Schuyler Colfax

Henry Wilson

Samuel Bowles

OUR NEW WEST.

RECORDS OF TRAVEL

BETWEEN

The Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean.

OVER THE PLAINS—OVER THE MOUNTAINS—THROUGH THE GREAT INTERIOR BASIN—OVER THE SIERRA NEVADAS—TO AND UP AND DOWN THE PACIFIC COAST.

WITH

Details of the Wonderful Natural Scenery, Agriculture, Mines, Business, Social Life, Progress, and Prospects

OF

COLORADO, WYOMING, UTAH, IDAHO, MONTANA, NEVADA, CALIFORNIA, OREGON, WASHINGTON, AND BRITISH COLUMBIA;

INCLUDING

A Full Description of the Pacific Railroad;

AND

Of the Life of the Mormons, Indians, and Chinese.

WITH MAP, PORTRAITS, AND TWELVE FULL PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS.

By SAMUEL BOWLES.

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SAMUEL BOWLES AND COMPANY,
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SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

TO

SCHUYLER COLFAX,

Speaker of Congress, and Vice President of the United States;

TRUSTED AND BELOVED ABOVE ALL OTHER PUBLIC MEN BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE;

WHOSE PAST AND PRESENT ARE BOTH THE PLEDGE AND PROMISE OF HIS FUTURE;

WITH WHOM THESE JOURNEYS THROUGH "OUR NEW WEST," WHOSE EXPERIENCES AND RESULTS ARE HERE RECORDED, WERE MADE;

This Volume is Dedicated,

BY HIS GRATEFUL FRIEND AND FELLOW-TRAVELER,

SAMUEL BOWLES.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PREFACE.

THE Pacific Railroad unlocks the mysteries of Our New West. It opens a new world of wealth, and a new world of natural beauty, to the working and the wonder of the old. The eastern half of America offers no suggestion of its western half. The two sides of the Continent are sharp in contrasts of climate, of soil, of mountains, of resources, of productions, of everything. Nature, weary of repetitions, has, in the New West, created originally, freshly, uniquely, majestically. In her gifts, in her withholdings, she has been equally supreme, equally complete. Nowhere are broader and higher mountains; nowhere richer valleys; nowhere climates more propitious; nowhere broods an atmosphere so pure and exhilarating; nowhere more bountiful deposits of gold and silver, quicksilver and copper, lead and iron; nowhere denser forests, larger trees; nowhere so wide plains; nowhere such majestic rivers; yet nowhere so barren deserts, so arid steppes; nowhere else that nature has planted its growths so thickly and so variously, and feeds so many appetites so richly; yet nowhere that she withholds so completely, and pains the heart and parches the tongue of man so deeply by her poverty.

To give in detail some clear impressions of this vast and various region, its wonderful features of natural scenery, its illimitable capacities of growth and wealth, its present crude and conflicting civilizations,—its mining populations, its Mormons, its Chinese, and its Indians,—and still its sure promise of the finest race, and the broadest, freest, most active and most aggressive society, commerce and industry, that the world has yet developed,—this is the excuse and the promise of this book. The author has spent two summers in intimate travel over the regions comprehended in the volume. The first (1865) was before the Railroad was begun, when he traveled by stage from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and thence north to Oregon, Washington Territory, and Puget's Sound; stopping for leisure study of Colorado, of Utah and its Mormons, of Nevada and its mines; and visiting all the distinctive points of interest, either for scenery, for business improvement, or for social characteristics. Again in 1868, he passed over the then already completed Railroad to the crest of the great continental mountain ranges, and, thence descending among the great folds of Mountains and elevated Parks that distinguish Colorado, and make it the geographical center and phenomenon of the Continent, spent some weeks in camp life in that future Switzerland of America. The company of so distinguished and popular public men as Mr. Colfax, the Speaker and the Vice-President, and Lieutenant Governor Bross of Illinois, during both summers, smoothed all our ways, and unlocked for our study all the mysteries of social and business life. We were welcomed to generous hospitality of head and heart, and gained at once completest knowledge of the states and territories visited. Study, then and since, of all local records and authorities, has

completed and kept alive my acquaintance with the growth, character, and capacity of this new kingdom of our Continent.

The author must therefore be at fault if, in this compilation of the original records of his two summers' journeys, corrected and reviewed by the help of all other sources of information, he shall fail to convey some true idea of the present and promise of this Western Half of the American Continent. He invites particular attention to his chapters on the Central Parks and Mountains of Colorado; on the Mormons and their polygamy and political pretensions; on the Sierra Nevadas and their scenery in California, including that wonderful valley of the Yo Semite, the one unrivalled sublimity of nature in all the known world, and its neighboring groves of Mammoth Trees; on the Chinese, and their place in the industry, domestic life, and business of the Pacific States; on the Willamette Valley of Oregon; on the Scenery of the Columbia, the only continental river that breaks through the continental ranges of mountains; on the forests of Washington Territory, and the beauties and capacities of Puget's Sound; on the conditions and principles of Mining in Colorado, Nevada, and California; on the Agriculture of Colorado, California, and Oregon; and on the grand commercial and industrial future of this interior and Pacific Coast Empire of ours. He will fail, if the reader does not come to share the impression, that here is a nature to pique the curiosity and challenge the admiration of the world; an atmosphere to charm by its beauty and to heal by its purity and its dryness; a wealth of minerals and a wealth of agriculture that fairly awe by their boundlessness; an aggregation of elements and forces that, with development, with increase and mixture of populations, with facility and cheapness of

intercourse,—with steamships on the Pacific Ocean, and railroads across the Continent to the Atlantic,—are destined to develop a society and a civilization, a commerce and an industry, a wealth and a power, that will rival the most enthusiastic predictions for our Atlantic States Empire, and together, if we stand together in the future, will present on the North American Continent such a triumph of Man in race, in government, in social development, in intellectual advancement, and in commercial supremacy, as the world never saw,—as the world never yet fairly dreamed of.

S. B.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., *March*, 1869.

INTRODUCTORY LETTERS

FROM VICE-PRESIDENT COLFAX AND GOVERNOR BROSS.

WASHINGTON, February 10, 1869.

