Polygamy

by Kathryn Daynes

[Editor's note: This is a transcription of a graphics-rich presentation. This transcript does not include slides from the presentation, and includes some artifacts that are natural to verbal presentations.]

It's with some trepidation when I start to talk about polygamy. Everyone 'knows' about polygamy right? (Laughter) So you know that's one of the problems that I have is that everyone 'knows' something, everyone has a story to tell and every time I've talked about plural marriage one of the things that I found is, when I have talked about plural marriage as a part of society and larger trends and patterns, that everybody has their one story that they want to tell and that is what they know about plural marriage.

For example, we have those people who are very selfless, people like Ruth Paige Rogers who had no children of her own but contributed what she earned to the support of all of her husband's family, she herself taught the children of the other wife; just very selfless.

And then I always have somebody who tells me another story, something like Emma Lynette Richardson who, in her two plural marriages, was apparently so unhappy she didn't really talk about them when she came to writing her autobiography and said (inaudible) just so you know that my first children were legitimate and just passed over, didn't want to talk about those. She's a great sorrow to me.

And then there are people like the elder from Iron County who really felt that he ought to go into plural marriage and with some trepidation asked his wife, 'Don't you think we really ought to...I've had a revelation that I am now supposed to take a plural wife.' And she wasn't so sure about this and she said, 'Well let me think about it.' The next morning she comes to her husband, she says, 'Hmm, I too have had a revelation and it is to shoot any plural wife you bring in the door.' (Laughter)

So with those kinds of individual stories, there are all these kinds of stories that we have.

But what I want to talk today about is not so much these individual stories except as they illustrate to us some patterns--some larger patterns in the society--talking about a marriage system: the rules and practices to govern, establish and continue and dissolve marriages. Today, in the interest of time, I'm going to talk mainly about establishing marriages and the practices that went along with those.

Everybody's heard about plural marriage in Nauvoo and certainly it was established there. The doctrines were articulated there. But I call it protopolygamy. Proto means 'ancestral to.' It's not really the kind of plural marriage that we know in Utah. After all, when you look at a sampling, the wives don't take their husbands names in Nauvoo; they didn't live with their husbands or sometimes if they did, they moved out to keep the secrecy of their marriage and they weren't known in the community as husband and wife. So by
everything we know about marriage, all the markers of marriage, these are not marriages in Nauvoo. They're 'ancestral to' what we see in Utah.

Plural marriage was announced in 1852 by Orson Pratt, but before it was announced it was openly practiced in Utah and so I'm going to be talking about all of Utah even before 1852.

Gentiles who came into Salt Lake before this time talked about there being plural marriage; it was openly practiced. So in spite of this late announcement, (inaudible) plural marriage was practiced before then.

**Stresses and Strains**

What thing we need to be aware of as we talk about this is just how great were the stresses and strains that the Latter-day Saint society was going through in these early years of practice.

Just think of what happened as they moved from Nauvoo; you're taking an entire society and moving it from one location to another. Under the best of circumstances that has to be difficult, and the circumstances the Saints had were hardly the best of circumstances.

Beyond that this was a society that had to incorporate into--was privileged to incorporate into--itself thousands of immigrants that are coming. So as it's trying to establish itself it is also incorporating into itself these people, some of whom may have a different language, different customs and so you have a society that is building itself in these early years.

**Moving to Utah**

A number of specific crises took place in the late 1840s and 1850s that characterized and set apart this early period of pioneering in Utah. Just leaving Nauvoo, for example--just think about it, here they are crossing the ice, certainly in the cold they had to endure that, but leaving their possessions, their houses, everything behind that they had built.

Crossing Iowa. This depicts the quails coming into the "Poor Camp" some people found that they didn't have quite the means in order to move on but even those people who did it was very difficult--the mud of Iowa was just incredible.

A rule of thumb in moving in early America was to move in the late winter. That way it wasn't too cold but the ground was still frozen so that you can skim across the top of it. Once the spring rains came, the roads in early America just (inaudible) and there weren't roads across Iowa anyway and so you just kind of sank in mud and people who had saved some possessions, kind of like one of John Taylor's wives who--a musician--wanted to bring her piano and they just got not very far into Iowa and guess what, you know, the wagon just sinks down into that mud and that piano had to go. So just getting across Iowa was no small thing.
Winter Quarters. You all know about Winter Quarters and the difficulties they had there; the deaths that they had, especially in the first year that they were there. While they were there, the recruitment of the Mormon Battalion. Many of the people just felt like, you know you pushed us out of Illinois and here you're coming and asking for soldiers. It turned out to be a good thing for the Latter-day Saints to have that Mormon Battalion, but for those women whose husbands and older sons left it was difficult. It left them to take care of all those things by themselves.

