

Salt Lake, April, 1911.

PREFACE

The aim of this book is twofold. I have tried, first, to give in outline a constructive account of the history of the Mormon organization, calling itself "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints," and, secondly, to show the principles which have guided our Church in her work among the Mormons.

The ground covered in the following pages has always been the field of bitter contentions between Mormons and non-Mormons; and what I have written may be taken by some for controversial matter. But it is not inspired by the spirit of controversy. Not a line has been penned in animosity or unkindness. I have approached Mormonism not — like the Latterday Saint — as a celestial gift, nor — with the anti-Mormon — as a contemptible fraud, but as an object of dispassionate study like any other religious system. And I have written of the Mormon people with the respect due to fellow-men and fellow-citizens. Had I done otherwise, I should not have been loyal to the genius of our Church's efforts in Utah.

But while I have sought to avoid causing offense, I have not hesitated to say frankly what I believe to be true. Mormonism is sketched here as the facts — so far as I know them — show it to be. It appears to me a piece of mere justice to the Latterday Saint to offer him a positive view of Mormonism as those on the outside see it.

GEORGE TOWNSHEND.

Sewanee, Tennessee.

January, 1911.

CHAPTER I

JOSEPH SMITH AND HIS CHURCH

JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

Founder of Mormonism

Joseph Smith, the founder of "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints," commonly known as the "Mormon Church," was born in Vermont, on December the twenty-third, 1805. His family was needy and obscure, and several of its members belonged to that unhappy class which psychical research has taught us to call mediumistic. Solomon Mack, the father of the prophet's mother, wrote and peddled about the country an autobiography, in which he told of falling fits which beset him, of queer religious experiences,

of visions, and of bodiless voices calling him. His children took after him. One of his daughters was miraculously cured of an illness and wafted away to the world of spirits, where she "saw the Saviour and received from him a message for her earthly friends." The mother of the young Joseph herself "heard spirit voices and saw visions," and always considered these phenomena as special revelations from heaven. From the other side, too, of the family, Joseph inherited a mediumistic temperament. His father had a series of seven "celestial dreams" at intervals from 1811 to 1819. Of these seven, two are especially noteworthy, for they were grafted by his son into the religion he founded. The vision of the Magic Box discovered in a wilderness of "dead fallen timber" suggested the finding of the Golden Bible; that of the Fruit Trees is incorporated in the Book of Mormon. (I Nephi VIII.)

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The true child of such parents, Joseph began early to deal in mystery. While a lad, he claimed to be able to locate underground streams with a forked hazel switch. At the age of fourteen he had his first vision which his later career has made so famous. He describes it thus: "Some time in the second year after our removal to Manchester, there was in the place where we lived an unusual excitement on the subject of religion — I was at this time in my fifteenth year. During this time of great excitement, my mind was called up to serious reflection and great uneasiness; but though my feelings were deep and often pungent, still I kept myself aloof from all those parties, though I attended their several meetings as often as occasion would permit It was on the morning of a beautiful clear day, early in the spring of 1820. He narrates how he went out into the fields to make the first attempt of his life at praying aloud. After I had retired into the place where I had previously designed to go, having looked around me and finding myself alone, I knelt down and began to offer up the desires of my heart to God. I had scarcely done so, when immediately I was seized upon by some power which entirely overcame me, and had such astonishing influence over me, as to bind my tongue so that I could not speak. Thick darkness gathered around me, and it seemed to me for a time as if I were doomed to sudden

destruction. But exerting all my powers to call upon God to deliver me out of the power of this enemy which had seized upon me and at the very moment when I was ready to sink into despair and abandon myself to des

truction, not to an imaginary ruin, but to the power of some actual being from the unseen world, who had such marvellous power as I had never before felt in any being. Just at this moment of great alarm, I saw a pillar of light exactly over my head, above the brightness of the Sun, which descended gradually until it fell upon me. It no sooner appeared than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound. When the light rested upon me, I saw two personages whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me . When I came to myself again I found myself on my back looking up into heaven."

Three years later he had two similar experiences, in which, as he relates, he saw an angel who told him of engraved plates of gold hidden in the hill of Cumorah. About this time, the boy began crystal-gazing, being moved to do so at first by a wish to rival the feats of a young friend by the name of Belcher. He soon gained a local reputation as a finder of treasure and stolen goods. In these exploits, he used as his "peep stone" a translucent quartz pebble; he would set it in the crown of his hat and, putting his face after it, would gaze steadfastly at its faint glinting till he induced the somnabulistic state. But in September, 1827, the month in which he claimed to have found the gold plates at Manchester, N. Y., he happened on two strange objects which he found would serve his purpose better. These he called his "interpreters," and explained that they were in truth no other than the Urim and Thummim; but, from the naive description given by his mother and himself, it would seem that they

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were two prisms from an old fashioned chandelier. He now addressed himself to the more considerable business of literary composition, and in a year and a half produced an occidental testament, one third as large as the Bible and called by him, "The Book of Mormon." His method of work has been told with much particularity. As he sat with his face buried in the hat staring at his "interpreters" something resembling parchment would appear before his eyes,

and on it would be a character in some foreign tongue with the interpretation thereof in English described below. Sometimes he would have difficulty in inducing the trance and the image would not appear; on such occasions he would rise, withdraw, say his prayers, and then return to his task.

It was evident that he was not now completely controlled, as he had been in his various visions, for his utterances were colored by his own individuality and he always retained consciousness of his surroundings. He did no writing himself, but recited aloud the words he saw and had them taken down by an assistant. His wife at first acted as his amanuensis, and afterwards David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery took her place. The work was done at the rate of from two to three pages a day at intervals from the end of 1827 to the middle of 1829. Joseph Smith represented that the book was a translation of certain records engraved on the gold plates which had been revealed to him in his visions and which he had unearthed from their ancient hiding place in a neighboring wood. He never used the alleged plates in his work, and he dictated with equal facility whether they were in the same house as

he or not; and when he had written "finis" to his book, the plates were removed from human ken by a process of levitation.

The contents of the volume are described thus by the translator: "We are informed by these records, that America, in ancient times, has been inhabited by two distinct races of people. The first were called Jaredites, and came directly from the tower of Babel. The second race came directly from the city of Jerusalem about six hundred years before Christ. They were principally Israelites, of the descendants of Joseph. The Jaredites were destroyed about the time that the Israelites came from Jerusalem, who succeeded them in the inheritance of the country. The principal nation of the second race fell in battle towards the close of the fourth century. The remnant are the Indians, who now inhabit this country. This book also tells us that our Saviour made His appearance upon this continent after His resurrection; that He planted the gospel here in all its fulness and richness and power and blessing; that they had apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, and evangelists; the same order, the same priesthood, the same ordinances, gifts, powers, and

blessings, as were enjoyed on the Eastern continent; that the people were cut off in consequence of their transgressions; that the last of their prophets who existed among them was commanded to write an abridgment of their prophecies, history, etc., and to hide it up in the earth, and that it should come forth and be united with the Bible, for the accomplishment of the purposes of God in the last days."

The character of the work shows traces of the temperament and environment of the author. It is written in the prolix style which marked his conversation. Its poverty of vocabulary, its solecisms, and its lack of ideas are a natural result of his want of schooling. His retentive memory and his weak judgment are shown in the large congeries of sectarian teachings, unassorted and confused, which make up the theology of the book. These doctrines are those which were popular in the boy's neighborhood at the time. For example, the crude Calvinism of the local Presbyterians appears in several particulars, notably in the Tritheistic doctrine of the Trinity. Along with Presbyterian beliefs, are set others from the Campbellites and Baptists, as the return of the Jews to Jerusalem (a Campbellite tenet) and the insistence on baptism by immersion, and on the immersion of adults only. -Marks of the time and place of authorship, too, as well as of the mentality of the author, abound.

The Anti-Masonic Crusade, begun in New York in 1826, and the almost contemporaneous panic of the Protestants at the apparent power and designs of the Roman Catholic Church, are both referred to in the Book of Mormon. (I Nephi XIII :4 et seq. and Helaman VI:22-26, and Ether VIII:18-26). And the theory that the Red Men are the descendants of the lost Ten Tribes, which was especially popular in Joseph Smith's youth and was often elaborated in books and local pulpits, forms the central motive of the narrative. This composition, under the now notorious title of "The Book of Mormon," was printed at Palmyra, New York, in July, 1830. No sooner was it on the market than the author set to work on "The Visions of Moses"

and then on "The Writings of Moses." By 1834 he had finished a revision of the Bible; in 1842 he published a "Translation of some Ancient Records that have fallen into our hands from the catacombs of Egypt," the writings of Abraham while he was in Egypt, called

"The Book of Abraham," written by his own hand upon papyrus. "The Visions of Moses" and "The Book of Abraham" comprise "The Pearl of Great Price," one of the sacred books of "The Latterday Saints."