MY DEAR MR. BOWLES:—

The notice of your publishers that you intend to incorporate the sketches of the two long journeys we had together, amplified, revised, and illustrated, in a new and more permanent work, brings again vividly before my mind, like a panorama, the stirring incidents of these expeditions, the magnificent scenery, the constantly changing and novel experiences, the explorations down into the bowels of the earth and up to the summits of lofty mountains, the dashing rides down the Sierras and at the Geysers, the Oceans of Water, and of Land, and the open door of Opportunity which everywhere invited us to enter, and to add so largely to our stock of information as to "Our New West." I have not forgotten the Indian hostilities, which threatened us on both journeys; but I remember far more delightfully the boundless Plains; the snow-capped Mountains; the majestic Columbia; our Mediterranean of the North-west, Puget's Sound; that magic City, San Francisco; the wonderful Geysers; the Mammoth Trees; and the peerless Yo Semite.

If our people, who go to Europe for pleasure, travel and observation, knew a tithe of the enjoyment we experienced in our travel under our own flag, far more of them would turn their faces toward the setting sun; and after exploring that Switzerland of America, the Rocky Mountains, with their remarkable Parks and Passes, go onward to that

realm which fronts upon the Pacific, whose history is so romantic, and whose destiny is so sure; and which that great highway of Nations, the Pacific Railroad, will, this Spring, bring so near to all of us on the Atlantic slope.

These cannot now realize our long-drawn two thousand miles of staging West, and one thousand Northward from the Golden Gate; for palatial cars and lightning trains will render travel a pleasure, instead of a fatigue; but your graphic sketches of what is to be seen will, wherever they are read, increase the numbers of those who will not only add to their enjoyment and knowledge, but also strengthen the patriotic ties which bind together such distant regions, as the Atlantic and Pacific States, into one harmonious Republic, by following so far as possible in our path across the Continent.

Very truly yours,

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

TRIBUNE OFFICE, CHICAGO,
February 20, 1869.

TO THE HARTFORD PUBLISHING COMPANY:—

I learn, with much pleasure, that you propose to publish a revised and illustrated edition of Mr. Bowles's already famous book, "Across the Continent," to include also his sketches of travel and camp life in the Rocky Mountains the past summer. The journey of Vice-President Colfax and his party to California, in the summer of 1865, seems to have marked the commencement of a most important era in the progress of the country. When we left the Missouri River in May, work had scarcely begun on the Union Pacific Railway; but we found the energetic President of the Central Pacific, Governor Stanford, and his contractors, vigorously engaged in pushing their line up the western slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and forty-two miles of the road were completed. When we returned, in the latter part of September, the forces of the Union Pacific were fully organized, since which time

they have performed the most astonishing feats in railway building ever achieved. The managers of the Central Pacific have been working, perhaps, with equal energy, as the engineering difficulties to be overcome by them were immensely more formidable, and I have every reason to believe that the lines will connect at or near the head of Salt Lake within the next two months. Thus the great Continental Railway, regarded only four years ago by perhaps a majority of our people as a chimerical project, will become an accomplished fact,—a magnificent reality.

The completion of the road and the rush of tens of thousands of our people to the Central Territories and to the Pacific Coast will render the new edition of Mr. Bowles's book none the less acceptable and valuable to the public. His descriptions of the country, through which the road runs, and through most of which we passed, are so comprehensive and accurate; his observations are so discriminating, graphic and just; his estimates, based on figures and personal inspection of the vast mineral resources and the commercial advantages of the country, are so new, suggestive and exciting, that his work should be carefully read by every tourist before he sets out upon his journey; and it will be consulted by him with great advantage at every stage of his progress. The information it has imparted to the Nation has, in my judgment, been immensely more varied and valuable than they have derived from all previous sources put together. Certainly no former work has ever circulated so widely among the people, and they have profited largely by the new, varied and most valuable facts it contains.

Wishing you all possible success,

I am very truly,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM BROSS.

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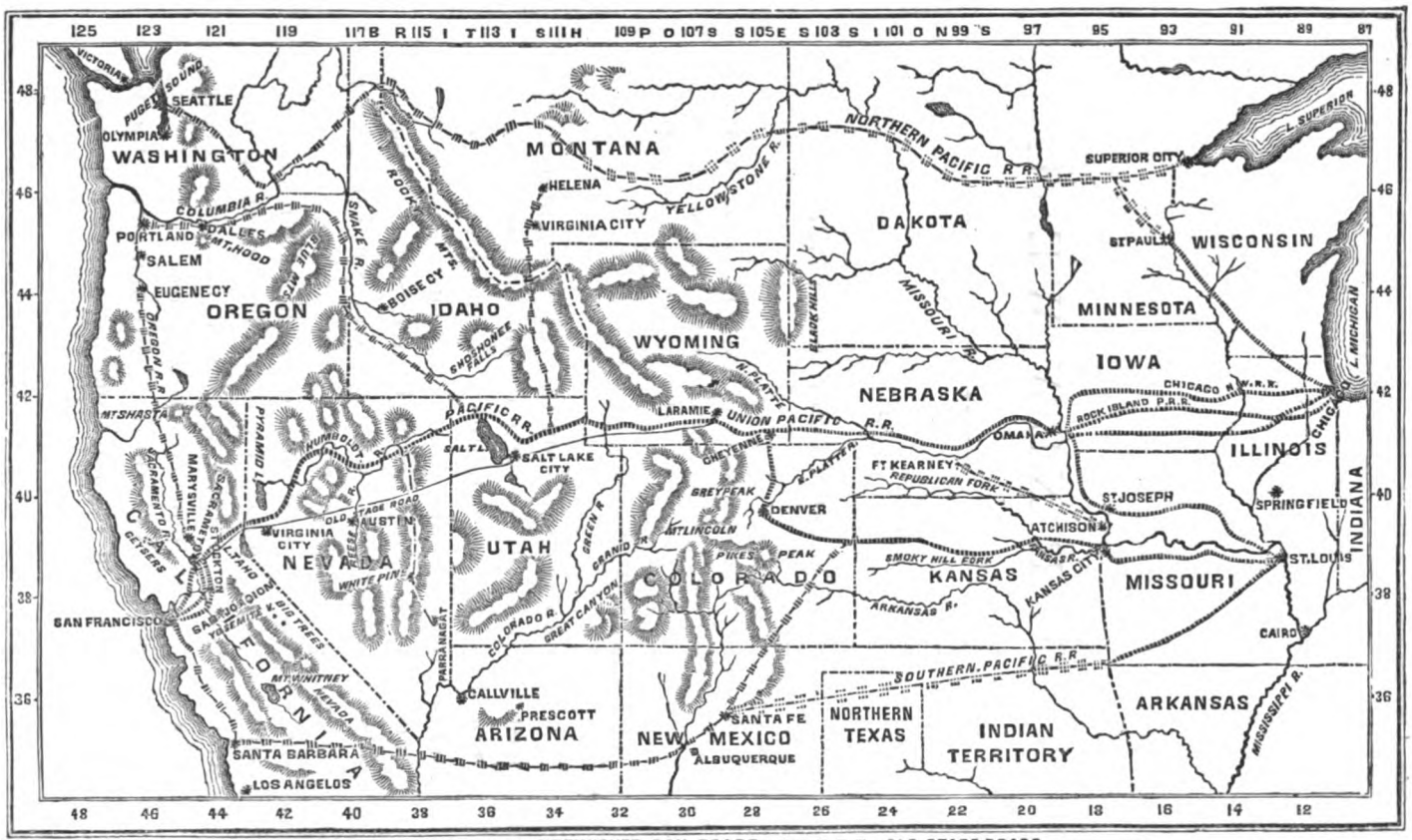
VIII. AN INDIAN "SCARE" AND THE INDIANS.