Just the trek across the plains, and probably everybody knows about the trek across the plains. It's such a dramatic thing, people wrote diaries about it, books just about their trek across the plains. People walked barefooted, problems with cholera, just a variety of problems that they had just getting across the plains.

**Early Life in Utah**

The first two winters, well... First the harvests were not very good; it created problems for them. How do you feed all these new people who are moving in? They weren't hunters or gatherers. Many became hunters and gatherers, eating some of those wild plants you see here. A variety of those plants that they had to eat changed their habits and they were surviving under those conditions.

The crickets, of course, came the second year, and we all know about the seagulls that came. Thank goodness for the seagulls. But one thing that we don't quite tell in this story is that before those seagulls came, some of those people may not have given up like this man who's just given up, you know, there's too many there. But before the seagulls came the crickets did eat a fair amount of that crop so that the harvesting again was scant in that year.

Finding shelter—no small task. The first was just a wagon that they have now fitted up to be a house and for many people that was their first house for the first year is just living in their wagons and even after they built small cabins they often, to have a little extra space, would have a room in their wagons still. Small one-room cabins that they first put up, some often with dirt roofs and when it rained outside it often rained inside so that made a wife less than pleasant.

They needed to deal with the Native Americans. This is a depiction of Chief (inaudible). Certainly the Saints wanted to have very good relationships with the Native Americans and vice versa, but the cultures did come together and clash in certain ways. After all the Latter-day Saints were coming and settling on their land, changing the ecosystem, they did things different and so that did create problems and some of those problems ended up in fighting like the Walker War, for example, in 1853. Mainly the problem was livestock, but there were some people killed. Mainly it was a problem of Native Americans taking the livestock, selling—that was the way they traded and made money—and the Latter-day Saints of course didn't want them to just take their livestock and so that created friction and it also meant that there was less to eat when their livestock was gone.
The problem of the grasshoppers in 1855-1856. The Saints after the first two years started to grow abundant harvests, were really excited about how well things were going and then 1855 came along; the grasshoppers just came in hordes. Descriptions of these—that they'd just come and the sun would be absolutely blocked out with the hordes of these and as they came and they would just land on something and it was just gone, they'd just eat everything. They would get under the shirts and just eat into the shirts and petticoats, everything. They were just really obnoxious. They tried putting coverings over the plants trying to keep them from the grasshoppers. The grasshoppers would just eat them. So they were just...it was difficult.

And then, if that wasn't bad enough that there was not a good harvest, because the grasshoppers had eaten so much, they had a very hard winter and that killed many of the livestock and then the next summer the grasshoppers come back. I mean, this was as bad if not worse than the initial years that these early Saints had to go through.

We have of course immigration coming in. In 1856 we have a huge migration coming in and remember (inaudible) and here all these immigrants coming in and Brigham Young wanted to make sure that those immigrants who wanted to come could do so and initiated the handcarts.

They were successful except for two companies that came too late in the season and, as you know, were caught in the early snows and needed to be rescued. But before that happened a number of those people died.

And right on top of that, I mean it's just crisis after crisis that this society is going through. Some judges, disgruntled, left Utah. Went to the federal government, 'Hah, you can't believe what's going on up in Utah. Those people out there are in rebellion.' And so, without trying to find out what the problem was or if there was a problem James Buchanan sent out an army under Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston.

So the Saints now had to mobilize and to try to make sure that those, the army did not come into Utah and so they burned their supply wagons. Also they didn't want to be invaded by the army and so the conclusion was that they would simply move south, those people north of Utah Valley and people moved except those who were left behind, who put straw around the houses so that could fire them and burn them if need be to keep these from the army coming through.

So here are these people; they'd just come here ten years and here some people were leaving their homes once again.

And then just the problems of settling a semi-arid land. We've seen how successful they are, I mean talk about the desert blooming as a rose but you have to realize that it came as the expense of much hard work. This was not like settling in the Midwest, you had to build the ditches, you had to bring the water. It was very, very hard work in order to do that.
And so here is a people undergoing all this and, particularly in this first 13 years or so, undergoing these many kinds of thing that for some people it's ongoing.

