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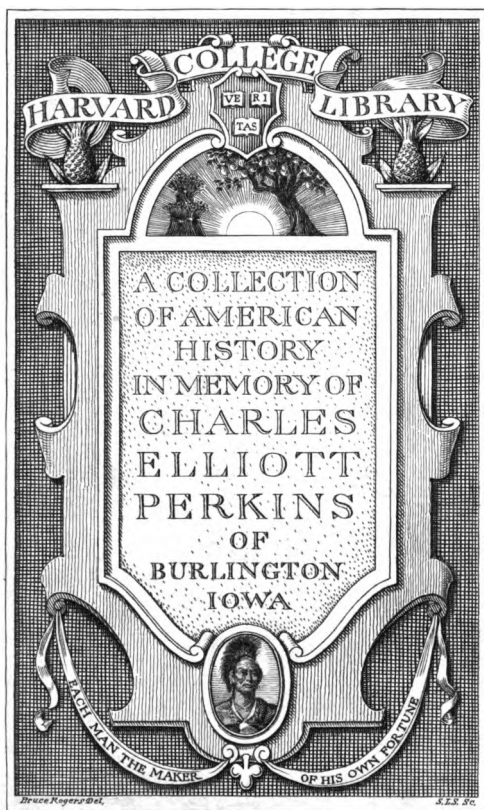


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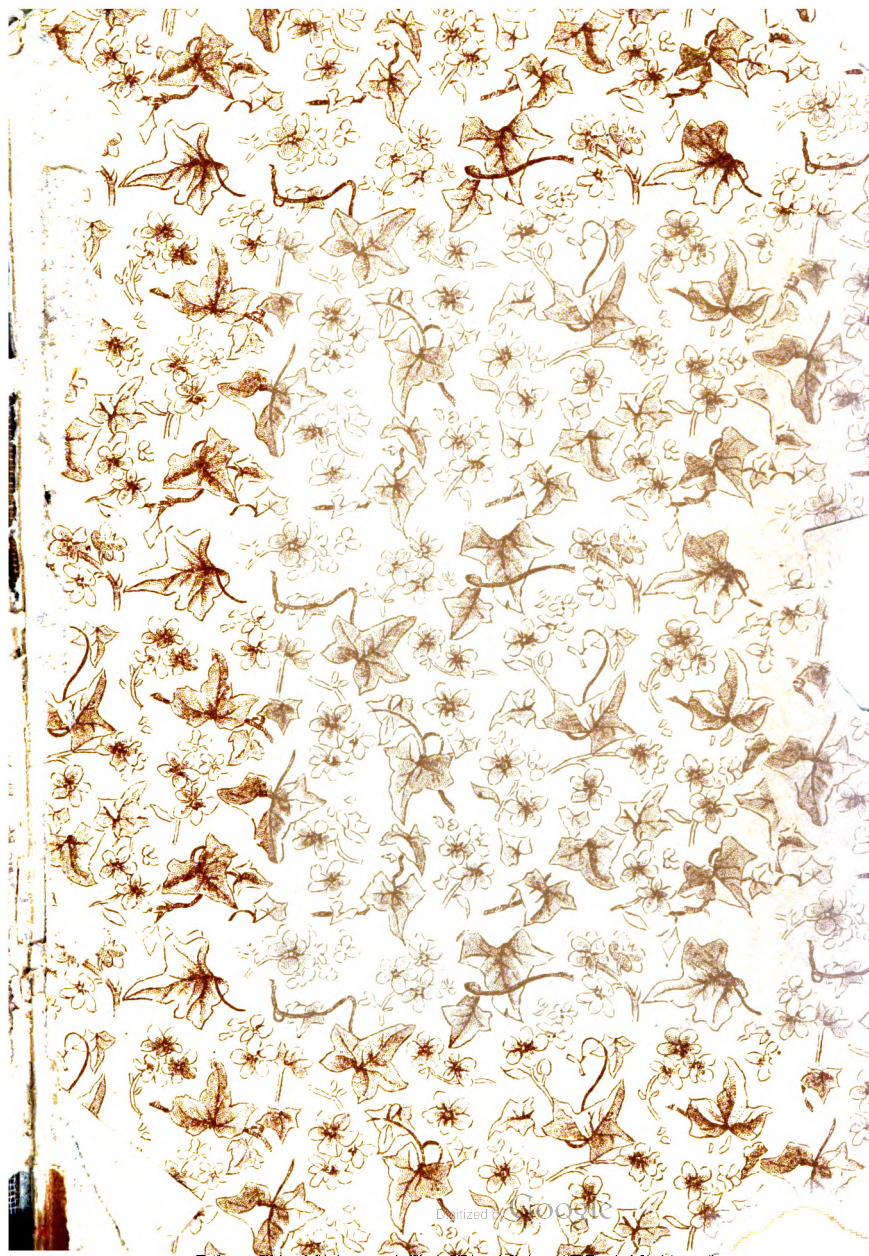
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# MORMONISM.



# **MORMONISM :**

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# MORMONISM.

(E. REVIEW, 1854.)

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1. *\*Patriarchal Order, or Plurality of Wives.* By ORSON SPENCER, Chancellor of the University of Deseret. Liverpool: 1853.
2. *The Seer.* Edited by ORSON PRATT. Vol. I. From January 1853 to December 1853. Washington: 1853.
3. *Reports of the Scandinavian, Italian, and Prussian Missions of the Latter Day Saints.* Liverpool: 1853.
4. *Millennial Star* [the Weekly Organ of Mormonism], vols. XIV. and XV., from January 1852 to December 1853. Liverpool: 1852 and 1853.
5. *History of the Mormons.* By Lieutenant GUNNISON. Philadelphia: 1852.
6. *Survey of Utah.* By Captain STANSBURY. Philadelphia: 1852.
7. *The Mormons. Illustrated by Forty Engravings.* London, 1852.
8. *Letters on the Doctrines.* By O. SPENCER. London: 1852.
9. *Hymns of Latter Day Saints.* London: 1851.
10. *The Mormons.* By THOMAS KANE. Philadelphia: 1850.
11. *A Bill to establish a Territorial Government for Utah.* Washington: 1850.
12. *Exposé of Mormonism.* By JOHN BENNETT. Boston: 1842.
13. *Doctrines and Covenants of Latter Day Saints.* Nauvoo: 1846.
14. *The Book of Mormon.* Palmyra: 1830.

\* To save time and space we shall refer to these works as follows: to (1) as *P. O.*; to (2.) as *Seer*; to (4.) as *XIV.* or *XV.*; to (5.) as *G.*; to (6.) as *S.*; to (7.) as *M. Illust.*; to (8.) as *Spencer*; to (9.) as *Hymns*; to (10.) as *Kane*; to (13.) as *D. C.*; and to (14.) as *Mormon.*

THE readers of Southey's "Doctor" must remember the quaint passage in which he affects to predict that his book will become the Scripture of a future Faith; that it will be "dug up among the ruins of London, and considered as one of the sacred books of the sacred island of the West; and give birth to a new religion, called *Dover*, or *Danielism*, which may have its chapels, churches, cathedrals, abbeys; its synods, consistories, convocations, and councils; its acolytes, sacristans, deacons, priests, prebendaries, canons, deans, bishops, arch-bishops, cardinals, and popes. . . . Its *High-Dovers* and *Low-Dovers*, its *Danielites* of a thousand unimagined and unimaginable denominations; its schisms, heresies, seditions, persecutions, and wars." Many must have felt, when they read this grotesque extravaganza, that it almost overstepped the boundary which separates fun from nonsense. Yet its wild imagination has been more than realised by recent facts. While Southey was writing it at Keswick, a manuscript was lying neglected on the dusty shelves of a farmhouse in New England, which was fated to attain more than the honours which he playfully imagines as the future portion of his "Daniel Dove."

The book destined to so singular an apotheosis, was the production of one Solomon Spalding, a Presbyterian preacher in America; of whose history we only know that, like so many others of his class and country, he had abandoned theology for trade, and had subsequently failed in business. Nor can we wonder, judging from

the only extant specimen of his talents, that he should have been thus unfortunate both in the pulpit and at the counter. After his double failure the luckless man, who imagined (according to his widow's statement) that he had "a literary taste," thought to redeem his shattered fortunes by the composition of an historical romance. The subject which he chose was the history of the North American Indians; and the work which he produced was a chronicle of their wars and migrations. They were described as descendants of the patriarch Joseph, and their fortunes were traced for upwards of a thousand years, from the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah, down to the fifth century of the Christian era. This narrative purported to be a record buried in the earth by Mormon, its last compiler, and was entitled "The Manuscript Found." A manuscript, indeed, it seemed likely to remain. Its author vainly endeavoured to persuade the booksellers to undertake the risk of its publication. Nor does their refusal surprise us; for we do not remember, among all the ponderous folios which human dulness has produced, any other book of such unmitigated stupidity. It seems inconceivable how any man could patiently sit down, day after day, to weary himself with writing sheet after sheet of such sleep-compelling nonsense. Its length is interminable, amounting to above five hundred closely printed octavo pages. Yet, from the first to the last, though professing to be composed by different authors, under various circumstances, during a period of a thousand years, it is perfectly uniform in style, and maintains the dryness with-

out the brevity of a chronological table. Not a spark of imagination or invention enlivens the weary sameness of the annalist; no incidental pictures of life or manners give colour or relief to the narrative. The only thing which breaks the prosaic monotony is the insertion of occasional passages from Scripture; and these are so clumsily brought in, that they would seem purposely introduced to show by contrast the worthlessness of the foil in which they are imbedded. Nor is dulness the only literary offence committed by the writer of the book of Mormon. It is impossible to read three pages of it without stumbling on some gross violation of grammar, such as the following:—"O ye wicked *ones*, hide *thee* in the dust." "It all *were* vain." "We had *somewhat contentions*." "I should have *wore* these bands." "Why persecuteth *thou* the Church?" "He has *fell*." "The promises *hath* been." "Our sufferings *doth* exceed." "All things which *is* expedient." These blunders are so uniformly interspersed throughout the work, that they must be ascribed to its author, and not (as they have sometimes\* been) to a subsequent interpolator. Yet this worthless book, which its writer could not even get printed in his lifetime, is now stereotyped in the chief languages of Europe, and

\* This hypothesis has been resorted to because people cannot understand how an educated teacher of religion should be capable of such blunders. But in America the literary qualifications for ordination are necessarily reduced to a minimum. In our researches among the Mormonite authors, we have found several examples of *ci-devant* "Ministers," who not merely write bad grammar, but cannot even spell correctly.

is regarded by proselytes in every quarter of the globe as a revelation from heaven.

This extraordinary change of fortune was brought about by the successful roguery of a young American named Joseph Smith, the son of a small farmer in Vermont. From an early age this youth had amused himself by practising on the credulity of his simpler neighbours. When he was a boy of fourteen, there occurred in the town of Palmyra, where he then lived, one of those periods of religious excitement which are called in America *Revivals*. The fervour and enthusiasm which attends these occurrences often produces good effects. Many excellent men have traced the sincere piety which has distinguished them through life, to such an origin. But there is a danger that the genuine enthusiasm of some should provoke hypocrisy in others. So it happened on this occasion in Palmyra. Half the inhabitants were absorbed in the most animated discussion of their deepest religious feelings. Any extraordinary "experience" was sure to attract the eagerest interest. Under these circumstances, young Joseph amused himself by falling in with the prevailing current, and fixing the attention of his pious friends upon himself, by an "experience" more wonderful than any of theirs. He gave out that while engaged in fervent prayer, he had been favoured with a miraculous vision. "I saw," says he, "a pillar of light above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually 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." He goes on in his "Autobiography" (from which we quote) to say, that these heavenly messengers declared all existing Christian sects in error, and forbade him to join any of them. This statement, however, was no doubt an afterthought. At the time, he probably only proclaimed that his "deliverance from the enemy" had been effected by a supernatural appearance.

Such precocious hypocrisy, however painful, is no extraordinary phenomenon. Probably every outburst of kindred excitement develops some similar instance of childish imposture. Examples will occur to those who are familiar with the early history of Methodism. And we remember lately to have seen a narrative published by a believer in the "Irvingite" miracles, detailing a case where a boy of only seven years old pretended to inspiration, and kept up the farce for many weeks, duping all the while his infatuated parents, and having the impudence seriously to rebuke his old grandfather for unbelief. Children are flattered by the notice which they excite by such pretensions; and, if the credulity of their elders gives them encouragement, are easily tempted to go on from lie to lie. For there is perhaps no period of life more sensible than childhood to the delights of notoriety.

It was, probably, only a desire for this kind of distinction which originally led Joseph Smith to invent his vision. At first, however, he did not meet with the success which he expected. On the contrary, he complains

that the story "had excited a great deal of prejudice against him among professors of religion," and that it drew "persecution" upon him. We may suppose that his character for mendacity was already so well known in his own neighbourhood as to discredit his assertions. At all events, he seems thenceforward to have laid aside, till a later period, the part of a religious impostor, and to have betaken himself to less impious methods of cheating. For some years he led a vagabond life, about which little is known, except that he was called "Joe Smith the Money-digger," and that he swindled several simpletons by his pretended skill in the use of the divining-rod. In short, he was a Yankee *Dousterswivel*. Among the shrewd New-Englanders one would have thought such pretensions unlikely to be profitable. But it seems there were legends current of the buried wealth of bucaniers, and Dutch farmers possessing the requisite amount of gullibility; and on this capital our hero traded.

His gains, however, were but small; and he was struggling with poverty, when at last he lighted on a vein of genuine metal, which, during the remainder of his life, he continued to work with ever-growing profit. This was no other than the rejected and forgotten manuscript of poor Solomon Spalding, which had either been purloined by Smith's associate, Sidney Rigdon, (who had been employed in a printing-office where it was once deposited), or had been stolen out of the trunk of Mrs. Spalding, who lived about this time in the neighbourhood of Smith's father. In one way or

another, it fell into Joseph's hands about twelve years after its author's death. The manuscript, as we have said, purported to have been buried by Mormon, its original compiler.\* This easily suggested to the imagination of Smith, already full of treasure-trove, the notion of pretending that he had dug it up. At first, however, he seems to have intended nothing more than to hoax the members of his own family. He told them that an angel had revealed to him a bundle of golden plates, engraved with mysterious characters, but had forbidden him to shew them to others. His hearers (to his surprise, apparently) seemed inclined to believe his story; and he remarked to a neighbour (whose deposition is published), that he "had fixed the fools, and would have some fun." But it soon occurred to him that his fabrication might furnish what he valued more than "fun." He improved upon his first story of the discovery, by adding, that the angel had also shown him, together with the plates, "two stones in silver bows, fastened to a breastplate, which constituted what is called the *Urim and Thummim*. . . . The possession and use of which constituted *Seers* in ancient times, and God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book."—(*Smith's Autobiography*, XIV.) Furnished with this mysterious apparatus, he was commanded to

\* The proofs that the "Book of Mormon," published by Smith, is identical with Spalding's "Manuscript Found," are conclusive. The identity is asserted in the depositions of Spalding's widow, of Spalding's brother, and of Spalding's partner, Henry Lake, the two latter of whom swear to their acquaintance with Spalding's manuscript—(See *Bennett*, 115.)

translate and publish these divine records. He might reasonably expect that the publication of Spalding's Manuscript, garnished with this miraculous story, would prove a profitable speculation: just as the unsaleable reams of "Drelincourt on Death" were transmuted into a lucrative copyright by the ghost-story of De Foe. On the strength of these expectations, he obtained advances of money from a farmer named Martin Harris.\* Concerning this man, as concerning most of the early associates of Smith, we must remain in doubt whether he were a dupe or an accomplice. His cupidity was interested in the success of the "Book of Mormon," and therefore he may be suspected of deceit. On the other hand, he did not reap the profit he expected from the publication, which, as a bookselling speculation, was at first unsuccessful; and he was ruined by the advances he had made. Ultimately, he renounced his faith (real or pretended) in Joseph, who, in revenge, abused him in the newspapers as "a white-skinned negro," and a "lackey."—(*M. Illust.* 34.) This looks as if he had been a dupe, and not in possession of any dangerous secrets. It is certain that he consulted Professor

\* "Our translation drawing to a close," says Smith, "we went to Palmyra, secured the copyright, and agreed with Mr. Grandon to print 5000 copies for the sum of 3000 dollars."—(*Autob. XIV.*) This sum was supplied by Harris, in accordance with a "revelation" delivered in March, 1830, as follows:—"I command thee that thou shalt not covet thine own property, but impart it freely to the printing of the 'Book of Mormon.' . . . Impart a portion of thy property, yea even part of thy lands. . . . Pay the debt thou hast contracted with the printer."—(*D. C. sec. 44.*)

Anthon at New York on the subject of the mysterious plates; and that he showed the Professor a specimen of the engravings, which Mr. Anthon describes as "evidently prepared by some one who had before him a book containing various alphabets, Greek and Hebrew letters, &c.; the whole ending in a rude delineation of a circle decked with strange marks, and evidently copied after the Mexican Calendar given by Humboldt." \* Harris also stated his intention of selling his farm, to provide funds for the translation and publication of these plates. The Professor vainly remonstrated, regarding him as the victim of roguery. Not long after, early in 1830, the Book of Mormon was published, and Harris was employed in hawking it about for sale. He also signed a certificate, which is prefixed to the book, wherein he joins with two other witnesses in testifying the authenticity of the revelation, as follows:—"We declare with words of soberness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes [*sic*] that we beheld and saw the plates and the engravings thereon." Eight other witnesses also testify that they had seen the plates, but without the angel. If we are not to consider all these as accomplices in the fraud, we must suppose that Smith had got some brass plates made, and had scratched them over with figures. No one else was allowed to see them; and Joseph informs us, that after he had "accomplished by them what was required at his hand," . . . . "according to arrangements the messenger called

\* Mr. Anthon's letter to Mr. Howe, Feb. 17, 1834.