MAP TO ACCOMPANY "OUR NEW WEST" BY SAMUEL BOWLES.



OUR NEW WEST.

I.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

OUR NEW WEST—Its Extent and Importance, and Four Great Divisions—The Cordilleras of South America and their Progress Through North America—The First Great Division, the Plains—The Second, the Rocky Mountains—The Third, the Great Interior Basin—The Fourth, the Sierra Nevadas and the Pacific Coast—The Characteristics of Each—The Promise of the Book.

OUR NEW WEST,—cut through its center by the east and west line of the Pacific Railroad, and only now and thus opened freely to the knowledge and the occupation of the American people,—is the larger half of the territory of the United States. From the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean is fifteen hundred to eighteen hundred miles; from British America on the north to Mexico on the south is from one thousand to twelve hundred miles. The great mountain chain of the Continent with its subdivisions separate this region into four marked sections.

The Cordilleras of South America, marching in unbroken and firm column from its south to its north,

and making the most magnificent mountain range in the world by its length, its hight, and its unity, humbles itself almost to the sea in crossing the Isthmus, but rears its columns anew in Central America and Mexico, with occasional individual peaks that are as famous for hight and majesty as any in all its hemispherical sweep, and yet nowhere renews that unyielding unity that is its distinguishing southern characteristic. Approaching the broader sections of Western North America, as if feeling the appeal for a wider parentage, it breaks into several lines, two especially so majestic and firm and distinctive, that each might almost fairly claim to be the parent range. The main line, unmistakably, however, passes easterly with but little disorder, and becomes what we call the Rocky Mountains of North America, on from Central Mexico through New Mexico into Colorado, where it centers and readjusts its powers, and, again and more widely spreading, stretches northward through British America to the Arctic Ocean. The rival line of the Sierra Nevada has its birth or separation in Lower California, and, forming the bold and magnificent eastern boundary of California, goes north through Oregon and Washington Territory, and spreads itself over the coast lines of British Columbia, furnishing, both in California and Oregon, some of the highest and finest individual peaks to be found in the whole territory of the United States. As it enters California on the south, it sends a minor line of mountains west near the coast, which is carried with considerable uniformity into Northern California, there rejoins the Sierra Nevada, but again opens to form

that garden of Oregon, the Willamette valley. Between these mountain ranges in California, and among the folds of each, lie the great wealth, the great beauty, the great variety of soil, climate and production, of that wonderful and representative state of the Pacific coast.

Beginning on the east with the Missouri River, and going west, there is an open, treeless, nearly level stretch of plains, five hundred miles wide, to the Rocky Mountains. For the most part, it is high table-land, gradually but imperceptibly rising from the river to the mountain line; stretching from the British borders on the north to the like table-lands of Mexico on the south; with three or four great rivers flowing through its whole width, and many lesser streams freely watering its eastern and southern borders; yet for the great part too dry for general agricultural purposes, and only now inviting use as the great pasture-ground of the Nation. It seems to be covered with the wash of the mountains; and this grand ocean of land makes up the first section of the journey across the Continent, and is called The Plains.

Next comes the Rocky Mountains section, and this, too, from where the Plains end over into the basin of Salt Lake, is five hundred miles,—a broad line of mountains and rolling table-lands, ranging from seven thousand to fourteen thousand feet high; full of the most unique forms of nature; rich in inspiration to the poetic traveler; and rich in mineral wealth to the patient, persevering miner.

The third section, another five hundred miles still,

begins with the end of the Rocky Mountain ranges in the Salt Lake valley, and stretches on west to the Sierra Nevadas. The central parts of this section, comprising the bulk of Utah and Nevada, form the great interior basin of the Continent. It is five hundred miles from east to west, and an average of half that distance from north to south. The scanty waters of this interior region find no outlet to either ocean. The great Salt Lake of Utah is its principal body of water, and this has no visible outgo, though richly fed from various quarters. Lines of mountains or high hills pass north and south every twelve or twenty miles through it. The streams, that flow out of them, lose themselves in the sands of the valleys. There are few trees and but little verdure on hill or plain. Great patches of salt and alkali deposits intensify the general barrenness of the scene, and load the dry air with painful exhalations. The whole region is high; rising gradually from four thousand feet above the sea level at Salt Lake to seven thousand and eight thousand feet at the center, it as gradually falls away to the original four thousand feet under the Sierra Nevadas. The valleys adjoining the Rocky Mountains in Utah, and those near the Sierras in Nevada, with one or two intermediate ones, are sufficiently watered to return good crops, and irrigation widens this area and enriches the yield; but for the most part the whole basin is a desert, not so much from poverty of soil as from lack of moisture.