Open Plural Marriage

I want you to note here as we look at plural marriages that this period we've been talking about, this early pioneer period with all its crises, this is the time when we see many of these plural marriages taking place and as time goes on there are fewer of these plural marriages.

While I'm using these statistics, I'm talking about a database I've put together on Manti. You may say why Manti? Why do this?

Well I needed a community that was defined so that I could say, within this, these are all the people who practiced plural marriage and here is a comparable population that was monogamous, so I'd have something to compare it to.

Manti also seems to be about in the center of those communities that's not as high in terms of the amount of plural marriage as say in southern Utah, it's more than if we go to say a place like Bountiful. So it seems to be an average town. And besides that, it was settled early enough. I wanted to be able to study it from about the time of settlement (inaudible).

So that's why I chose a town called Manti. It's provided me then with a group of people that really were very much like Latter-day Saints overall.

What I did is for those who were in plural marriage; I've traced them during their whole lifetimes. So there were a number of these people, when I talk just about those in plural marriage, who may not have--the women--may not have been in Manti. They represent northern Utah, southern Utah, Arizona, Mexico, Canada--so there's a good cross-section here. It's not just about this one community. It's about Latter-day Saints in general though I needed a community in order to say within this I could say I know who these people are.

There is, unfortunately for all of us scholars, no list of everyone who was in plural marriage. And one thing I found in looking at family group records that Latter-day Saints had submitted that there were people in plural marriage that their descendants didn't seem to be aware of. So I needed to be able to study these people and know more about them and that's why I chose a community.

And now I'm going to say it's very important that you realize that religion was the foundation of this. I'm sure you are aware, but one time as I was talking (inaudible) but you didn't say enough about religion. I want you to realize that at the foundation of everything was this religious belief that these people were, in fact, doing what God had mandated. They had this tremendous belief in plural marriage.
Examining Those in Polygamy

But everyone was supposed to have this belief in plural marriage and not everyone went into plural marriage. So what I wanted to get at was: If everyone believes in plural marriage, are there some patterns of types of people that go into plural marriage and those that don't? And so I'm really looking for patterns to get at why might some people have a propensity to go into plural marriage and other people not.

And what I found in my study is about one-third of the women who became plural wives—by plural wives, I mean women who are second, third or fourth wives as opposed to first wives. So the women who became plural wives, about one-third their father was dead or was not in Utah; they were here in Utah without a father. Another, about a third, were widowed or divorced; and then another about a third of "other" women.

So what did those two-thirds have in common? They don't have a male breadwinner in an economy, a pioneer economy, where the (inaudible) tasks are very much separated by gender and one certainly needed something to eat. Who grew something that was to eat? That was males; and so without a male breadwinner in the household it was very, very difficult.

So we see, certainly this was true in this early period but at every—I separated this out by five year periods—at every five year period it varies somewhat, but women without fathers or women who were widowed or divorced make up the majority of women going into plural marriage in every single one of these five year periods. That is over time, not having been a breadwinner was something that gave a propensity to be in plural marriage.

An Example Family

The Phineas Wolcott Cook family really illustrates nicely the (inaudible) goings of plural marriage. It's unusual in that there are more than two wives. We do realize that for most men who married into plurality the majority had two wives and two wives only. So he has four; already he's unusual, but this illustrates my point about the kinds of women who are in plural marriage.

His first wife, Anna Howland, he married before he came to Utah before he even heard of plural marriage and that was fairly typical. Catherine McCleve came to Utah ahead of her family. It was expensive to come and she came ahead and married into plural marriage. When her family came through years later her father died crossing the plains. So she really illustrates that kind of a woman whose father is not in Utah. Johanna Poulson came with her two young children and, virtually after she arrived in Utah, she married into plural marriage. Amanda Savage is the 'other' in a sense; that doesn't fit in this category. She's very typical of the kind of 'other' women who went into plural marriage. She came from a family that practiced plural marriage and that's what we see, those women—that 'other' category—tended to come from families where plural marriage was practiced.

Economic Reasons for Polygamy
What we can see, especially in the early period but for some women over time, there really were few economic opportunities for women who really wanted to be viable. What could you do? I mean you take the same things you could do elsewhere, and they weren't very remunerative elsewhere either, and that was you could sew—which was worse than minimum wage—you could teach—well we'll leave that to you—and that's about it. Oh, you could be midwife, midwives did okay. But if you weren't a midwife it was hard to make a living; hard to make a go.