Before the publication of the Book of Mormon, Smith had started his "church." The temper of the age was in favor of the adventure, for religious excitement was in the air. The camp meeting originated in Kentucky in 1799 and the revivalistic system spread fast and far. Ignorant and educated were alike affected. The emotional wave, rising in the west, spread eastward. It swept over Yale in 1802 when thirty-three of the students were converted, and during the next forty years, there were fifteen revivals there. At Princeton, Amherst and Williams Colleges, similar effects are on record. In New York State, the first town reached by the movement was Palmyra, Joseph's home. Contemporaries give startling accounts of the morbidness and fury of the general emotionalism. In the country parts, whole neighborhoods would be forsaken and the roads crowded with multitudes eager to join in devotion under some popular preacher. So violent was the fever that the physical phenomena of religious frenzy were commonly seen; the devotees would sob and shriek as lost souls, or sing and shout for joy as already saved; they would drop to the ground and twitch in convulsions or lie there stark like corpses; they would leap or bound about, kicking and shouting and crying; they would roll over and over on the ground for hours and sometimes would fancy they were dogs and would gather about a tree, barking and yelping, "Treeing the devil." A natural result of this excitement was the multiplying of religious bodies. Schisms occurred in the old societies — four, for example, among the Methodists in the sixteen years from 1814 to 1830; and many new "churches" were started. Seers and saviours sprang up all over the country. Jemima Wilkinson, who asserted that she had been miraculously raised from the dead, that her carnal life was ended and her new body animated by the spirit and power of Christ, founded the sect of the Wilkinsons and drew to her many intelligent people; she was almost a contemporary of Smith, dying in 1819. In 1810, Thomas and Alexander Campbell, with whom Sidney Rigdon worked before he joined Smith, founded

that congregation in Washington County, Pennsylvania, out of which grew the disciples of Christ or Campbellites. In 1812, John Herr started the "Reformed Mennonite Church." In 1817, the Pilgrims made their march from Canada through Vermont and New York, gathering recruits on their way, towards the far Southwest. They were ruled by a "revelator" who said that he was in direct communication with the Almighty and issued inspired commands on all subjects, great and small. The "Church of God" was founded by John Winebrenner in the same year in which Smith founded the "church of Jesus Christ." The latter was only one year old when William Miller founded "the Adventists," and Ballou and his friends "The Restorationists." It was in its third year when J. J. Shippen and P. P. Steward founded "The Oberlin colony" in a forest of Northern Ohio. The young prophet was in some ways well suited for his task. He did not, it is true, bear a good character. He was as self-indulgent as he was ignorant, and he was one of the vainest of men; but he had ambition, a lively imagination, a strong memory, a genial disposition, and a remarkable faculty for dealing with people. Affairs he could never manage, and when he tried, relying on his own judgment, he failed calamitously; but he never failed to manage men and women. Those who knew him speak with emphasis of some hypnotic spell which his eye possessed, whereby, they assert, he could impress all and sway sensitive and weak minds. His undoubted spiritualistic experiences, commonplace as they are now known to be by students of such phenomena, made him feel (as hundreds of others under similar circumstances have felt) that he was indeed the favored of heaven, and as a psychic he was fitted to head a sect which was inspired less by an ethical purpose than by the religious ecstasy popular in his time. The "Mormon Church" was formally organized in Fayette, New York, on April 6th, 1830. Joseph's chief means of directing this church was by means of what he called revelations. These purported to be commands, given to him directly by God or by His Son, which he passed on to his followers. During his public life he received very many of these communications, and a selection of them numbering about one hundred and thirty, now compose the principal of the three sacred Mormon books. In the first of them, vouchsafed after the inauguration of the church, Joseph

is designated as a "seer, a translator, a prophet, and apostle of Jesus Christ" and the faithful are bidden to receive his word, "as if from mine own mouth in all patience and faith." The high privilege and authority accorded the prophet were reserved as his monopoly by a farther revelation in the fall of the same year, that "no one shall be appointed to receive commandments and revelations in this church except my servant Joseph Smith, Jr." He was thus impregably entrenched as absolute leader of his church. To disbelieve him was to discredit the whole religion. "I am the Mormon Church" was the keystone of his religious system. He had troublous times in controlling his unruly and sometimes suspicious followers, and he showed great capacity in the way he dealt with them; but the rock on which his authority was builded was the primary fact, which his followers could never gain say, that on his veracity and on that alone, depended the Mormon religion, and if he were an impostor the faith in which they trusted was an imposition.

What attracted people to this new sect was less its doctrines and theology than the marvels which were reported to have attended its birth. The appearance of God the Father and God the Son to the prophet, the repeated visits from an angel, and the discovery of the golden plates telling of America in bygone ages, were miracles which, being similar to and yet surpassing the experiences and the conjectures of the fanatics of the day, fitted their fancies and secured their belief. At first Mormon theology was a composite of the teachings of the various sects with which Joseph Smith

was familiar, or in which he was instructed by two men who soon joined him — the Rev. Sidney Rigdon, at one time a follower of Alexander Campbell, and Parley P. Pratt, a travelling lay preacher. But as the months went by, an elaborate and ambitious system was revealed by the prophet wherein an exposition was offered of life hereafter, life here, and life heretofore.

"In the beginning," so the prophet translates the first verse of Genesis, "The head of the Gods brought forth Gods" or "Called the Gods together." It was this grand council of deities, with their President at their head, which designed and organized — but did not make — our earth. They could not make it, for matter is co-eternal with God and cannot be created; all that can be done, even by the Gods, is to change its

form. God himself is material, and possessed of a physical body which is an essential part of his Godhead ; man's body likewise, is an integral part of his personality, so that when he dies and temporarily loses his body, he has to wait till it is restored to him before he becomes a living soul. Among the Gods are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. They are separate beings, whose oneness is wholly moral and intellectual. The Father has a body of flesh and bones, which he gained by a prehistoric embodiment — Brigham Young once explained that Adam was God; the Holy Ghost is a substance which pervades all space and is described as a "personage of spirit" having no body; the Son became incarnate as a necessary step to the procuring of a physical body, and the mystery of His birth is explained by Young in this way, that "when the time came . . . that the Saviour should come into the world and take

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a tabernacle, the Father came himself and favored that spirit with a tabernacle instead of letting any other man do it." (Quoted in Mormon Doctrine of Deity, p. 264.) The object of the organization of this world was to provide a place where man could obtain a physical body. For man in the form of a spirit — with a body of immensely rarified matter — exists before he appears on earth. He is begotten, conceived and born in the spiritual realms, under the same laws as prevail here. His earth life is the second step of his career. The fall of Adam was a necessary event, in order to provide man with the temptations and difficulties on earth which would prove and develop him. The fall subjected the human race to the power of death and the bondage of sin. Christ, rising from the grave with a body of flesh and bones, foreshadowed that physical resurrection in which all men will one day participate, and released man from the power of death, and also liberated them from the domain of their sins on condition that they accepted his Gospel and obeyed its precepts. Man at death, for a season, loses his earth body, but still lives as a conscious entity, a spirit, in a world beyond, waiting till at the resurrection his body shall be restored to him, and, like the risen Jesus, he shall be clad with immortal flesh and bones. He then becomes an angel, or "a living soul" as the Mormon elder in the burial service phrases it. Some far off day, if he but labor earnestly and patiently, an indefinitely long journey

towards knowledge will bring him at last to Godhead: for God is a "perfected man" — "he once was what man now is, and what God now is man may become,"

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Three different resurrections in the course of human history are revealed. One was on the first Easter, when many good people from Adam to John the Baptist were raised. The second was to take place very soon and was to bring in the millenium. All those who had received the Gospel since the first resurrection would rise and would live on a glorified earth, wherein should be no priestcraft, nor tyranny, no war, nor sin, no sorrow, nor death, but only beauty and joy and truth and righteousness, the heathens and Gentiles being privileged to serve the Saints as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and all looking to one Holy City as their capital, to one Temple as their centre of worship, to one King as their dear Saviour and Lord, until the third and final Resurrection when all mankind should pass on to the spiritual spheres, each gaining the exact reward for his conduct and belief on earth.

The world beyond is divided into four parts. One is Hell. Here dwell the devil and his angels together with murderers and apostates (for murder and apostasy are the two sins against the Holy Ghost which have never forgiveness.) The other three are spheres of different degrees of bliss, the first called telestial, the second terrestrial and the last and highest celestial. These spheres are similar to the earth and the life lived there is similar to earth life in all its relations save that all things are intensified and sublimated. The Saints may remain single in heaven, or marry one wife, or, if they elect, enjoy there the pleasures of polygamy and rear in godlike joy and power an ever increasing family of spirits, who in their turn will need new worlds wherein they may take on bodies of flesh and bone.