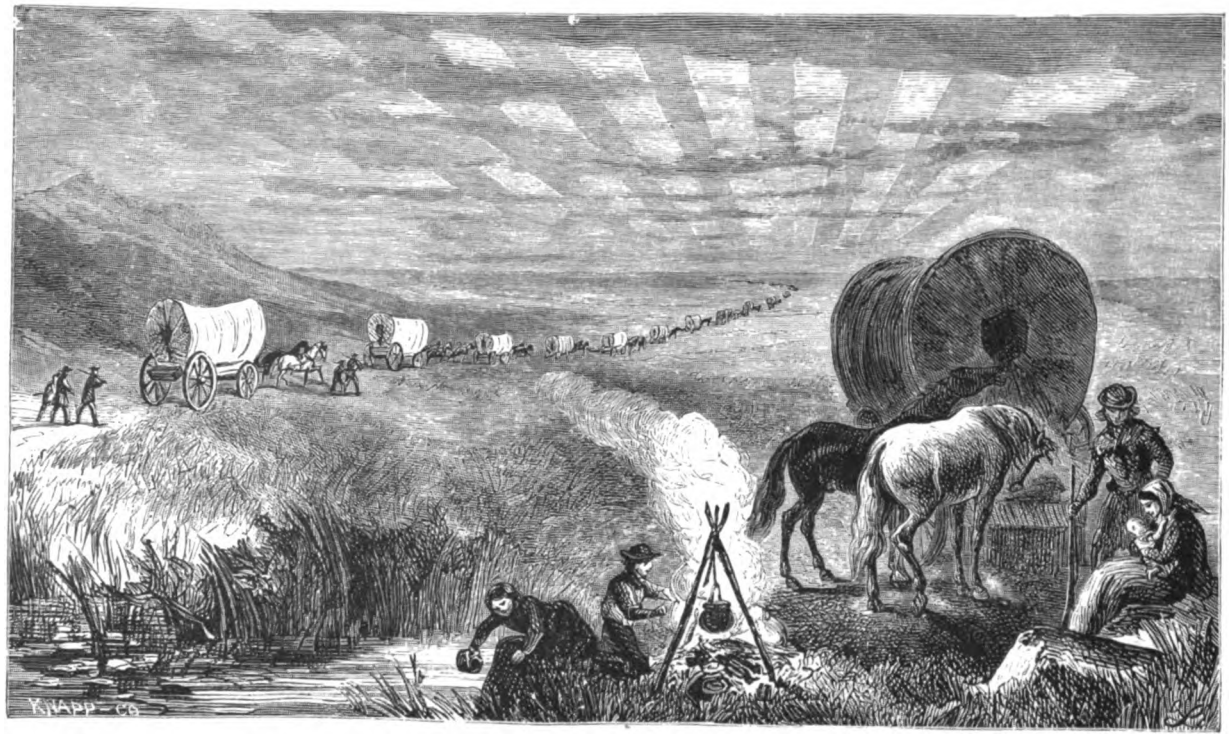
But for the patient industry of the Mormons in Utah and the temptations of the rich silver mines in Nevada, this country would have still remained un-

peopled and unknown, and the Pacific Railroad still a mere problem of our progress. To the north of this independent basin, the Columbia and its branches enter; and to the south, the Colorado, and yet they do not essentially change the character of the region they water; and Idaho and Eastern Oregon on the one hand, and Southern Utah and Nevada and Arizona on the other, save in narrow valleys that the streams cannot get through without enriching, present little that is lovely in nature or inviting to the farmer. The richness of mineral deposits tempts the greedy explorer, and where he is fortunate, agriculture will follow under whatever restrictions; and occasional rare phenomena in rock or river, like the Grand Canyon of the Colorado and the rival of Niagara in the Shoshone Falls in Idaho, seduce the traveler from the through route.

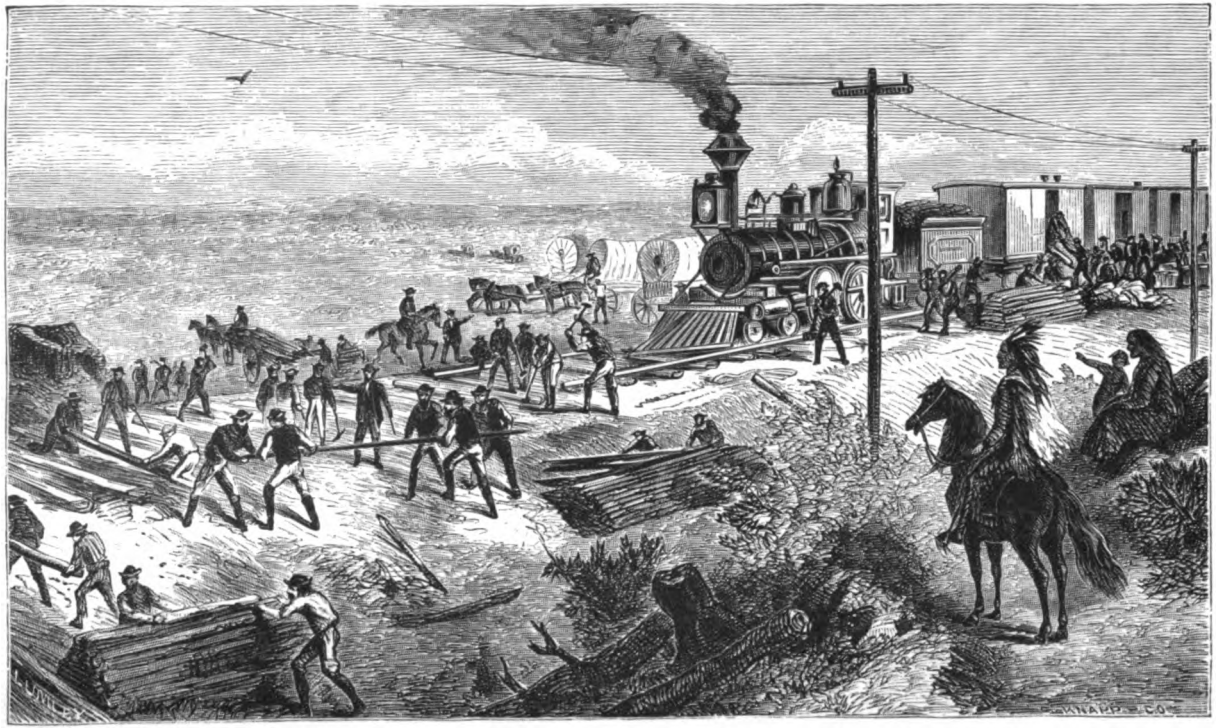
Fourth, and finally, are the Sierra Nevadas and the country between them and the Pacific Ocean,—a width of about two hundred miles, which, both in California and Oregon, compensates for the dreary wastes behind in a wealth and majesty of forest, such as the world can offer nowhere else, and in a variety and richness of agricultural production, that unites the offerings of temperate and tropical zones, forms the sure basis of a permanent and unmeasured wealth, and laughs poverty and famine to scorn.

