the fruit which thy father tasted [notice that the tree as symbol is subordinated], thou shalt also behold a man descending out of heaven, and him shall ye witness; and after ye have witnessed him ye shall bear record that it is the Son of God" (1 Ne. 11:7). Yet in Nephi's vision, the promise "thou shalt also behold a man descending out of heaven" is not fulfilled until 1 Nephi 12:6. The record of the descent of Jesus to the Nephites is also emphasized later in the vision and in Nephi's writings,

where he also gives his prophetic witness (1 Ne. 13:35–37, 40–41; see 2 Ne. 26:1–9; see also 2 Ne. 32:6).

Before this epic descent occurs, a destructive event is prophesied that has been described by a modern prophet as a pattern for the days before the Second Coming of Christ (1 Ne. 19:11–12; see 2 Ne. 26:1–9).[45] According to the vision of Nephi, signs would be given to the Lehites such as "wars and rumors of wars" (1 Ne. 12:2–3; see 2 Ne. 26:2). Heavy destruction would follow (1 Ne. 12:4; see 2 Ne. 26:3–7), and then the Lord would save them from their enemies and manifest himself to them, establishing millennial-like peace among them (1 Ne. 12; see 2 Ne. 26:8–9). "And it came to pass after I saw these things, I saw the vapor of darkness, that it passed from off the face of the earth; and behold, I saw multitudes who had not fallen because of the great and terrible judgments of the Lord. And I saw the heavens open, and the Lamb of God descending out of heaven; and he came down and showed himself unto them" (1 Ne. 12:5–6). This is the sign promised by the Spirit. Seen in context, Christ's coming is deliverance for the patiently waiting righteous (2 Ne. 26:8–9) that ushers in an era of peace, itself ending in apocalyptic terms when pride again rears its ugly head (1 Ne. 12:13–19; see 2 Ne. 26:9–10).

Interestingly, many symbols from Lehi's dream are used to represent the catastrophe among the seed of Lehi both at Christ's coming to Bountiful and when the Nephites are utterly and suddenly destroyed later (2 Ne. 26:18). For example, "mist of darkness" and "vapor of darkness" are both phrases Nephi employs to describe these apocalyptic events at the center of the visionary action (1 Ne. 12:4–5, 17). Later in the vision, other foundational symbols from Lehi's dream surface—building, river, and roads (1 Ne. 12:16–18)—but do not accumulate their full meaning until deeper into the dramatic narrative.

2. Like Lehi's dream, Nephi's vision is intensely symbolic and increasingly complex, as demonstrated by the transformation of a single symbol—the river. As we have seen, every symbol introduced by Lehi's dream seems to be incorporated into the dramatic narrative through 1 Nephi 14 and 15. I will therefore offer only a brief discussion concerning the symbol of the "river of water" from 1 Nephi 8:13. I choose the river because it is represented interestingly, powerfully, and apocalyptically; it is also transformative, being equated with the building, or with the dwelling place of the wicked.

Although many readers of the Book of Mormon take a partial or reductive approach to individual symbols of Lehi's dream and Nephi's vision, the apocalyptic symbol of the river has many layers of meaning and can reward the reader who takes the time to note carefully how the symbol is used in the text. For example, the river can represent a line of demarcation

between the wicked and the righteous; war and desolation (1 Ne. 12:15–16); "filthiness" (1 Ne. 15:26–27); "the depths of hell" (1 Ne. 12:16; see 1 Ne. 15:29, 35); a "great and terrible gulf" (1 Ne. 12:18; see 1 Ne. 15:28); "the justice of God" whose "brightness . . . was like unto the brightness of a flaming fire, which ascendeth up unto God for ever and ever, and hath no end" (1 Ne. 15:30; see 1 Ne. 12:18); and that "great pit" (1 Ne. 14:3).

Truly the symbol of the river, like the symbols of Lehi's dream and Nephi's vision in general, is layered with themes and motifs characteristic of apocalyptic literature. The "justice of God," for instance, alludes to final judgment and the afterlife. These several meanings are spread over many chapters, which demonstrates that the symbol evolves and accumulates meaning. Moreover, resonances of this complex symbol can be found even in Nephi's latest prophecy, wherein the river is evoked in describing in an apocalyptic context two cyclical Nephite national collapses: the first for which they would be swallowed up in "the depths of the earth" (2 Ne. 26:5, fulfilled in 3 Nephi), and the second in which "they must go down to hell" (2 Ne. 26:10; see 28:15, 21). This second fall is described in 4 Nephi.

3. Nephi's vision is deeply dualistic and contextualized in an apocalyptic manner. Like Lehi's intensely symbolic dream, Nephi's vision ends with the intermediary making a dualistic reference to "two churches only" (an indirect reference to the tree and the building) and "the wrath of God . . . poured out upon the great and abominable church" (1 Ne. 14:15). While Nephi's vision only suggests messianic deliverance, the promise of deliverance is made more explicit later (1 Ne. 22:17; 2 Ne. 30:10). But aside from this stark dualism of "two churches only," one also finds apocalyptic motifs in the local contextual material. For instance, even before Nephi describes his visionary experience, he focuses his reader's attention on the Messiah's first coming, the "mysteries of God" soon to be "unfolded," and the final judgment: "Therefore remember, O man, for all thy doings thou shalt be brought into judgment" (1 Ne. 10:11, 17–21).

Furthermore, after Nephi descended from the mountain top, he very emotionally explained the separating force of judgment and justice even further, specifically applying what he had seen to his brothers Laman and Lemuel, as did Lehi (1 Ne. 15:26–36; see 1 Ne. 16:1–3). The scene that apparently moved Nephi the most was not the tree but seeing the destruction of his seed by the seed of his own brethren (1 Ne. 12). In apocalyptic fashion, Nephi spoke of the inevitability of the vision (Carey's notion of "determinism") and its divine fulfillment: "I, Nephi, was grieved because of the hardness of their hearts, and also, because of the things which I had seen, and knew they must *unavoidably come to pass* because of the great wickedness of the children of men" (1 Ne. 15:4; italics added).

Lastly, so powerful and polarizing is apocalyptic experience that it overcomes the visionary who participates, and it troubles the recipients who later read the revelatory literature. Carey explains that apocalyptic experience is accompanied by "traumatic physical manifestations" such as "fear," "trembling," "prostration," and "exhaustion."[46] Both Lehi's dream and Nephi's vision exhausted the visionary. After his initial vision, Lehi cast "himself upon his bed, being overcome with the Spirit," and his dream troubled him and struck him with great fear (1 Ne. 1:6–7). Similarly, Nephi's vision so overcame him emotionally and spiritually that he lost his great physical strength: "And it came to pass that I was overcome because of my afflictions, for I considered that mine afflictions were great above all. . . . And it came to pass that after I had received strength I spake unto my brethren" (1 Ne. 15:5–6). Lehi's and Nephi's experiences apparently troubled both visionaries long afterward (2 Ne. 26:7, 10). If one includes Lehi's first vision (1 Ne. 1:6) with his dream (1 Ne. 8), he suffered from quaking, trembling, and emotional, spiritual, and physical exhaustion. Both were distraught about their families, or portions of them, yet each apparently knew, despite their sorrow, that some portion of their family would be saved at some future time (1 Ne. 22:17).

Is the Narrative Context of 1 and 2 Nephi Also Apocalyptic?