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"The Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints is," said Smith, "the only true and living church in existence. All other religions are wrong, all other religious bodies are corrupt." The Gospel was taken from the earth in the third or fourth century and only restored through himself. None but the duly accredited officers of the Mormon church has any authority to perform any divine ordinance; and the reception of these rites and acceptance of the teachings of Smith

is necessary, if not to escape damnation, as was usually taught, at least to attain any high reward in the worlds beyond.

The first three principles of the Gospel are faith in Jesus Christ, repentance, and baptism. Baptism is for the remission of sins. If a member has fallen into disobedience or apostasy, it is usual, should he repent and reform, to re-baptize him. The ceremony is performed by immersion. No child is competent to receive the rite before the age of eight years, but infants are taken in the arms of elders, blessed, named and "dedicated to the Lord." There are two other kinds of baptism, one performed by the laying on of hands for the reception of the Holy Ghost, the other a vicarious baptism for the dead. As the ceremony of immersion cleanses the recipient from sin, so the laying on of hands imparts to the forgiven soul something of the strength of God and enables him to walk with the Spirit on the road towards divinity. Baptism for the dead is an ordinance whereby those who have died without a knowledge of the true faith may be lifted to Paradise by the love of their friends and relatives among the Saints.

The attitude taken up by Joseph Smith in this doctrine of the church seems to have been one of direct and bitter condemnation of Christendom; that adopted by his followers certainly has been such. The very first revelation published by the prophet as coming from the lips of Jesus Christ was not constructive, but destructive; was not aimed at the pagan religions to the pagan world, not against agnosticism or "infidelity," but against the Christian bodies and at Christian people. And it became early a peculiar mark of Mormonism, that its proselytizing energies — like its denunciations — were directed and centred upon the apostate Christians — the Roman Catholics first and the Protestant societies in the second place — rather than upon the ignorant heathen. Herein lies the basic reason for the inveterate hostility between Mormonism and historic Christianity. Even today little or nothing is done towards the conversion of the non-Christian peoples save for missions in the islands of the Southern Pacific and in Japan.

The first conference of Mormons was held at Fayette, N. Y., in June, 1830, with some thirty members present. During the winter, the adherents moved to Ohio, where

by the spring the membership had increased to one thousand souls. For one reason or another the Mormons proved unpopular neighbors, and kept moving from one locality to another. In 1839, they purchased some land in Illinois on the bank of the Mississippi, and settled the town of Nauvoo, under a special charter which gave them independent local government. The population was about three thousand in 1841, and was estimated at fourteen thousand three years later. Here

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Joseph Smith reached the zenith of his adventurous career. He was not only the autocrat of the community in all religious matters, but he held control in secular affairs as well, and being able to deliver a solid Mormon vote, his influence extended into the politics of the State. His ambitions, however, were boundless, and by this time his conceit had swelled to egomania, and his mind was at times deranged. In 1844, he entered himself as candidate for the Presidency of the United States, and sent east some two thousand missionaries to canvass in his interest. His own estimate of his ability and his position in the universe he recorded in November, 1843, thus:

"I know more than all the world put together.

"I combat the error of ages; I meet the violence of mobs ... I cut the Gordian knot of powers, and I solve mathematical problems of universities with truth, diamond truth, and God is my right-hand man."

But on June 27th, 1844 he was murdered by a mob composed chiefly, it seems, of ex-Mormons.

CHAPTER II.

THE MORMONS MOVE WEST

BRIGHAM YOUNG

The next President of the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints" was Brigham Young. The prophet had dreamed of founding an Empire in the Far West — on the hint of a Jesuit missionary, who had travelled and lived among the Indians in the Rocky Mountains — and at this grave crisis in the affairs of the church, it seemed that the hour for carrying out this idea was come. Young was a man just fitted for the task. Shrewd practical sense, indomitable courage and great force of will, were his leading characteristics. He loved hard work, and always took his full share.

The present Bishop of Norwich, who met him in Salt Lake City in later years, (1864) describes his appearance thus: "Not at all a bad looking man, of fair height, stout and broad-shouldered. His face was rather fleshy, with clear complexion, not pale, but with no color, square rather narrow forehead, small clearly cut chin, and cold blue eyes — his manner was agreeable, but that of a man of powerful will accustomed to have his own way absolutely. He took all the conversation to himself; when anyone else was speaking his attention seemed to fade away. But he was not uncourteous." (A Bishop in the Rough, pp 117 and 118.) By 1847 the migration westward was determined on and the plans settled. Early in that year Young led the first train of Mormon emigrants into the wilderness, and after a daring and toilsome journey entered

the valley of the Great Salt Lake. The tired wayfarers hailed it on sight as their Land of Promise. Salt Lake City was promptly laid out in a fine position, seventeen miles from the Great Lake, and at the mouth of a canon whence issued a bright mountain stream, "City Creek." Streets were planned of generous width, and blocks of forty rods by forty in size. Each block would thus contain ten acres, and was to be divided into eight lots, affording eight families ample room for a vegetable and fruit garden. The settlement of the surrounding country was undertaken in a vigorous fashion. As the immigrants came into the valley, colonies were pushed out into favorable localities. Brownville, afterwards Ogden, was founded in the spring of 1848; Provo, in March, 1849. The territorial legislature in January, 1851, chartered the cities of Salt Lake, Ogden, Manti and Parowan. The census for 1850 showed 11,000 inhabitants; three years later the bishops estimated it at 18,206.

The region at the date of Brigham Young's arrival belonged to Mexico, and had it remained a distant province of the Mexican Government the Mormons might have long enjoyed that political independence which they so ardently desired. But on July 4th, 1848, it was ceded to the United States of America, and Young had to modify his ambition. He petitioned Congress in 1849 that his people should be admitted to the rights of Statehood; but his petition was refused and the district was formed into the Territory of Utah. No district, indeed, could be made into a State unless

it had a population of sixty thousand; and to attain this qualification, Young set to work with splendid

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EMIGRANT TRAIN

energy. The missionary system of the church had always been admirable, and now greater efforts were made not only to secure converts to the new gospel, but to bring them out as rapidly as might be to the New Zion. Emissaries went to Germany, Italy, Norway, and Russia with traveller's tales of the Golden West, but the British Isles proved by far the most favorable recruiting ground. In 1840, after three years of labor (the first missionaries having landed in 1837) the general conference in England reported "in all 4,019 Saints." In 1851 there were 30,747 in the United Kingdom, of whom 4,848 were in Wales and only a few in Ireland, where Mormonism had not been preached till the previous year. From 1837 to 1851, it was reported that 50,000 people had been baptized Mormons in Great Britain, of whom nearly 17,000 migrated to Utah between 1848 and 1851. Only 732 converts left England for Salt Lake in 1852, but the year following, there were 2,312; 2,458 the next, and 44,425 in 1855. To help travellers on their road, Young organized in 1849 the Perpetual Emigration Fund, out of which money for the journey was advanced to intending emigrants. This Fund did remarkable service, assisting, in the forty years of its existence, no fewer than fifty thousand needy converts on the way to Utah. The organization shipped emigrants from Liverpool to Salt Lake Valley for a fee that ranged from £10 to £13 apiece. The packets landed at New Orleans, and the travellers were there transferred to steamboats, which took them up the Mississippi to St. Louis, and thence to Council Bluffs. Here they were divided into companies of ten, fifty and one hundred, every party of ten being given a wagon, two oxen, two milch cows, and a tent, and every man carrying a rifle. The journey from New Orleans to the destination took three months. A new and cheaper plan of travel was devised in 1855 to increase still more the rate of immigration. Parties were to cross the plains on foot, pushing their effects in hand-carts before them, wagons being supplied only for tents, for extra provisions, and for those who were too feeble to walk. Thirteen hundred "hand-cart emigrants" left Liverpool,

and at Iowa City started on their tramp to Salt Lake. Of the five companies into which they were divided, four got through safely; the last, starting in July, was caught by the snow and storms of winter and only arrived at its goal in November, having suffered intensely from hunger, cold and exhaustion and having buried by the road side sixty-seven men, women and infants. The dismay caused by this disaster put an end at once to the hand-cart scheme and to this day it is a proud boast if an old Saint can claim that he, or she, was one of the "Hand-cart Brigade."