*for them, and he [the angel] has them in his charge until this day.*"—(*Autob. XIV.*)

Although the sale of the "Book of Mormon" did not originally repay the cost of publication, yet it made a few converts. It was very soon "revealed" that these proselytes were bound to consecrate their property to the support of Joseph. Thus we find in a revelation of February, 1831 :—"It is meet that my servant, Joseph Smith, Junior, should have a house built in which to live and translate."—(*D. C. sec. 13.*) And again :—"If ye desire the mysteries of my kingdom, provide for him food and raiment, and whatsoever thing he needeth."—(*D. C. sec. 14.*) And his love for idleness was gratified by a revelation which commanded it :—"In temporal labours thou shalt not have strength, for that is not thy calling."—(*D. C. sec. 9.*) A singular announcement to be made by a prophet who soon after became the manager of a Bank, partner in a commercial house, Mayor of Nauvoo, General of Militia, and a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

We see, however, from these revelations (which were all given within twelve months from the publication of the book) that the imposture had already expanded beyond its original dimensions in the mind of its author. At first, he only claims to have miraculously discovered a sacred record, but does not himself pretend to inspiration. Soon, however, he proclaims that he is a prophet divinely commissioned to introduce a new dispensation of religion. And in April, 1830, he receives a revelation establishing him in that character, and commanding



the "Church" to "give heed unto all his words and commandments."—(*D. C.* sec. 46.) At the same time it is announced that all existing sects are in sinful error; and their members are required to seek admittance by baptism into the new church of Joseph Smith. In accordance with this revelation, he proceeded to "organize the Church of *Latter Day Saints*." He and his earliest accomplice, Cowdery, baptized one another; and in the course of the month they baptized twenty or thirty other persons, including Smith's father and two brothers, who, from the first, took a profitable share in the imposture.

In the same year, the new sect was openly joined by one of its most important members, Sidney Rigdon, who had perhaps been previously leagued with Smith in secret.\* This man had been successively a printer and a preacher; and in the latter capacity he had belonged to several denominations. It is but too evident, from the impure practices of which he was afterwards convicted at Nauvoo, that he was influenced by none but the most sordid motives in allying himself to the Mormonites. He was one of those adventurers, not uncommon in America, who are preachers this year and publicans the next, hiring alternately a tabernacle or a tavern. In point of education, however, Rigdon, though far from learned, was superior to his vulgar and ignorant associates. It was therefore revealed that he should take the literary business of the new partnership.—(*D. C.* sec. 11.) Accordingly, the earlier portion of the

\* *I. e.*, if we suppose that Rigdon was the person who had conveyed Spalding's MS. to Smith.

"Doctrines and Covenants" (the Mormonite New Testament) was composed by him; and he thus became the theological founder of the sect, so far as it had at that time any distinctive creed. For the "Book of Mormon" itself contains no novel dogmas, nor any statements which would be considered heretical by the majority of Protestants, except the condemnation of infant baptism, and the assertion of the perpetuity of miraculous gifts.\* Smith had apparently left the work of Spalding unaltered, except by interpolating a few words on this latter subject, which were necessary to support his own supernatural stories. But Rigdon encouraged

\* It is a curious fact that the English Irvingites, who also hold the latter doctrine, sent a deputation with a letter, not long after the publication of the "Book of Mormon," to express their sympathy with Joseph Smith. The letter professes to emanate from a Council of "Pastors."—(XV. 260.) It begins as follows:—"Dear brethren in the Lord:—At a council of the pastors of the church, held March 28, 1835, upon the propriety of the Rev. John Hewitt visiting you, it was resolved that \* \* \* he should have, as he desired, the sanction of the council." The letter proceeds to express sympathy in the Mormonite movement, and is signed "Thomas Shaw, Barnsley, April 21, 1835."

[Since the first publication of this note, we have received several letters from correspondents who belong to the (so called) "Irvingite" sect, all of whom express their belief that the above-mentioned letter was forged by John Hewitt! One gentleman (who signs himself W. R. Caird) asserts, that Mr. Hewitt was believed by the late Mr. Irving to have been guilty of forging letters of recommendation from America; and he further asserts that there never was any Irvingite church at Barnsley.

No proofs have been furnished to us in support of these assertions; and there is certainly no internal evidence of forgery in the letter presented by John Hewitt to Joseph Smith. At the same time, we think it right to mention that its authenticity is now denied by several members of the sect from which it professed to emanate.]

him to take a bolder flight. He announced the materialistic doctrines which have since been characteristic of the Sect; he departed from the orthodox Trinitarianism which had been adopted in the "Book of Mormon;"\* and to him may be probably attributed the introduction of baptism for the dead. Moreover, under his influence the constitution of the Mormonite Church was remodelled. Joseph had begun by adopting the ordinary Presbyterian divisions; but now a more complex organisation was introduced, and it was revealed that the true Church must necessarily possess all those officers who existed in the primitive epoch—Apostles, Prophets, Patriarchs, Evangelists, Elders, Deacons, Pastors, Teachers; besides a twofold hierarchy of Priests, called by the respective names of Aaron and of Melchisedek. The object of this change was to give an official position to every active and serviceable adherent, and to establish a compact subordination throughout the whole body; an object in which no religious society except that of the Jesuits has more completely succeeded.

While rendering such services to his new associates, Rigdon did not neglect his private interests. He immediately obtained the second place in rank; and after a short time he compelled his accomplice to receive a revelation which raised him to equality with the Prophet.—(*D. C. sec. 85.*) He was thus enabled to claim

\* "Q. How many personages are there in the Godhead?—*Ans. Two.*"—(*D. C. p. 47.*)

his fair share in the spoil of dupes whom he so largely contributed to deceive.

Under these new auspices the Sect made rapid progress. But while Joseph continued in the district where his youth was spent, there were many stumbling-blocks in his path. The indignation of his neighbours was naturally roused by the successful frauds of a man whom they had despised as a cheat and liar from his cradle. He vainly endeavoured to disarm such feelings, by candidly avowing his past iniquities; those who had known him from boyhood were not easily persuaded to believe in his repentance. And since, in America, there is but a short step from popular anger to popular violence, it was his obvious policy to withdraw before the storm should burst. Rigdon had already made numerous converts in Kirtland, a town of Ohio; and a nucleus was thus formed to which new proselytes might be gathered in sufficient numbers to defend their master and themselves. Hither, therefore, Joseph removed, early in 1831. But though Kirtland was for some years the centre of his operations, yet he never intended to make it his permanent abode. He already perceived, that to avail himself fully of the advantages of his position, he must assemble his disciples in a commonwealth of their own, where no unbeliever should intrude to dispute his supremacy. This was impossible in the older States of the Union, but it appeared quite practicable on the Western frontier. There land could be bought for next to nothing, in a territory almost uninhabited; and it might be reasonably presumed that

a few thousand converts once established, and constantly reinforced by the influx of new proselytes, might maintain themselves against any attack which was likely to be made upon them. Acting on these views, Smith and Rigdon, after a tour of inspection, selected a site on the borders of the wilderness, which was recommended by richness of soil and facilities of water carriage. Joseph immediately put forth a string of revelations, which declared that "Zion" was in Jackson county, Missouri, and commanded all the "Saints" to purchase land at the sacred spot, and hasten to take possession of their inheritance.—(*D. C.* sec. 66 to sec. 73.)

Within a few months no less than twelve hundred had obeyed the call, and employed themselves with all the energy of American backwoodsmen in cultivating the soil of the new Jerusalem. These converts were mostly from the Eastern States, and seem to have been, in habits and character, superior to the common run of squatters. Colonel Kane, who visited them at a later period, contrasts them favourably as "persons of refined and cleanly habits and decent language" with the other "border inhabitants of Missouri—the vile scum which our society, like the great ocean, washes upon its frontier shores." They seem to have consisted principally of small farmers, together with such tradesmen and mechanics as are required by an agricultural colony. Nor were they without considerable shrewdness and intelligence in secular matters, however inconsistent we may think their credulity with common

sense. By their axes and their ploughs, the forest soon was turned into a fruitful field; their meadows were filled with kine, and their barns with sheaves. Unfortunately for themselves, they did not unite prudence with their industry. They were too enthusiastically certain of their triumph, to temporize or conciliate. Their prophet had declared that Zion should be established, and should put down her enemies under her feet. Why, then, should they hesitate to proclaim their anticipations? They boasted openly that they should soon possess the whole country, and that the unbelievers should be rooted out from the land. These boasts excited the greatest indignation, not unaccompanied by some fear; for the old settlers saw the number of their new neighbours increasing weekly, and knew that their compact organisation gave them a power more than proportionate to their numerical strength. Legally, however, there were no means of preventing these strangers from accomplishing their intentions. For every citizen of the Union had an undoubted right to buy land in Jackson County, and to believe that Joseph Smith, Junior, was a prophet. But in America, when the members of a local majority have made up their minds that a certain course is agreeable to their interests or their passions, the fact that it is illegal seldom prevents its adoption. The Jacksonians knew that they had at present a majority over the Mormonites, and they resolved to avail themselves of this advantage before it was too late, lest, in their turn, they should be outnumbered, and thereby be liable to those



pains and penalties which are the portion of a minority in the Great Republic. The citizens of the county therefore convened a public meeting, wherein they agreed upon the following (among other) resolutions :—

*“ That no Mormon shall in future move and settle in this country.*

*“ That those now here who shall give a pledge within a reasonable time to remove out of the country, shall be allowed to remain unmolested until they have sufficient time to sell their property.*

*“ That the editor of ‘The Star’ (the Mormon paper) be required forthwith to discontinue the business of printing in this country.*

*“ That those who fail to comply with these requisitions, be referred to their brethren who have the gifts of divination and unknown tongues to inform them of the lot that awaits them.”*

These resolutions were at once communicated to the Mormon leaders ; but, as they did not immediately submit, the meeting unanimously resolved to raze to the ground the office of the obnoxious newspaper. This resolution was forthwith carried into effect, and the Mormon “Bishop” (a creature of Smith’s, who presided in his absence) was tarred and feathered,—an appropriate punishment enough, which had also been administered to his master, not long before, by a mob in Ohio.

Notwithstanding these hostile demonstrations, the Mormons could not bring themselves to leave their newly-purchased lands without resistance. They ap-

pealed to the legal tribunals for redress, and organized a militia, which maintained for some time a guerilla warfare against their antagonists. At length, however, they were overpowered by numbers, and abandoned their beloved Zion. But most of them found refuge in the adjoining counties, where they gradually acquired fresh property, and continued for four years in tranquillity.

Meanwhile their prophet had remained snugly established at Kirtland, which he wisely judged a more desirable home than the wild land of Zion, till the latter should be comfortably colonised by his adherents. Hence he sent out his "apostles" and "elders" in all directions to make proselytes, which they continued to do with great success. The first duty imposed on all converts was the payment of *tithing* to the "Church."—(*D. C.* sec. 107.) And those who received the commands of Joseph as the voice of God, did not hesitate to furnish this conclusive proof of the reality of their faith. On the strength of the capital thus placed at his disposal, Smith established at Kirtland a mercantile house and a bank. We find from his autobiography, that the whole Smith family were at liberty to draw without stint from the common stock; and their ill-gotten gains were squandered as recklessly as might have been expected. Embarrassment ensued, and several revelations called upon the saints for money to prop the Prophet's credit.\* At length the crash came. The firm failed, the bank stopped payment, and the

\* See "Smith's Autobiography," under date of March, 1834.

managers were threatened with a prosecution for swindling. To escape the sheriff's writ, Smith and Rigdon were obliged to fly by night; and they took refuge among their followers in Missouri.

This occurred in the autumn of 1837, four years after the expulsion of the saints from Zion. That expulsion had painfully falsified the prophecies of Smith, who had so completely committed himself to the successful establishment of his people in the spot which he had first chosen, that he did not acquiesce in their abandonment of it without a struggle. In February, 1834, soon after their ejection, he had promised their immediate restoration in the following revelation:—  
 “Verily I say unto you, I have decreed that your brethren that have been scattered shall return . . . Behold the redemption of Zion must needs come by power. Therefore I will raise up unto my people a man who shall lead them, like as Moses led the children of Israel. . . . Verily I say unto you, that my servant Baurak Ale is the man . . . Therefore let my servant Baurak Ale say unto the strength of my house, my young men and the middle-aged, gather yourselves together unto the land of Zion. . . . And let all the churches send up wise men with their monies, and purchase land as I have commanded them. And, inasmuch as mine enemies come against you, to drive you from my goodly land which I have consecrated to be the land of Zion, . . . ye shall curse them; and whomsoever ye curse I will curse. . . . It is my will that my servant Parley Pratt, and my

servant Lyman Wight, should not return until they have obtained companies to go up unto the land of Zion, by tens, or by twenties, or by fifties, or by an hundred, until they have obtained to the number of five hundred, of the strength of my house. Behold this is my will; but men do not always do my will; therefore, if you cannot obtain five hundred, seek diligently that peradventure you may obtain three hundred, and if ye cannot obtain three hundred, seek diligently that peradventure ye may obtain one hundred.” —(*D. C.* sec. 101.)

By such efforts a volunteer force of 150 men had been raised, and had marched from Kirtland in June 1834, to reinstate the saints in their inheritance.\* Joseph also, who, to do him justice, seems not to have lacked physical courage, had marched at their head; though why he superseded “Baurak Ale,” the divinely-appointed Moses of the host, we are not informed. The little force had safely reached their brethren in Missouri; but the Prophet, finding they were not strong enough to effect their purpose, had disbanded them without fighting, and had himself returned to Kirtland, where he had remained till the commercial crisis which we have just mentioned.

When thus finally driven to take refuge among his followers, Smith found them in a very critical position. Four years had passed since their expulsion from Zion, and they had established themselves in greater numbers than before, in the counties bordering on that whence

\* See *M. Star*, XV. 69, 205.

they had been driven. They had cultivated the soil with perseverance and success, were daily increasing in wealth, and had built two towns (or *cities*, as they called them) *Diahman* and *Far-west*. But their prudence had not grown with their prosperity. They thought themselves a match for their enemies, and fearlessly provoked them by repeating their former boasts. The Prophet's arrival added fuel to the flame. The disgraceful failure of his prophecies still rankled in his mind. He declared publicly among his disciples, that "he would yet tread down his enemies, and trample on their dead bodies;" and that, "like Mahomet, whose motto was *the Koran or the sword*, so should it be eventually, *Joseph Smith or the sword*."\* These and similar facts were disclosed to the Missourians by apostate Mormons, and excited great exasperation. At length a collision occurred at a county election, and open warfare began. For some weeks the contest was maintained on equal terms, and both parties burnt and destroyed the property of their antagonists with no decisive result. But, finally, the Governor of Missouri called out the militia of the State, nominally to enforce order, but really to exterminate the Mormons. They were unable to resist the overwhelming force brought against them, and surrendered almost at discretion, as

\* The above statements are in an affidavit (given in "Mormonism Illustrated") made in October 1838, and countersigned by Orson Hyde, who is now the chairman of the Apostolic College. Whether he was then a renegade, who has since repented; or whether he made these confessions under compulsion, we have no information.

appears from the following terms which they accepted : First, To deliver up their leaders for trial; secondly, To lay down their arms; thirdly, To sign over their properties, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; and lastly, To leave the State forthwith. The spirit in which this last condition was enforced will appear from the conclusion of an address delivered to the Mormons by General Clark, the commander of the hostile forces :—" Another thing yet remains for you to comply with—that you leave the State forthwith. Whatever your feelings concerning this affair; whatever your innocence; it is nothing to me. The orders of the governor to me were that you should be *exterminated*; and had your leader not been given up, and the treaty complied with, *before this you and your families would have been destroyed, and your houses in ashes.*"

The results of this contest seemed likely to be fatal to the Prophet, who was given up to the State authorities, to be tried on charges of treason, murder, and felony, arising out of the war. But he contrived to escape from his guards, and thus avoided, for a time, the justice of a border jury. He fled to Illinois, where he found the remnant of his persecuted proselytes, who had been compelled to cross the bleak prairies, exposed to the snow-storms of November, with no other shelter than their waggons for sick and wounded, women and children: 12,000 of these exiles crossed the Mississippi, which separates the States of Missouri and Illinois. By the citizens of the latter they were received with

compassionate hospitality, and relieved with gifts of food and clothing.

In a wonderfully short time the sect displayed once more its inherent vitality, and that strength which springs from firm union and voluntary obedience. Soon its numbers were increased by the arrival of proselytes to 15,000 souls. For the third time they gathered themselves together in a new settlement, and built the town of Nauvoo, in a strong position on the banks of the Mississippi, which nearly surrounds the peninsula selected for their capital. In eighteen months the city contained 2000 houses. The prairies were changed into corn-fields, the hills covered with flocks and herds, and steamers landed merchandise and colonists upon wharves which had superseded the aboriginal marsh. Here the Mormonites seemed at last securely established in a commonwealth of their own, and Joseph was permitted, for five years, to enjoy the rich fruits of his imposture undisturbed. The wealth at his disposal was continually increasing, both from the tithing of his old converts (which augmented with their growing property), and from the contributions of new proselytes. These were now flowing in, not only from the United States, but even from Europe. In 1837, a mission had been sent to England, and the Mormon apostles baptized 10,000 British subjects before the Prophet's death. New revelations summoned all these converts to Nauvoo, bringing with them "their gold, their silver, and their precious stones."—(*D. C.* sec. 103.) A mansion-

house was begun, where the Prophet and his family were to be lodged and maintained at the public cost. "Let it be built in my name, and let my servant Joseph Smith and his house have place therein from generation to generation, saith the Lord; and let the name of the house be called the Nauvoo House, and let it be a delightful habitation for man."—(*D. C.* sec. 103.) But, while thus providing for his own comfort, Joseph was careful to divert the attention of his followers from his private gains by a public object of expenditure, which might seem to absorb the revenues under his charge. As he had before done at Kirtland, so now at Nauvoo, he began the building of a temple. But this was to be on a far grander scale than the former edifice, and was to be consecrated by the most awful ceremonies. For here alone (so it was revealed) could the rite of baptism for the dead be efficaciously performed.—(*D. C.* sec. 103.) The foundation of this temple was laid with military and civil pomp early in 1841.