So far, I have proposed that Nephi's vision and Lehi's dream exemplify apocalyptic literature in the Book of Mormon. More specifically, I have argued that Nephi recorded a series of revelations from his father, some of which are apocalyptic in content and quality, with Lehi's dream being the fullest example. Nephi deliberately situated the dream (or part of it) in his narrative arrangement, providing his reader subsequently with an account of his own more complex ascension, prophecies, and doctrine. This paper now suggests that much of the content of 1 and 2 Nephi depends on these foundational revelations for imagery and is, therefore, also apocalyptic in theme. Unlike the earlier dream and vision, though, the later prophetic material more fully introduces messianic promises of deliverance and millennial rest, thus to a degree resolving the tensions caused by the earlier prophetic omissions (1 Ne. 22:24–28; see 2 Ne. 30:9–18).

1 Nephi. Chapters 19–22 of 1 Nephi give pointed prophetic instruction about the last dispensation and the end of the world structured on the order of events in Nephi's vision and dependent on the symbols of Lehi's dream (1 Ne. 19:12–15, 22–23). The apocalyptic instruction promises messianic deliverance in a future day for the "righteous" covenant people and, therefore, gives them power to endure the persecution of the "wicked" who "fight against" them (1 Ne. 22:14–19). At the beginning of this section of the

Book of Mormon, Nephi was commanded to make another more specific record for the "instruction of [his] people" (1 Ne. 19: 1, 3). Nephi considered the "plain and precious" truths in this second record to be of "great worth, both to the body and soul" (1 Ne. 19:7). After touching upon Christ's nativity, the visit of the Lord to the Nephites, and the subsequent gathering of Israel through the Gentiles (1 Ne. 19:7–9, 15–17), Nephi quoted and then commented upon Isaiah 48 and 49. In connection with Isaiah 49:22–26, Nephi devoted much of the final chapter of 1 Nephi to explaining the covenants associated with the fulness of the gospel and the promise of messianic deliverance (1 Ne. 22:15). The apocalyptic content at the conclusion of 1 Nephi is thereafter powerfully summarized and directly alluded to by Jacob in an important sermon that he delivered to his people at Nephi's request:

> Wherefore, they that fight against Zion and the covenant people of the Lord shall lick up the dust of their feet; and the people of the Lord shall not be ashamed. For the people of the Lord are they who wait for him; for they still wait for the coming of the Messiah. And . . . the Messiah will set himself again the second time to recover them; wherefore he will manifest himself unto them in power and great glory, unto the destruction of their enemies, when that day cometh that they shall believe in him; and none will he destroy that believe in him. And they that believe not in him shall be destroyed, both by fire, and by tempest, and by earthquakes, and by bloodsheds, and by pestilence, and by famine. And they shall know that the Lord is God, the Holy One of Israel. For shall the prey be taken from the mighty, or the lawful captives delivered? (2 Ne. 6:13–16)

Significantly, the end of 1 Nephi imparts emphatic prophetic instruction that draws Nephi's readers' attention to gospel covenants and the promise of deliverance from apocalyptic destruction. Both Nephi's vision and his later instruction end with a focus on "the covenant people of the Lord" persecuted by "the proud and they who do wickedly" (1 Ne. 14:13–14; 22:15; see 2 Ne. 26:4). However, neither Lehi's dream nor Nephi's vision ends with millennial rest. Each surprisingly ends with the crisis between good and evil in the balance. These unsatisfying endings create a dramatic narrative tension in the earlier revelations. Only Nephi's later instruction and prophecies in 1 and 2 Nephi begin to fully resolve the apocalyptic material found in 1 Nephi 8 and 11–14.

2 Nephi. The connection between Lehi's dream and Nephi's vision and the similarly patterned instruction in 1 Nephi 19–22 is part of something much larger going on in Nephi's apocalyptic books, as evidenced by his tantalizing conclusion to 1 Nephi: "And now I, Nephi, make an end; for I durst not speak *as yet* concerning these things" (1 Ne. 22:29, italics added).

"These things" in large part refer to the end of the world and the deliverance of the covenant people by the Messiah, as represented in the writings and sermons of Jacob, Isaiah, and Nephi. Nephi did not waste any time returning to his theme in 2 Nephi (2 Ne. 6:6–7; see 1 Ne. 21:22–23). After quoting Jacob's (2 Ne. 6–10) and Isaiah's (2 Ne. 12–24; see 25:3, 6, 9) apocalyptic teachings extensively, Nephi, in sharp contrast, offers his reader another emphatically plain prophecy. This prophecy uses the chronological structure of his earlier vision and his instruction in 1 Nephi 19–22 to further elaborate on the meaning of the tree and the building and the other symbols seen by his father (see 1 Ne. 22:1–2).

In this great and final prophecy (2 Ne. 25–30), Nephi describes events or people connected to the building and its inhabitants: the fall of Jerusalem (2 Ne. 25:14), the sudden destruction of the Nephites (2 Ne. 26:18), and the pride of the Gentiles (2 Ne. 26:20–21). Nephi then briefly focuses his readers' attention on the pure love of God, or the tree: "He [Christ] doeth not anything save it be for the benefit of the world; for he loveth the world, even that he layeth down his own life that he may draw all men unto him. Wherefore, he commandeth none that they shall not partake of his salvation" (2 Ne. 26:24). Nephi continues: "He doeth nothing save it be plain unto the children of men; and he inviteth them all to come unto him and partake of his goodness" (2 Ne. 26:33). This verse sounds very much like when Lehi beckoned to his family; in fact, "partake" is the word used often in Lehi's dream.

Nephi then resumes his description of the "days of the Gentiles" (2 Ne. 27:1) and the end of the world, a dark time when the Gentiles "have all gone out of the way" (2 Ne. 28:11). In those days of wickedness and false churches, a book (the rod of iron, specifically the Book of Mormon) would come forth and lead the humble through the Gentile "mists of darkness" and false doctrine to God and his redeeming love. Others would "stumble" along in "an awful state of blindness" due to "the greatness of their stumbling block" (1 Ne. 13:29, 32; 2 Ne. 26:20). One can readily relate the darkness of Lehi's dream and Nephi's vision in relationship to this Gentile blindness and stumbling.

Simultaneously, many others not gathered under the tree would be stirred to "rage" and would "persecute the meek and poor in heart, because in their pride they are puffed up" (2 Ne. 28:20, 28; see Morm. 8:17–22). Some of the humble would come unto Christ but then afterward fall away because they were led by the uninspired "precepts of men," apparently becoming ashamed of Christ and his gospel (2 Ne. 28:14). Variants of the word "shame" are worth tracing from Lehi's dream through Jacob's sermon and beyond into Nephi's writings (2 Ne. 9:18). Moreover, many who hearken to Satan's temptations, for "he whispereth in their ears" (2 Ne. 28:22), would be lulled

or flattered away (2 Ne. 28:15, 21) from the path and fall into the depths of hell (2 Ne. 26:5, 10; see 1 Ne. 15:26–36).

The whole prophecy ends on this apocalyptic and prophetic note: "For the time speedily cometh that the Lord God shall cause a great division among the people, and the wicked will he destroy; and he will spare his people, yea, even if it so be that he must destroy the wicked by fire" (2 Ne. 30:10). This prophecy, prefiguring a "great division" between the "wicked" and "his people" and messianic deliverance, recalls the symbols and themes of the final part of Nephi's vision when all factions are said to belong to "two churches only" (1 Ne. 14:10). This separation was of course also apparent in Lehi's dream.