The influx, however, did not slacken. By the next year there were some 25,000 inhabitants in Utah, and by 1858 an estimated population of more than forty thousand. The great majority of these immigrants into Utah were foreigners or of foreign extraction; four-fifths of them, it is said, were English. The manager of the shipping agents for the New Orleans packets made in 1851 a report on the Mormon emigrants from Liverpool, in the course of which he described them as "generally intelligent and well behaved, and many of them highly respectable;" the means they took

OLDEST HOUSE IN SALT LAKE CITY

to preserve order and cleanliness on board, he said, were "admirable and worthy of imitation." The same authority stated that the outgoing Mormons were "principally farmers and mechanics;" and quoting from the books of the company, he reported that from October, 1850, to March, 1851, there had left for Utah, 108 laborers, 25 stone masons, 25 power-loom weavers, 20 engineers, 19 farmers, 19 tailors, 16 miners, 15 shoe makers, 10 joiners, and lesser numbers of shipwrights, sawyers, saddlers, nailors, butchers, watchmakers, etc. (The Mormons; A Contemporary History; Anon; Office of the National Illustrated Library, London, 1851, pp 250-252.) An analysis of the arrivals in Utah between 1850-1854 shows that 28 per cent, were laborers, 27 per cent, mechanics, 14 per cent, miners, and it was asserted that all trades were represented among the elect and all professions save that of the law.

The life to which these immigrants came was a rough and hard one. Their struggle for existence was bitter, and under conditions which to them were strange.

The valleys were dry and barren save for unprofitable sagebrush, so that no crops could be grown without irrigation. In the winter heavy snow fell and the

temperature dropped below zero. Hostile Indians infested the neighborhood. Fellowship in difficulty and danger drew the people together, and they learned to revere their autocratic President, who was always ready to face an emergency with sense and courage and whose strong optimism and cheery good humor forbade despondency.

In a pioneer period such as this, the niceties of legal procedure could not be observed, and justice was rough

and ready. Such discipline as existed lay in the hands of Young and his lieutenants; and though his ideas of right and wrong were not those of the New Testament, he kept a certain kind of order with vigor and resolution.

He was aided in this not easy task by two executive committees. Both of these were secret; one was respectable, the other was not. The former of the two was called "The Kingdom of God," or the "Council of Fifty." It was founded for the purely secular purposes of controlling the politics of the State. It met in the strictest privacy, and so well has its existence been concealed that today, though it has been defunct for many years, only a handful of older Mormons know of its name or its work. The other of the two societies was the "Danites," dubbed "Brigham's Destroying Angels." The members of this band, which had been instituted by the prophet, swore to obey him and the first Presidency of the church "in all things the same as supreme God" and to uphold them "right or wrong." Young and others of the leaders did not hesitate to threaten openly with death schismatics and other persons obnoxious to the hierarchy and the dark and cruel fate of many such proves that these menaces were not idle ones. As a disciplinary measure, there was introduced at this period the doctrine of Blood Atonement. According to this, certain sins (especially it is said that of adultery) could only be expiated by the shedding of the wrong doer's blood, and those who felt themselves guilty of such mortal sin were advised to confess and ask that their life should be taken. A few, but not many persons, were sacri

ficed under this doctrine. More notorious was the system of polygamy, which was first openly taught and adopted in these days. This barbarous institution is significant of the ideal of womanhood entertained by the Mormon leaders and of the position that women

held at the time in Utah. It is said not to have been ever practised by more than six per cent, of the men; but it brought misery into many homes and many women's hearts, and drew in its train the penalty that Christendom was horrified, and that the name Mormonism became, and long continued to the world at large, a synonym for polygamy and loose living. These sensational parts of Mormonism naturally drew the attention of spectators. Tales of Young's rule are usually tales of blood and tears, 'and the custom of non-Mormon writers and gossips is to depict the religion of Young's days as a hell-broth of polygamy and blasphemy, issuing in adultery, mutilation, and murder. But such stories give a distorted presentation of the general condition of the people. Doctrines, it is plain, were preached and practised which will forever stain the memory of the Mormon faith; and the hierarchs did many things which not even the rudeness of the pioneer life can in any measure justify. But these wild and wicked acts were planned and perpetrated by only a small section of society. The general impression made upon observers of the Mormons in Salt Lake City at this time was most favorable.

- Bishop Tuttle, in 1867, wrote, "There seems to be less profanity, rowdyism, rampant and noisy wickedness among the young Mormons than among the youth of any other town or city where I've been. Drunken

ness is a crime almost unknown among them." (Reminiscences p 110.) And the present Bishop of Norwich passing through Salt Lake three years earlier formed the same opinion. "Their order, apparent morality — setting aside for the moment the question of polygamy — and sobriety are certainly remarkable. Never have I seen a community outwardly so peaceable, orderly and well conducted. There are no saloons, no grog shops, no billiard tables and only one hotel in a population of 16,000 people. The streets are always quiet. The men move about on their business; the women do their shopping and marketing. In the evening all return to their homes, and by soon after ten o'clock, theatre and ball nights excepted, the town is wrapped in slumber." (A Bishop in the Rough, p 112.)

The rank and file of the body was composed of honest and decent people, upright in their conduct and sincere in their belief. Immigrants from the lower classes of European nations, and therefore unaccustomed to

political freedom, they found submission to the hierarchy natural. They feared Young and honoured God: and were content to live out their simple lives in labor and obedience and obscurity.

For some years the Mormons enjoyed isolation, and managed to maintain a virtual autonomy. In assertion of their independence, they even went to war with the Federal Government. But their seclusion did not last for long. Fate seemed against them.

The cession of the district to the States in 1848 was followed in 1849 by the discovery of gold in California.

Many eyes were now turned westward and a steady stream of fortune-seekers began to flow across the

continent. Gentile civilization crept over the plains nearer and nearer and "sectarians" soon began to settle in Zion itself and the adjoining country. When, in 1867, our Church started work in Utah, there were in the Territory three hundred United States soldiers at the two army posts, Camp Douglas and Fort Bridger, two hundred "Gentiles" in the service of the Stage Company, and some five hundred more in Salt Lake City and the rest of the Territory, making in all a non-Mormon population of a thousand souls.

CHAPTER III.

MODERN MORMONISM

1909

GREAT MORMON TEMPLE, SALT LAKE CITY

Three and forty years have passed since Bishop Tuttle drove in the stage coach into Salt Lake City. During that time, the forces of civilization and the energies of many Christian societies have been at work; and the whole economic and religious position has been changed. Wastes have blossomed into orchards, villages have grown into cities, the mines have given wealth where before was simple comfort; the railroad has made travel easy and brought Salt Lake within three days of New York. Politically, the "Mormon church" is no longer the unquestioned dictator of the State, and in the Capital "the Gentiles" hold control. The hierarchy no longer lord it over the rank and file as they did a generation ago, and a spirit of democracy begins to pervade its members. The religion too, of the "Latterday Saints" is altered for the better; and the more discreditable elements of Mormon ecclesiasticism have disappeared.

At the present hour, nothing is more remarkable to the observer of the Mormonism in Utah than the cohesiveness of its votaries. Joseph Smith aimed to make the Saints a people apart, and he succeeded. He called his converts to leave their homes and come to him along with all their possessions, thus giving a local unity to his church. He made himself the Saints' religious autocrat, whose verdict was the final expression of absolute truth, thus securing ecclesiastical and religious uniformity. He directed his followers in

their temporal concerns too, and labored not without success to make himself leader and despot in all the affairs of life, big and small, financial and military and civic. The separation of the Saints in early days was also promoted in a way effective as unexpected by the unpopularity they aroused wherever they went; and when they emigrated across the continent, openly practised polygamy and even went to war with the Federal Government, they showed how complete an independence they wanted and how eagerly they wanted it. Even today their sentiment of exclusiveness is strong. The Saint still feels that he is an Ishmaelite and regards the Gentile as an outsider. His mental attitude shows a strange mixture of fear and suspicion with superiority and contempt. He is hyper-sensitive to adverse criticism, elated by any faint praise and delights to seek and print in his church organ, The Deseret News, any appreciative notice of his church that the most obscure newspaper contains. Yet he proclaims that his faith is the faith of the future, which will one day fight and vanquish the Roman Catholic Church in the battle for the ecclesiastical control of the whole world.

The outward expression of the zealous party spirit and cohesion of the Saints is seen in their organization. It may be said that it is perfect. No way to improve it is to be described. The more one studies it, the more one discovers to admire.