Into and through these regions,—with more of familiarity than form, with more of grand result of knowledge than of detail of facts, with the authority of two summer journeys among them, and with conscientious study of their nature and resource and so-

ciety,—this book invites the reader. It opens to him the present state and the future promise of the larger part of the American Republic,—new yet to the world in every sense, but destined surely to a mighty influence upon all the after growth of Republic and world, and to be counted prominently in the advance of all our civilization.



EMIGRANTS CROSSING THE PLAINS.



LAYING THE TRACK OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

A FIRST VIEW OF POLYGAMY—A MORMON AND HIS FAMILY.

X.

BY STAGE INTO UTAH.

The Old Stage Lines Across the Continent—Features of Domestic Life Among the Mountains—Some of the Women of the Border—Things in Cans—Game, the Antelope and the Grizzly Bear—A Rapid Stage Ride Down the Mountains—Entrance into the Salt Lake Valley—View of Salt Lake City—Its Beauty of Location, its Capacities of Wealth, and its Future Realizations—The Reception by the Mormons—A Sunday Morning Hot Sulphur Bath.

Our stage ride of 1865 from Denver to Salt Lake City is an experience now of the past. With delays by the Indians, it was a full week through scenery already described in the account of the Railroad route, but hardly to be enjoyed now in the quick movement of the trains. The stage enterprises of that day and this region were mammoth undertakings. The proprietors made and repaired the roads; bridged the streams; settled and subdued the country,—building ranches every ten or fifteen miles, and wherever possible gathering harvests of hay and grain for their horses; fought the Indians, protected and supplied the emigrants and the freighters, and literally "run" the whole civilization and barbarism of all the interior West. Mr. Holladay, who owned most

of the continental lines then, covering nearly three thousand miles, had some six thousand horses and mules, and about three hundred coaches, paid a general superintendent ten thousand dollars a year, had to draw all his corn for the first thousand miles from the Missouri River at a cost often of ten to fifteen cents a pound, his hay frequently hundreds of miles, and his fuel fifty or a hundred miles; and though the government paid a great price for the mails and the fares were high, the business was very uncertain, and some years he lost money.

Two or three features of domestic and social life among the mountains and along the stage road constantly impressed themselves upon us. Housekeeping in large families,—and children do accumulate surprisingly there,—was a very serious burden to the wives and mothers. Their Eastern sisters, in their direst woes with poor servants, can have but faint appreciation of the burdens of living and entertaining there, where cooks and waiting girls were not to be had at any price. We went to rich dinners and bountiful teas at the homes of distinguished and wealthy citizens, and sat and ate without the company of hostess or any other ladies. She and her friends were busy in the kitchen, and came out only to stand behind our chairs, and change the plates and pass the viands. There is an uncomfortable feeling in being thus entertained; but it was the necessity of the country, and all parties made the best of it.

But how women, especially, can live contentedly in some of those out-of-the-way places on the borders, working hard and constantly, among rough and self-

ish men, and preserve their tender femininity, keep themselves neatly and sometimes even gracefully dressed, and not forget their blushes under free compliments, would be passing strange, if we had not seen it daily in our journey, and did not know it by the whole history of the sex. We certainly have seen young women out here, miles away from neighbors, knowing no society but their husbands and children and the hurried travelers,—depending on the mails for their chief knowledge of what the world is doing,—who could pass, without apology or *gaucherie*, to presiding over a Boston dinner party or receiving in state at Washington. Not all, indeed, are such, but they are frequent enough to be noted with both surprise and pleasure.

Here, too, in the mining camps of the Mountains, and along the continental pathway,—away from home orchards and gardens, and city markets,—we wonder at as we enjoy the free use of canned vegetables, fruits, fish and meats. We realize for the first time how great is the extent of the business of their preparation,—how useful and beneficent is the invention of the process. They are on every table; few New England housekeepers present such a variety of excellent vegetables and fruits, as we found everywhere here, at every hotel and station meal, and at every private dinner and supper. Corn, tomatoes and beans, pine-apple, strawberry, cherry and peach, with oysters and lobsters, are the most common; and all of these, in some form or other, you may frequently find served up at a single meal. These canned vegetables and fruits and fish are sold, too, at prices which

seem cheap compared with the cost of other things out here. They range from fifty cents to one dollar a can of about two quarts. Families buy them in cases of two dozen each. And every back yard is near knee deep in old tin cans.

Though the Indians did not dare to attack us,—so proudly did we sweep over the mountains with our armory of rifles, double-barreled guns and revolvers, —and game scented our approach and fled away; even a party of emigrants in our rear were thrown into terrible alarm by our firing at a mark in our front,—yet the ridiculous little prairie dogs and the funnier and littler squirrels,—beautifully striped with black, and hardly bigger than a mouse,—sported carelessly in our warlike presence. One rifle brought down an antelope, five hundred yards away, as he stopped to gaze through his limpid, liquid eyes in wonder on our turn-out; and we found him and his successors most luscious eating,—the most delicate of the deer family, tender, melting and digestible. The antelopes weigh from sixty to eighty pounds, are fawn-like in color and appearance, have short, branching horns, and are plenty at all seasons upon the high plains and in the mountains of the region. The elk, as large as a small cow, and with horns from four to six feet long, and the black-tailed deer, are rarer game; this was not the season for shooting them; and they cling closer to the mountains.

Only to the grizzly bear, terror yet tempter of all hunters, did we give the honors of the road; finding him in our path, the stage made a detour, as a tribute of respect. An old across-the-continent traveler,

who had met and slain every other enemy, tells the story of his at last finding his ambition gratified by coming into close range with one of these tough and hugging fellows. He had the advantage of seeing and not being seen by the animal. Now was the hour of his opportunity and his glory. Putting his rifle in order, and looking up his pistols, he again regarded the beast. How he had grown, meanwhile! But my hero quickly drew his rifle upon him; yet the strange animal grew so rapidly in size that he bethought himself of the means of escape, if he should miss a fatal fire. Satisfying himself as to these, he raised his rifle again; but the bear had grown into such a monster now that the hunter thought discretion was, on the whole, the better part of valor, and that if the animal would let him alone, he would let him, and withdraw from the scene while he could,—and he did!