Meanwhile the State of Illinois had granted a charter of incorporation to the city of Nauvoo, and Joseph Smith was elected Mayor. Moreover, the citizens capable of bearing arms were formed into a well-organized militia, to which weapons were supplied by the State. This body of troops, which was called the *Nauvoo Legion*, was perpetually drilled by the Prophet, who had been appointed its commander, and who thenceforward adopted the style and title of "General Smith." On all public occasions it was his delight to appear on horseback in full uniform at the head of his little army,



which consisted of about 4000 men,\* and was in a state of great efficiency. An officer who saw it reviewed in 1842, says of it, "Its evolutions would do honour to any body of armed militia in the States, and approximate very closely to our regular forces."—(*M. Illust.* 115.) The "Inspector-General" of the legion was a General Bennett, who had served in the United States' army. His correspondence with Joseph is one of the most curious illustrations of the Prophet's character. Bennett offers his services in a letter wherein he avows entire disbelief in Smith's religious pretensions, but, at the same time, declares himself willing to assume the outward appearance of belief. He had gone so far as to submit to Mormon baptism, which he calls "a glorious frolic in the clear blue ocean, with your worthy friend Brigham Young."

"Nothing of this kind," (he adds,) "would in the least attach me to your person and cause. I am capable of being a most undeviating friend, *without being governed by the smallest religious influence*. . . . I say, therefore, *go a-head*. You know, Mahomet had his *right hand man*. The celebrated T. Brown, of New York, is now engaged in cutting your head on a beautiful cornelian stone, as your private seal, which will be set in gold to your order, and sent to you. . . . Should I be compelled to announce in this quarter that I have no connection with the Nauvoo Legion, you will, of course, remain silent. . . . I may yet run for a high office in your State, when you would be sure of my

\* Spencer, p. 237.

best service in your behalf. Therefore a *known* connection with you would be against our mutual interest."

To this candid proposal Smith replied in a letter which affects to rebuke the scepticism of Bennett; but, so far was he from feeling any real indignation at the proposed partnership in imposture, that he consents to the request about the Legion, and accepts the offered bribe as follows:—"As to the private seal you mention, if sent to me I shall receive it with the gratitude of a servant of God, and pray that the donor may receive a reward in the resurrection of the just."

Mr. Caswall, an American clergyman, visited Nauvoo about this time, and gives the following curious account of his interview with Joseph Smith:—"Smith is a coarse plebeian person in aspect, and his countenance exhibits a curious mixture of the knave and the clown. His hands are large and awkward, and on one of his fingers he wears a massive gold ring. He has a down-cast look, and possesses none of that open and straightforward expression which generally characterizes an honest man. His language is uncouth and ungrammatical, indicating very confused notions respecting syntactical concords. When an ancient Greek manuscript of the Psalms was exhibited to him as a test of his scholarship, he boldly pronounced it to be a '*Dictionary of Egyptian hieroglyphics*.' Pointing to the capital letters at the commencement of each verse, he said, 'Them figures is Egyptian hieroglyphics, and them which follows is the interpretation of the hieroglyphics, written in the *reformed Egyptian* language. Them characters

is like the letters that was engraved on the golden plates.' He afterwards proceeded to shew his papyrus, and to explain the inscriptions; but probably suspecting that the author designed to entrap him, he suddenly left the apartment, leaped into his light waggon, and drove away as fast as possible. The author could not properly avoid expressing his opinion of the prophet to the assembled Mormons; and was engaged for several hours in a sharp controversy with various eminent dignitaries. As the City Council had passed an ordinance, under which any stranger in Nauvoo speaking disrespectfully of the prophet might be arrested and imprisoned without process,\* the author deemed himself happy in leaving Nauvoo unmolested, after plainly declaring to the Mormons that they were the dupes of a base and blaspheming impostor. During a visit of three days, he had an opportunity of attending their Sunday services, which were held in a grove adjoining the unfinished temple. About two thousand persons were present, and the appearance of the congregation was quite respectable."†

Every year now added to the wealth and population of Nauvoo, and consequently to the security of its citizens and the glory of its Mayor. Smith's head was so far turned by his success, that in 1844 he offered himself as a candidate for the Presidency of the Union. Probably, however, this proceeding was only meant as a bravado. In Nauvoo itself he reigned supreme, and

\* Testimony of Bennett, "Louisville Journal," Aug. 3, 1842.

† Prophet of the 19th Century. By Rev. H. Caswall, p. 223.

opposition was put down by the most summary proceedings. The contributions of his votaries and the zeal of their obedience, fed fat his appetite for riches and power. Nor was he restrained from the indulgence of more sensual passions, which ease and indolence had bred. In July 1843, he received a revelation authorizing him, and all those whom he should license, to take an unlimited number of wives.\* This document is too long to quote in full, but the manner in which it silences the remonstrances of Smith's wife is too curious to be omitted:—"Let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those who have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before me. . . . Therefore it shall be lawful in me if she receive not this law, for him to receive all things whatsoever I the Lord his God will give him. . . . And he is exempt from the law of Sarah, who administered unto Abraham according unto the law, when I commanded Abraham to take Hagar to wife."

On this revelation Smith and his chief adherents proceeded to act. But they at first concealed the innovation under a profound mystery, and during ten years it was only communicated privately to the initiated, and its very existence continued unknown to the majority of the sect. Not many months have yet passed since the Mormon leaders have decided on a bolder policy, and have publicly avowed this portion of their system. Their present audacity, indeed, is more strange than their former reserve; considering

\* This revelation is printed in full in "M. Star," XV. p. 5.

that the consequences of the original invention of this new code of morals were fatal to the Prophet, and disastrous to the Church. For, though the revelation was concealed, the practices which it sanctioned were not easily hidden, especially when some months of impunity had given boldness to the perpetrators. Several women whom Joseph and his "apostles" had endeavoured to seduce, declined their proposals, and disclosed them to their relatives. These circumstances roused into activity a latent spirit of resistance which had for some time been secretly gathering force. The malecontents now ventured to establish an opposition paper called the "Expositor;" and published, in its first number, the affidavits of sixteen women, who alleged that Smith, Rigdon, Young, and others, had invited them to enter into a secret and illicit connexion, under the title of *spiritual marriage*. This open and dangerous rebellion was put down forthwith, by the application of physical force. Joseph Smith ordered a body of his disciples to "abate the nuisance;" and they razed the office of the "Expositor" to the ground. The proprietors fled for their lives, and, when they reached a place of safety, sued out a writ from the legal authorities of Illinois, against Joseph and Hiram Smith, as abettors of the riot. The execution of the warrant was resisted by the people and troops of Nauvoo under the Prophet's authority. On this the Governor of the State called out the militia to enforce the law, and required that the two brothers should be given up for trial. Joseph had now only the alternative of war or

submission. But hostilities would have been hopeless, for his troops only amounted to 4000 men, while the militia of the State numbered 80,000.\* He therefore thought it the wiser course to surrender, especially as the Governor pledged his honour for the personal safety of the prisoners. They were accordingly committed to the county jail at Carthage. A small body of troops was left to defend the prison, but they proved either inadequate or indisposed to the performance of their duty.

The popular mind of Illinois was at this time strongly excited against the Mormonites. The same causes which had led to their expulsion from Zion and from Missouri were again actively at work. Their rapid growth, and apparently invincible elasticity in rising under oppression, had roused even more than the former jealousy. It seemed probable that before long the influx of foreign proselytes might raise the Prophet to supremacy. Why not use the power which the circumstances of the moment placed in their hands, take summary vengeance on the impostor, and for ever defeat the ambitious schemes of his adherents? Under the influence of such hopes and passions, a body of armed men was speedily collected, who overpowered the feeble guard, burst open the doors of the jail, and fired their rifles upon the prisoners. A ball killed Hiram on the spot; when Joseph, who was armed with a revolver, after returning two shots, attempted to escape by leaping the window;

\* Spencer, p. 236, 237. (Mr. Spencer was resident at the time in Nauvoo.)

but he was stunned by his fall, and, while still in a state of insensibility, was picked up and shot by the mob outside the jail. He died on June the 27th, 1844, in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

Thus perished this profligate and sordid knave, by a death too honourable for his deserts. In England he would have been sent to the treadmill for obtaining money on false pretences. In America he was treacherously murdered without a trial; and thus our contempt for the victim is changed into horror for his executioners. The farce which he had played should not have been invested with a factitious dignity by a tragic end. Yet, when we consider the audacious blasphemies in which he had traded for so many years, and the awful guilt which he had incurred in making the voice of heaven pander to his own avarice and lust, we cannot deny that in his punishment, the wrath of lawless men fulfilled the righteousness of God. Secure in the devotion of his armed disciples, and at an age when he could still look forward to a long life of fraud, luxury, and ambition, he had exclaimed—"Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." But the sentence had gone forth against him—"Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee."

To call such a man a martyr is an abuse of language which we regret to find in a writer so intelligent as Mr. Mayhew. A martyr is one who refuses to save his life by renouncing his faith. Joseph Smith never had such an option given him. We doubt not that if he could

have escaped from the rifles of his murderers by confessing his imposture, he would have done so without hesitation; and would the next day have received a revelation, directing the faithful to seek safety in recantation when threatened by the Gentiles. But his enemies knew him too well to give him such an opportunity.

We must also protest against the attempt to represent this vulgar swindler as a sincere enthusiast. "There is much in his later career," says Mr. Mayhew, "which seems to prove that he really believed what he asserted—that he imagined himself the inspired of heaven . . . . and the companion of angels." The reason given for this charitable hypothesis is, that "Joseph Smith, in consequence of his pretensions to be a seer and prophet, lived a life of continual misery and persecution;" and that, if he had not been supported by "faith in his own high pretensions and divine mission," he would have "renounced his *unprofitable* and ungrateful task, and sought refuge in private life and honourable industry." The answer to such representations is obvious: First, so far from Joseph's scheme being "unprofitable," it raised him from the depths of poverty to unbounded wealth. Secondly, he had from his earliest years shrunk from "honourable industry," and preferred fraud to work. Thirdly, so far from his having lived in "continual misery and persecution," he gained by his successful imposture the means of indulging every appetite and passion. During the fourteen years which intervened between his invention of Mor-



monism and his death, the only real persecution which he suffered was, when his bankruptcy at Kirtland compelled him to share the fortunes of his followers in Missouri. And as to the risks of life and limb to which he was exposed, they were nothing to those which every soldier encounters for a shilling a day.

It is inexplicable how any one who had ever looked at Joseph's portrait, could imagine him to have been by possibility an honest man. Never did we see a face on which the hand of heaven had more legibly written rascal. That self-complacent simper, that sensual mouth, that leer of vulgar cunning, tell us at one glance the character of their owner. Success, the criterion of fools, has caused many who ridicule his creed to magnify his intellect. Yet we can discover in his career no proof of conspicuous ability. Even the plan of his imposture was neither original nor ingenious. It may be said that, without great intellectual power, he could not have subjected so many thousands to his will, nor formed them into so flourishing a commonwealth. But it must be remembered, that when subjects are firmly persuaded of the divinity of their sovereign, government becomes an easy task. Even with such advantages, Smith's administration was by no means successful. He was constantly involved in difficulties which better management would have avoided, and which the policy of his successor has overcome. We are inclined to believe that the sagacity shown in the construction of his ecclesiastical system, belonged rather to his lieutenants than to himself; and that his chief,

if not his only talent, was his gigantic impudence.' This was the rock whereon he built his church; and his success proves how little ingenuity is needed to deceive mankind.

The men of Illinois imagined that the death of the false prophet would annihilate the sect; and the opinion was not unreasonable. For it seemed certain that there would be a contest among the lieutenants of Joseph for his vacant throne; and it was probable that the Church would thus be shattered into fragments mutually destructive. Such a contest, indeed, did actually occur; and four claimants, Sidney Rigdon, William Smith, Lyman Wight, and Brigham Young, disputed the allegiance of the faithful. But the latter was unanimously supported by the Apostolic College, of which he was chairman. This body was obeyed by the great majority of the inhabitants of Nauvoo; and a General Council of the Church, summoned about six weeks after Joseph's death, excommunicated the other pretenders, and even ventured to "deliver over to Satan" the great Rigdon himself, although their Sacred Books declared him equal with the Prophet; who had, however, latterly shown a disposition to slight and humble him. The Mormons throughout the world acquiesced in this decision; and Brigham Young was established in the post of "Seer, Revelator, and President of the Latter Day Saints."

The first months of the new reign were tolerably peaceful. The enemies of Zion were satisfied with the fatal blow which they had dealt; and the saints were

suffered to gather the harvest of that year without disturbance. But in the following winter it became evident to the independent electors of Illinois, that the sect, far from being destroyed, was becoming more formidable than ever. New emigrants still continued to pour into Nauvoo; and the temple was daily rising above the sacred hill, in token of defiance. Exasperated by these visible proofs of their failure, the inhabitants of the nine adjoining counties met together, and formed an alliance for the extermination of their detested neighbours.

Henceforward it was evident that, while the Mormons continued to inhabit Nauvoo, they must live in a perpetual state of siege, and till their fields with a plough in one hand and a rifle in the other. Moreover, experience had shown that elements of disunion existed even among themselves. So long as they were established in any of the settled States, they could not exclude unbelievers from among them. There must always be Gentile strangers who would intrude among the saints for lucre's sake, and form a nucleus round which disappointed or traitorous members might rally, and create internal conflict. This could only be avoided by the transplantation of the Mormon commonwealth beyond the reach of foreign contact. Actuated by these reasons, the leaders who met to deliberate on the steps demanded by the crisis, came to a decision which, adventurous as it seemed, has proved no less wise than bold. They resolved to migrate in a body far beyond the boundaries of the United States, and to interpose a thousand miles of wilderness between themselves and

the civilized world. In the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains, the Alps of North America, they determined to seek that freedom, civil and religious, which was denied them by their countrymen. In a hymn composed for the occasion, they express this Phocæan resolution as follows:—

“ We'll burst off all our fetters, and break the Gentile yoke,

For long it has beset us, but now it shall be broke.

No more shall Jacob bow his neck;

Henceforth he shall be great and free

In Upper California.

Oh, that's the land for me!

Oh, that's the land for me!”—(*Hymns*, 353.)

Their decision was announced to the saints throughout the world by a General Epistle, which bears date Jan. 20, 1846. It was also communicated to their hostile neighbours, who agreed to allow the Mormons time to sell their property, on condition that they should leave Nauvoo before the ensuing summer. A pioneer party of sixteen hundred persons started before the conclusion of winter, in the hope of reaching their intended settlement in time to prepare a reception for the main body by the close of autumn. But the season was unusually cold, and their supply of food proved inadequate. Intense suffering brought on disease, which rapidly thinned their numbers. Yet the survivors pressed on undauntedly, and even provided for their friends who were to follow, by laying out farms in the wilderness, and planting them with grain. Thus they struggled onwards, from the Mississippi to the Missouri, on the banks of which they encamped, beyond the limits of the

States, not far from the point of its junction with its great tributary, the Platte. They had resolved to settle in some part of the Californian territory, which then belonged to Mexico; and it happened that, at this time, the Mexican war having begun, the Government of the Union wished to march a body of troops into California, and invited the Mormon emigrants to furnish a body of five hundred volunteers for the service. This requisition is now represented by the Mormons as a new piece of persecution. Yet they complied with it at the time without hesitation; and five hundred of their number were thus conveyed across the continent at the expense of Government; and yet rejoined their brethren among the Rocky Mountains in the following summer, after having discovered the Californian gold-diggings on their way. As no compulsion was exercised, it is evident that the Mormon leaders must have judged it expedient thus to diminish their numbers, which were at that time too great for their means of support. But it is admitted by Captain Stansbury (the officer employed by the United States in the survey of Utah), that the drain of this Mexican battalion prevented the remainder of the pioneers from reaching the Mountains that season. They, therefore, formed an encampment on the banks of the Missouri, where they were joined in the course of the summer and autumn by successive parties from Nauvoo. Meanwhile those who had remained in the city occupied themselves, during the precarious truce which they enjoyed, in finishing their temple. This building, the completion of which had been invested

with a mysterious importance by the revelations of their prophet, was a huge and ugly pile of limestone, strongly resembling Bloomsbury Church. But as it was far superior in architectural pretensions to any of the meeting-houses in the neighbouring States, it was looked upon in the West as a miracle of art. The Mormon High Priests returned from their frontier camp to consecrate it on the day of its completion, in May, 1846. The following sample of the consecration service will probably satisfy our readers:—

“Ho, ho! for the Temple’s completed,  
 The Lord hath a place for His head;  
 The priesthood in power now lightens  
 The way of the living and dead.  
 See, see! ’mid the world’s dreadful splendours,  
*Christianity, folly, and sword,*  
 The Mormons, the diligent Mormons,  
 Have reared up this House to the Lord.”  
 (Hymns 333.)