Ellen Fowler, widow of William Fowler who wrote "We Thank Thee O God for a Prophet," when her husband died her daughter tells of how she sewed, and she gleaning the fields, and she taught school when she could and it still wasn't enough to make ends meet. So it's not very surprising that she soon became a plural wife.

Having a male breadwinner and, what this means is that that woman had a moral right to some of his resources. It didn't mean that she didn't have to do anything, because every person worked in Utah. You have to realize that this was a hard life, it didn't matter whether you were a monogamous wife or a plural wife, you worked and plural wives did too, but it did give them some access to those resources.

So we go back to this chart again, you'll see 72 percent of the marriages are before 1870, in that early pioneer period, and 44 percent in the 1850s; in those series of crises that we talked about. So plural marriage was really helping people through some of those difficult crises that they were facing.

**Availability of Mates**

Vis-à-vis plural marriages in those early years, when we talk in terms of availability of mates, desirability of marriage and feasibility of marriage. In a society where men and women are about equal in terms of numbers, how can you find mates? One way is by marrying younger women. You can see before 1870, by age 28, almost every woman is married. Age 16, already 27 percent of women are married. So as the women become scarce, start marrying slightly younger women.

Even these numbers for the second period are very high. It gets to 95 percent married by age 28; that's really very high in relationship to the United States at that time. In the United States we're talking about 8 to 10 or 12 percent of women who didn't marry. So even in the second period we're talking of very high numbers of people who married.

Here, this is just talking about monogamous women. Doesn't have anything to do with plural marriage except that, well, you see here this is percent of monogamous marriages. You see now it starts here, high about 80 percent of monogamous marriages, declines to about 30 percent during the Mormon Reformation—when there was a push for people to go into plural marriage and it starts increasing up to 1890. We know what this does to the age of women. We see that there is a correlation so that every woman's affected in Utah. Not just those who went into plural marriage—everyone was affected because once you
have women going into plural marriage that creates a relative scarcity of women. And so that's going to affect everybody.

Where do you find these? Well almost all women married. In the first period, one woman out of 269 in my study did not marry. A Danish immigrant who came in at about age 30 and you have to figure that she was decided she didn't want to get married. In three accounts that I have read just recently, plural wives coming in the 1850s—they weren't plural wives, but they came in the 1850s—in the first six months they had two offers of marriage.

If you were a woman in Utah, you could get married. If you didn't get married it was because you didn't want to get married.

You see that in the second period it's still very high, two percent who were not married. Again, women had the chance to get married.

The thing that surprises many people is how many men got married. In spite of the fact that its fairly even numbers, men are married in record numbers. Compared to America in general which is about 10 to 13 or 14 percent of men who never married. In Utah people are getting married and that should tell you about how important marriage is as part of Mormon culture and people got married.

How did that happen? Well, we see here by comparing intervals between spouse's ages for both the first and second period when there's fewer women marrying into plural marriage. In the first period, men could marry women who were certainly younger. Here, almost half married women who were five years or more younger than they are or by women who were older than you.

Rule of thumb is—I never agree with this because I don't fit—but rule of thumb is that most people want to marry somebody who (inaudible) very close to their age and what we see happening in Mormon society is men are finding wives but they're not finding them in that kind of ideal age group: two years younger or just slightly a little than themselves.

Another thing, in terms of availability of mates for those in plural marriage is that more women than men received their endowments. And I went to the Endowment House record and just figured sex ratios. Every year I sampled, I (inaudible) through the whole record, but every single year I can sample, there were more women going through the temple and having their endowments than there were men. That helps to explain a little bit about why plural marriage would be prevalent at that time.

Another source of mates and probably one of the more important ones is immigration. And what happens if you start to marry younger women? The supply of women is exhaustible but when you have other women coming in through immigration that supplies other women who can now be in the marriage market.
And we see here how the two lines tend to follow each other over time. It diverges here at the end as there were fewer and fewer plural marriage, but still patterns are the same.

**Effect of Immigrants**

Now immigrants coming in are important in this marriage market. We need to realize that immigration is expensive. It wasn't just expensive getting on the ship but (inaudible) was for the meager amounts that people made oftimes in those days, but 6 to 12 weeks you could be on the ocean at which time you are eating but you're not earning anything so that that first of all is expensive. And that once you get here, you've got to get across the plains, there's another two to three months plus provisions that you have to buy. So that could be really quite expensive.