Out of the Indian dangers, across the dreary Bitter Creek desert, over the continental divide, into a welcome bed and breakfast at Fort Bridger, and then on over the rough but greener hills towards Salt Lake, our stage now rolled rapidly through summer and winter scenes, with sky of blue and air of amber purity; and when the round moon came up out from the snowy peaks, giving indescribable richness and softness to their whiteness, we kept on and on, now up mountain sides, now along the edge of precipices several hundred feet high, down which the stumble of a horse or the error of a wheel would have plunged us; now crossing swollen streams, the water up to the coach doors; now stammering through morass and

mire, plunging down and bounding up so that we passengers, instead of sleeping, were bruising heads and tangling legs and arms in enacting the tragedy of pop-corn over a hot fire and in a closed dish; and now from up among the clouds and snow, we tore down a narrow canyon at a break-neck rate, escaping a hundred over-turns and toppling on the river's brink until the head swam with dizzy apprehensions.

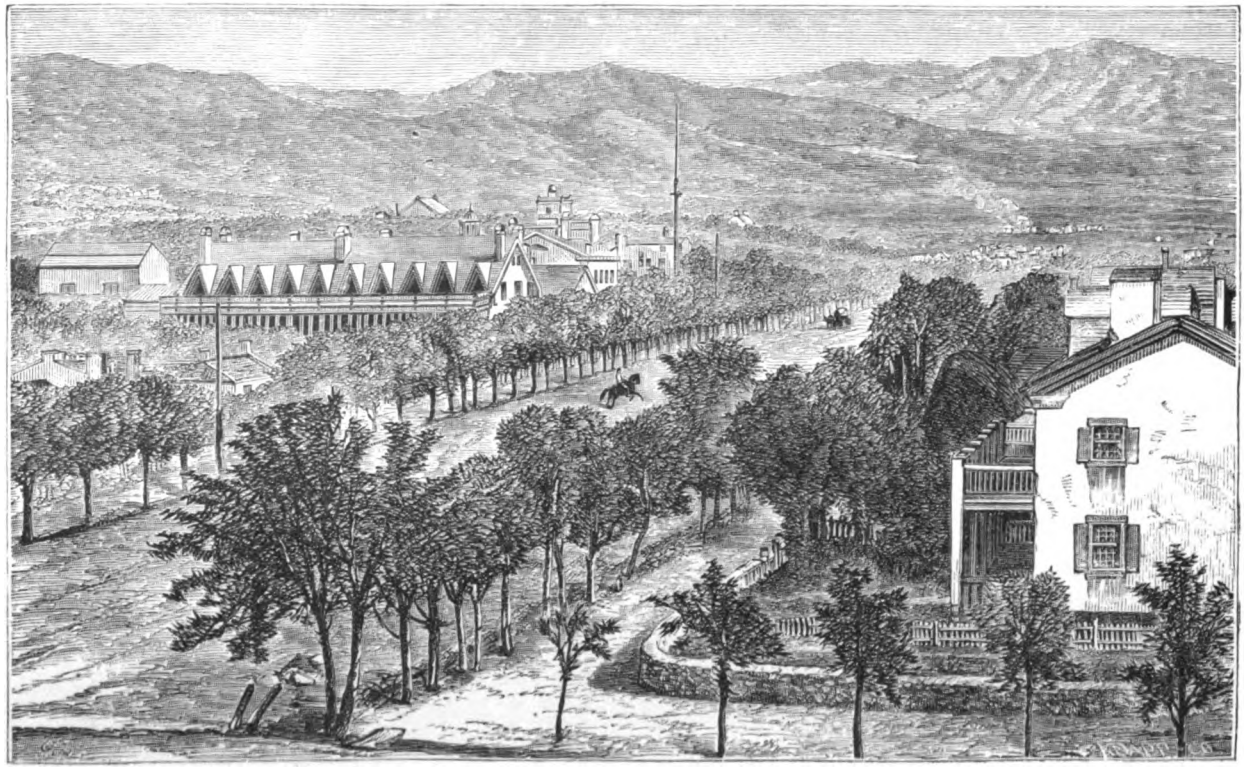
Finally, of a hot Sunday morning in June, the stage, winding through a long, dusty, narrow canyon, emerged from the hills, and came out upon the plateau or "bench," as they call it here, that overlooks the valley of the Jordan, the valley alike of Utah Lake and the Great Salt Lake, and the valley of the intermediate Great Salt Lake City. It was a scene of rare natural beauty. To the right, upon the plateau, lay Camp Douglas, the home of the soldiers, and a village in itself, holding guard over the town, and within easy cannon-range of tabernacle and tithing-house; right beneath, in an angle of the plain, which stretched south to Utah Lake and west to the Salt Lake,—"and Jordan rolled between,"—was the city, regularly and handsomely laid out, with many fine buildings, and filled with thick gardens of trees and flowers, that gave it a fairy-land aspect; beyond and across, the plain spread out five to ten miles in width, with scattered farm-houses and herds of cattle; below, it was lost in dim distance; above, it gave way, twenty miles off, to the line of light that marked the beginning of Salt Lake,—the whole flat as a floor and sparkling with river and irrigating canals, and overlooked on both sides by

hills that mounted to the snow line, and out from which flowed the fatness of water and soil that makes this once desert valley blossom under the hand of industry with every variety of verdure, every product of almost every clime.

No internal city of the Continent lies in such a field of beauty, unites such rich and rare elements of nature's formations, holds such guarantees of greatness, material and social, in the good time coming of our interior and Pacific development. We met all along the Plains and over the Mountains, the feeling that Salt Lake was to be the great central city of this West; we found the map, with Montana, Idaho, and Oregon on the north, Wyoming and Colorado on the east, Nevada and California on the west, Arizona on the south, and a near connection with the sea by the Colorado River in the latter direction, suggested the same; we recognized it in the Sabbath morning picture of its location and possessions; we are convinced of it as we see more and more of its opportunities, its developed industries, and its unimproved capacities. The only drawback lies in the Mormon and polygamous rule of Brigham Young and his associates, which repels freedom of settlement, and denies independent social, business and political action here, and keeps the city out of sympathy with the grand free movement of American life. But stubborn and fanatical as this element is, it must give way, I am sure, to the forcible logic of self-interest. The lust for many wives is weaker, after all, than the lust for many dollars.