This ceremony had a disastrous influence on the fortunes of the remaining citizens. “It was construed,” says Colonel Kane, “to indicate an insincerity on the part of the Mormons as to their stipulated departure, or at least a hope of return; and their foes set upon them with renewed bitterness. . . . .  
 A vindictive war was waged upon them, from which the weakest fled in scattered parties, leaving the rest to make a reluctant and almost ludicrously unavailing defence, till the 17th of September, when 1625 troops entered Nauvoo, and drove forth all who had not retreated before that time.” -

Thus, once more, the lawless tyranny of a majority trampled down the rights of a minority. These instances of triumphant outrage, which have recurred so often in our narrative, are not only striking as pictures of American life, but may also furnish an instructive warning to some among ourselves. They force upon us the conclusion, that laws are not more willingly obeyed because made by universal suffrage. They teach us that, in those communities where every man has an equal share in legislation, the ordinances of the legislature are treated with a contemptuous disregard, for which the history of other nations can furnish no precedent. The mob, knowing that they can enact laws when they please, infer that they may dispense with that formality at discretion, and accomplish their will directly, without the intermediate process of recording it in the statute-book. They can make the law, therefore they may break the law; as the barbarous Romans claimed the right of killing the sons they had begotten.

We must refer to Colonel Kane for a picturesque account of the appearance of Nauvoo after its desertion, and of the sufferings of its helpless citizens, who were driven across the Mississippi by their foes. It was with pain and toil that these last unfortunate exiles reached the camp of their brethren. "Like the wounded birds of a flock fired into towards nightfall, they came straggling on with faltering steps, many of them without bag or baggage, all asking shelter or burial, and forcing a fresh repartition of the already divided rations of their

friends." At last, towards the close of autumn, all these emigrants had rejoined the main body, in the valley of the Missouri. And there they prepared to meet the severity of winter, in the depth of an Indian wilderness. The stronger members of the party had employed the summer in cutting and storing hay for the cattle, and in laying up such supplies of food as they could obtain. But these labours had been interrupted by a destructive fever, bred by the pestilential vapours of the marshy plain, which decimated their numbers. When winter came upon them, they were but ill prepared to meet it. For want of other shelter they were fain to dig caves in the ground, and huddle together there for warmth. Many of the cattle died of starvation; and the same fate was hardly escaped by the emaciated owners.

At length the spring came to relieve their wretchedness. Out of twenty thousand Mormons who had formed the population of Nauvoo and its environs, little more than three thousand were now assembled on the Missouri. Of the rest many had perished miserably; and many had dispersed in search of employment, to await a more convenient season for joining their friends. The hardiest of the saints who still adhered to the camp of Israel, were now organized into a company of pioneers; and they set out, to the number of 143 men, up the valley of the Platte, to seek a home among the Rocky Mountains. They carried rations for six months, agricultural implements, and seed grain; and were accompanied by the President and his chief counsellors. After three months' journey they reached the valley of the Great



Salt Lake on the 21st of July. And here they determined to bring their wanderings to a close, and to establish a "Stake of Zion."\* But they had small time to rest from their fatigues. Immediately on their arrival a fort was erected to secure them against the Indians, with log-houses opening upon a square, into which they drove their cattle at night. "In five days a field was consecrated, fenced, ploughed, and planted."—(*G.* 134.) Before the autumn they were rejoined by their brethren whom they had left on the Missouri. This large body, consisting of about three thousand persons, including many women and children, journeyed across the unknown desert with the discipline of a veteran army. Colonel Kane, who had been an eye-witness, describes with admiration "the strict order of march, the unconfused closing up to meet attack, the skilful securing of cattle upon the halt, the system with which the watches were set at night to guard the camp. . . . Every ten of their waggons was under the care of a captain; this captain of ten obeyed a captain of fifty; who in turn obeyed a member of the *High Council of the Church*."

By the aid of this admirable organization, they triumphed over the perils of the wilderness; and, after

\* All the Mormon settlements are called "*Stakes of Zion*" to distinguish them from Jackson County, Missouri, which is "*Zion*." This is ultimately to be reconquered by the saints, and thus Joseph's prophecy (which their expulsion seemed to falsify) is to be fulfilled. Meanwhile, when speaking popularly, they apply the term *Zion* to Utah.

a weary pilgrimage of a thousand miles, came at last within view of their destined home. The last portion of their route, which led them into the defiles of the mountains, was the most difficult:—"When the last mountain has been crossed, the road passes along the bottom of a deep ravine, whose scenery is of almost terrific gloom. At every turn the overhanging cliffs threaten to break down upon the river at their base. At the end of this defile, which is five miles in length, the emigrants come abruptly out of the dark pass into the lighted valley, on a terrace of its upper table land. A ravishing panoramic landscape opens out below them, blue and green, and gold and pearl; a great sea with hilly islands; a lake; and broad sheets of grassy plain; all set as in a silver-chased cup, within mountains whose peaks of perpetual snow are burnished by a dazzling sun."

The sympathy which we so freely give to the shout of the ten thousand Greeks, hailing the distant waters of the Euxine, we cannot refuse to the rapture of these Mormon pilgrims, when at last they beheld the promised land from the top of their transatlantic Pisgah. Nor is it wonderful that their superstition discovered in the aspect of their new inheritance an assurance of blessing; for the region which they saw below them bears, in its geographical features, a resemblance singularly striking to the Land of Canaan. The mountain lake of Galilee, the Jordan issuing from its waves, and the salt waters of the Dead Sea, where the river is absorbed and lost, have all their exact parallels in the

territory of Utah. Here surely was the portion of Jacob, where the wanderings of Israel might find rest!

The arrival of these wayworn exiles, together with that of the disbanded volunteers from California, raised the number of the colony to nearly four thousand persons. The first thing needful was to provide that this multitude should not perish for lack of food. "Ploughing and planting," says Captain Stansbury, "continued throughout the whole winter, and until the July following; by which time a line of fence had been constructed enclosing upwards of six thousand acres, laid down in crops, besides a large tract of pasture land." But, notwithstanding all their industry, the colonists were on the brink of starvation during the first winter. There is very little game in the country, and they were reduced to the necessity of feeding on wild roots and on carrion; and even tore off the hides with which they had roofed their cabins, to boil them down into soup. "When we clambered the mountains," says one of them, "with the Indians, to get leeks, we were sometimes too feeble to pull them out of the ground."—(XV. 387.) This bitter season, however, saw the last of their sufferings; an abundant harvest relieved their wants; and since that time their agriculture has been so successful, that they have raised enough, not only for home consumption, but for the demand of the numerous emigrants who are constantly passing through their settlements to the gold diggings of California. The engineers of the Central Government who surveyed their terri-

tory, state, that although the soil capable of cultivation bears a very small proportion to that which (for want of water) is doomed to sterility, yet the strip of arable land along the base of the mountains makes up, by its prodigious fertility, for its small extent—(*S.* 141.); and that it would support, with ease, a million of inhabitants.—(*G.* 18.) This question is of primary importance, because a country so distant from the sea, and so far from all other civilized states, must depend entirely on its own resources. There must be a constant danger lest an unfavourable season should be followed by a famine. Against such a calamity, however, some provision is made by accumulating large quantities of grain in public storehouses, where the hierarchical government deposits the tithes which it receives in kind.

In physical prosperity, the new commonwealth, which is still (in 1854) only in the sixth year of its foundation, has advanced with a rapidity truly wonderful; especially when we consider the disadvantages under which it is placed, by the fact that every imported article has to be dragged by land carriage for a thousand miles over roadless prairies, bridgeless rivers, and snow-clad mountains. Thus reduced to self-dependence, we can imagine the straits to which the first emigrants were brought for want of those innumerable comforts of civilized life which cannot be extemporised, and need cumbersome machinery for their manufacture. We can understand why, even after some years of settlement, the new citizens complained that nineteen-twentieths of the most common articles of clothing and furniture were

not to be procured among them at any price.—(XV. 395.) But before their steady energy, such difficulties have gradually vanished. When the colony had barely reached its fifth birthday, besides their agricultural triumphs already mentioned, they had completed an admirable system of irrigation, had built bridges over their principal rivers, and possessed iron-works and coal-mines, a factory of beet-sugar, a nail-work, and innumerable sawing-mills; and had even sacrificed to the graces by “a manufactory of small-tooth combs!”—(XV. 418 and 437.) Regular mails were established with San Francisco on the Pacific, and New York on the Atlantic; public baths were erected, and copiously supplied by the boiling springs of the volcanic region, affording to the citizens that wholesome luxury, so justly appreciated by the ancients, and so barbarously neglected by the moderns. They were even beginning to cultivate the arts and sciences, *more Americano*. They had founded a “University” in their capital, where one of the apostles gives lectures on astronomy, wherein he overthrows the Newtonian theory—(G. 82.) They had sculptured a monument to the memory of Washington. They had laid the foundation of a temple which is to surpass the architectural splendours of Nauvoo. They had reared a Mormon Sappho, who officiates as the laureate of King Brigham. Nay, they had even organized a dramatic association, which acts tragedies and comedies during the season.

Meanwhile, their population had increased by immigration from 4000 to 30,000, of whom 7000 were as-

sembled in the city of Salt Lake, their capital. The rest were scattered over the country, to replenish the earth and to subdue it. This task they undertake, not with the desultory independence of isolated squatters, but with a centralized organization, the result of which, in giving efficiency to the work of energetic men, has astonished (says Captain Stansbury) even those by whom it has been effected. He adds,—“The mode which they adopt for the founding of a new town is highly characteristic. An expedition is first sent out to explore the country, with a view to the selection of the best site. An elder of the Church is then appointed to preside over the band designated to make the first improvement. This company is composed partly of volunteers, and partly of such as are selected by the Presidency, due regard being had to a proper intermixture of mechanical artisans, to render the expedition independent of all aid from without.”—(S. 142.)

But the effects of this system will be better understood by quoting the following letter of an emigrant, who thus describes the foundation of one of the most important of these new settlements:—

“In company of upward of an hundred waggons, I was sent on a mission with G. A. Smith, one of the Twelve, to Iron County, 270 miles south of Salt Lake, in the depth of winter, to form a settlement in the valley of Little Salt Lake (now Parowan), as a preparatory step to the manufacturing of iron. After some difficulty in getting through the snow, we arrived safe and sound in the valley. After looking out a location, we

formed our waggons into two parallel lines, some seventy paces apart; we then took the boxes from the wheels, and planted them about a couple of paces from each other, so securing ourselves that we could not easily be taken advantage of by any unknown foe. This done, we next cut a road up the cañon [ravine], opening it to a distance of some eight miles, bridging the creek in some five or six places, making the timber and poles (of which there is an immense quantity) of easy access. We next built a large meeting-house, two stories high, of large pine-trees all neatly jointed together. We next built a square fort, with a commodious cattle-yard inside the enclosure. The houses built were some of hewn logs, and some of *adobies* (dried bricks), all neat and comfortable. We next enclosed a field, five by three miles square, with a good ditch and pole fence. We dug canals and water ditches to the distance of thirty or forty miles. One canal to turn the water of another creek upon the field, for irrigating purposes, was seven miles long. We built a saw-mill and grist-mill the same season. I have not time to tell you half the labours we performed in one season. Suffice it to say, that when the Governor came along in the spring, he pronounced it the greatest work done in the mountains by the same amount of men."—(XV. 458.)

We must not be tempted to linger too long on this part of our subject, or we might illustrate it by many similar examples. Suffice it to say, that by such judicious enterprise a chain of agricultural posts has been formed, which already extends beyond the territory of

Utah, and connects the Salt Lake with the Pacific. The chief of these settlements, San Bernardino, bids fair to be one of the most important cities in California. "The agricultural interest of the colonists of San Bernardino," says the 'New York Herald,' "is larger than that of the three adjoining counties united. Their manufacturing interest is rapidly increasing. They supply the southern country with timber, and for miles around they furnish flour from the fine mills which they have erected. They have purchased land for town sites in eligible situations on the sea-coast."—(XV. 61.) The object of the Mormons in this extended colonisation is to establish a good line of communication with the Pacific, by which they may bring up their immigrants more easily than across the immense tract which separates them from the Missouri. At first they hoped to include this line of coast in their own territory; but Congress refused their petition to that effect, and restricted them within limits which separate them from the sea; the above-mentioned maritime colonies being offshoots beyond their own jurisdiction.

But we are here assuming a knowledge of the political relations between the Mormon commonwealth and the United States, which we have not yet described. Soon after the exiles had taken possession of their new home, it passed from the dominion of Mexico to that of the United States by the treaty of 1848. Not long after, a convention of the inhabitants petitioned Congress to admit them into the Confederation as a Sovereign State, under the title of the State of Deseret, a



name taken from the Book of Mormon. This the Congress declined; but passed an Act, in 1850, erecting the Mormon district into a *Territory*, under the name of Utah. We should explain that, according to the American Constitution, the position of a *Territory* is very inferior to that of a *State*. The chief officers of a *Territory* are appointed not by the inhabitants, but by the President of the Union. The acts of the local legislature are null and void unless ratified by Congress. The property in the soil belongs to the Government of the United States. It will easily be understood how natural is the anxiety of the citizens of a *Territory* to emerge from this humiliating position, into that of a sovereign commonwealth, which can elect its own magistrates, make its own laws, and adopt the constitution which it prefers. But this anxiety is doubly felt by the Mormons, because, so long as they remain subject to the central Government of the Union, they naturally fear that the popular hatred which expelled them from Illinois and Missouri, may manifest itself in renewed persecution. Nor are causes of collision wanting. In the first place, the inhabitants of Utah have as yet no legal title to their land, for they have taken possession of it without purchase; and the ownership of the soil is in the United States. Yet the Mormons naturally protest against claims which would exact payment from them for that property which derives all its value from their successful enterprise. Again, the President of the Union has the right of appointing an "unbeliever" Governor of the *Territory*. Such an appointment.

would be considered a grave insult by the population ; and they have announced very clearly their intention to oppose it (should it ever take place) by passive resistance, which probably would soon pass into active violence. President Fillmore avoided this difficulty by nominating the Head of the Mormon Church as Governor of the Territory. But the appointment is only for four years, and may be cancelled at pleasure. Another cause of apprehended quarrel is the Mormon custom of polygamy. The Territorial Legislature has no power of legalising this practice, and consequently the majority of the children of all the great officers of the Church are illegitimate in the eye of the law. Probably some child of a first wife will seek on this ground to oust his half brothers from the paternal inheritance. The Courts of the United States must necessarily give judgment in favour of his claim. But it is certain that such a judgment could not be enforced in Utah without military force, which would be enthusiastically resisted by the population. This particular case, indeed, may not arise for some years. But the indignation excited against the Mormon polygamy is such, that a portion of the American press is already urging an armed intervention on the Government :—

“Not only (says the Philadelphia Register) should Utah be refused admission into the Union, so long as she maintains this abominable domestic institution ; but Congress, under its power to make all needful regulations respecting the territory of the United States,

should take measures to punish a crime which dishonours our nation.”—(XV. 358.)

Such are the clouds already visible on the horizon of Utah, which portend a coming storm. One collision has actually occurred, but has passed off without serious effects. It was caused by the unpopularity of two judges, appointed by the President of the United States. No doubt it was very difficult to find among the Mormons any even moderately qualified for such an office. One provincial practitioner was however found, who, though not a resident in Utah, was brother of an Apostle; and he was nominated to a seat upon the bench. But the two other judges were “unbelievers;” and this circumstance of itself caused them to be received with coldness. One of them, also, gave great offence by a speech at a public meeting, in which he advised the Mormon ladies “*to become virtuous.*”—(XIV. 406.) The Governor, whose own harem was present, resented this as a gross insult, and an open quarrel ensued. Very free language was used as to the resolution of the people of Utah to resist any interference on the part of the Central Government. This language was declared treasonable by the two unbelieving Judges, and by the Secretary of the Territory, who all returned to Washington, and, in a report to Government, denounced the disloyalty of the Territory which they had deserted. In the sublime language of the “Deseret News”—“The Judicial Ermine doffed its desecrated wand to the ladies of Utah, satanlike rebuking sin;

blackened the sacred pages of its country's history with the records of a mock court; *shook its shaggy mane* in disappointed wrath, and rushed *with rapid strides* over the mountains to its orient den."—(XIV. 524.)

President Fillmore, however, wisely forbore to take up the quarrel of his nominees, and made new appointments, which appear to be more acceptable to the Mormon population. Thus the danger has passed over for the time; but such symptoms show the precarious character of the existing peace.

Meanwhile, the Mormon leaders are taking every measure which is calculated to secure themselves against a repetition of the exterminating process to which they have been so often subjected. They keep their militia in constant drill, and its discipline is said to be excellent. Every man capable of bearing arms is enrolled, and the apostles, bishops, and elders appear in military uniform as majors, colonels, or generals, at the head of their troops. They could already oppose a force of 8000 men to an invading enemy. And the standing army of the United States only amounts to 10,000, which must march for three months through a wilderness before they reached the defiles of the mountains, where they would find themselves opposed, under every disadvantage of ground, with all the fury of fanaticism. Indeed, Lieutenant Gunnison intimates that, in his opinion, the Mormons might already defy any force which could be sent against them.