My ancestors who came in the Forsgren Company started out from Denmark in January and did not arrive in Manti—and I didn't choose Manti for that reason I must admit that I didn't know enough about my genealogy when I started, I didn't know that they were there—but they arrived in Manti end of September. That's a long time to provide for your family and not have work. So it was expensive.

So it's not surprising that when people first arrived in Utah, they arrived without many resources. It was expensive to get here.

It's not surprising that immigrant women are very important (inaudible) plural marriage. Before 1869, the percentage of immigrant women who became plural wives was almost half. At least half of those women became plural wives. In the later period it's about a third; it's decreasing.

In that first period, more women simply are immigrants. They just make up a larger part of the population and so what we have is about a third in the first period who are immigrants—and by immigrants I mean women who came into Utah after they're aged 14. Why? Because those people who were here before are already subject to the marriage market that's here, those who come after are not. So that's what an immigrant is in this definition.

Before 1870, more women were immigrants and a higher proportion of them were becoming plural wives so that helps to explain some of that reason for the more plural marriages in the first period.

It helps to understand that as you come in without resources, women are more likely to marry early. Note here in the early period, 10 months between the time they arrived and the time they got married. Monogamously, if you wanted to marry monogamously it was a year. It wasn't much longer, but still those women who were going into plural marriage were marrying sooner than the other women.
It modifies somewhat this "leftover" argument that some people have made about plural wives—that they were the ones left over. Well, in fact plural wives, at least the immigrants, are the ones who married sooner, not later, than the other women.

Belief, the Reformation, and Marital Stability

Belief is very important. You have a religious belief, the Mormon Reformation, people being told especially if you'd just lived through these two disastrous years that people need to repent. And one of the things they need to repent of is their unwillingness to go into plural marriage.

We can see by this chart just how effectively young women went into plural marriage. This just is about women 14 to 20 years old. What I did is look at the Manti census dating '50-60-70-80—note here in 1860, after that pioneer period, after the Mormon Reformation, that far more women married—half of the women between 14 and 20 are already married and of those who were already married you can see about three-quarters have experienced plural marriage. So the Mormon Reformation was very effective in having the people, or getting women to go into plural marriage.

On the other hand they learned some good lessons from this, at least some lessons they seem to have taken to heart, that you could get people to marry into plural marriage but it was another thing to stay there. Those women who married at the height of the Reformation have 38.5 who were divorced. Well today you know half of marriages end in divorce that looks pretty good but it's much higher than the divorce rate at other times for those in plural marriage. For all the samples that I have, 440 wives, it was only like 18 percent. So this is considerably higher.

And one of the reasons it's higher is because you have young women going into plural marriage. Of these, 70 percent who were divorced were 17 years or younger. Well, that's what we expect right? Even today people who get married at a very young age have more stresses and strains, are more likely to get divorced than in the older and the mature and that was what was happening here and after the Mormon Reformation you don't have that push from the pulpit in the same way to go into plural marriage.

Desirability of marriage, the need for a breadwinner, we've already talked some about that and how it was difficult for women. They had access to those resources and for these women who had lost husbands and fathers at Winter Quarters, the problems of husbands and fathers dying crossing the plains, this is the rescue mission to go out to the Willie & Martin handcart company. Of the Willie Company, about 25 percent of the men died, nine percent of the women died. Males why? Well it has to do with just the physiology of women that our body fat is just distributed in a different way that makes it easier to survive the cold. (Laughter) Certainly glad to know that you know! I'm glad to know there's some good reason for that.

But what it meant was that those people coming in, in the Willie Company we have a number of widows coming in. People like Anne Larsen whose husband and two children
died, within a year she is the plural wife of a man in Manti and 13 years later her daughter becomes a plural wife.

Or widows who simply joined, like Elizabeth Haydock, who came with these companies and through the cold she lost use of her eye, just lost her eye. One year after she had been here she became the third wife of the Bishop of Manti.

Or people like Mette Christiansen who came by herself, in her forties, alone and suffered from congestive heart failure. She became the wife of Niels Domgaard and five months later she died. His first wife was a nurse and he could see what was happening, they took her in and nursed her in the last few months of her life.

It's no wonder that Mark Twain surveying all of this, in his wry way, says, "The man that marries one of them has done an act of Christian charity...and the man that marries sixty of them has done a deed of open-handed generosity so sublime that the nations should stand uncovered in his presence and worship in silence." (Laughter)

I'd like to know how the Latter-day Saints felt about that because in fact, to some degree, this is exactly what was happening: Men were marrying women to help them out.