There are two orders of priesthood in the Mormon church; the Aaronic or lesser, believed to have been conferred on Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery in 1829 by John the Baptist, and the Melchizedek, which they say was conferred on Joseph Smith by Peter, James and John shortly afterwards. (Doctrines and Covenants, No. 107.) In the former order are four primary offices, Bishop, Priest, Teacher and Deacon;

in the latter four also, High Priest, Apostle, Seventy and Elder. Boys not yet in their teens are appointed deacons, so that the "officers of the church" form a considerable proportion of the entire membership. The church is governed by a President with whom are associated two counsellors . Next in authority stand the Twelve Apostles, whose "calling is to build up the church in all nations." The Seventies are organized into various councils known as quorums, and constitute the main missionary corps of the church . There are in all a hundred and sixty of these quorums. Elders are organized in quorums of ninety-six members, priests in quorums of forty-eight, teachers of twenty-four, deacons of twelve; each quorum has a president and two counsellors. As we divide a country into dioceses and parishes, the Mormons divide it into stakes and wards. The stakes number fifty-seven in all and each is sub-divided into wards; if a locality is not well enough developed to be organized as a ward, it is known as a branch, presided over by an elder or priest. In missionary districts, at home and abroad, Conferences and Missions are organized, of which there now exist twenty-one, six of these being in the United States. The government of the stake is modelled on that of the whole "church." At its head is a quorum of three High Priests (a President and two Counsellors) who have legislative, judicial and executive authority. Under this body is the council of twelve High Priests, whose powers are judicial. All the High Priests of a stake are organized into a committee, from which are selected the men appointed to the higher offices of the stake and the Bishopric of wards. Other officers are the Stake Clerk, the Clerk of the High Council, Clerk of the High Priests' Quorum and Tithing Clerk. It is a peculiarity of the Mormon system that every meeting, whether for prayer, for business, for study, or for any other purpose, has its Secretary or Clerk, and is fully recorded in minutes. The ward, like the stake, is governed by a presidency of three High Priests, a President and two Counsellors. The President always holds the office of Bishopric and is commonly called Bishop. A ward may comprise as many as ten or fifteen hundred people.

Two. general conferences of the entire church are held in Salt Lake City yearly, one in April, the other in October. At these the general authorities of the church

are voted for by the people and public business is attended to; the popular vote, however, is purely formal, since they always do what their leaders bid. Each stake has a quarterly conference, each ward an annual one.

The missions are located in practically all parts of the world, and each is directed by a President on the spot. Thus the church is represented by active missionaries in Australia and England, in Hawaii and Mexico, in Japan, New Zealand and the Netherlands, in Samoa and Denmark (the Scandinavian mission) in South Africa, Switzerland, Turkey, the Society Islands and Sweden.

Besides these main organizations are others, which fall into two classes. First, boards of education and church schools, and secondly, auxiliary organizations. The general "Board of Education" was created in 1888. Its object is to establish and maintain a system of Mormon Schools in which Mormonism shall be taught in addition to the ordinary secular subjects. It meets monthly, itself elects its own numbers and appoints a General Superintendent, who exercises a close supervision over all the Mormon schools. Under the General Board work the Stake Boards, each of which consists of the President of the Stake, with his two Counsellors, and two, three, or four others appointed by him. Every Bishop acts as the Board for his ward. The organization of these schools was effected in 1875. It includes universities and colleges, state academies and seminaries. There are now nineteen of these in all, nine in Utah, four in Idaho, three in Arizona, three in Mexico. The auxiliary organizations are six in number, the Relief Society, the Sunday School, the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, the Primary Association, and the Religion Class. The form of government in all of these bodies is, as usual in the Mormon system, threefold, and they are subordinate to the main authorities of "the church," the stake and the ward. Nominations to the central and supreme Board are made by the First Presidency; nominations to the Stake Board by the Stake Presidency; and to the Ward Board by the Bishop. Thus in these instances as in others the appointment of officers is kept in the hands of the constituted authorities, and the people are called upon for a merely formal ratification of

decisions already made.

The Relief Society is for the succor of the poor and distressed. It was founded on St. Patrick's Day, 1842, the first President being Emma Smith, wife of the prophet. In its long history, this society has accomplished a great deal of good.

"The Deseret Sunday School Union" dates from June, 1872. It is governed by a Board of twenty-six members, whose duties are the supervision of the Mormon Sunday Schools the world over. It plans courses of study for class work, formulates rules and methods by which these courses are worked out, introduces and applies principles of pedagogy in the schools, publishes books, maps, and charts, compiles statistics and holds general and district conventions. The Juvenile Instructor is the official organ of the Union. The stake and ward have Sunday School organizations of their own, with many officials. The ward Sunday School meets in the morning from ten o'clock till eleven thirty or eleven forty-five. There are classes for all ages from the young children up to the parents. The session takes the place of our morning service. It opens with prayer, after which follows their sacrament, at which all partake of bread and water (wine is never used) including the children; then follows singing, the lesson period and the closing exercises. The parents' class makes a study of secular and practical topics, such as house decoration, or the care of children, discussing these matters freely in an informal way. The detail with which a record of these meetings is kept is peculiar. Not only the number of those in attendance

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MORMON TEMPLE, LOGAN

each Sunday, and such facts, are noted, but also the proportion of those who drink no tea or coffee, who use no tobacco, and who pay their tithing in full. Any teacher who is absent is required to send a letter of excuse and this is read aloud before the whole Sunday School. There is an annual meeting at which a summary of the minutes for the year is given. The attendance at these Sunday School sessions is excellent. The young men and the young women both have "Mutual Improvement Associations." The purpose of these is generally the study of theology, literature, history and kindred subjects. These societies meet once each week in the evening, and no branch of Mormon

work creates among the young more eager interest. The organization follows the usual plan of a central controlling body, working through Stake and Ward Boards.

The Primary Associations are conducted by women with the object of educating the children in morality and religion and encouraging industrial occupation as an offset to idleness and street loafing. Children of both sexes from four to fourteen are cared for. The organization is, as usual, . threefold, and the ward or local officers keep in close touch with all the children of their districts, not only busying themselves with the religious welfare of the children, but with planning and directing their recreation, dances, pastimes and parties galore. The enrollment of children is about 50,000.

The last of the subsidiary organizations is the "Religion Class." The object of this institution is to supplement the work of the Sunday Schools for those who do not attend the Mormon schools. The disproportion

of giving two hours a week to the study of religion and thirty to that of the three R's struck "the Latterday Saints" as an evil which must be remedied; and the "Religion Classes," started in 1890, are the remedy. "The practical training of the children in personal duties and requirements of the gospel, as testimony-bearing, prayer, the committing to memory of important passages of scripture, learning sacred songs and hymns, drawing lessons from real life as found in biography, becoming acquainted with forms and ordinances of the church, as well as government" are given as the leading functions of these classes.

The missionary system, of which we have spoken in passing, is another branch, and one of the most remarkable, of the Mormon work. Over fifteen hundred missionaries are always in the field, and each worker is kept out for two years, or, if he has to learn the language of the foreign country he is labouring in, for three years. The smallest details of all phases of this work are carefully planned and zealously executed. In the matter of emigration, for example, the Mormon Foreign office acts as shipping agent for any party of converts leaving England for Utah. Labels written out, and printed directions as to taking ship, are sent to the emigrants. When the party arrives at the port, they are taken in charge and conducted thence to their destination by a returning elder, just like so many

Cook's tourists. One of the special directions is that all Mormon travellers must be cheerful and uncomplaining, bearing the inconveniences of the journey with composure, and if redress be ever necessary appealing to none but the elder in charge; it is further advised

that in whatever particulars they may be economical, they are not to grudge tips. The reason is given that they have a reputation to maintain, and that more Mormons will be following after them. At all the chief stations across the continent, the party is met by Mormon elders, who offer them courtesy and give them any needed assistance, as, for example, by taking care of them if they miss connections, and providing them with free lodging in the homes of the Mormons of the town.

Thus by this great scheme of organization, which keeps nearly every member busy, the Mormons are bound and held together. The community is further compacted by its being centered in Utah, and there constituting a body far larger than any other organized body, and by the Mormon sentiment that they exclude and are excluded by the "sectarians." Nor must it be forgotten that the elect of "the Mormon church" are members of a secret fraternity. Any Saint recommended by the Bishop of his ward can be admitted to the privileges of the Temple, but no other person whatsoever. The neophyte "going through the Temple" witnesses a drama in which a "modern parson," Elohim, the Devil, Adam and Eve, Peter, James and John, take part, is invested with certain mystic signs, words and grips, and swears various oaths of secrecy. The ceremonies of the Temple are still regarded by the impregnable orthodox and by the bucolic with respect and awe.