The causes above mentioned fully account for the eagerness manifested by the heads of the Church in

pressing upon the saints throughout the world the duty of emigrating to Utah. Their power of resisting hostile interference must of course be proportionate to their numerical strength. If they can double their present population, they may defend their mountain fastnesses against the world. Moreover, they will have the right, according to the practice of the Union, to demand admission as a State into the Federation, when their population amounts to 60,000. Hence the duty most emphatically urged upon all Mormon proselytes is immediate emigration. They must shake from their feet the dust of "Babylon," and hasten to "Zion." "Every saint," says a recent General Epistle, "who does not come *home*, will be afflicted by the devil."—(XIV. 20.) And again, "Zion is our home, the place which God has appointed for the refuge of his people. Every particle of our means which we use in Babylon is a loss to ourselves."—(*Ibid.* 210.) And the elders are exhorted "to thunder the word of the Almighty to the saints, to arise and come to Zion."—(*Ibid.* 201.) Nor are their efforts confined to words of exhortation. They raise annually a considerable sum, under the name of the *Perpetual Emigration Fund*, to pay the outfit and passage of those who are willing to emigrate but unable to pay their own expenses. This fund amounted last year to 34,000 dollars.—(XV. 439.) Most of the emigrants, however, pay for themselves. In 1853, the number of saints who sailed from England was 2609—(*Ibid.* 264); among whom 2312 were British subjects, and 297 Danes. Only 400 of these had their passage

paid by the fund. The whole Mormon emigration from Europe has hitherto been considerably under 3000 annually. Even including the converts from the United States, only 3000 settlers arrived in Utah in 1851. These details, which we have collected from the official statistics published in the "Star," will show how grossly the Mormon emigration has been exaggerated by the press. The American papers, with their usual grandiloquence, are constantly telling us that hundreds of thousands have arrived on their way to Utah; and these fables are copied on this side of the Atlantic, and go the round of Europe. In reality, during the fourteen years from 1837 to 1851, under 17,000 Mormons had emigrated from England. In future, however, while the Emigration Fund continues in operation, the rate will probably be not less than 3000 a-year. We may therefore suppose that, including the proselytes from the Union, the census of Utah will be increased by 3500 annually. Besides this, we may allow, perhaps, 1000 per annum (considering the nature of the population) for the average excess of births over deaths during the time that the population is rising from 30,000 to 60,000. On this hypothesis, it will have reached the required number by 1859.

This emigration, though very insignificant when compared with the exaggerated statements above mentioned, is surprisingly great when we consider the enormous difficulties by which it is impeded. In fact, if we except the capital of Thibet, there is perhaps no city in the world so difficult to reach as the metropolis of

the Mormons. Emigrants from Europe must first undertake the long sea voyage to New Orleans; thence they must proceed by steamer up the Mississippi to St. Louis, a distance of 1300 miles. From St. Louis, a farther voyage of 800 miles brings them to the junction of the Missouri and the Platte. From thence they must proceed in waggons across the wilderness, a journey of three weary months, before they reach their final destination. The appearance of these trains of pilgrims must be highly curious and picturesque. Captain Stansbury thus describes one of them, which he passed:—"We met ninety-five waggons to-day, containing the advance of the Mormon emigration. Two large flocks of sheep were driven before the train; and geese and turkeys had been conveyed in coops the whole distance, without apparent damage. One old gander poked his head out of his box, and hissed most energetically at every passer-by, as if to shew that his spirit was still unbroken, notwithstanding his long confinement. The waggons swarmed with women and children, and I estimated the train at a thousand head of cattle, a hundred head of sheep, and five hundred human souls."—(S. 223.)

"The waggon," he tells us elsewhere, "is literally the emigrant's home. In it he carries his all, and it serves him as tent, kitchen, parlour, and bed-room; and not unfrequently also as a boat, to ferry his load over an otherwise impassable stream."—(S. 26.)

The deluded proselytes, who, in the mere act of reaching the parched valleys of Deseret, expend an amount

of capital and toil sufficient to establish them with every comfort in many happier colonies, are by no means drawn from the most ignorant portion of the community. More than two-thirds of their number consist of artisans and mechanics. Out of 352 emigrants who sailed from Liverpool in February 1852, Mr. Mayhew ascertained that only 108 were unskilled labourers; the remaining 244 consisted of farmers, miners, engine-makers, joiners, weavers, shoemakers, smiths, tailors, watchmakers, masons, butchers, bakers, potters, painters, ship-wrights, iron-moulders, basket-makers, dyers, ropers, paper-makers, glass-cutters, nailors, saddlers, sawyers, and gunmakers.—(*M. Illust.* 245.) Thus the Mormon emigration is drawn mainly from a single rank of society; and the result is, that the population of Utah presents an aspect singularly homogeneous, and has attained (without any socialism) more nearly to the socialist ideal of a dead level than any other community in the world. There are no poor, for the humblest labourer becomes on his arrival a peasant proprietor; and, although some have already grown rich, yet none are exempt from the necessity of manual labour, except, indeed, the prophets and chief apostles of the Church. And even these seek to avert popular envy, by occasionally taking a turn at their old employments; following the example of the President, who was bred a carpenter, and still sometimes does a job of joiner's work upon his mills.—(*G.* 141.) Such a state of society combines the absence of many evils and much misery, with the want of those humanizing influences which result



from the intermixture of men of leisure with men of labour.

But it is time to turn from the outward phenomena of Mormonism to its inward life; from its relations towards the external world, to its own internal system, theological, ethical, and ecclesiastical. And since those who join it, join it as a Religion, let us first examine the doctrines which it teaches, and which they accept.

We have already said that the original Theology of Mormonism was not distinguished by any marked peculiarities. And even still, those who preach it to the ignorant and simple disguise it under the mask of ordinary Protestantism, and affect to differ from rival sects rather in their pretensions than in their doctrines. The order lately given to the English elders was to abstain from perplexing their hearers with startling novelties, and only "to preach faith, repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, and *faith in Joseph Smith and Brigham Young.*"—(XIV. 226.) Even the more intelligent English converts, when asked wherein they differ from other sects, reply that the difference consists in their claim to possess miraculous gifts and a living prophet.

These *gifts*, which they profess to exercise, are the powers of healing the sick, speaking in tongues, and casting out devils. The former (which they found on the well-known passage in St. James) they put in practice on every occasion of illness. Not a month passes without some miraculous case of cure being published in their journals. In reading these narratives, we might almost think we had stumbled on an advertisement of

Morison's pills. "The consequence," says Elder Spencer, "of changing this one ordinance to the medical nostrums of men, is the literal death of thousands."

The *Gift of Tongues* is of still easier execution, and forms a frequent incident in the public worship of the sect. Thus we read, in the official report of a recent Conference at Utah:—"Sister Bybee *spoke in tongues*. President Young declared it to be a *proper tongue*, and inquired *what the nations would do, if they were here*. He said, *if he were to give way to the brethren and sisters, the day of Pentecost would be in the shade in comparison to it.*"—(XIV. 356.)

This is sufficiently profane; but still more disgusting are the scenes which take place in the casting out of devils. Daniel Jones, now one of the three "Presidents of the Church in Wales,"\* thus describes a case in which he officiated as exorciser:—"The spirits were all this time making the loudest noise; calling out, '*Old Captain, have you come to trouble us? d—d Old Captain, we will hold you a battle.*' Many other expressions used would be indecent to utter, and others useless, I suppose. Some spoke English, through one that knew no English of herself. Others spoke in tongues, praying for a reinforcement of their kindred spirits, and chiding some dreadfully by name, such as, *Borona, Menta, Philo*. They swore they would not depart, *unless old Brigham Young, from America, would come.*"—(Star, XI. 40, quoted in *Morm. Illust.*)

We should have been inclined to infer from such

\* M. Star, XV. 511.

descriptions that the performers in these exhibitions must either be the most shameless of hypocrites, or the most crazy of fanatics. But we are silenced when we remember that two English clergymen have also very lately published their dialogues with devils; and have surpassed their Mormon rivals in absurdity, inasmuch as they have fixed the residence of Satan, not in the heart of a man, but in the legs of a table.\*

The resemblance thus manifested between the teaching of some of our popular religionists, and that of the Mormons, is not confined to the point of diabolic agency. It results from a materialistic tendency observable in the two theological systems. Besides some other effects, this leads both alike to misconstrue the metaphors of Scripture by a literal interpretation, and to distort the biblical prophecies, by viewing them through a carnal medium. Thus, the Mormonite speculations on the Restoration of the Jews, and on the Millennium, are the same which may sometimes be heard in Puritanic pulpits. Both schools dwell with similar fondness on the battle of Armageddon, and give a description of the combatants equally minute. The Mormons teach that this contest will be between the Papists on one side and "the Church" on the other. The triumph of their own adherents is to usher in the Millennium. Even the date assigned to the Restoration of the Jews is the same in both systems. "It shall come to pass in the

\* An account of these publications is given in a most interesting article in the "Quarterly" of last October, on the subject of Table-turning.

nineteenth century," says the official organ of Mormonism, "that the great trumpet shall be blown, and they [the Jews] shall come, who are ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and the outcast in the land of Egypt, and shall worship the Lord in the holy mountain at Jerusalem."—(*XIV. 12.*)

But this tendency to debase a spiritual truth into a material fiction is most strikingly developed in the Mormon doctrine of the Resurrection. It must be confessed, indeed, that some Christian writers have incautiously spoken on this subject, in language contradicting that of St. Paul; and have seemed to teach that this corruptible body of flesh and blood will inherit eternal life.\* The danger of such incautious statements is shown by the inferences deduced from them in the writings of the Mormonites. According to their teaching, not only will the body, but all the habits, occupations, and necessities of life; be the same in the future world as in the present. Thus, one of their chief pillars tells us, that—"The future residence of the saints is not an ideal thing. They will need houses for their persons and for their families, as much in their *resurrected* condition as in their present state. In this identical world, where they have been robbed of houses, and lands, and wife, and children, they shall have an hundred-fold."—(*Spencer, 174.*)

Another "Apostle" calculates the exact amount of

\* See the admirable arguments of Dr. Burton, late Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, against certain popular views of this subject.—(*Burton's Bampton Lectures, Appendix.*)

landed property which may be expected by the "*resurrected* saints:"—"Suppose that, out of the population of the earth, one in a hundred should be entitled to an inheritance upon the new earth, how much land would each receive? We answer, they would receive over a hundred and fifty acres, which would be quite enough to raise manna, and to build some splendid mansions. It would be large enough to have our flower gardens, and everything the agriculturist and the botanist want."—(*P. Pratt*, in *XIV*. 663.)

But not content with degrading the Scriptural conception of immortality by these sordid and grovelling imaginations, they venture directly to contradict the words of our Lord himself, by affirming that, in the Resurrection, men both marry and are given in marriage. Thus the author above quoted tells us that—"Abraham and Sarah will continue to multiply, not only in this world, but in all worlds to come. . . . Will the resurrection return you a mere *female acquaintance*, that is *not* to be the wife of your bosom in eternity? No, God forbid! But it will restore you the wife of your bosom immortalised, who shall bear children from your own loins, in all worlds to come."—(*P. O.* 6.)

This they call the doctrine of *Celestial Marriage*, to which, in its connexion with their polygamy, we shall presently return.

A still more peculiar tenet of their creed is the necessity of *baptism for the dead*. This doctrine was broached by Smith at an early period, and is incorporated into the "Book of Doctrines and Covenants," the Mormonite

New Testament.\* Every Mormon is bound to submit to this rite for the benefit of his deceased relatives. Its institution seems to have had the same pecuniary object as that of the masses *pro defunctis*; although the fees demanded by the priesthood for its performance are not stated in the official documents. They tell us, however, that the dead “depend on their posterity, relatives, or friends, for this completing of the works necessary for their salvation”—(*XIV.* 232.); and that their genealogies will be revealed to the faithful by the prophets in the temple.—(*Seer*, i. 141.) Thus (says Joseph Smith, in his “*last sermon*”):—“Every man who has got a friend in the eternal world can save him, unless he has committed the unpardonable sin; so *you see how far you can be a saviour.*”

And to the same effect the Mormon hymnist sings:—

“I am Zionward bound, where a Seer is our head,  
We'll there be baptized for our friends that are dead;  
By obeying this law we may set them all free,  
And saviours we shall upon Mount Zion be.”

(*XV.* 143.)

The Chancellor of the University of Deseret informs us, that “unless this is done for the dead *they cannot be redeemed.*”—(*Spencer*, 166.) And the same learned authority announces that—“Peter tells how the devout and honourable dead may be saved, who never heard the gospel on earth. Says he, [St. Peter!] ‘else why are they baptized for the dead?’ ”†

\* See *D. C.*, sections 105, 106.

† Mr. Spencer, who here cites the *1st Corinthians* as the work of St. Peter, was ordained as a Baptist minister in America, and says that he

This Mormon sacrament is connected with another retrograde tenet, which restricts the due celebration of religious rites to one local sanctuary—"Verily I say unto you, after you have had sufficient time to build a house to me, wherein the ordinance of baptizing for the dead belongeth, and for which the same was instituted from before the foundation of the world . . . . your baptisms for the dead by those who are scattered abroad, are not acceptable unto me."—(*D. C.* sec. 103.)

Hence the mysterious importance attached to the completion of the Nauvoo Temple. The corner-stone of a new and far larger edifice has lately been laid at Deseret, the form of which has been represented to Brigham Young in a miraculous vision. He refuses to reveal its plan beforehand; but declares that, magnificent as it will be, it is only the faint image of that which will beautify reconquered Missouri. "The time will come when there will be a tower in the centre of temples we shall build, and on its top *groves and fish ponds*."—(*XV.* 488.) What would Mr. Ruskin say to this proposed new style of ecclesiastical architecture? Mr. Gunnison tells us (from information given him at Utah) that as soon as the present temple is finished, "*animal sacrifices* for the daily sins of the people" will be offered therein by the priesthood.—(*G.* 57.) This will complete the return of Mormonism to the "weak

graduated at "Hamilton Theological College," in 1829, and held "the first grade of honourable distinction." He complains that his character has been much "villified;" his spelling and grammar could scarcely be represented as viler than they are, by any of his "villifiers."

and beggarly elements," of that dispensation which was purposely adapted to a state of moral childhood, "wherein were offered both gifts and sacrifices that could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience; which stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal ordinances, imposed until the time of reformation."

The same retrogressive tendency has led the Mormonites to adopt a system of anthropomorphism which has never been equalled by any other sect, though it was approached fifteen centuries ago by the Egyptian monks whom Theophilus anathematised. Allegorical images, under which the attributes of God were made intelligible to the rude Israelites by Moses, and even metaphorical figures, adopted by devotional poetry in a later age, are interpreted by Smith and his disciples in a sense as merely literal and material, as they would attach to the placards wherein their countrymen describe the person of a fugitive slave. The nature of these materialising dogmas cannot be rendered intelligible except by quotations, which, from their profanity, we would willingly omit. The following is an extract from one of their popular catechisms, bearing on the subject:—

"Q. 28. What is God?—A. He is a *material* intelligent personage, possessing both body and parts.

"Q. 38. Doth He also possess passions?—A. Yes, He eats, He drinks, He loves, He hates.

"Q. 44. Can this being occupy two distinct places at once?—A. No."\*

\* Latter Day Saints' Catechism, quoted in *Morm. Illust.* p. 43.



To the same effect we read in the Mormon hymn-book (349):—

“The God that others worship, is not the God for me;  
He has no parts nor body, and cannot hear nor see.”

A local residence is assigned to this anthropomorphic Deity; he lives, we are told, “*in the planet Kolob.*”—(*Seer*, 70. and *XIV.* 531.) Moreover, as he possesses the body and passions of a man, so his relations to his creatures are purely human. Saint Hilary of Poitiers asserts that some Arians attacked orthodoxy by the following argument:—“*Deus pater non erat, quia neque ei filius; nam si filius, necesse est ut et fœmina sit.*”—(*Hil. adv. Const.*) The conclusion thus stated as an absurdity in the fourth century, the Mormons embrace as an axiom in the nineteenth. “*In mundi primordiis, Deo erat fœmina,*” is an article of their creed.—(*P. O.* p. 1. and p. 15.; also *Seer*, i. 38. and 103.) No existence is “created;” all beings are “begotten.” So the Prophet tells us in his “last sermon” (p. 62):—“God never did have power to create the spirit of man at all. The very idea lessens man in my estimation. I know better.”

The superiority of the Mormon God over his creatures consists only in the greater power which He has gradually attained by growth in knowledge. He himself originated in “the union of two elementary particles of matter”—(*G.* 49); and by a progressive development reached the human form. Thus we read that—“God, *of course*, was once a man, and from manhood, by continual progression, became God; and he

has continued to increase from his manhood to the present time, and may continue to increase without limit. And man also may continue to increase in knowledge and power as fast as he pleases.”

And again, “If man is a creature of eternal progression, the time must certainly arrive when he will know as much as God now knows.”—(XIV. 386.)

This is in strict accordance with the following words of Joseph Smith:—“The weakest child of God which now exists upon the earth will possess more dominion, more property, more subjects, and more power and glory, than is possessed by Jesus Christ or by his Father; while at the same time they will have their dominion, kingdom, and subjects increased in proportion.”—(*M. Star*, vi., quoted in *Morm. Illust.*)

An apostle carries this view into detail as follows:—“What will man do when this world is filled up? Why, he will *make more worlds*, and swarm out like bees from the old world. And when a farmer has cultivated his farm and raised numerous children, so that the space is beginning to be too strait for them, he will say, *My sons, yonder is plenty of matter, go and organise a world, and people it.*” —(*P. Pratt*, in XIV. 663, and *Seer*, 1. 37.)

This doctrine of indefinite development naturally passes into Polytheism. Accordingly, the Mormon theology teaches that there are Gods innumerable, with different degrees of dignity and power. It was revealed to Joseph Smith that the first verse of Genesis originally stood as follows:—“The *Head God* brought forth

*the Gods*, with the heavens, and the earth.”—(XIV. 455.) And the same prophet also tells us (*Ibid.*), that a hundred and forty-four thousand of these gods are mentioned by St. John in the Apocalypse. Moreover, “each God is the God of the spirits of all flesh pertaining to the world which he forms.”—(*Seer*, i. 38.) And it has been lately revealed by the President, that the God of our own planet is Adam (!), who (it seems) was only another form of the Archangel Michael (!) “When our father Adam came into the Garden of Eden, he brought Eve, *one of his wives*, with him. He helped to make and organise this world. He is Michael, the Archangel, the *Ancient of Days*. He is our Father and our God, and *the only God with whom we have to do*.”—(*From Discourses of the Presidency*, in XV. 769.)