Redistribution of Wealth

What we see is that wealthier men are the ones who tend to marry into plural marriage. Doesn't mean every wealthy man, or it doesn't mean that every man who married into plural marriage was wealthy, but overall the men who entered plural marriage were those who had the resources. Well I should (inaudible) by that. Nobody had many resources in Utah in this early period. It was a sheer poverty kind of thing but what it was doing was it was redistributing those resources.

I compared Manti to two other communities, one in Oregon and one in Michigan, and looking at those because of the larger numbers of people in the families of wealthier people, the per capita that really starts to even out the resources that people had in Utah. So plural marriage really was a way to help out and redistribute those meager resources to make sure that everyone was taken care of.

Now I have to put this in because it's very important that you realize that not every woman whose father was dead married into plural marriage--far from it.

Notice here, these are monogamous wives and note that the majority of women who came into Utah whose fathers were dead or not here married monogamously. So it's not as though the missionary program was to go out and recruit a certain kind of people for plural marriage--hardly that.

But what plural marriage was doing was it created a scarcity of women so that every single woman married.
Same thing with those who were remarrying; just over half of those remarrying married into plural marriage. So it means that a lot of those widows and divorced women were in fact marrying monogamously.

These (inaudible) marriage just has to do with our sense of our economic situation. Do we have the wherewithal to get married? And in the early period where everybody was just trying to survive, it was easy to get married because you do have to have a lot in order to get married.

This is a map of the Fort at Manti. Note these are rooms, these are not houses, these are rooms that people had. You see how crowded it was. In those kinds of situations, yes you do want to provide a separate room for a plural wife but that wasn't always the case. It was just everybody was crowded in there and that wasn't always a possibility.

So it (inaudible) indeed a great many resources in order to get married so that feasibility of marriage even for young bachelors in Manti (inaudible) to get married and it was very high. You didn't have to worry about can we afford an apartment? But that changed over time.

By the end of the pioneer period we start to hear things like this one from George A. Smith: "The majority prefer to buy everything that is imported. Our young men are afraid to get married because they cannot afford to buy all these trimmings."

And that made it harder to get married because, well, you've got to supply something for your family before you can in fact get married. (inaudible) saying basically the same thing.

**Decreases in Plural Marriages**

What we see then is a change. Here plural marriages and you see by 1870 start to decrease and the number of monogamous marriages really increases.

We have a different situation as we move along in time in Utah. What are some of the reasons for fewer plural marriages, and these are just some:

- Higher financial expectations. Gotta have more, it's just more difficult to get married.
- Greater economic opportunities for women. As you saw almost all the women are still married but when they have greater economic opportunities, you can wait around, make sure that this is the right guy. So you've got two proposals to go into plural marriage, so you choose between them. I'm not mocking that; let's just say that, you know, they had more choices, more options once they had some economic wherewithal.
- Move from agricultural to an industrial economy and that goes along with education for children. As you need to spend more and more of your resources educating children, they stay in school longer, they become consumers and not
producers. So it becomes more difficult to afford a large family. It goes back to the financial expectations. That also goes along with the fact that most Mormons are finding mates. So it's not as though fewer plural marriages are creating a real disparity here because in fact most are marrying.

- And geographical (inaudible) flows into this in that at the end of this period, we have people who (inaudible) just coming into Utah, are moving out of Utah for educational reasons, for work reasons and a monogamous nuclear family is simply more conducive to that movement.

So what we see basically is the changing needs of Mormon society. (inaudible) plural marriage that provides for economically disadvantaged women, it encourages population growth, by 1900 those circumstances have changed. They've changed considerably.

The monogamous nuclear family is conducive to that kind of geographic mobility. The idea of a breadwinner who is male and of a female who stays at home is very conducive to the whole (inaudible) of gospel teaching as people start moving out away from the Mormon community which helped to support and nurture those children and as people move out and away from the Mormon core, it needs to be done in the family and so the family needs change for Mormons.

And it's not quite the end of (inaudible), certainly we know that people still continue to come to Utah, but people remaining in their homelands and the monogamous family certainly worked for them in those circumstances.

So we had very changed circumstances and the marriage patterns reflect that.

So in closing, marriage adapts within the doctrine of eternal marriage to meet the changing needs of Mormon society.

Thank you.

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Notes

1 Mark Twain, "Roughing It."