Mr. Colfax's reception in Utah was excessive if not

oppressive. There was an element of rivalry between Mormon and "Gentile" in it, adding earnestness and energy to enthusiasm and hospitality. First "a troop cometh," with band of music, and marched us slowly and dustily through their Camp Douglas. Then, escaping these, our coach was waylaid as it went down the hill by the Mormon authorities of the city, on hospitable duty intent. They ordered us to dismount; we were individually introduced to each of twenty of them; we received a long speech; we made a long one,—standing in the hot sand with a sun of forty thousand lens-power concentrated upon us, tired and dirty with a week's coach-ride: was it wonder that the mildest of tempers rebelled?—transferred to other carriages, our hosts drove us through the city to the hotel; and then,—bless their Mormon hearts for the thought,—they took us at once to a hot sulphur bath, that nature liberally offers just on the confines of the city, and there we washed out all remembrance of the morning suffering and all the accumulated grime and fatigue of the journey, and came out baptized in freshness and self-respect. A stream of hot sulphurous water like a big brook poured into a great basin that had been prepared for its reception; and swimming in its luxury of freshness and abundance, with anticipations of the tens of thousands that the Railroad will bring; of invalids seeking strength, of the dirty seeking cleanliness, of connoisseurs in life seeking comfort, we dedicated Salt Lake City to the use and the enjoyment of the great American people.



VIEW IN SALT LAKE CITY—Residences of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball.

XI.

A WEEK IN SALT LAKE CITY.

The Hospitalities of Mormons and Gentiles—What we Saw and what we Didn't See—The Beginning and Growth of Utah—The Organization of Labor and Immigration—Character of the Population and of the Rulers—The Close Church and State Government—Education—"The Tithings"—Brigham Young and his Power—Dining with the Twelve Apostles—Bathing in Salt Lake—The City and How it is Located and Built—The Tabernacles and Brigham Young's Harem—Irrigation and Crops—The Basin Filling Up with Water—Are the Mormons to be Drowned Out?—The Productions of the Mormons—The Introduction of Manufactures—Gold and Silver Mining, and Brigham Young's Views on it—An Evening at the Mormon Theater.

We had a week and an extra Sunday in Salt Lake City, all passed under the most favorable circumstances for acquiring knowledge of its people, its institutions, and the natural beauties and phenomena of the neighborhood. Mr. Colfax and his friends were the official guests of the city authorities (Mormons,) who showered every attention, public and private, upon them, and, with Brigham Young and other high dignitaries in church and state, seemed eager to gain their respect and propitiate their favor. These representative Mormons asserted their right-mindedness towards the government, reasonably be-

fore and again since in doubt; talked vigorously against the South and slavery; explained freely and frankly the condition and affairs of their country; discussed polygamy with us alike on social, moral and religious grounds; gave us most excellent food and drink; and were every way hospitable, courteous, and as refined in manners and treatment as men can be who call their wives "women" and treat them as servants. They certainly "put their best foot foremost" in our presence; if it turned out, in some respects, a cloven foot,—for not long after we got away, they began abusing the party, assailing the government with vituperative language, and persecuting with new zeal the anti-Mormon elements of their population,—it was not perhaps strange, certainly it was no more than we expected. Such antagonisms as their peculiar institution of polygamy necessarily create,—such debasement of otherwise healthy natures as it produces, sufficiently explain these inconsistencies.

But their hearts and homes were open to us for the time; also, their most luxuriant and then strawberry-bearing gardens; nothing was denied to us except familiar intercourse with their families. I am not quite certain whether this arose from the disposition to shut us out from the testimony of the wives on the polygamy question, or from their regarding the women so low as to be unworthy our attention; probably it was from a mixture of both reasons that the doors of their harems were not open to us. Prominent Mormons, who had but one wife each, were not slow to give us the pleasure of their society; but I remember only

one case where we were freely presented to double wives,—and then I know I felt more embarrassed than they seemed, in being introduced, one after another, to two Mrs. Jones's by the common husband. Though pretty and tidy, they acted the part and bore the manner of mere servants in his presence; and since, he growing wealthy and more saint-like, younger and prettier companions have been added to his retinue.

At the time of our visit, the "Gentiles," as the non-Mormons are called, had both a pleasant and vigorous social organization in Salt Lake City. They had congregational worship, a Sunday-school, a daily paper, and frequent social festivities; and, though only two or three hundred in number, they comprised many families of culture and influence, merchants, federal civil officers, agents of telegraph and stage lines, and officers of the army, stationed near by, and were making a pretty strong aggressive warfare on the faith of the saints. Some of them were repentant and rebellious Mormons; and altogether they seemed the "cloud no bigger than a man's hand" that would spread over the whole Mormon heavens. But since that time, the life has been greatly stamped out of them by Brigham Young's cunning persecutions. Their men of business have been overawed by withdrawal of Mormon patronage; in one or two cases, where Gentiles undertook to maintain legal rights against Mormons, they have been waylaid and shot; they have had no encouragement or help from the government at Washington,—for a full year a reign of terror prevailed among them, and their minister and many others retired from the field of conflict;

and only now again is there a positive nucleus of Gentile influence, social, religious and material, renewed in the city. Both Catholic and Episcopal missionaries are upon the ground; and with the results of railroad communication to aid them,—its additions to, and diversifications of, the populations and interests of the city and territory,—the Gentile elements seem sure to increase, to grow bold, and to make a permanent and successful contest for fair play and equal rights in this center of a religious, social and political despotism, as exclusive and as cruel as that of slavery ever was in the South.

It is over twenty years since the pioneer band of Mormons, driven off by the persecutions of their neighbors in Illinois and Missouri, and led by Brigham Young, though he was not yet the real head of the church, wandered wildly across the Plains and over the Mountains in search of a new home. Coming out of the last range of the Rocky Mountains, into this beautiful basin, no wonder they had a revelation to stop and plant their banners here. But it was then dry and unfruitful; the summer sun baked the earth; the winter's snows covered it; only by living on roots and coarse herbs and meanest of animals did they survive the first year; only by patient toil, and the introduction of irrigation over their lands, were they able to produce recompensing crops. But a fanatical zeal inspired them; necessity drove them; the will of a master-spirit in Young led them; and they established themselves, and sent back for their associates, scattered through the border States of the then West. With these began, too, the overland

emigration to California, inspired by the gold discoveries of 1849, and out of the latter, they drew recruits, and better, they got a market for their surplus products. Thus they gained a foothold; thus,—by gold and silver discoveries in territories beyond and around them,—have they largely gained their subsequent growth and wealth. California, Nevada, Idaho and Montana have each in turn contributed to the success of Utah. No industry, living within and on itself, no mere zeal of religion, no mere lust of flesh could have planted such a State, could have bred such a power as centers now in the valley of Salt Lake.