It is curious to observe, from such examples, how easily the extremes of materialism and immaterialism may be made to meet. For here we have the rudest form of anthropomorphism connected with a theory of emanation, which might be identified with that of some Gnostic and Oriental idealists. But under its present intellectual guides, Mormonism is rapidly passing into that form of Atheism which is euphemistically termed Pantheism. Thus we read in the Washington organ of the Presidency, that the only thing which has existed from eternity is—“An infinite quantity of *self-moving intelligent matter*. Every particle of matter which now exists, existed in the infinite depths of past duration, and was then capable of self-motion.”—(*Seer*, i. 129.) “There is no substance in the universe which feels and

thinks now, but what has *eternally* possessed that capacity.”—(*Ib.* 102.) “Each individual of the *vegetable* and animal kingdom contains a living spirit, possessed of intelligent capacities.”—(*Ib.* 34.) “Persons are only tabernacles, and *truth is the God* that dwells in them. When we speak of only one God, and state that he is eternal, &c., we have no reference to any particular person, but to *truth dwelling in a vast variety of substances.*”—(*Ib.* 25.)

The same authority informs us that every man is an aggregate of as many intelligent individuals as there are elementary particles of matter in his system.—(*Ib.* 103.) And so President Brigham, in a recent sermon, tells his hearers that the reward of the good will be a continual progress to a more perfect organization, and the punishment of the bad will be a “decomposition into the particles that compose the native elements.”—(*B. Young*, in *XV.* 835.)

It is evident that in these latter portions of the Mormon creed we may recognise the speculations of Oken, Fichte, Hegel, and others, filtered through such popularising media as Emerson, Carlyle, Parker, and the “Vestiges of Creation.” It would appear that the more startling of these innovations, which date from the last year of Smith’s life, are due to Orson Pratt, the intellectual guide of recent Mormonism, under whose influence Joseph seems to have fallen, after he had quarrelled with Sidney Rigdon.

But, it may be asked, how can this be the theology of a sect which professes to receive the Bible as the

Word of God? The answer is twofold. First, the Mormon writers teach that the Christian Revelation, though authoritative when first given, is now superseded by their own. "The Epistles of the ancient Apostles, Paul, Peter, and John, we must say are dead letters, when compared to the Epistles that are written to the saints in our day by the living priesthood."—(*XIV*. 328.) And the possession of a living source of inspiration enables them to modify, not only the doctrines of the ancient Scriptures, but even the revelations of their own prophets. Thus Polygamy is pronounced in the Book of Mormon to be "abominable before the Lord" (*Jac.* chap. ii. sec. 6); yet it was afterwards authorized in a new revelation by Joseph himself, and is now declared to be the special blessing of the latter covenant. But, secondly, lest this view should not satisfy all scruples, it was revealed to Smith that our present Scriptures have been grievously altered and corrupted, and he was divinely commissioned to make a revised and corrected edition of them. We find from his statement in his autobiography (*XIV*. 422, 451, 452), that he lived to complete this emended Bible. But he never ventured to print it, and it still remains in manuscript among the muniments of the Church. It is to be published as soon as the world is ripe to receive it. Meanwhile some specimens have been given, among which one of the most remarkable is the beginning of Genesis, which we have quoted above.\*

\* Many extracts from this emended Bible have been lately published by Orson Pratt, in the *Seer*. The additions are so numerous as to double the Scriptural text.

The existence of this secret Bible is an example of the Mormon practice of *reserve*, which forms a connecting link between their theological and their ethical system. The doctrines which they teach among the initiated may differ to any extent from those proclaimed to the Gentiles. "If man receives all truths," says their organ—(XV. 507), "he must receive them on a graduated scale. The *Latter Day Saints* act upon this simple, natural principle. Paul had *milk for babes*, and *things unlawful to utter*." (!) The most striking instance of this system of pious fraud is their persevering denial of the charge of polygamy. So boldly did they disavow the practice, that even the careful and accurate author of "Mormonism Illustrated" was deceived by their asseverations; and though he states the accusations against them fairly, yet decides that, at least as against Smith, they were unfounded. At length, however, it became necessary to drop the mask. As the population of Utah increased, the practices prevalent there became better known to the world, through multiplying channels of communication. It was useless to repudiate an ordinance which must be so prominent in the first letters of every new citizen of Salt Lake to his English friends. The Church therefore decided that the time was come for publishing to the world the revelation which sanctioned their seraglios. We have already cited that singular document, which Joseph circulated among the initiated in the year before his death. Since its publication, which took place in 1852, the Mormonite leaders have completely thrown off the

veil, and have defended polygamy as impudently as they before denied it. Tracts, dialogues, and hymns are circulated in its behalf. And even the "*pluralistic*" marriage service has been published. The following is an extract from this novel rubric:—"The president [or his deputy\*] calls upon the bridegroom and his [first] wife; and the bride to arise. The [first] wife stands on the left hand of her husband, while the bride stands on the wife's left. The President then says to the [first] wife, *Are you willing to give this woman to your husband, to be his lawful and wedded wife for time and for eternity? If you are, place her right hand within the right hand of your husband.*† The right hands of the bridegroom and bride being thus joined, the [first] wife takes her husband by the left arm, as if in the attitude of walking. The president then asks the man, *Do you, brother M., take sister N. by the right hand, to receive her unto yourself, to be your lawful and wedded wife? . . .* The bridegroom answers, *Yes.* The President then asks the bride, *Do you, sister N., take brother M. and give yourself unto him to be his lawful and wedded wife? &c.* The bride answers, *Yes.* The president then says . .

\* See XV. 215.

† This would at first appear as if the wife possessed a veto. But the official organ informs us in the same article that if the wife refuses to consent to her husband's polygamy, "*then it is lawful for her husband, if permitted by revelation through the Prophet, to be married to others without her consent; and she will be condemned because she did not give them unto him; as Sarah gave Hagar unto Abraham, and as Rachael and Leah gave Bilhah and Zilpah unto Jacob.*"—(See also XV. 215.)

. . . *By the authority of the holy priesthood, I pronounce you legally and lawfully [sic] husband and wife for time and for all eternity. And I seal upon you the blessings of the holy resurrection, with power to come forth in the morning of the first resurrection . . . . And I seal upon you . . . . the blessings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and say unto you, be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth. . . . The benediction follows; and the scribe then enters the marriage on the record.*"—(*Seer*, i. 31.)

It should be added, that the President possesses the Papal prerogative of annulling all marriages contracted under his sanction;\* a prerogative which cannot fail to prove a source of wealth and power. As to marriages celebrated without his authority, they are *ipso facto* void, *in foro conscientiae*. Consequently either man or woman is at liberty to desert an unbelieving spouse, and take another. An example of this occurred last year in a Welsh village, with which we are well acquainted. An old woman of sixty was converted by the Mormons, and persuaded to emigrate. She had a blind husband, seventy years of age, who entirely depended on her care. The neighbours cried shame on her for deserting her conjugal duties. The clergyman of the parish, and even her landlord the Squire, remonstrated in vain. She declared that "the Lord had called her to come to Zion," and that it was revealed to her that when she reached Deseret she should be restored to youth, or (as she expressed it) "she should get a new

\* See G. 70, and S. 136.



skin." And she unblushingly avowed her intention of being sealed to another husband, and bearing "a young family" in America. The end of the story is tragic. The deserted husband died of a broken heart a fortnight after his wife's departure; and the old woman herself expired before she reached New Orleans, leaving the surplus of her outfit in the hands of her seducers.

It may easily be imagined that the public announcement of these matrimonial innovations excited much opposition, not only among believers but also among the saints, and particularly among their wives. Even in Utah itself it seems that the customs of Constantinople are not popular with the fair sex. Lieutenant Gunnison tells us that "he placed the subject before a young lady in its practical light," and asked her, "if she would consent to become Mrs. Blank, No. 20? or if, though ranking as No. 1, she would be contented, when the first flush of beauty had departed, to have her husband call at her domicile, and introduce his last bride, No. 17?" The subject, says the Lieutenant, was cut short by the reply, "No, Sir, I would die first." In England, as might be expected, the resistance has been more open and decided. One of the most amusing publications to which the controversy has given rise is a "Dialogue between Nelly and Abby," published in the weekly organ of Mormonism. Nelly is a rebellious saint, and opens the discussion by addressing her more submissive cousin as follows:—"Dear Cousin Abby, I have been very anxious to see you, ever since I heard of the *new revelation*. I know that nothing has

ever come up yet in this Church that could stumble you. But I think now, when your John comes to get two or three more wives, you will feel as keenly as any of us." The believing Abby replies, by expressing her sorrow that her cousin's mind is "so fluttered" with the new revelation. For her own part, she has "never stumbled at any of the doctrines of the Church, because they all seem so pure." In condescension, however, for Nelly's weakness, she proceeds to explain fully the arguments which have led her to surrender the exclusive possession of "her John." These are resisted by Nelly for some time. She cannot see "what wisdom" there is in "being tied to her George with a lot of other women, who can flatter and simper, and make him believe anything they please." But at last she also is convinced, and exclaims, "I am sorry I ever burnt that revelation! I would not have done it for the world if I had known as much as I do now." She cannot help, however, adding a proviso, "Well, if George does take any other, I should like him to take my sister Anne, for her temper is so obliging and mild."\*

The arguments by which the Mormon writers justify their adoption of these Oriental usages are principally drawn from the Old Testament. The pamphlet on "Plurality of Wives," at the head of our Article, informs us, that the Latter Day Saints have restored "the family order which God established with Abraham and the Patriarchs."—(*P. O. 1.*) So we have just seen that in their new marriage service polygamy is designated

\* See *M. Star*, *XV.*, Nos. 15, 16.

as "the blessing of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." And the Mormon psalmist sings to the same tune—

"I am Zionward bound, where the blessings untold,  
Which Jehovah conferr'd on his servants of old,  
*And at which pious Christendom feels so annoy'd,*  
In this last dispensation again are enjoy'd."

(XV. 143.)

And so we are warned by Elder Spencer, that—"When a man undervalues this promise he not only shows himself to be destitute of saving faith, but he is very liable to become a *scoffer and mocker of the last days*, speaking evil of such dignities as *Abraham and Brigham*."—(P. O. 12.)

But it would be well if the apologists of polygamy confined themselves to the patriarchal dispensation. For some excuse might then be made for their mistake, considering the vague notions concerning the authority of the Old Testament which prevail among our popular religionists, and remembering that even in our pulpits we too often hear Isaac and Jacob cited as perfect exemplars of Christian life. But when they venture to quote the New Testament in support of their practices, we see at once the impudent dishonesty of the men. The devil has often wrested Scripture to his purpose, but never before with such preposterous perversion and audacious profaneness as that displayed by Joseph Smith and his disciples. One feels indignant, not only at their hypocrisy, but at their folly, in expecting to persuade any one to acquiesce in such palpable distortion of plain words. Thus from the promise that,

whatsoever a man shall leave for the Gospel's sake, *he shall receive an hundred fold* (Mark, x. 29), the Chancellor of the University of Deseret deduces the following question and answer:—"Q. What reward have men who have faith to forsake their rebellious and unbelieving wives in order to obey the commandments of God ?

"A. AN HUNDRED FOLD OF WIVES in this world, and eternal life in the next."—(*P. O.* 16 ; *see also Seer*, 61.)

In the same treatise a carnal interpretation is given to the metaphor which designates the Church as "the Bride." But even these monstrous falsifications of Scripture are surpassed by the arguments which Mr. Hyde (the present chairman of the Apostolic College) extracts from the Gospel narrative itself.\* Yet, although the omission of these renders our picture of Mormonism incomplete, we really dare not quote blasphemies so revolting; especially when they are combined with absurdity at which the reader, even while he shuddered, must be provoked to smile.

Such profane distortion of the sacred writings is the less excusable in the Mormonite divines, because they have the power of fabricating new Scripture whenever they please. This power, indeed, they have freely exercised in defence of their harems. It has been revealed, that the measure of a man's "wealth, power, and dominion" in the world to come will depend upon

\* See Orson Hyde's Letter, published in the [Mormon] *Guardian*, and quoted by Mr. Gunnison, p. 68. The same blasphemies are repeated by Orson Pratt in *Seer*, 159, 169.

the number of his wives, all of whom will continue to belong to him after the resurrection, if they have been *sealed* to him by the President. Hence the term *celestial marriage*, which they apply to this connexion. Moreover, the first wife, if submissive, will rank as Queen over all the other concubines. In the tract above quoted Abby explains this to Nelly as follows:—"I appreciate a kind intelligent husband, that is ordained and anointed like unto Abraham, to be king over innumerable myriads of the human family, so highly, that I shall not make myself a widow and servant through all eternity, by opposing what God has clearly revealed by all his prophets since the world began. . . . The great question is this. Will we unite with the *plurality order* of ancient patriarchs, or will we consent to be doomed to eternal celibacy? This is the true division of the question. One or the other we must choose. We cannot be married to our husbands for eternity without subscribing to the law that admits a plurality of wives. . . . If your George and you should be alone, by the side of such a king as Abraham or Solomon, with all his queens, and their numerous servants and waiting maids in courtly livery, would he not look like a mere rushlight by the side of such suns? . . . Besides, a queen, to him that has his hundreds of wives in eternity, with children as numberless as the stars of heaven, would receive intelligence, honour, and dominion, in some measure proportioned to the exaltation of her husband; while your George, *not having much to look after besides you*, could not demand the same mea-

sure of wealth, honour, and dominion ; because he could use upon you and your little family but a small pittance of what pertains to one moving in a wider and more exalted sphere.

“ *Nelly*. But do you mean to say, Abby, that if I am not married according to God’s order before the resurrection, that I shall always have to remain single, and also be your servant, or the servant of some one that is married according to that order ?

“ *Abby*. That is what God has most clearly revealed in many scriptures.”

This contingent Queenship, however, will be subject to the husband’s appointment, and the reversionary interest therein often creates rivalry in the establishment. Mr. Gunnison was informed at Salt Lake that Brigham Young had a wife who died before she became a Mormon, but has since been saved by vicarious baptism, and that the first of his present wives frequently teases her husband by inquiring whether she herself or her predecessor will be his Queen in the world to come. —( *G. 77.* )

Besides the arguments above mentioned in favour of polygamy, derived from Revelation, others are deduced from reason and expediency. The chief of these is, that the Oriental system will remedy the immorality in which Europe is now sunk. So corrupt is society at present, especially in England, that not only are there “a hundred thousand prostitutes in London,” but also that the “haunts of vice” are constantly frequented by those who are specially ordained to be the guardians of public

morality, "by parsons, and *even bishops in disguise*."—(XV. 244.) This foul and wide-spread pollution would be cured by polygamy, for under that institution no female would be driven to vice by the want of a legitimate protector. "Don't you think," says Nelly, in the tract before cited, "that the hundred thousand unfortunate females in London would much rather have such husbands [*i. e.* husbands shared with several other wives] than lead out their present miserable short lives as they do?"

Again it is urged that the "Patriarchal Order" will soon be rendered necessary by an excess of females over males, which is to result from the destructive wars now impending over the world. A passage in Isaiah is interpreted as prophesying that this excess will be in the proportion of seven to one.

Farther, the system of plurality is desirable as rewarding good men and punishing bad men, for the good will be selected as husbands by many wives, while the bad will be accepted by none. "How many virtuous females," says Chancellor Spencer, "would prefer to *unite* their destinies to one and the same honourable and virtuous man, rather than to *separate* their destinies each to an inferior vicious man? Shall such virtuous and innocent females be denied the right to choose the objects of their love?"—(*P. O.* 2.)

Moreover, far from causing discord among women, this patriarchal institution "is calculated to dispel jealousy."

"For instance, in this country three young women all

love the same young man. Being rivals, it is natural that they should hate each other in exact proportion as they love the young man; because they know that the law will not allow him to be married to them all. If polygamy were allowed, this jealousy would not exist, because a woman would know that she could be married to any man she loved.”—(XV. 660.)

Another argument much insisted on is the removal of an impediment which now hinders the conversion of polygamous heathen. This is illustrated by the following story, which we find constantly repeated in the “Mormon Apologies:”—“A Dakotah Indian offered himself for baptism to some Presbyterian missionaries. On being questioned he said, that he had several wives. He was told that he could not be baptized while he had more wives than one. The heathen went away, and returned in a few months renewing his request. He was again questioned how many wives he had. *One only*, said he. ‘*What had he done with all the others?*’ *I have eaten them*, was the reply.”—(XV. 147.)

From the tone taken by the Mormon advocates of polygamy, it would seem as if the practice must prevail among them extensively. For, otherwise, we cannot understand why they should represent it to the poor in their popular tracts as a state so desirable, that a man with only one wife must be precluded from the higher degrees of happiness in the life to come. Yet, on the other hand, it is hard to conceive how any but the wealthier members of the community can indulge in so expensive a luxury. However this may be, it is certain



from the evidence of such credible witnesses as Captain Stansbury and Lieutenant Gunnison, that the great officers of the Church maintain seraglios on a scale truly Oriental. The latter informs us (p. 120) that the three members of the Presidency had, when he was in Utah, no less than eighty-two wives between them, and that one of the three "was called an old bachelor, because he had only a baker's dozen." And Captain Stansbury describes the "*numerous family*" of the President as mingling freely in the balls, parties, and other social amusements of the place.