The verbal, symbolic, and thematic cohesion achieved through the apocalyptic books of 1 and 2 Nephi is remarkable. Nephi's earlier visionary account abruptly ends with gathering persecution, rising priesthood power, and descending divine destruction. But Nephi's last prophecy, as apocalyptic prophecy often does, promises dramatic deliverance and a new age of millennial rest (2 Ne. 30:11–18; see 1 Ne. 14:14). The material on the Millennium (2 Ne. 30:11–18; see 1 Ne. 22:24–26), absent from Lehi's dream and Nephi's vision, tends to resolve the conflict and literary tension inherent in the earlier material. Like Isaiah's and Zechariah's apocalyptic writings, the strong presence of millennial hope marks 1 and 2 Nephi as apocalyptic literature, or at least apocalyptic in symbols and themes, for it imparts consolation to those who hold on.[47]

Conclusion

I have explored the following points: (1) that Lehi, as a "visionary man," apparently had important apocalyptic revelations other than his famous dream; (2) that Lehi's dream, strategically located in Nephi's narrative, is apocalyptic and therefore focused on apostasy, endurance, and by inference messianic deliverance; (3) that Lehi's dream and Nephi's vision are representative samples of the genre of apocalyptic literature and have certain identifiable characteristics, such as their use of alternative worlds, dense symbolism, and difficult textual features that disorient their readers even while they spiritually edify and impart hope; and lastly, (4) that Lehi's dream and Nephi's vision shape and inform the dualistic prophecies and eschatological teachings of 1 and 2 Nephi, all of which have not been appreciated or understood well enough. These books are in a way as apocalyptic in their themes and symbolic features as other apocalypses such as Daniel and Revelation—although neither Daniel nor John had a Nephi to come after them and show how history would flow.

One should understand Nephi's doctrinal teachings on making and keeping covenants (2 Ne. 31–32) in terms of symbolism and imagery found in the apocalyptic backdrop of 1 and 2 Nephi. For instance, Nephi refers to phrases familiar to Lehi's dream, such as "the strait and narrow path" and "ye must press forward." In his doctrinal teachings following his last extended prophecy on the high-minded Gentiles (2 Ne. 25–30), Nephi emphasizes for his readers the importance of avoiding personal apostasy after they have come unto Christ and partaken of his goodness (2 Ne. 31:14–15). He then asks rhetorically "if all is done" once they have obtained the path that leads to eternal life, or the tree. He answers for his readers: "Behold, I say unto you, Nay; for ye have not come thus far save it were by the word of Christ with unshaken faith in him, relying wholly upon the merits of him who is mighty to save. Wherefore, ye must press forward with a steadfastness in Christ, having a perfect brightness of hope and a love of God and of all men. Wherefore, if ye shall press forward, feasting upon the word of Christ, and endure to the end, behold thus says the Father: ye shall have eternal life" (2 Ne. 31:19–20). Enduring to the end, or not giving heed to those in the building and falling away, was the very point Nephi immediately emphasized after recording Lehi's apocalyptic dream (1 Ne. 8:34). Moreover, the angelic guide in Nephi's vision had said to Nephi that those who "endure unto the end" in "that day" shall be "lifted up" (1 Ne. 13:37).

However, neither Lehi's dream nor Nephi's vision, prophecies, or teachings fully unveil or reveal the very end. John the Revelator, according to Nephi, was "ordained" by God to "see and write the remainder of these things" (1 Ne. 14:25, 21). This is another powerful evidence that 1 and 2 Nephi should be seen within the apocalyptic genre, for the record itself recognizes the connection between Nephi's writings and John's apocalypse. Nephi, as selective editor, seer, and narrator, not only prepares his readers for John's account of "the end of the world" but also for the actual end of the world with all its promised drama (1 Ne. 14:22). Nephi's is a warning voice. His voice speaks peace to the righteous and assures them of messianic deliverance "even if it so be as by fire" (1 Ne. 22:17). It is no surprise, therefore, that the Apostle John, as well as Peter (2 Pet. 2, 3), Alma (Alma 32, 36), and Mormon (Morm. 8), all use the language and symbols that Lehi does, exhorting his audience in crisis to faith and patience, assuring them that if they "hold fast" against temptation and opposition, they will not fall away but soon "eat of the tree of life" in the kingdom of God (Rev. 2:7; 3:11; see D&C 20:35).

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1. The Joseph Smith Translation of Isaiah 49:25 adds more about God delivering his people: "But thus saith the Lord; even the captives of the mighty shall be taken away [using this language, one can infer a narrow escape], and the prey of the terrible [the wicked] shall be delivered, for the mighty God shall deliver his covenant people [the prey]. For thus saith the Lord, I will contend with them that contendeth with thee, and I will save thy children." Scott H. Faulring, Kent P. Jackson, and Robert J. Matthews, *Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible: Original Manuscripts* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 2004), 821. The Joseph Smith Translation adds to Matthew that the covenant people are "the elect according to the covenant" (JST Matt. 24:22). ^

2. According to Christopher Rowland, there are really two ways of viewing apocalyptic literature: "On the one hand, there is the view that apocalypticism is determined by the revelatory character of this literature. On the other hand, there is the view that the religion is determined entirely by the (mainly eschatological) contents of these texts. This difference explains the great variety in definitions that modern literature on the subject offers of this phenomenon." Christopher Rowland, "Apocalyptic," in *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. Kevin J. Vanhoozer (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2005), 52. For the purposes of this paper, apocalyptic literature is both "revelatory" (it unveils hidden knowledge) and "eschatological" (having to do with the end of times, particularly with those events that will, according to the prophets, take place just before, during, and just after Christ's second coming to the earth). ^

3. For example, Stephen E. Robinson, "Great and Abominable Church," in *Book of Mormon Reference Companion*, ed. Dennis L. Largey (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 310–15; and S. Kent Brown and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, *Between the Testaments from Malachi to Matthew* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 152–54. Jared M. Halverson has recently made a somewhat similar argument, although his work is not concerned with the relationship between the apocalypses of Lehi and Nephi and the other prophetic material in 1 and 2 Nephi. Instead, it compares Lehi's dream and Nephi's vision to John's famous apocalypse in the Bible. Moreover, whereas Halverson insightfully describes Lehi's dream and Nephi's vision as a mutually dependent pair of apocalypses (the one ultimately fitting within the other in a two-part whole), I read Lehi's dream as possessing two parts itself; and even though it is dramatically abridged, I see it as ending, so to speak, in omission. Jared M. Halverson, "Lehi's Dream and Nephi's Vision as Apocalyptic Literature," in *The Things Which My Father Saw: Approaches to Lehi's Dream and Nephi's Vision*, ed. Daniel L. Belnap, Gaye Strathearn, and Stanley A. Johnson (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2011), 53–69. In this study, I focus only on the words of Nephi and Jacob; I do not attempt to discuss the many additional ways in which the embedded Isaiah chapters also qualify as apocalyptic. ^

4. M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), 38. ^

5. On the usual elements of visionary literature, see Leland Ryken, *How to Read the Bible as Literature* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1984), 165–75. ^

6. Greg Carey, *Ultimate Things: An Introduction to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature* (Danvers, Mass.: Chalice Press, 2005), 1–18. ^

7. John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (Missoula, 1977), quoted in Richard E. Sturm, "Defining the Word 'Apocalyptic': A Problem in Biblical Criticism," in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament*, ed. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards (Great Britain: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 24. ^

8. "Anything viewed as a prophetic revelation is an apocalypse." Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City, Bookcraft, 1966), 40–41. ^