By reason of this compactness, the task of drawing away Mormons from their faith to a better one is difficult. But though the number of converts from

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Mormonism is not large, the way in which Mormonism itself has been developed is remarkable and portentous. The Mormon Church, it is true, still hankers after earthly dominion. It is the only religious society in America, except the Roman Catholic, which maintains a lobby at Washington. But it no longer holds the dictatorship of all things temporal and spiritual as it once did in Utah. The presence of large numbers of "Gentiles"

has modified its power in the State and ended its control of Salt Lake City; and among its own members a new spirit of independence is budding and bearing fruit in spite of the cold and bitter displeasure of the hierarchs. This sudden and startling appearance of a demand for freedom of thought and conscience is the hope of the religious future of the Mormons. At one time, this organization threatened to become a close, ambitious, oligarchy, carefully organized and armed with fanaticism. But history proves that religious despotism can only be maintained by a successful appeal to superstition and fear. It is for this reason that a hierarchy like that of the Roman Catholic Church has always aimed at impressing so terrible a sense of its own omnipotence and infallibility on the sensitive and malleable minds of young children that they will never have sufficient courage to defy it. But there was always a strong strain of Protestantism among the Mormons. They wished and tried to have the exclusive education of their own youth, and to impress them indelibly with dogmas, but they did not make such indoctrination a cardinal and essential part of their system. Till recently the Mormons neglected education. Their schools in Utah in the early days were poor, STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, LOGAN few and miserably attended. In 1867, Salt Lake City had nearly 20,000 inhabitants, but not a single book store. St. Mark's School was patronized by Mormons because of its comparative excellence, and though the authorities opposed this, they did not imperatively prohibit it. The system of parochial schools was not instituted until 1875, and even then it was only in self-defence that this step was taken against the aggressiveness of the mission schools of the inflowing denominations.

"The Enabling Act of 1890" by which Utah was admitted as a State into the Union, contained an irrevocable ordinance that provision should be made for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools, which should forever be open to all children of the State and be free from sectarian control. No other State, it is said, has in its constitution a clause which so effectually safeguards the public schools from ecclesiastical interference. But the Mormon church did not contentedly keep its pledge. The religion classes were started at the semi-annual conference in 1890. Under the supervision and care of the General

Board of Education, these classes were taught Mormonism until December 6th, 1904, in the public schools. It was admitted by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in the Smoot investigation (Sen. Com. Vol. II, pp. 370-373) that among the six hundred and six public schools of the State, there were three hundred and thirty-six religion classes, that usually the sessions of these followed those of the regular school and that more frequently than not, they had the same teachers. But at the end of 1904, School Superintendent and

School Boards were notified that such classes violated the spirit of the Constitution and Statutes, and from that time on the public schools have been free from sectarianism.

The Mormons, coming from the lower strata of the population, have been on the whole an unlearned and unthinking people, and therefore credulous. But there is plenty of evidence that their young men have been touched by the modern spirit of inquiry and are beginning to think for themselves and to demand liberty to do so. Intercourse with Gentiles, enterprising and independent men, owing soul-and-body service to no man, has naturally encouraged this trend, and will increasingly continue to do so. The old European idea of serfdom, in which so many Mormons were reared before they immigrated from the old countries to Deseret, has been discarded and the American ideals of a common manhood absorbed. And the widening effect of foreign travel on the young men and women sent out as missionaries is not to be overlooked. For almost one thousand of these are despatched each year, and all, before they return, have gained a new understanding of the great world and its spiritual and intellectual activities. Thus the missionary enterprise of the organization, while it brings many converts to Mormonism, also draws Mormonism nearer the historic standards of Christianity.

The difference between the Mormonism of '47 and that of today is great and obvious. "Blood Atonement" is gone; polygamy, though still taught by the authorities as the right state of man, is shunned by the young generation and is entered into now rarely and furtively. The Saints are turning from the "Book of Mormon" to the Bible, from the Old Testament to the New Testament; their views are broadening, their desire for material power is becoming less dominant.

Yet this process of revolution is far from having reached its limits. Mormonism has much to learn yet. The Mormon religion, uplifted as it has been, is still an unspiritual and unreasonable system.

The theology propounded by the prophet is stained and saturated with a gross materialism, and this trait remains a controlling one of Mormonism to the present time. Some attempts have been made within the organization to spiritualize his doctrine, but have met with official and popular disfavor; for it is the special pride of the Mormons that they take these teachings and those of the Bible in the most literal sense, and today as of old, proof texts are the magic weapons in the Latter-day Saints' armoury. There prevails throughout the system a lack of idealism and of appeal to the more lofty, delicate, and divine elements in man's nature. Such virtues as honesty, neighborliness, church loyalty, industry are common; far more common indeed than the Gentile world acknowledges; but the higher religious virtues and graces are yet wanting. The Mormon has no reverence, or even respect, for places. His behavior at his services is more than free and easy, and no outward signs of a sense of worship are to be discerned. The children run about, the people talk in whispers, sometimes a man will read his paper. It seems that the only person who ever kneels in meeting house or tabernacle is the elder as he blesses the elements, bread and water, at their "Lord's Supper."

Dances are held in the ward meeting houses, at which the conventions are not strictly observed; in some of the less central meeting houses, their dances are such that only Dickens in his breeziest mood could do justice to them. The Mormon is on familiar terms with the Deity, and, regarding himself as a younger brother of the Almighty specially favored, he is tempted to self-complacency and arrogance. He is, in fact, supremely well satisfied with himself and all that is his. The less education he has, the more confident he feels that what he does not know of religion is not knowledge. While he fears the Gentile, he looks down upon him; and is taught to condemn the poor negroes as an accursed race, who must not be admitted to any ecclesiastical office. A sense of the infinity of the Divine, of the power of prayer, the rapture of adoration and the awful and unspeakable sublimity of the Unseen and the Eternal, these and all such experiences find no expres

sion in this latter day religion. A Mormon mystic would seem a contradiction in terms.

Nor is Mormonism much more reasonable than it is spiritual. The converts to the faith have been drawn from the illiterate grades of society, and in the rough rural life of the west they have had little opportunity or time — even if they had the taste — for acquiring knowledge; and their religion fits their mental condition. There prevails general ignorance

of the most common facts of Church history and Biblical scholarship; few indeed of their numerous theologians know anything of ancient or modern theology — one of them, for instance, holding a high position as ecclesiast and educator, expressed himself the other day as amazed and incredulous when told that the New Testament was written in Greek.

CHAPTER IV.

OUR CHURCH AT WORK

1867— 1910

1. Under Bishop Tuttle
2. Under Bishop Leonard
3. Under Bishop Spalding

BISHOP TUTTLE

I. Bishop Tuttle's Administration

When the representatives of our Church came to Utah in 1867, they had the field to themselves. In Salt Lake City, a Roman priest had bought ground for a future church and an army chaplain had preached in a hired room, but no church body was, or had been, at work in the Territory. There was a handful of non-Mormons in the town, who were pleased to have non-Mormon services, and a Union Sunday School some fifty pupils strong.

The primary duty of Bishop Tuttle was obviously to proclaim among the schismatics the Historic Gospel. There was a question, however, as to the manner in which that Gospel should be presented. He chose (not without opposition from the fiercer anti-Mormons) to preach its upbuilding truths and to steer away from polemics and denunciation. He spoke little, if at all, of the errors which were in existence around him; but sought to deserve and win the unwilling respect of the Mormons and to show them, both in life and doctrine, a higher truth than they yet knew. If they could see that, they would themselves anathematise

their old mistakes; and if they could not, his anathemas would merely rouse their resentment.

The principle involved in this policy has been consistently followed by our Church in Utah ever since. To indulge in satire and invective is easy and tempting, and at times would seem expedient. But the Church

has been wise and considerate enough to avoid such methods entirely. It has realized that what appear to ourselves absurdities, or worse, are to the sincere Latterday Saint inextricably bound up with his most revered convictions. "The Pearl of Great Price" is as precious to his soul as the Gospel of St. John to ours, and polygamy was taught by one whom he believes was the inspired confidant of God and Jesus Christ. The task of enlightenment, therefore, is a delicate and difficult one; and it cannot be done with a club. The true and successful missionary must be a friend and a teacher of the good in the spirit of fellowship; not a superior being standing on a pedestal and denouncing evil. It is for such reasons as these that the Church has avoided taking the negative side in a debate on the value of Mormonism; and has strictly confined herself to a promulgation of the constructive elements in the historic Faith.

But Bishop Tuttle started other than evangelical work. The Latterday Saints showed little interest in education. They called their houses of worship, school houses and kept day-schools in them; but these were entirely under the control of the ecclesiastical authorities, and payment of tuition was exacted. They were, too, of a very elementary character. There was not a single bookstore in the whole Territory. At the request of the local "Gentiles," our missionaries started a school almost as soon as they reached Salt Lake City. Its success was great, and as opportunity offered, other schools were established in various parts of the country.