The delightful effects of this practice on the domestic felicity of Utah are thus described by one of the organs of Mormonism:—"Each wife knows that the other wives are as much entitled to the attention of the husband as she herself; she knows that such attentions are not criminal, therefore she does not lose confidence in him; though she may consider him partial, in some respects, yet she has the consolation to know that his attentions towards them are strictly virtuous."—(*Seer*, i. 125.) And again—

"There is no particular rule as regards the residence of the different branches of a family. It is very frequently the case that they all reside in the same dwelling, and take hold unitedly, with the greatest cheerfulness, of the different branches of household or domestic business; eating at the same table, and kindly looking after each others' welfare, while the greatest peace and harmony prevail year after year. Their children play and associate together with the greatest affection as

brothers and sisters, *while each mother apparently manifests as much kindness and tender regard for the children of the others as for her own.*"—(*Seer*, i. 42.)

This last result of the system is so unquestionably miraculous, that it is almost sufficient of itself to convert an unbelieving world. Notwithstanding such evidence, however, the Gentile Gunnison presumes to speak unfavourably of the effects of this sacred ordinance. He thinks that it leads to the depression of women, and tells us that they are disrespectfully treated by the "saints," as an inferior order of beings:—"Gentile gallantry" (says he) "is declared by the Mormons to have reversed the natural position of the sexes. To give the post of honour or of comfort to the lady is absurd. If there is but one seat they say it of right belongs to the gentleman, and it is the duty and place of a man to lead the way, and let his fair partner enter the room behind him."—(*G.* 157.)

He also speaks of polygamy as "the great cause of disruption in families," and affirms that the children are "the most lawless and profane of all that have come under his observation."

We have already spoken of the legal and political consequences which may probably arise from this custom. We may add, that it can scarcely fail to contain the seeds of internal discontent. For the industrious inhabitants of Utah must find out before long that by the toil of their own sinews they are maintaining the sumptuous harems of their chiefs. Nor is it possible that in a new colony the female population can be suffi-

ciently abundant to allow this Eastern luxury to the powerful without compelling many of the poor to remain unwedded. Already, indeed, one of the toasts at a recent public dinner in Utah—" *Wanted immediately more ladies !*"—seems to indicate dissatisfaction.

We cannot leave this part of our subject without mentioning that a graver charge than that of polygamy has been brought against the Mormon leaders. The depositions published by their opponents at Nauvoo accused them, not of openly adding to their domestic establishment, but of secretly corrupting female virtue, under the pretext of *spiritual marriage*. An affidavit made by one Martha Brotherton details very circumstantially an attempt made by Brigham Young to seduce her under this pretence. We are inclined to believe her statement, because she explicitly refers to Joseph's "new revelation," which was at that time carefully concealed from all but the initiated. Nor are there wanting intimations in the documents already published by the Church that something more is behind. Thus the first revelation on polygamy concludes with the following promise: "As pertaining unto this law, verily I say unto you, *I will reveal more unto you hereafter.*" —(XV. 8.) And so we read in the "Star" (XV. 91), "Ours is a *progressive* system, and we must progress with it, or be left behind. If you are found obedient to counsel, nothing will stumble you, neither *spiritual wifeism*, nor any thing else."

Nevertheless, if such secret privileges are permitted to the Mormon chiefs, they must be used with extreme

caution. Even the sacred character of an Apostle would hardly save him from the vengeance of an injured husband, accustomed to the summary proceedings of Lynchian jurisprudence. Last year a Mormon of the name of Egan was brought to trial for murdering the seducer of his wife, and (though admitting the fact) was acquitted by a Utah jury. Nor, whatever may be the character of the leaders, can we hesitate to believe the almost unanimous testimony of travellers to the general morality of the population. Indeed, the laborious and successful industry which we have described could not characterize a debauched and licentious people.

We have dwelt at some length on the Mormon polygamy, not only on account of its intrinsic importance, but because its disclosure is so recent that previous writers have been unable to give accurate information on the subject. The ethical teaching of the sect is not distinguished by any other very remarkable peculiarity. The chief duty impressed upon the saints is the punctual payment of their tithes. We can scarcely open a page of their official publications without finding strenuous exhortation to the fulfilment of that indispensable obligation. Next to this cardinal virtue, they seem to rate the merit of abstinence from fermented liquors and tobacco. This, however, is not absolutely insisted on, but only urged as a "precept of wisdom." It was enforced by Joseph, whose practice did not square with his precepts, as he was often drunk himself. But his sagacity perceived that the money squandered by his

disciples on gin and cigars must be diverted from the treasury of the Church.

The virtue of patriotism is also a frequent theme of Mormon eulogy. By publicly enjoining it, they endeavour to refute the charges of treason so often brought against them by their enemies. Hence the anniversary of the 4th of July (the birthday of American independence) is celebrated with special jubilation in the city of Salt Lake, and the tree of liberty is duly refreshed with torrents of rhetoric, and also with more material libations. The official list of toasts given at one of the last of these festivities, shows that the citizens cling with equal attachment to the "domestic institutions" of Virginia and of Deseret; for the 12th toast is *Slavery*, and the 13th *Polygamy*.\* The 15th, which, we suppose, is meant to point the moral of the other two, is "THE GREAT NATIONAL MOTTO,—‘*Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.*’"

Such festive meetings, which are very frequent, generally conclude with dancing, an exercise, the practice of which must be also included in the ethical system of Mormonism. In saltatorial, as in military movements, the priesthood occupy the foremost place. The president leads off, and bishops, patriarchs, and elders are to be seen figuring enthusiastically, "not"

\* The 13th toast is printed as follows: "Poly-Ticks and Poly-Gamy;" a piece of wit which seems to have been highly appreciated.—(XIV. 566.) With regard to slavery, it should be observed that according to Joseph's revelations, the negroes are of an inferior race, and that no person of colour can be admitted into the Church.—(XIV. 472.)

says Colonel Kane, "in your minuets or other mortuary "processions of Gentles, but in jigs and reels." When the temple is completed, these public dances are to form a part of the regular worship.

But the most remarkable feature in the practical working of Mormonism, considered as a Religion, is the almost entire absence of the *devotional* element. In the addresses of its teachers, we find no exhortation to the duties of private prayer, of self-examination, or of penitence. In their writings we can trace no aspirations after communion with God, after spirituality of mind, after purification of the affections. All is of the earth, earthy. One of the ablest writers against Christianity has lately stated it as his chief objection to the Christian System, that it discourages the love of earthly things, and requires its votaries to set their affections on things above. He proposes to amend the precept of Saint John—"Love not the world, and the things that are in the world; the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life"—by simply leaving out the word *not*. Mormonism seems exactly to realize the ideal of this distinguished controversialist; and, as he does not mention it as one of the phases through which his faith has hitherto passed, we cannot but hope that he may still find among the *Latter Day Saints* that resting-place which he tells us that he vainly sought among the *Craig-and-Mullerites*.

This mundane character of Mormonism faithfully perpetuates the type impressed on it by its founder. Joseph Smith was a "jolly fellow," says one of his

admirers, and not in the least *methodistical*. "His was a laughter-loving, cheerful religion," says Mr. Gunnison. The General Epistles of the "Church" exemplify the same peculiarity. The Gospel which they proclaim consists of directions for emigration, instructions for the setting up of machinery, the management of iron-works, the manufacture of nails, the spinning of cotton-yarn, and the breeding of stock. The same undevo-tional aspect is exhibited by their public worship, at least in Utah; for in Europe reserve is used, and their practice assimilated to that of other sects. The service begins with instrumental music, the band performing "anthems, marches, and *waltzes*;" "which," says Mr. Gunnison eulogistically, "drives away all sombre feelings." An extempore prayer follows, which invokes blessings on the president, officers, and members of the Church, and curses upon their enemies. Then comes a discussion, in which any one may speak. This part of the service is usually a conversation on local business, like that in an English vestry meeting. The sermon follows; but even that is not confined to religious exhortation, but embraces such questions as the discipline of the Legion, the Californian gold-digging, and the politics of the Territory. The most curious specimen of these discourses which we have discovered is the following, which we take from the official report:—"Elder George Smith was called upon to preach an iron sermon. He rose and took into the stand [pulpit] one of the fire-irons [the first productions of the Utah foundries.] Holding the same over his head, he cried

out '*Stereotype edition*,' and descended amid the cheers of the saints. The choir then sung the doxology, and the benediction was pronounced by Lorenzo Snow."—(XV. 492.) This kind of religious service would satisfy the aspirations of Mr. Carlyle himself, whose rather lengthy sermons on the text *laborare est orare* are thus condensed into pantomime by "Elder George Smith."

The Mormon collection of hymns, which we have mentioned at the head of this Article, might lead to an impression of the religion different from that which we have here given. But when we come to examine it, we find, in the first place, that it is published for the English congregations; and, secondly, that nine-tenths of the hymns (including all which possess the slightest merit, devotional or poetical) are stolen from the collections in use among English Protestants, especially from the Wesleyan hymn-book. The few original compositions which Mormonism has produced are execrable, both in taste and feeling. In addition to the samples which we have already given, we may add the following:—

#### JOSEPH'S APOTHEOSIS.

(AIR.—"*The sea! The sea! The open sea!*")

"He's free! He's free! The Prophet's free!

He is where he will ever be.

His home's in the sky; he dwells with *the Gods*;

Far from the furious rage of mobs.

He died, he died, for those he loved.

He reigns, he reigns, in the realms above."

(*Hymns*, 333.)



## SAME SUBJECT.

- "Hail to the Prophet ascended to heaven,  
 Traitors and tyrants now fight him in vain;  
 Mingling *with Gods* he can plan for his brethren;  
 Death cannot conquer the hero again.
- "Praise to his memory! he died as a martyr!  
 Honoured and blest be his ever great name!  
 Long shall his blood, which was shed by assassins,  
 Stain Illinois, while the earth lauds his fame.
- "Sacrifice brings forth the blessings of heaven,  
 Earth must atone for the blood of that man;  
 Wake up the world for the conflict of justice,  
 Millions shall know brother Joseph again."
- (*Ibid.* 325.)

## THE DEEDS OF JOSEPH.

- "Who took the plates the angel showed?  
 And brought them from their dark abode?  
 And made them plain by power of God?  
 The prophet Joseph Smith.
- "Who did receive the power to raise  
 The Church of Christ in latter days?  
 And call on men to mend their ways?  
 The prophet Joseph Smith.
- "Who bore the scorn, the rage, the ire,  
 Of those who preach for filthy hire?  
 Was called by them impostor, liar?  
 The prophet Joseph Smith.
- (*XIV.* 304.)

We must not forget that the whole fabric which we have hitherto described, both doctrinal, ethical, and liturgical, might be changed at once by a new revelation uttered by the president of the Church. The only

limitation to his power is the necessity of securing the assent of his followers, which, though not theoretically essential, is practically indispensable. Loss of popularity must of necessity entail dethronement. We have already observed the skill with which the Mormon hierarchy is constructed, so as to enlist in its service all the available talent of the sect, and thus to guard as far as possible against the danger of rebellion. We need not recapitulate the long list of names by which its various grades are designated. The quaintness of some of these gives, at first sight, an air of ridicule to the whole; but, however ludicrous the nomenclature, the organization itself is too skilful to be ridiculous. The supreme authority is nominally in "*the Presidency*," which consists of the President and his two Councillors. But, in reality, the First President is sole monarch, for his assessors, though they may remonstrate, have no power of resisting his decrees. The President himself, according to Smith's statement (XV. 13) is "*appointed by revelation*," and "*acknowledged by the voice of the Church*." But Brigham Young has modified this declaration, by announcing that, although constituted a *Prophet* by revelation, he holds the office of *President* by the choice of the people.—(XV. 488.) And, in fact, a vote *that he be sustained in his office* is passed at every General Conference. It would seem, therefore, to be theoretically possible that the divinely-appointed "*Seer, Prophet, and Revelator*," might be deposed by the Church. But the exact limits which define the powers

of President and Conference are left as indeterminate as in the similar case of Pope and General Council. Another Change effected under the administration of Young has been, the assumption by the Apostolic College of a paramount authority unknown to the original constitution. Many of the apostles, however, are generally absent from head-quarters on missionary journeys, and the acting senate is a council of twelve, selected from among the high priests. The *Bishops* are financial officers, employed in the collection of the tithe. The *Patriarchs* are charged with the special function of pronouncing benedictions on individuals. Joseph Smith, senior, the Prophet's father, was formerly Patriarch, and, even in the early days of Mormon poverty, received for this service ten dollars a week (more than 100*l.* a year), and "his expenses found."—(*XV.* 308.) The present chief Patriarch (John Smith, an uncle of Joseph's,) no doubt gets better pay, and we see that the unhappy old man has lately published a solemn affirmation of the truth of his nephew's miracles.—(*XIV.* 97.)

In subordination to these higher officers is a great variety of minor functionaries, each of whom, from the lowest to the highest, has a direct interest in strengthening the hierarchical government, in which he holds a place, and by which he may mount, as his present superiors have mounted, from poverty to wealth, and from contempt to power. Thus all work zealously together in maintaining ecclesiastical discipline, and (to use the

words of one of them) enforce upon the people "*the importance of being governed by the Priesthood in all things.*" —(XIV. 294.)

But whatever may be the merits of such an organization, its continued success must depend in great measure on the character of its Head. The Jesuits would never have reconquered Europe for the Pope, had not the first three or four generals of the Order been men of eminent ability. Mormonism would probably have perished after the death of Smith, had the Apostles shown less sagacity in their selection of their present chief. Brigham Young was the son of a farmer in the Eastern States (XV. 642), and was brought up to the trade of a carpenter. He joined the sect early, and rose to eminence by his serviceable obedience. He is a man of action, not of speculation; distinguished for coarse strength and toughness, physical and moral; and these qualities have been needed for the rough work he has had to do. His first important charge was the mission to England in 1837, when he founded the British Churches. Shortly before that epoch, he was solemnly set apart "to go forth from land to land, and from sea to sea." And we read that "the blessing of Brigham Young was that he should be *strong in body*, that he might go forth and gather the elect."—(Smith's *Autob.* XV. 206.) We have related how, after the death of Smith, he supplanted Rigdon, and rose from the chairmanship of the Apostles to the Presidency, and how wisely he led his followers through the wilderness, and planted them in the land of promise. By his appointment as Governor of the territory of Utah,

his character received the stamp of public approbation from the supreme Government of the United States; whence he reaped also the solid advantage of a salary of 2500 dollars. Besides this official income, he has the uncontrolled management of the ecclesiastical revenues, including the tithing of his subjects, foreign and domestic. We learn, therefore, without surprise, that he has acquired considerable property, and that he is able not only to maintain a suitable establishment and "princely carriages" (*G.* 63), but also to support a family of forty wives and about a hundred children. His prosperity has excited some jealousy among his people; and we find him, in a recent speech, remonstrating with those who "complain of *me* living upon tithing."—(*XV.* 161.) But hitherto he has succeeded in suppressing such murmurs by his frank and popular bearing, and by the proofs he has given of indefatigable zeal for the public interest. The official documents which he publishes from time to time, and especially his Messages to the local Legislature, show the illiterate sagacity of the *Rusticus abnormis sapiens*, and exhibit a curious mixture of business-like statement with Yankee bombast. As a specimen of the latter, we may take the following description of the Abolitionist party, from a recent message:—"The fanatical bigot, with the spirit of northern supremacy, seeks to enwrap in sacrilegious flame the altar of his country's liberties, offering an unholy sacrifice which, arising in encircling wreaths of dark and turbid columns, emitting in fitful glare the burning lava, betokens erewhile her consummation."—(*XV.* 422.)

When opposed, the President is apt to become overbearing and scurrilous. Thus, in his controversy with Judge Brocchus, he tells his correspondent that he is "either profoundly ignorant or wilfully wicked—one of the two." "You manifest a choice," he adds, "to leave an incensed public in incense [*sic*] still." And farther:—"When the spirit of persecution manifests itself in the flippancy of rhetoric for female insult and desecration, it is time that I forbear to hold my peace, lest the thundering anathemas of nations born and unborn, should rest upon my head, when the marrow of my bones shall be illy [*sic*] prepared to sustain the threatened blow."—(*XIV.* 402.) Yet the President can write better than this, when he restricts himself to less ambitious prose. His correspondence with Dr. Adams, for example (*Ibid.* 213), is a model of shrewd sense, not unmixed with a touch of humour, and shows that he is well able to detect an impostor. This, indeed, is not surprising, on the principle of that ancient rule which prescribes the agents most serviceable in thief-catching.

Next to the President in importance, though not in official rank, stands the Apostle Orson Pratt. As Young in action, so Pratt in speculation, is the leader of the sect. Like so many intelligent and half-educated men, he has greedily received the teaching of the modern Pantheistic philosophy from its popular interpreters, American and English. From such sources he has compounded that strange jumble of incongruous dogmas which we have before attempted to describe. Thus he

probably hopes to enlist some recruits from the party of "Young America," who may be induced to swallow the absurdities of Mormonism in a non-natural sense, washed down with a lubricating dose of mysticism. He has himself substantial reasons for his allegiance to the cause. He holds the pleasantest appointment which his Church can bestow upon an intelligent man—being its resident agent at Washington. His official duty (according to the tenor of his diploma) is "to write and publish periodicals and books illustrative of the principles and doctrines of the Church;" and it is his prerogative "to receive and collect tithing of the saints throughout all his field of labour."—(XV. 42.)