9. Carey, *Ultimate Things,* 6–10. Carey also lists cosmic speculation, prophecy after the fact, and pseudonymity. ^

10. Hugh W. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, ed. Stephen Ricks (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), 83, 218–19. The reference to physicality is interesting given how often the phrase "according to the flesh" is repeated in the first two books of Nephi (see 1 Ne. 22:1–2), especially in Jacob's teachings (see 2 Ne. 6–10), wherein he also speaks of the literal resurrection (2 Ne. 9), another apocalyptic motif found in relevant sections of the Old Testament (Isa. 26:20–21; Dan. 12:2). ^

11. D. S. Russell, *Prophecy and the Apocalyptic Dream: Protest and Promise* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 19–30. ^

12. Although the origin of apocalyptic literature has for a long time been disputed, many scholars agree that one source for the themes within the literature is Old Testament prophecy, including preexilic prophecy. William R. Millar reports that scholars such as Edward Kissane and Yehezkel Kaufman have seen Isaiah 24–27 as "pre-exilic prophetic judgment literature thoroughly at home in the work of eighth-century Isaiah." In this connection, Millar reports that even Kissane admits that this early Isaiah material may be understood "in a very wide sense" as apocalyptic; and that, similarly, Kaufman asserts that the later writers of apocalyptic literature "borrowed" motifs from First Isaiah. William R. Millar, *Isaiah 24–27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 1, 6, 8.

More recently, J. G. McConville, the contributor of "Prophetic Writings" to Vanhoozer's important edited work, connects questions about judgment and salvation oracles and determinism to Amos; the "'Divine Warrior' attitude" and "eschatological holy war" motifs to Joel; God's justice and judgment of the nations to Isaiah and Jeremiah; and a day of knowledge (or millennial renewal) to Habakkuk and Joel. J. G. McConville, "Prophetic Writings," in Vanhoozer, *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible,* 628–32. Another scholar explains that Joel portrays "the eschatological day of the Lord" and the earth's "renewal." Willem VanGemeren, "Joel, Book of," in Vanhoozer, *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible,* 389–91.

These archetypal themes found at least loosely strewn through the preexilic prophetic literature clearly have a direct relationship to what later becomes fully developed apocalyptic literature. Apocalyptic literature, therefore, apparently transitions from what is called classical prophecy to more complex apocalyptic literature by way of proto-apocalyptic literature, a literature in various stages of transition. Lehi's writings probably fall within this last more mixed and fluid category. Brown and Holzapfel confirm that fully formed apocalyptic literature belongs mainly to the intertestamental time period. Brown and Holzapfel, *Between the Testaments,*

146–47. And Griggs helpfully adds, "The apocalyptic tradition was one of those the early Christian church rejected in the third through the fifth centuries, only to be recovered in modern times through [nineteenth-century] discoveries." C. Wilford Griggs, "Apocalyptic Texts," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:54. ^

13. "Apocalyptic Literature," in *Compact Bible Dictionary*, ed. Ronald F. Youngblood, F. F. Bruce, and R. K. Harrison (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2004), 47. ^

14. "Daniel, Book of," in Bible Dictionary, in *Holy Bible* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), 653, explains that the book of Daniel is "the earliest example of apocalyptic literature currently in the Bible" and adds, "There are, however, examples of apocalyptic literature in Moses 7 and 1 Nephi 8, 11, which are of earlier date." Moses 7 contains the prophecies of Enoch, seventh from Adam. ^

15. Rowland, "Apocalyptic," 52. On the origin of apocalyptic, Richard E. Sturm reports that R. H. Charles "sees apocalyptic arising out of prophecy in the fourth century." And Sturm asserts that H. H. Rowley "holds that when late prophecy saw history as moving swiftly toward a great climax and birth of a new age for a remnant of Israel, it was only a short step to apocalyptic, from which messianism developed . . . and . . . the concept of a great world judgment." Lastly, Sturm shares Philipp Vielhauer's four theories explaining apocalyptic literature's origin: (1) it "arose out of . . . Persian cosmological dualism, stimulating eschatological thinking in post-exilic circles around 400–200 BC"; (2) it "is a continuation of prophecy"; (3) it "is an expression of 'folkbooks' or esoteric literature of rabbis"; and (4) it "is a product of the Wisdom tradition." Sturm, "Defining the Word 'Apocalyptic,'" 22–23. ^

16. Millar takes this view. Millar, *Isaiah 24–27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic*, 7, 118. ^

17. Rowland, "Apocalyptic," 52. ^

18. Millar suggests that after the Babylonian captivity occurred, literature went in a new direction due to the sheer trauma that would have resulted from such a historical event. Millar, *Isaiah 24–27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic,* 118. Avraham Gileadi, *The Literary Message of Isaiah* (New York: Hebraeus Press, 1994), 2, argues that the book of Isaiah (much quoted in 1 and 2 Nephi) is an apocalypse predating the exile. In this connection, he reminds us of the importance of the "spirit of prophecy" in interpreting apocalyptic texts (see 2–3; see 2 Ne. 25:1–10). ^

19. Some of this imagery can be traced as far back as the prophet Zenos, who spoke apocalyptically of a "vapor of darkness" (1 Ne. 19:11), which resembles Lehi's "mist of darkness" (1 Ne. 8:23, 24). ^

20. On the relationship between prophecy and apocalyptic, see Russell, *Prophecy and the Apocalyptic Dream,* 19–30, and Brown and Holzapfel, *Between the Testaments,* 143–45. ^

21. Griggs, "Apocalyptic Texts," 1:54. Griggs writes that in apocalyptic literature "the seer often gives a brief autobiographical account in which he recounts his initial experiences and important personal events." In 1 Nephi 8, Nephi allows his father to share his dream with us from the first-person point of view. Because this point of view remains largely consistent throughout 1 Nephi 8, it has the tendency to stabilize the ambiguity of the dream's other parts. The dream's ambiguity is explored later in this paper. It is interesting to note that Lehi's point of view is often limited to what he can see from his position under the tree, but not always. ^

22. Russell, *Prophecy and the Apocalyptic Dream*, 19–30. Brown and Holzapfel confirm that this literature is a literature created in end-time crisis. The Essene community who saw themselves as in crisis is a case in point. Brown and Holzapfel, *Between the Testaments,* 151–52. ^

23. Carey, *Ultimate Things,* 8. ^

24. Catherine Thomas has noted the complexity of the divine symbol of the tree as treated in the text. However, she has made no attempt to exhaustively explore the meaning; nor do I. She has observed that the tree of life is juxtaposed with the olive tree in 1 Nephi. M. Catherine Thomas, "Jacob's Allegory: The Mystery of Christ," in *The Allegory of the Olive Tree*, ed. Stephen D. Ricks and John W. Welch (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994), 11–20. Most LDS teachers seem to discuss the tree as Christ and its fruit as coming unto him through baptism and confirmation. Elder David A. Bednar has recently described it this way in an *Ensign* article. David A. Bednar, "Lehi's Dream: Holding Fast to the Iron Rod," *Ensign* 41 (October 2011): 32–37. This apostolic interpretation is very important, but is apparently not Nephi's own view, at least not his sole view, for in 2 Nephi 31 Nephi speaks of entering the path (also as symbol from Lehi's dream) as coming unto Christ through the ordinances and of obtaining the tree as something far more significant—laying hold of the promise of eternal life and of entering the kingdom of God. ^