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ST. MARK'S CATHEDRAL, SALT LAKE CITY

A third line of activity was represented by the founding of St. Mark's Hospital. With the opening of the mines which followed the completion of the Overland Railway, accidents requiring surgical care became more and more frequent. Need of accommodation for the sick and injured became pressing. To meet this demand, St. Mark's Hospital was opened under

the auspices of the Church on April 30, 1872, in a rented, two-roomed adobe building. The work was supported by subscriptions from several large mining companies in the Territory, with a monthly fee of \$1.00 from the men in their employ and by subscriptions from some business men in the city. Bishop Tuttle also advanced money from his trust funds and loans were made by friends. From the first, current expenses were met by the income. For four years the work of the hospital was carried on in these humble quarters. Then a large lot with a good brick building was purchased at a cost of \$4,500, \$2,700 of which was raised in Salt Lake. The hospital commended itself to all people whatever their beliefs. The sick poor were sent by the county authorities, who were all Mormons, and paid for out of the county revenue.

The first attention of the Church was always given to her spiritual responsibilities. Her supply of men and means was small, but she managed to hold services in many towns, to keep resident priests in several, and in a few to erect Houses of Worship. The Church of the Good Samaritan in Corinne, which then was considered likely to become an important city, was put up in 1870. This was the first non-Mormon house of worship built in Utah. In the summer of 1871, St.

Mark's Cathedral, from designs by Upjohn, was so far completed that services could be held in its basement. Three years later, on Ascension Day, the Cathedral was consecrated in the presence of the Bishops of Utah, Colorado, and Nebraska and ten clergy men. In 1875, the Church of the Good Shepherd was built in Ogden, and in 1880, Salt Lake City was provided with a second place of worship, St. Paul's Chapel. Later, other churches were erected in Eureka and Park City, mining camps, and in Logan, a beautiful town in the north of the Territory. After the withdrawal of Bishop Tuttle from Utah to be Bishop of Missouri, the congregation of St. Paul's organized themselves as an independent parish, and two more chapels were built in the city, St. Peter's and St. John's.

It is a principal duty of a western Bishop to be a circuit rider, and the more considerable settlements in the State were visited by the Bishop. When opportunity offered, a priest would hold services in such places from time to time, or lay services would be regularly carried on; and when practicable, a resident

minister would be appointed. In this respect our policy is different from that of the Roman Catholic Church, which has concentrated its efforts in the capital, does no missionary work in the outlying towns and but little for their own scattered communicants. The Protestant denominations have pursued a policy similar to ours, and have many ministers at work throughout the State.

Only in two towns outside Salt Lake City, were resident clergymen maintained, in Ogden and in Logan. Mr. Gillogly undertook regular work in Ogden in July,

ST. PAUL'S, SALT LAKE CITY

1870, holding services first in a freight car, next in the passenger room of the railway station, and then in an old saloon. The Rev. W. H. Stoy went to live in Logan in 1873. Occasional services, however, were held wherever possible, in Corinne, Plain City, Layton, and later in Bingham Canon, Park City and Eureka, in Provo (1892) and in Springville. One of Bishop Leonard's most successful enterprises was St. Paul's Associate Mission, organized with headquarters in Salt Lake, under the direction of Rev. J. W. Crook and later by the Rev. Ellis Bishop. The clergymen of the Mission lived in St. Paul's Rectory, there were daily celebrations of the Holy Communion, and daily Morning and Evening Prayer were said. Two clergymen and sometimes a lay reader went from the Mission to towns outside for services, caring for seven or eight missions at once. This plan proved to be one of the most effective and economical missionary agencies, and has lately been adopted by Bishop Spalding.

Education was a part of the Church's programme for which she showed a concern second only to her interest in religion. St. John's School was started in Logan in 1873; St. Paul's School, in Plain City, at the same time; Ogden and Layton had schools, too, and for a time, some school work was done in Corinne, and also in Springville. The population of the Territory, however, and of the State, too, till very recently, was concentrated almost entirely in Salt Lake City, and here the Church found the greatest encouragement and did the bulk of her educational work. She had three schools here, St. Mark's Grammar School, a day-school for boys and girls; St. Mark's school for girls,

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also a day-school; Rowland Hall, a boarding and day-

school for girls. The grammar school had four houses, first, an old bowling alley on Main Street, second, two old stores opposite the alley on Main Street; third, Independence Hall; fourth, its own building opposite City Hall, first occupied in 1873. The day-school for girls was housed in the Sunday School room of St. Mark's Cathedral. This was entirely a self-supporting school. It eventually became merged in Rowland Hall, as its primary department. The lot and building for Rowland Hall were given in memory of Benjamin Rowland of Philadelphia, by his wife and daughter; the boarding school of Rowland Hall was opened in 1881.

II. The Church under Bishop Leonard

The years 1889 and 1890 brought great changes in conditions in Utah. The Mormon party was defeated at the polls in February, and the Gentiles took possession of the city government, the Senior Warden of St. Mark's Cathedral becoming the first non-Mormon Mayor of Salt Lake. Soon after, the County also passed from the control of the Mormons and great improvements followed. The population rapidly increased. Salt Lake more than doubled its population in ten years, and the gain was especially marked among the Gentiles. The number of communicants in Utah now reached 500.

During the next year, the Mormon leaders pronounced in favor of division among the people on national lines in politics — not officially, but giving the influence

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, PROVO, UTAH

of their names to the movement. With the rise of the American Party in Salt Lake and the election of a school board, and the consequent Gentile control of the public schools, the attendance at St. Mark's School decreased steadily, and after twenty-five years of useful service, the school was closed. Rowland Hall, however, continued to grow in numbers. In this same year, the capacity of the building was increased by a small brick addition of one storey, which was used as a main school room. There were few conveniences in the building. It was lighted by coal oil lamps and heated by nineteen stoves. However the faculty was strong, the instruction of a high order, and the influence good. A three storey building, erected in 1892 was enlarged in 1898 by a gift from the Woman's Auxiliary in New York, and the west building remodeled. Thirty-

seven boarders and a total of one hundred and eighty pupils were present this year. In 1900, a legacy of \$33,364.65 was received for the school. Of this, \$8,000 was used for improvements and the remainder invested. The school was then not quite self-supporting, but free from debt, and with an endowment of \$25,000. Bishop Leonard at the same time decided to close the other schools supported by the Church throughout the State, judging it right and wise that the non-Mormons should go to the public schools and not let these fall wholly into the control of the dominant organization. The teachers and some of the students in these schools had been a valuable nucleus for the missionary's work in their little communities, and the loss of these proved serious in several cases. But the decision was certainly best for the good of the State.

St. Mark's Hospital, meantime, was doing the public good service. By 1886, the disbursements had been \$143,178, less than \$1,500 of which had come from the east. Soon its capacity was increased to twenty-five beds by the addition of wooden wings, but it quickly outgrew its new quarters. Large grounds in the northern part of the city were purchased and the present building begun. This was completed in the panic year, 1893, and the Hospital was moved to its new, third home, scantily furnished and heavily mortgaged. From five to six hundred men were being cared for every year. During the hard times before and after 1893, many of the mines were closed, and the effect of this was felt in St. Mark's Hospital, which depended largely upon the monthly dues paid by the miners. •'? j A Training School for Nurses was organized the following year. To make room for patients, the nurses were moved to a rented house in the neighborhood. Every bed was occupied and many applicants turned away. The very rapid increase in the number of patients soon made necessary the addition of three wards, and even this did not keep pace with the growth of the hospital. In 1897, the Hamilton wing was added. For these improvements, all but \$1,000 was provided in Utah. During 1899 to 1900, 1,361 patients were treated with an average of five charity cases per day for the year.

In 1861, a company of surveyors was sent from Salt Lake City to explore the Uintah Basin in Northeastern Utah. They reported that the land was desolate and

unfit for settlement. Therefore, in 1865, the Government made a treaty with the larger Indian tribes in

THE RIGHT REV. FRANKLIN S. SPALDING, D. D.
Missionary Bishop of Utah

the northern and eastern portions of Utah, whereby all the Indians withdrew from other parts of the territory to this Uintah Basin. Then there were 5,000 Indians. In 1880, 1,200 White River Utes, after a bloody war, were removed to this Reservation from Colorado. In 1908, it was accurately known that not more than 1,500 Indians survived. Until 1897 nothing was done by any Christian missionary for these Indians. Then Bishop Leonard established our Mission at Randlett, where a Church, rectory and a small infirmary were built. In a short time, the work was extended and St. Elizabeth's Hospital and Mission was established at Whiterocks.

III. Under Bishop Spalding

The west had filled up rapidly during the Episcopate of Bishop Leonard, and, as the needs increased while the supply of men and means did not, the load on the Bishop's shoulders became more and more burdensome. The District of Salt Lake (as constituted in 1898) covered two hundred thousand square miles and comprised Western Colorado, half of Nevada, and the south-west corner of Wyoming, as well as Utah. The work was like work in foreign lands and too expensive to be carried on with the allotted appropriation. Bishop Spalding reported in 1905 that the Church gave \$1,500 a year for use in Utah, while the Presbyterians were spending \$80,000 and the Methodists (on missionaries' salaries alone) \$16,000.