His elder brother, Parley Pratt, though individually less prominent than Orson, represents an element of Mormonism far more essential to its success. He may be considered as chief of the Mormon missionaries. The zeal and activity of these emissaries, though it has been much exaggerated, is still remarkable. The Governors of the sect are good judges of character; and it is their plan to select the restless and enterprising spirits, who, perhaps, may threaten disturbance at home, and to utilize their fanaticism, while they flatter their vanity, by sending them as representatives of the Church to distant fields of labour. Their method of establishing a mission in a foreign country is as follows. Amongst their converts, taken at random from the mixed population of the Union, there are natives to be found of every nation in Europe. They select a native of the country which they wish to attack, and join him

as interpreter to the other emissaries whom they are about to despatch to the land of his birth. On arriving at their destination, the missionaries are supported by the funds of the Church, till they can maintain themselves out of the offerings of their proselytes. Meanwhile, they employ themselves in learning the language, and circulating tracts in defence of their creed; and then sit down to the weary task of translating the "Book of Mormon."

By this process, they have formed churches in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Malta, Gibraltar, Hindostan, Australia, and the Sandwich Islands; and besides these, they have recently sent missionaries to Siam, Ceylon, China, the West Indies, Guiana, and Chili. The "Book of Mormon" has been published in French, German, Italian, Danish, Polynesian, and Welsh. Besides various tracts which are circulated by these missionaries, they have established regular periodicals in French, Welsh, and Danish.\* We should observe, however, that of the missions above enumerated, the first and last (those to Denmark and the Sandwich Islands) have alone been really successful. In Denmark, at the beginning of 1853, they possessed 1400 baptized converts, and had also despatched 297 more to Utah. In the Sandwich Islands they had baptized 589, before their mission had been established twelve months.

\* Namely, "Le Reflecteur," published monthly, at Lausanne; the "Udgorn Seion," weekly, at Merthyr; and the "Skandinaviens Sterne," twice a month, at Copenhagen.



These proselytes were all previously Christians, converted from heathenism by American missionaries. The other foreign missions have as yet only succeeded in making a very small number of proselytes. The accounts published by their founders are often exceedingly absurd. Among the most grotesque is the record of the Italian mission, by the apostle, Lorenzo Snow. He begins by informing us that he sailed from Southampton to a place called "*Avre de grace*." In due time he reached the valleys of the Waldenses, "who have received many privileges from the Sardinian Government." With him were three other Mormons—the first, an Americo-Sicilian; the second an Englishman; and the third, a Scotchman. The four met on a hill in Piedmont, which they named *Mount Brigham*. They record their proceedings in the style of a Yankee public meeting, as follows :—

"*Moved by Elder Snow*—That the Church of Latter Day Saints be now organized in Italy. *Seconded and carried.*

"*Moved by Elder Stenhouse*—That Elder Snow, of the quorum of twelve apostles, be sustained President of the Church in Italy. *Seconded and carried.*

"*Moved by Elder Snow*—That Elder Stenhouse be Secretary of the Church in Italy. *Seconded and carried.*"

Thus was formed the "Church of Italy," which contained at the time of its formation not a single Italian member. Its founders boast, however, that they have contrived to deceive the Roman Catholic authorities, by

publishing a Tract under the title of "The Voice of Joseph," with a woodcut of a Nun for frontispiece, and a vignette of the Cross upon the title-page. Under these false colours, they hope soon to win their way.

But Great Britain is the true theatre of Mormon triumph. An official census is published half-yearly, whence we learn that in July, 1853, the British Saints amounted to 30,690, and contained 40 "*Seventies*," 10 *High Priests*, 2578 *Elders*, 1854 *Priests*, 1416 *Teachers*, and 834 *Deacons*.\* Thus one-fifth of the whole number are invested with some official function.

\* The most numerous Church in England is that of Manchester, which contains 3166 members; the next is that of Glamorgan-shire, which contains 2338, mostly at Merthyr. In the Report on religious worship by Mr. Horace Mann, which has lately appeared under the auspices of Mr. Graham, the Registrar-General, as superintendent of the Census, there is an account of the Mormons, p. cvi.—cxii., from which we extract the following passage:—"In England and Wales there were, in 1851, reported by the Census officers, as many as 222 places of worship, belonging to this body: most of them, however, being merely rooms. The number of sittings in these places (making an allowance for 53, the accommodation in which was not returned) was 30,783. The attendance on the Census Sunday (making an estimated addition for 9 chapels, from which no intelligence on this point was received) was: Morning, 7517; Afternoon, 11,481; Evening, 16,628. The preachers, it appears, are far from unsuccessful in their efforts to obtain disciples; the surprising confidence and zeal with which they promulgate their creed, the prominence they give to the exciting topics of the speedy coming of the Saviour, and his personal 'millennial reign, and the attractiveness to many minds of the idea of an infallible church, relying for its evidences and its guidance upon revelations made perpetually to its rulers, these, with other influences, have combined to give the Mormon movement a position and importance with the working classes, which, perhaps, should draw to it much more than it has yet received of the attention of our public teachers."

We may add, that 25,000 copies of the "Millennial Star," the Mormon organ, are sold weekly.

To explain the causes of this success, gained by the preachers of a superstition so preposterous, is a most important part of our task. Yet it needs no long investigation, for these causes are not difficult to detect. In the first place, it may be laid down as an axiom that every impostor may at once obtain a body of disciples large enough to form the nucleus of a sect, provided he be endowed with sufficient impudence. This is true not only of religious empirics, but of all speculators on human credulity. What quack ever failed to sell his pills, if he mixed them with the proper quantum of mendacity? The homœopathist, the spirit-rapper, and the phrenologist, each attracts his clique of believers. All this is only an illustration of the Hudibrastic maxim,—

"Because the pleasure is as great  
In being cheated as to cheat."

In religion, Joseph Smith has had many predecessors, no less successful than himself. The German Anabaptists, who resembled him both in their pretensions to inspiration, and in their practice of polygamy, held temporary sway over cities larger than Nauvoo. Not many years are past since Joanna Southcote persuaded thousands to accept her as a New Messiah. Nay, even now, the *Agapemone* of Bridgwater is full of crazy fanatics, who maintain an impostor, more blasphemous than Brigham, in a state as princely as that of the President of Utah. The weakness of credulity in some

the strength of madness in others, ensures to every fraudulent pretender the fulcrum which he needs. The latter cause, indeed, has no doubt contributed the corner-stone to many Mormon churches besides that of Hamburg ; the founder of which ingenuously confesses, "the woman whom I baptized first here was in the madhouse for a long time. She was possessed by an evil spirit for fourteen years."

Thus a heap of materials lies ever ready for the torch of the religious incendiary. But in general the straw and stubble burns out as quickly as it kindles; and even if a few ashes continue to smoulder (as, for instance, there are still a few Southcotians), yet the flame has died away. But Mormonism has already outlived this ephemeral stage of sectarian existence, and, after twenty years of growth, is now more vigorous than ever. The first and most important cause of its permanent power, is its claim to possess a living prophet and a continuous inspiration. Its votaries tell us that they are not left, like other men, in anxious uncertainty, but are guided in every step by the audible voice and visible hand of God. In every age there are multitudes who would gladly suffer the moral problems of life to be solved for them by an outward authority. And an age remarkable for religious earnestness will be especially exposed to the seductions of those who pretend to reveal to it with definite accuracy the will of Heaven. The most conspicuous example of this in our days has been the conversion of so many truth-seeking men to the Church of Rome. We have

all heard their enthusiastic description of their present happiness contrasted with their former distress. Once they were compelled to grope their way in darkness, or only lighted by the dim lamp of duty, and the disputed precepts of Scripture. Now they have emerged into the clear sunshine of heavenly day, and have only to obey, at every turn, the voice which cries so clearly, "*this is the way, walk ye in it.*" But these converts have been chiefly confined to the higher classes. Englishmen in the lower and less educated ranks are seldom allured to the Church of Rome; being repelled from it by a feeling of its anti-national character, and by the appearance of idolatry in its ceremonial. The bold pretensions of a Protestant sect to more than Roman infallibility, satisfy their longing for religious certainty, without shocking their hereditary instincts. The power of such an attraction is proved by the fact that even the Irvingite Church still possesses congregations in many large towns, although its claims to miraculous gifts have become faint and hesitating, and its members are not proselytising fanatics, but quiet and unobtrusive dreamers. The Mormonites are of a very different temper. Eager and impatient to propagate their sect, peremptory in their demand of obedience, unscrupulous in their assertions, and unhesitatingly promising absolute assurance to their proselytes. By their revelations, their miracles, and their prophecies, faith is changed into sight. So their organ tells us—"Latter Day Saints KNOW that the Lord has spoken in this age. They KNOW that angels do now converse with men.

They KNOW that the gifts of the Holy Ghost are manifested in these days by dreams, visions, revelations, tongues, prophecies, miracles, healings. Latter Day Saints have come to a KNOWLEDGE of the truth.”—(XIV. 444.)

Secondly, the success of Mormonism is due to its organization, which has enabled it to employ the obedience of its votaries to the best advantage. The submission rendered to a voice which men believe divine, supplies a motive force of unlimited power; and when this is applied by well-constructed machinery, the results which may be effected are almost incalculable. When the energies of masses are directed by a single mind, wonders will be accomplished, even though (as often happens in military achievements) the service is rendered with sullen indifference or extorted by compulsion. But when the obedience is the obedience of the will, and when the unity of action is blended with a unity of heart and purpose, the results of such a concentration of moral force upon any given point are not more really surprising than the raising of the Menai bridge by the hydrostatic paradox.

Thirdly, we may attribute the welcome which Mormonism has met from our working classes to the prevalence of discontent among the poor against the rich. The repinings of labour against capital, which have covered England with strikes and Europe with barricades, are at once sanctioned and consoled by the missionaries of the “Saints.” They invite their hearers to fly from oppression to that happy land where the poor

are lords of the soil, where no cruel millowners can trample on the "rights of labour," where social inequalities are unknown, and where all the citizens are united by the bonds of a universal brotherhood and a common faith. In the minutes of a recent "General Conference" we read that "Elder Taylor related a conversation which he had held with a French Communist, wherein he proved that the Saints have done all which the French Communists have failed to establish."—(XV. 389.) And certainly they may appeal with just pride to the contrast presented by Nauvoo in its decay with the flourishing city which they abandoned. For M. Cabet's Socialists (its present possessors) have been unable even to preserve from ruin the farms and workshops which Mormon industry had left ready to their hands. To such promises of substantial comfort these skilful propagandists add glowing pictures of the millennial glories which are soon to dawn on "Zion;" gratifying, yet surpassing, the aspirations after a "good time coming," which fill the dreams of their democratic converts.

Another, and perhaps not the least influential, aid to Mormon proselytism, is the adaptation of their materialising theology to the system taught by the extreme section of popular Protestantism. That Judaizing spirit which would supersede the New Testament by the Old; which imposes Mosaic ordinances as Christian laws; which turns even the new dispensation into a string of verbal shibboleths;\* prepares the mind for the corre-

\* We have often regretted that Coleridge should have applied Lessing's term of *Bibliolatry* (a word sure to be misrepresented) to

sponding dogmas of Mormonism. But while the Mormon teachers fall in with this popular system, they carry out its carnal views to a more logical development. Thus they have pushed its Judaizing tendencies (as we have seen) into actual Judaism. And even while discarding the morality of the New Testament, they found their hierarchy on the most servile adherence to its letter; and maintain that any departure from its nomenclature in the designations of ecclesiastical officers is indefensible. It is instructive to observe how easily this formalism, which is usually regarded as pre-eminently Protestant, blends with their Romanising attribution of a magic power to outward rites, an inherent sanctity to earthly temples, and an efficacious virtue to offerings for the dead; for, in truth, these several modes of substituting a formal for a spiritual religion, whether patronised by Pope or Presbyter, are only diverse manifestations of the same idolatrous superstition.

Such are the principal causes which explain the rapid growth of this singular sect. But we do not believe them sufficient to secure its permanent stability; for, in the first place, when the necessity for increasing the population of Utah has passed away, the zeal for proselytism which it has bred must burn less warmly. Secondly, that agglomeration of the sect upon a single spot, which, up to a certain point, gives strength and

this tendency of popular religionism. *Grammatolatry* would have been a better word for that against which St. Paul protests as *ἡ διακονία τοῦ γράμματος*.



centralization, contains also an element of weakness; for it makes the Church of Mormon local instead of catholic, and tends to restrict the converts to that small number who intend to emigrate. Thirdly, the success of the leaders in rendering the government of Utah theocratic may ultimately prove suicidal. At present the democracy is merged in the theocracy. Even the members of the Legislature, nominally elected by universal suffrage, are really named by the President, and returned without a contest. But this very blending of the two elements of sovereignty tends to confound the one with the other. By a gradual change in the public sentiment, the Church might be swallowed up in the State; the forms might remain while the spirit was extinct; the hierarchy of Apostles and Elders might continue nominally supreme, but might become a body of mere civil functionaries; for it will be remembered that every ecclesiastical appointment is at present submitted twice a year to a popular vote. Thus even the office of President itself might, without any revolutionary change, pass quietly into an elective magistracy. Again, there is a possibility of disruption upon the death of every President. It may not always happen, as after Smith's murder, that the whole Church will support a single candidate. And (as we have already shown) the rules which fix the mode of appointment are contradictory. Lastly, we are told by those who have resided in Utah, that the younger citizens do not inherit the faith of their fathers.\* A race is growing up which

\* G. 160.

laughs at the plates and prophecies of Joseph. This is the symptom of a natural reaction; the credulity of one generation followed by the scepticism of the next. Meanwhile, as wealth increases, so will instruction and intelligence; and since no educated man can really believe the silly fables of Mormonism, and only a small minority can be bribed to profess a faith which they do not feel, the unbelief of the more enlightened must ultimately descend to the masses. When this happens, the theocracy must be violently broken up; unless it should be peaceably metamorphosed (as we have supposed above) into a form of civil government.

In such a case, the residuary religion of Mormonism would probably take its place among Christian sects, alongside of Swedenborgianism and Irvingism. It would easily rid itself of its more Antichristian features, by the issue of new revelations, which should supersede those of Rigdon and Brigham. The abandonment of polygamy would do less violence to the system than its introduction; for it was originally forbidden; and its subsequent permission might be explained as a temporary privilege, granted to the saints, martyrs, and apostles, who suffered and bled for the faith. The book of "Doctrines and Covenants" is mostly of so ephemeral a character, that it might easily be suffered to drop into oblivion. Thus a belief in the Book of Mormon might be left, as the only distinctive symbol of the sect; a belief which would not more affect their practice than if they believed in the history of Jack the Giant Killer.

But the decline of Mormonism which we anticipate is only matter of conjecture,—its rise and progress is matter of fact. Nor ought we to neglect the lessons taught by its success. In the first place, we **may** learn not to expect too much from the extension of popular education. Two-thirds of the Mormon converts are men who have gained all which it is possible for the ordinary routine of primary instruction to bestow upon the mass of the working classes, in the few years during which they can be left at school. This is no reason for relaxing in our efforts to advance the civilization of the poor. On the contrary, it is a great reason for superadding some machinery which may attract their youth to those fountains of which their childhood can barely taste.\* Yet even when the most is done that can be done, we must not expect too high a standard of attainment. The information gained by tired workmen in the hours of relaxation must needs be somewhat loose and smattering, except in the case of the most powerful intellects.

\* One of the best means is by establishing *free libraries*, such as have been instituted in Liverpool, Manchester, and elsewhere, under a recent Act. But if they are to do good, these establishments should be careful not to circulate books likely to corrupt the morals of the people. The First Report of the Manchester library gives a list of the books most frequently read; and at the head of all we find "Roderick Random!" We cannot see the necessity of gratuitously supplying the population with a book which (if we may venture to alter a phrase of Johnson's) combines the morals of a pimp with the manners of a scavenger. Lord Campbell, the other day, in sentencing a seller of obscene books to imprisonment, observed with a just indignation, that the crime was greater than that of a poisoner.

Another lesson forced on us by the success of Mormonism, especially concerns the teachers of religion. Many victims of this miserable imposture might have been saved had our popular preachers taught their hearers to draw the line of separation clearly between the religion of the New Testament and that of the Old. But on this point we have already said enough in the foregoing pages.

Finally, if it be humiliating to confess that this fanatical superstition has made more dupes in England than in all the world besides; yet the instrumentality by which they have been gained also contains matter of encouragement. The same principle of organization which has been so powerful in the cause of error, might do good service to the cause of truth. Amongst the Mormons, as we have seen, one in five participates in the ecclesiastical government. Let us suppose that, in like manner, the religious laity of the Church of England were invested with official functions. Let us suppose that they were made to feel themselves members of a living body; essential parties to its acts; sharers in its responsibilities; doers of the Word, and not hearers only. Surely if, among the millions who worship in our churches, we will not say one in five, but even one in fifty, were thus animated to exertion, their achievements in rescuing their countrymen from the slavery of ignorance and vice might at least redeem the future, if they could not remedy the past. Meanwhile, if the greatest of our national institutions seem to fall short of its high calling, and to do but half its

task, we may console ourselves with the recollection that it works in fetters, and that vital circulation may yet be restored to organs frozen by a forced inaction. For it can never be more difficult to loose than to bind; and though it might be impossible to create, it is easy to emancipate.

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## POSTSCRIPT.

While these sheets were going through the press, the following extract from the "New York Herald" was received, as an illustration of the above account:—

"THE MORMONITES.—The last advices from the desert give very favourable accounts of the colony which has planted itself on the shores of Lake Utah, in order to found the New Zion. Governor Young has established relations with the Indians, and has bound the Saints to live in good understanding with the savages. The *Deseret News* publishes some letters written by a Saint to her sister in New Hampshire. "I am happy, very happy," she writes, "and I live agreeably to the will of the Lord. My husband has six other wives, whom he loves equally, and whom I esteem as sisters. Our children, united, are twenty-four in number."—*New York Herald*.

THE END.

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