25. Talmage discusses the difference between dreams and visions, and clarifies that in general terms dreams are not open visions. Dreams are had while asleep and visions while awake. Waking visions can render one "practically unconscious," however. Even visions of the night must be understood as revelations that come to the waking senses and not the unconscious mind or spirit. Lehi's dream came to him as a result of his priesthood role. James E. Talmage*, The Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1977), 226. Joseph Smith taught that open visions are of great importance and ought to be interpreted or shut up. Richard C. Galbraith, *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 184. The fact that Lehi and Nephi never settle on whether to call Lehi's revelation a dream or a vision is an ambiguity. Ambiguity will be further explored later in the paper. ^

26. The word "survey" contains the idea of alternative worlds, world ages past or future, and otherworldly places. Carey, *Ultimate Things,* 6. ^

27. Carey, *Ultimate Things,* 6. ^

28. The all too common phrase "And it came to pass" is often glossed over but does convey the passage of time, as Arthur Henry King explains: "The task of the phrase is to nudge the attention, which is why it naturally occurs at the beginning of paragraphs, but it occurs elsewhere when particular attention has to be drawn to the narrative's taking a further step." Arthur Henry King, "Language Themes in Jacob 5: 'The Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts Is the House of Israel (Isaiah 5:7),'" in Ricks and Welch, *Allegory of the Olive Tree*, 151. ^

29. Griggs speaks to this issue, as have others. Griggs, "Apocalyptic Texts," 1:54. ^

30. Millar suggests that Ezekiel fathers the "apocalyptic tour of space" narrative. Millar, *Isaiah 24–27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic,* 8. ^

31. The use of superlative language, "most sweet" or "white, to exceed all whiteness," in describing the tree suggests that the tree represents the kingdom of God. This reading is borne out later in Nephi's account when it becomes clear that the tree represents more than the love of God. ^

32. Ryken, *How to Read the Bible,* 169, 174. ^

33. There are other examples of disorientation in the dream. Lehi reports in 1 Nephi 8:11 that "I beheld that it [the tree] was most sweet." The reader wonders exactly how sweetness is registered to the eyes. Later, the eyes of some are "cast . . . about" in shame as opposed to more common expression "cast down in shame." And, all this is done before the building has yet been identified for the reader. Jacob speaks at length about shame. Does he have his father's dream in mind when he does so? There is much evidence that he saw what his father and his brother saw, particularly in his speech recorded in 2 Nephi 6–10. "Partake" and "pressing forward" are words and phrases that also get into the later teachings as the paper makes clear. Must they also be understood to connect in some way to the dream? ^

34. John W. Welch, "Strait, Straight," in Largey, *Book of Mormon Reference Companion,* 746. ^

35. Rowland clarifies that some apocalyptic literature does attempt to explain itself. This motif (to be both obscure and plain) is a style of this literature itself. That is, "some [apocalypses] include explanations of their imagery by means of an authoritative angelic interpreter." Rowland, "Apocalyptic," 52. This angelic teacher motif, also used by Milton in his great epic, *Paradise Lost,* is used in Nephi's account. In 1 Nephi 11–14, an angel shows to Nephi what his father has seen. The problem is that the new material explains many important events to come in some clarity, but it ironically also raises many additional questions. Some of the new questions are indirectly answered in the subsequent material of 1 and 2 Nephi. There is no direct attempt, however, to answer the textual questions that I have raised about 1 Nephi 8. My point is that textual indeterminacy is a mark of authentic apocalyptic literature and should not alarm us. ^

36. Carey, *Ultimate Things,* 7. ^

37. Carey, *Ultimate Things,* 2. ^

38. Brown and Holzapfel, *Between the Testaments,* 150–51. ^

39. Carey, *Ultimate Things,* 8. ^

40. S. Kent Brown, "Lehi's Personal Record: Quest for a Missing Source," *BYU Studies* 24, no. 1 (1984): 29. ^

41. Most modern readings emphasize this short section. For instance, Elder Bednar does this in his *Ensign* article. Nephi does not seem to, however. If anything, he seems to draw his reader's attention to group 2. Bednar, "Lehi's Dream: Holding Fast to the Rod," 32–37. ^

42. John W. Welch has done some work on this. "Getting through Isaiah with the Help of the Nephite Prophetic View," in *Isaiah in the Book of Mormon,* ed. Donald W. Perry and John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1998), 19–47. He has identified the stages of history that are repeated in Nephi's writings. He shows that they correspond to the structure or sequence of Nephi's vision. ^

43. The battle described in 1 Nephi 13:12–18 (possibly referring to the American Revolution) may also be a type of the end-time battle. The people are few in number, "humble themselves," and are delivered by the "wrath of God" from "all other nations." ^

44. Nibley clarifies this privileged point of view in apocalyptic literature. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet,* 83. He argues that the visionary's ability to see events from different points of view (due to his ability to move up or down or to travel), including

God's point of view, marks this kind of literature as theodicy. Lehi, of course, did not see his visions from a mountaintop but from under a tree, a place that he had traveled to with some difficulty. ^

45. Ezra Taft Benson, "The Savior's Visit to America," *Ensign* 17 (May 1987): 4–7. ^

46. Carey, *Ultimate Things,* 7. ^

47. Paul O'Callaghan describes the "eschatological doctrine contained in apocalyptic works under the following seven headings: divine predeterminism; the imminence of the eschatological end; eschatological signs and portents; the arrival of the savior figure; the resurrection of the dead and final judgment; the fate of the righteous and the wicked." Paul O'Callaghan, "The Eschatological Doctrine of Apocalyptic Works," in *The Christological Assimilation of the Apocalypse: An Essay on Fundamental Eschatology* (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2004), 69–70. The doctrine expressed by O'Callaghan clearly would include the LDS concept of millennium since that period of rest is ushered in along with the "resurrection of the dead" at the "arrival of the savior figure" and precedes the "final judgment." The millennium is often expressly included if not always implied in discussions of apocalyptic literature, for example in Morton D. Paley, *Apocalypse and Millennium in English Romantic Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Carey's notion of "alternative worlds" embraces the idea of old and new worlds. Carey, *Ultimate Things,* 6. The millennium is the new world order under Christ. It replaces the old world order in part under Satan, for he has "his own dominion" even if the earth has never been his possession (D&C 1:35). ^

Daniel Justin Herman. *Hell on the Range:*
A Story of Honor, Conscience, and the American West.
New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Reviewed by Taunalyn F. Rutherford

In the introduction to *Hell on the Range,* Daniel Justin Herman informs readers that his account of Arizona's Rim Country War of the 1880s is more than revisionist critique; it is self-critique. Herman, an associate professor of history at Central Washington University, is an Arizonan who, like many growing up in the western United States, was "raised on its romance," and in his youth he viewed "Arizonans—especially cowboys—[as] made of sterner, stronger stuff than people who grew up elsewhere" (xxii). His view of Mormons and Mormonism—an important undercurrent animating much of this book—was informed by his experiences as a non-Mormon in an LDS-sponsored Boy Scout troop when he was young and his realization years later that his Mormon friends and fellow scouts had ancestors who had settled the Rim Country. Herman, who is also the author of the award-winning book *Hunting and the American Imagination,* places his study of the Rim Country in conversation with the mythic West as depicted in the novels of Zane Grey and in the images and narratives of the magazine *Arizona Highways*.