On Bishop Spalding's arrival in the west, January, 1905, he found in Utah three self-supporting parishes,

the Cathedral of St. Mark, St. Paul's Church, both in Salt Lake City, and the Church of the Good Shepherd in Ogden. The energies of the rectors of these parishes were inevitably occupied in the care of their own people and they could do but little work for the Mormons.

Occasional services were held at Logan and Plain City, a Candidate for Holy Orders was at work in Provo, Springville, and Eureka, and a layman in Layton.

In Salt Lake City, Rowland Hall was exerting a strongly beneficent influence and St. Mark's Hospital was doing valuable service to the community, but was in debt

to the amount of \$40,000. It was plain that men and money were imperatively needed. St. Mark's Hospital, the first hospital to be built not only in Utah, but in the whole inter-mountain country, was in peril of having to be closed and sold.

After paying visitations through his District, in the course of which he travelled 13,935 miles by rail and 1,159 by stage and wagon, the Bishop went east to beg. He was successful. By January, 1907, the debt on the Hospital was paid in full. On May 1st, the Bishop Leonard Memorial Nurses' Home was opened. The old school building of Rowland Hall, quite inadequate for the growing school, was torn down and replaced by a new building at a cost of \$51,000, the Brunot legacy providing \$39,000 and \$12,000 remaining a debt. In Park City and Logan work was extended. That Utah was naturally a distinct Missionary District, with problems of its own which needed the skill of a specialist, had always been evident. Not, until 1907, however, was the General Convention able to segregate the Mormon State and assign it to one Bishop.

COMMON ROOM, ST. JOHN HOUSE, LOGAN

The Missionary District of Utah was then created and Bishop Spalding assumed charge. The Church was then in a position to serve the community with energy and effect, and the work progressed with comparative rapidity.

The work still follows its old threefold division, as established by Bishop Tuttle and continued by Bishop Leonard. Education is represented by Rowland Hall, which today is admirably manned and equipped, and out of debt. Philanthropy is represented by St. Mark's Hospital, which has been greatly improved at the price of a debt of \$10,000 and now is for the first time on such a financial basis that it can be supported locally without external help. The religious work of the Church now runs along two clearly marked paths; the first path is that of the organized parish, whose priest is not specifically a missionary but a rector, and the second is that of the mission where the priest's duty is to influence the Mormons as well as be a chaplain to a handful of Church-folk. The Bishop is Missionary-in-chief. As the number of clergy in Utah is small, and the District still very large, he has to spend much of his time going on circuit, and travels some thousands of miles each year through such places

in the State as are accessible by train or stage. Acting on the adage that "he who has the youth has the nation," the Bishop decided to establish and push missions first in the two college towns of Provo and Logan. Provo is the seat of the oldest and largest school and college of the Latterday Saints, called "The Brigham Young University." (Founded 1876.) Some 1,200 students are in attendance here. Logan, with

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the State Agricultural College and the Brigham Young College, is the most important educational centre in Utah, with students numbering two thousand. In the former town a priest and a deaconess are at work, and a church and rectory have lately been built without debt. In Logan, there is an Associate Mission of two priests, a church and Mission House (with reading room, library, game-room and baths) have been built, with a small debt on the House; and the college students' appreciation of the facilities here offered them is proved by the many hundreds of visits paid the House during the year. In both places, the missionaries are on terms of genuine friendship with the Mormon people. They are able to draw considerable congregations of young Latterday Saints to listen to their message, and those who listen are in the receptive attitude of mind, and have come not to find fault but to find help and light.

To these two centres of activity a third has recently been added. St. Andrew's Associate Mission has been organized to embrace the large opportunities offered in Salt Lake City and its neighborhood. This field has been regularly worked hitherto by the city missionary alone, Miss Napper; the Bishop, the Dean, and the Rector of St. Paul's making such incursions into it as their primary duties permitted. There are two neat little chapels in the environs of the city, and a chapel in St. Mark's Hospital, which are now served by the missionaries; work at Murray has been revived, and in Tooele and Garfield, two smelting towns adjacent to Salt Lake, institutional and Church work has been begun. The two priests of the Mission

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ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, LOGAN

are assisted in the increasing duties by a Deaconess. In Northeastern Utah, in work among the Mormons and non-Mormons, a priest and a woman worker are ren

dering devoted service. Here the work for the Indians continues. Besides the Mission Priest, there are four women workers, one of whom is a medical missionary. The Church's work, though slight enough and quite inadequate to the need and opportunity, is now much stronger than it has ever been. Not since the very early days, when we still retained the leadership we won by being first in the field, has the influence of the Church been so evident as it is today. For this reason, the matter of policy is more important than in the past, and the contrast between the line we have taken and that of other religious bodies is becoming more distinct and striking.

There are in vogue at present three methods of dealing with the Mormon problem. The first is that of the Roman Church; the second, that of the evangelical denominations; the third, that of ourselves. The Romanists have contributed little or nothing to the solution of the difficulty, though by a studied display of their organization's great wealth and worldly power, aided by an unflinching courtesy of demeanor, they have fixed the sense of their Church's grandeur deep in the Mormon imagination. The Protestants have done splendid service to the State through their mission schools, and have shown admirable energy and devotion in the cause of their faith. But their preachers early adopted and are only slowly changing their militant and derisive attitude towards the Mormons and Mormonism. They tend to mingle politics with re-

ligion. Mormonism, as we all know, is a religion with a past, and they will not permit that past to be buried. As the Puritans of New England fastened the Scarlet Letter to the bosom of the adulteress' gown, so their descendants insist on keeping before the world's eyes those ancient follies and sins of the Mormon organization, which it would be more wise and charitable to forget. Their spirit is suggested by the following quotation from an article by a leading Presbyterian missionary in Utah, printed in the "Mormon Number" of the Home Mission Monthly, October, 1908. "In the mind of every member of a missionary society, the feeling towards the Mormons and the work in Utah is probably different from that towards mission work in any part of the world. For the mountaineer, the Indian, the Negro, the ignorant Chinese, even the most degraded of the African races, you feel a kindly pity,

a tender and helpful sympathy for them in their lack of knowledge or opportunity." The writer is certainly correct in thus asserting that the feelings of Protestant missionaries towards Mormons are "probably different" from pity or sympathy. The Latterday Saints are made to know that between them and the orthodox there is a gulf fixed; and the aptest text a preacher can use for a sermon on them is "Woe unto you!" Such treatment has embittered the Mormons towards those of the cloth and tends to perpetuate a sentiment which is thus expressed in Prof. Nelson's book, "Scientific Aspects of Mormonism." "Let me disclaim," he says, "any intention of arraigning ministers of the Gospel in general, save as they resemble those in Utah. These latter have declared war on us, and are therefore legiti

mate targets for counter-attack. Unable to agree among themselves on tenet and doctrine, they have yet found, deep in their spiritual bosoms, a common bond of union — hatred of the Mormons."

Whether this attitude be right or wrong is the concern of those who adopt it. Everyone must note, however, that it has compromised the evangelical message which the ultra-Protestant missionaries have brought, and roused a spirit of hostility and suspicion. The number of converts made from Mormonism to a Christian Creed by their preachers is small indeed.

Our Church endeavors, as it has always endeavored in Utah, to confine itself to positive and constructive effort. It observes that the people are becoming more liberal, more independent, more intelligent, and that their faith is modified and developed to suit their growth.

Its policy is to study the nature and causes of this growth; and then to work with it, direct it, and accelerate it. Not to win over stragglers from the Mormon hosts into its own fold, but radically to uplift the whole Mormon religion towards Christianity, not only to convert individual Mormons, but forthright to convert Mormonism; such is our Church's deliberate and consistent object.

Much has been done to this end; much more will be done. We believe that the preaching in Utah of the Historic Gospel, and of a more reasonable and spiritual Faith, will put to shame the old Mormonism and compel further eliminations and further substitutions- "The Latterday Saints" have an admiration for the good and the true as well as other men; and if the lives of

our Church people are more clean and kind than those of the Mormon people, if our ministers are more courageous and intelligent than the Mormon ministers, if our Church has in it more of the idealism and heroism of Jesus than the Mormon system, if our religion gives purer light to the soul in its aspirations after the Divine than does the Mormon religion, then there will be little need to decry Mormonism, for its eclipse will be manifest to all seeing eyes and it will stand convicted and condemned by the minds and consciences of its own votaries.

— The Conversion of Mormonism (Used by permission of the curator)