Hell on the Range, also an award-winner, is a cultural history featuring Texas cowboys, Mormons, New Mexican sheepherders, mixed-blood ranchers, and Jewish merchants, all jockeying for control over various segments of the free range in Arizona. It weaves together scholarship from New Western history and borderlands studies and has much in common with recent works on nineteenth-century American vigilantism, religion, and violence. Herman's central argument is that the Rim Country War, in addition to being a battle for terrain and resources, was complicated by family feuds, racial tensions, and religious differences—a "manifestation of a battle between honor and conscience." Herman, drawing on the work of Bertram Wyatt-Brown, refers to the "nineteenth-century culture of honor epitomized by physical courage, loyalty to kin, fierce defense of family and personal reputation, conspicuous display of wealth, eager hospitality,

gambling, drinking, . . . and communal shaming" (xiv). Conversely, Herman defines conscience as "a worldview that placed moral courage above physical courage; individual piety above family reputation; frugality and work above displays of wealth and luxury; sobriety and rectitude above drinking and gambling; exhortation and rehabilitation above punishment and shaming" (xv).

Herman deftly manages, for the most part, to place his theory of honor versus conscience in conversation with the various factions involved in the Arizona Rim Country conflict. He begins with the feud between the Graham and Tewksbury families in Pleasant Valley, which he describes as a conflict over cattle and resources as well as behaviors of honor. Large and small cattle operators and sheepherders entered the conflict and created alliances with various parties within the two factions. Herman explains how the conflict expanded because of economic catastrophe as well as racial and religious tensions. Ranch owners hired Texas cowboys who clearly exemplified honor in all the ways Wyatt-Brown enumerated. Arizona Mormons, argues Herman, were the embodiment of the culture of conscience in the narrative. Latter-day Saints initially resisted the use of violence when cowboys and New Mexicans threatened them, robbed them, and jumped their claims.

In 1887 the Aztec Land and Cattle Company formed an alliance with the Mormons and some other small ranchers to eliminate crime and gain government control. This alliance caused the Aztec Company to fire cowboys who had been hostile to Mormons. Newly formed alliances resulted in the cowboys joining the conflict on the Graham side, or what was considered by those in power to be the criminal side. A perfect storm of economic volatility, conflicting ideology, and divergent understandings of masculinity underpinned the shifting of alliances.

Ultimately, in an effort to rid the country of criminals, vigilantes killed men who were mistakenly accused of cattle rustling. Mormons, Aztec managers, and smaller ranchers, who believed in such conscience-oriented values as law and order and hard work, banded together in these vigilante groups and enlisted men to carry out violent lynching to bring order to the range. Herman makes an important intervention in local histories and lore by proving that the conflict was not confined to Pleasant Valley but was like "a contagious fever" that "spilled across three counties—Apache, Yavapai, and Gila—each of which added fuel to the flame" (201).

Herman's application of his conscience-versus-honor thesis is especially helpful in analyzing the aftermath of the war. To this end, chapter 11 illuminates the life and policies of George W. P. Hunt, the first governor of Arizona, who served a total of seven terms between 1912 and 1933. Hunt,

according to Herman, made great strides in fomenting a culture of conscience in the state during the Progressive Era. The succeeding chapter chronicles the circuitous path of the tropes of honor and conscience as manifest in the works of popular novelist Zane Grey who, Herman argues, resurrected the culture of honor for succeeding generations of readers keen to embrace the mythic West of heroes and villains. Grey's honor, argues Herman, was not an honor marred by slavery, and it still maintained some elements of conscience, but it "sought to resolve problems with a six-shooter or, at the least, with a hard fist." Herman argues that this was what the nation sought at the time: "Grey's heroes displayed no interest in Progressive reforms. . . . They represented a new blend of honor and conscience that prescribed assertive manliness—and submissive womanliness—for the twentieth century" (285). It is this image of the West that would prevail in pulp fiction and Hollywood films.

BYU Studies readers will be especially interested in Herman's treatment of Mormon history in Arizona. One of the strengths of *Hell on the Range* is the way in which Herman weaves Mormonism into the story. He neither demonizes nor romanticizes; he approaches his subjects with respect, and his scholarship concerning Mormon history is thoughtful and sound. Herman's discussion of the various Latter-day Saints who answered the call to the Arizona mission is an important biographical intervention that expands our knowledge and deepens our understanding of the connections between LDS experiences and regional and national developments. Herman reminds us of the importance of Mormon history and of Mormons in American history.

It is, however, in his discussion of Mormons in Arizona that Herman's use of the honor/conscience trope seems somewhat limiting. For example, William Flake, cofounder of Snowflake, Arizona, figures prominently in the book, and Herman places Flake in the culture of honor camp merely because his parents, James and Agnes Flake, were Southerners and slaveholders who continued to hold slaves long after their conversion to the LDS faith. They even offered the services of their slave Green to Brigham Young during the trek west. Herman notes that it is not surprising that the Flake family "imbibed the honor culture of the Old South, a culture premised on the idea of white honor and black shame. What is more interesting is that they entered a religious culture tied so closely with honor's contrary: conscience" (27).

Herman begins Flake's narrative in 1857, the same year as the Mountain Meadows Massacre, when Flake was stationed as a soldier in Cedar City. Referencing Walker, Turley, and Leonard, who confirm that militiamen from Cedar City participated in the massacre, Herman suggests that it is

possible that Flake was among those involved.[1] Herman calls the anomalies of Mormon aggression "the violence of conscience" (30). He describes William Flake as peaceful and leaning more toward the conscience side, yet in the end identifies him as an accessory to the lynching of innocent men who were considered cattle thieves.

Herman's theory—while illuminating in some respects—ultimately overgeneralizes. He places Mormons squarely within the culture of conscience in order to illustrate how they defy this culture by seeking violent solutions to conflict. This reasoning fails to recognize how elements of both honor and conscience were, perhaps, in constant tension for all inhabitants of the Rim region. For this reviewer, Herman's analysis is less compelling when he addresses Arizona Mormons and Mormonism generally.

Herman does make an important and thought-provoking assertion that "Mormon emphasis on their own perfection—and the corresponding wickedness of gentiles—brought them into conflict" (48). Wilford Woodruff predicted that "by 1890 . . . the U.S. would go just as the Jaredites of *The Book of Mormon* had gone: in civil war, in fire and blood"(48). Herman compares this statement with the Rim Country War, asserting that "Pleasant Valley—like much of the cattle country of the West—befit the Mormon description of the wars of the Jaredites. The ranchers and cowboys of Pleasant Valley saw one another not as friends but as enemies. They were competitors for the fruits of the earth. They suspected one another of stealing stock. They hated one another for 'stealing' range. And in 1887 they fell into civil war" (66). Herman's conclusion is that Mormons saw themselves not as Jaredites and not succumbing to civil war but living as people of conscience; yet this same thinking led them to see Gentiles as the evil other and, subsequently, to rationalize conflict and justify violence.

Herman argues further that in the aftermath of the war, "Mormon accommodation to cowboy honor was part of a larger movement by Mormons into mainstream American life. . . . By emphasizing their cowboy heritage, Arizona Mormons emphasized their similarity with Western non-Mormons" (211). Anyone who has ever wondered why rodeos are such a central feature in modern Mormon Pioneer Day celebrations can appreciate Herman's argument in this regard.

Hell on the Range is an important book for all of the reasons discussed here and one other: It offers a lens through which to view the current political and cultural landscape of the United States. According to Herman, "Conscience and honor continue to form the yin and yang of American politics, with the Republican Party typically steering toward honor and the Democratic Party steering toward humanitarian conscience" (288). Readers will have a range of reactions to Herman's assertion, but as Mormons

and Mormonism continue to be prominent players in politics, as well as the object of ongoing media scrutiny, Herman offers up a thoughtful and lively consideration of the continuities between past and present. *Hell on the Range* will appeal to those with an interest in western American history as well as Mormon history. It will have particular appeal to those who have roots or interest in Arizona's Rim Country. Those who appreciate Zane Grey novels and the Hollywood westerns that his books inspired—as well as those who wonder about the mythic power of such cultural texts—should not miss Herman's book.

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1. Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 193. ^

17 Miracles. Directed by T. C. Christensen.
Excel Entertainment and Remember Films, 2011.

Reviewed by Allan Davis

The film *17 Miracles* is a recent cinematic depiction of the faith and trials of the Martin and Willie handcart companies. Mormon culture's hallowed treatment of the trek has appeared in oral histories, pageant depictions, and trek reenactments, and writer and director T. C. Christensen's treatment of the subject material is an excellent addition to a robust tradition that remembers a significant moment in our cultural past. That said, the film is not without its flaws. Though the film evidences superb storytelling and adept skill in the narrative language of film, it sometimes meanders away from its own strengths in order to fulfill other cultural or traditional expectations associated with recounting pioneer stories.

While Mormon culture provides multiple ways to hear pioneer stories, there is a pattern to how the stories are told. A "pioneer story" means something different than describing a trek across the plains. Reciting a daily log of a wagon's supply inventories would not be a pioneer story. Tradition and culture shape how we arrange the content of the stories *and* why we tell the stories. While pioneer stories mention struggles, they relate the struggles with optimistic and hope-inspiring tones. While individuals are mentioned, they are not at the heart of pioneer stories' narrative structure; God and faith are. Pioneer stories tend to be structured as vignettes rather than biographies; in any pioneer story, whom the miracle happens to is less important than the universality of God interceding on behalf of the faithful. For Mormons, there are preexisting understandings of what the tone, structure, and content of a pioneer story should be. Christensen's otherwise excellent film suffers from an imperfect attempt to integrate the traditional idea of a pioneer story with an alternative way of telling pioneer stories.

The cinematography's effect on tone represents one area where two different narrative impulses seem to clash. Without a doubt, the visual aspects of the film are aesthetically breathtaking. Those familiar with previous historical pieces by T. C. Christensen, like *Joseph Smith: Prophet of the*

Restoration, will be glad to rediscover Christensen's capacity to create rich vistas for his characters. He possesses a talent to create palpable environments where lighting, costuming, and settings combine to quicken the past and its dead. In *17 Miracles*, Christensen imbues both nature and the pioneers with an increased measure of abundant life. Compared to everyday life, the sun shines brighter in Christensen's world. Leaves paint forests with sumptuous greens, and blue skies are matched only by the crystalline rivers. It is as though Christensen's cinematography gives vision to the paradisiacal glory of the Millennial Earth.

Unfortunately, there are points throughout the film where such visual richness counters the dramatic tensions other elements strive to create. For example, the movie opens with the Mormon Battalion's discovery of the Donner Party's remains. The narrative is purposefully disorienting. A sense of danger is excellently established as frantic percussive music plays while unidentified men run through the woods. However, this tense forest looks like most other Christensen depictions of nature: bright and alive. The sun continues to shine brightly despite the intensity of the situation. This is not a bad philosophy to live by; it informs how Mormons tend to shape and share their stories. But here, it undermines the competing narrative other elements attempted to effect: life-threatening danger. There are similar failures to generate intensity, like when mobs or wolves threaten to attack the Saints. It is difficult to experience anxiety while all other visual cues indicate sublimity.

Another area where competing storytelling hinders the film's brilliance lies in characterization. The protagonist, Levi Savage (Jasen Wade), is compelling: a frontiersman and widower who leaves his infant son to serve a three-year mission in England. Wanting to return to his son, he must lead inexperienced pioneers. He gains experience when he helps find the remains of the Donner Party. And when he voices sound advice to not leave so late in the season, he is labeled an apostate and called to repentance.

Savage is a stalwart protagonist caught between his fears that the company will turn against itself like the Donner Party and the challenge of having his faithfulness labeled apostasy. He is an interesting character surrounded by interesting characters: families who left loved ones, children who traveled alone due to finances, elderly couples who faced death because they were accused of possessing a spirit of apostasy when they expressed concern over traveling at their age. Christensen depicts rich characters seeking Zion.

Then about two-thirds of the way through the film, these characters are replaced with vignette depictions of miracles: A starving mother remembers two cakes and with faith they are multiplied. A family leaves their

dead daughter behind but returns to revive her body when they remember a promised blessing that their entire family would reach Zion. Each story is touching, but the film gives no characterization to these pioneers. With one exception, those who experience miracles are not introduced before their short story. Savage disappears into the role of a narrator for forty minutes.

The first two-thirds of *17 Miracles* is framed by following the narrative and characterization of those in the pioneer party, though some alterations to historical accuracy did occur for the cinematic adaptation to work. However, when the telling of the pioneer miracle stories begins, the film fairly abruptly switches to vignettes. Traditionally, when we tell stories of miracles, context is provided, but the event rather than the individual pioneer is preeminent. The miracle takes the role of the protagonist. Thus the vignette structure better fits the model for conveying that history. The way vignette crafts history differs from the techniques used in the first portion of the film. Neither technique is necessarily superior; they are simply different modes of writing history. The problem lies in the film's incongruence.

There is one final struggle between narrative styles I would like to consider: the struggle between faith and disagreement. Christensen frames the story by suggesting that while pioneers faced natural vicissitudes like diminished food supplies, freezing weather, and dangerous wildlife, the greatest danger was internal. Wolves haunt the company, but they primarily serve as a reminder of mankind's darker capacity to turn on themselves. Traditional pioneer stories generally serve as examples of enduring to the end. There is also a popular folklore that the survivors of the Martin and Willie handcart companies never complained about the cost of reaching Zion being too high. By the end, *17 Miracles* repeats these narratives; however, the first two-thirds of the film indicates a more complicated relationship among company members than is generally conveyed in a traditional pioneer story.

The film initially investigates the ideas of apostasy and disagreeing with ecclesiastical leadership in a compelling way. The film does not portray Savage as faithless or someone in particular need of repentance because he disagreed with Church agents. It also does not abandon James Willie—the man most responsible for pushing the Saints late in the season and accusing Savage of apostasy—to thoughtless caricature. The sympathetic portrayal of Willie is interesting; he could have easily been depicted as overzealous. Unfortunately, he too fades in the narrative when significant tribulations begin, and therefore his character arc is not explored.

While the film does an excellent job balancing the portrayal of miracles with the reality of death, the narrative seems to uphold the tradition that

no one who survived murmured about the personal price of reaching Zion. I'm not suggesting the film needed to counter this narrative, but the way it explored the complexity of that sentiment was far more compelling and innovative in the first portion of the film.

Ironically, *17 Miracles* was not quite as miraculous, as a Mormon film, once it dedicated itself to depicting the accounts of miracles. The incongruence reveals a conflict in two modes of historical performance, rendering an otherwise brilliant piece of Mormon cinema somewhat fractured.

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The Persistence of Polygamy: Joseph Smith and the Origins of Mormon Polygamy, edited by Newell G. Bringhurst and Craig L. Foster (Independence, Missouri: John Whitmer Books, 2010).

Scattering of the Saints: Schism within Mormonism, by Newell G. Bringhurst and John C. Hamer (Independence, Missouri: John Whitmer Books, 2007).

Modern Polygamy in the United States: Historical, Cultural, and Legal Issues, by Cardell K. Jacobson with Lara Burton (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Each of these three anthologies collects a variety of scholarly articles on the interrelated topics of Mormon schismatic groups, contemporary polygamy, and the history of plural marriage. Each book is geared not only to scholars but also to a general readership interested in such topics as part of the history of one's own family and faith, or—in the case of Jacobson and Burton's book—as part of one's responsibilities as legal, scholarly, policy-making, or social-service professionals. It seemed appropriate to combine these three recent publications into a poly-book notice.

First, the editors of *The Persistence of Polygamy* hope their collection will provide solid scholarly discussions about the kinds of questions Latter-day Saints have about polygamy's origin and practice. Thanks to the Internet, many Latter-day Saints are discovering questions that until recently they did not even think to ask, especially regarding the beginnings of the practice of eternal plural marriages during the life of Joseph Smith.

Bringhurst and Foster's book may succeed precisely because it is not a book of simple apologetics; it does not offer easy, unconvincing answers. The editors and authors come from different backgrounds and offer various perspectives. For example, two chapters provide differing views as to whether people in Joseph Smith's time and place would have regarded his youngest plural wives as too young. Considerations of age difference and underagedness in marriage have always tended to evoke strong moral responses and continue to do so today. But the minimum age—and maximum age differences—for marriage have varied widely across times, cultures, and legal systems.

As highly charged as discussions of plural marriages have always been in America, it is worth pointing out that even practices unusual for their time do not automatically disqualify a historical figure from being held in high esteem, as evidenced by the near-universal reverence for Gandhi—who married a fourteen-year-old when he was thirteen. Later, in his seventies, he forbad men at his ashram from sleeping with their wives so that he could. As part of his unique ascetic discipline (often involving his eighteen-year-old grandniece), everyone remained unclothed yet totally chaste. Or so the Mahatma claimed when challenged about it. Joseph Smith's plural marriages and Gandhi's unusual practices are only becoming widely known in the Internet age, in part due to their followers' understandable traditional reluctance to discuss anything that might be misunderstood by people disinclined to consider religious motivations as legitimate.

Curiously, after years of serious and unsettling historical scholarship making a case for Joseph Smith fathering children by other women including other men's wives, the issue of whether *any* of Joseph Smith's plural marriages were physical and not just spiritual has re-emerged. DNA testing by Ugo A. Perego has eliminated most of the

known claims of Joseph Smith children born to any woman other than Emma.

Not every issue a reader may be interested in is covered in this book. The editors say *The Persistence of Polygamy* is the first in a three-volume series, so readers can hope that many issues will yet be addressed informatively and sensitively.

Second, *Scattering of the Saints* attempts a selective treatment of some of the major religious groups that trace their history through the prophetic claims of Joseph Smith. There are about a half dozen with more than a thousand members, a dozen or so with scores or hundreds, and perhaps hundreds that may represent only one pamphleteer or blogger. This is the first such attempt since Stephen Shields's 1982 much more encyclopedic *Divergent Paths of the Restoration*, which has long been the standard guide on the topic. While Shields's book still reigns as the most comprehensive, this new volume improves on Shields's work by incorporating advances in historical knowledge by including chapters written by members of the various groups themselves and by avoiding the RLDS tilt of Shields's work.

Supposedly you can't judge a book by its cover, but *Scattering* may be an exception. The cover art is a brilliant branching diagram showing dozens of groups splitting off from each other and the relationships between them. However, the chart omits the LeBaron and Collier polygamist groups' succession claim through Benjamin F. Johnson, whom they believe to be Joseph Smith's designated heir. Their claim bypasses the John Taylor/Lorin Woolley line that most other fundamentalists claim. This omission may reflect the editors' belief that the Benjamin F. Johnson succession claim was made up after the fact by leadership aspirants seeking a route around Woolleyite former

coreligionists with whom they had broken. Or this omission may simply demonstrate the difficulty of fully presenting such a multifaceted phenomenon as the many branching streams flowing from belief in Joseph Smith as a prophet.

Third, with the 2008 raid on the Yearning for Zion Ranch in Eldorado, Texas, and the 2006 capture of polygamist prophet Warren Jeffs, as well as with HBO's *Big Love* and Brady Udall's novel *The Lonely Polygamist*, contemporary polygamists are becoming one of the more familiar streams to have recently branched off the Restoration's Jordan. To the chagrin of both mainstream Mormons and fundamentalists of various stripes, the differences between Latter-day Saints committed to the cessation of plural marriage and those committed to its continuance are not always clear to outsiders. Neither are the legal, religious, historical, and sociological issues surrounding contemporary polygamy's practice. This can lead to shaky policy and poor law enforcement decisions. The editors of *Modern Polygamy in the United States* generally do not seek to dictate policy as much as provide useful information and analysis for those who do—and for anyone else seeking to understand this significant part of the human landscape of the American West.

Each of these three books provides much material for anyone seeking to better understand the practice of plural marriage in nineteenth-century Mormonism and its modern aftermaths. Collectively they also impart a wealth of information to enable readers to distinguish the teachings of mainstream Mormonism from the uses of polygamy today by those who are not members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
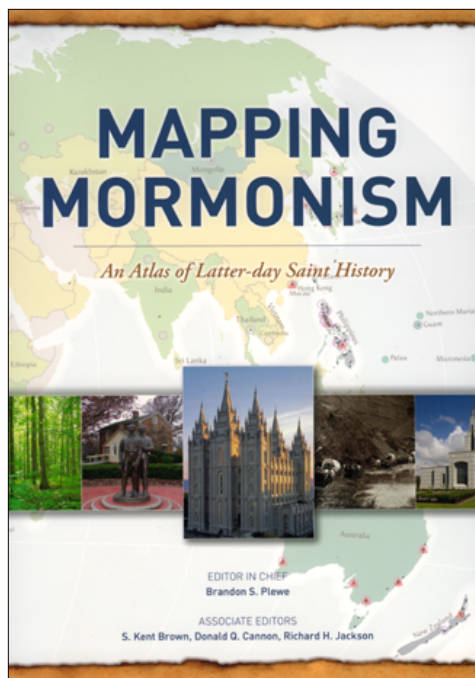
—Eric A. Eliason

Tony

Elizabeth Thayer

In 2012, artist Elizabeth Thayer entered her painting *Tony* in the BP Portrait Award contest. The Portrait Award is in its thirty-third year at the National Portrait Gallery in London. In 2012, there were 2,187 entries from artists in 74 different countries. This painting was one of 55 paintings chosen to be exhibited this year. Thayer first learned about the competition when she moved to England in 2010 and was thrilled to be part of the show in 2012.

She writes, "Tony is a friend of ours that we met when we lived in Germany. James, my husband, was his home teacher for a while, and when our ward moved into a newly built chapel, we started driving Tony to church on Sundays because of where we and he lived. He occasionally came to our home to visit or have dinner. He was born in Goa, India, and raised as a Christian. He moved to Germany to work decades ago and was introduced to the Church in Germany. He lives alone and has never married; the rest of his family is still in India. Tony is a person that does not stand out in a crowd, but I had the privilege of spending time with him and appreciating him for who he is. He is constant, kind, and gentle. He likes to watch television late at night and loves eating fish with lots of chili powder. After our fourth child was born in 2010, Tony told us that our son was the first baby he had ever held. I wanted to paint Tony because as I gradually got to know him, I wanted others to know him too. I chose to paint him just as I remember seeing him: dressed casually and insistent in his gaze."

Thayer earned a BFA at Brigham Young University, followed by MFA studies at Syracuse University and the University of North Carolina, Greensboro. Her work has been seen in group exhibitions at her places of study and shows of the Society of Illustrators.

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