But the second great fact in the history of Utah is the recruiting of its population direct from Europe. America might furnish the leaders, but never the followers for such a society as this; and almost at the beginning, missionaries were sent among the ignorant and struggling farmers, miners and mechanics of England and the north of Europe, to gain converts and recruits. The appeals to their desire for greater physical comfort,—for a home of independence and plenty,—with the offer of the means of emigration,—firing them, where possible, with a simple religious zeal,—polygamy being in no general sense one of the motives offered, or doctrines preached,—brought abundant followers; and thus has the population of Utah been made up. Of its hundred thousand or more residents, five-sixths at least are the direct results of these emigration movements. Reaching here, their homes and their lives were assigned them; their industry organized and enforced; and they were made

not only self-supporting but contributors to the common wealth of the church. The expenses of their emigration were charged to them, and they were obliged to work them out. It is in the organization of this emigration, and of its labor after coming here, that the great ability has been displayed in the creation and maintenance of this State. No so widespread a community in the country probably has, on the average, so industrious and thrifty, and yet so ignorant a population. It thinks little, but works much; the dependence and mental debasement of their European life are continued; their only improvement is in physical well-being; their sole intellectual stimulus is in the direction of a coarse, material religion and a fanatical faith in the fathers of the church.

For never on the American Continent was there organized so complete a union of church and state as here. The political, social and business organizations of Utah are, each and all, subservient to that of the church. The machinery of that is complete and intimate; it reaches everywhere, it controls everything. Never was there a more perfect religious autocracy than governs Utah. The federal officers, sent here as the executive and judicial organization of the Territory, find themselves powerless. The Territorial Legislature, the juries, and the local police, are made up entirely of Mormons, subservient to the church organization. There is no sympathy here with the federal government, only a hollow, cheating recognition of it. Without an army, none of its laws can be enforced; no jury can be found even to recognize offenses under them. So the federal office-

holders either settle into a profitable and pleasant subserviency to Brigham Young; fret themselves with vain endeavors to uphold the central authority and resist the Mormon defiance; or stand and wait, spectators and witnesses of offenses they cannot prevent or punish, bearing a vain testimony so far to the unity and completeness of a power as utterly foreign to the spirit of the Republic, as utterly antagonistic to its authority, as a branch of the Turkish empire, set down in the interior of our Continent, would be.

Conflict with federal authority is, however, carefully, cunningly avoided. It is a passive not an open resistance that is set up against it. And so thorough is the organization of the church, so subservient are the people, that this policy is not so difficult to maintain as it would be in any other American community. City and Territory are parcelled out into districts, with a bishop or elder, closely affiliated with the central authority, set over each. This man, bound by complicity in the cardinal sin of polygamy and the common opportunity of money, making, is preacher, chief of police and magistrate alike; monopolizes or shares in the trade of his precinct; and expounds and administers the law to the generally ignorant people of his precinct, who are kept to the simple industries of the farm and the household, and forbidden by the enforced levies of the church and the high prices charged for everything they may wish to buy, as well as by the feebleness of their ignorance, from ever rising above that sphere. Hard work and a simple morality are strictly

enforced habits. They rank along with faith in Brigham Young, subserviency to his decrees, and hatred of Gentiles, as the cardinal doctrines of Mormonism. Distilling and liquor-selling are monopolized by the church and its officers; three or four "Gentile" liquor shops are permitted in Salt Lake City, but they are burdened with license charges of three hundred dollars a month each by the Mormon authorities; while the followers of the church are strictly forbidden to frequent them. Disorder, child of independence, would be a fatal element, and so everything which leads to either is most carefully eliminated from Mormon society. Thus, in the name of thrift and order and morality, is the subserviency necessary to Mormon rule maintained; and the conceded results of temperance and industry and aggregate wealth, so often pointed at with pride by the Mormon writers and orators, are purchased by the destruction of everything that marks or secures individual growth.

As a matter of course, general education is not in great favor. In 1865, there were no Sunday-schools in the Mormon Church, and no day schools but private ones, and these under the patronage and control of the church authorities. The criticism and example of the Gentiles, and the demands of the better class of their own parents, have since driven the Mormon managers to introduce Sunday-schools, and to increase the opportunities for general instruction. But the schools are still practically private; though the school-houses are built by the public, *i. e.*, the church, tuition fees are charged; the teachers are of a low order and exclusively Mormons; the instruc-

tion is narrow and limited, and embraces, as a cardinal feature, faith in the Mormon rules; and such as it is, the last statistics show that only half of the children in the Territory, between the ages of 4 and 16, are able or are allowed to avail themselves of it.

Brigham Young is at the head of everything; all tributes pour into him; all authority flows out from him as the center of church and state. He dispenses favor; he administers justice and injustice; he receives the revenues, and he spends them,—both without any apparent accountability; the best farms are his; the largest saw-mills, the most prospering manufactories; of all the good things, whether women, or lands, or forests, coal mines, or contracts, he has, if not the monopoly, certainly the first choice, and the disposition of all. There is immense wealth in his possession; but what proportion of it he calls his own, and what the church's, no one knows,—he apparently recognizes no distinction. The church rule, that every man shall contribute one-tenth of all his productions or profits each year to the church, is rigidly enforced wherever possible without serious rebellion. The most of the population, particularly all those who cultivate the soil, observe it, paying their contributions "in kind;" and this practically gives the church the control of all the produce markets of the country. The few rich manufacturers and traders, who some years harvest great profits, but who are generally closely affiliated with Young, either escape the "tithing" altogether, or compound for it by a special money contribution. Some of the "Gentile" merchants have heretofore kept the peace

with the authorities by respecting, directly or indirectly, the "tithing" rate of the church; but lately Young and his coadjutors have undertaken to crush out all opposition by establishing, as a strict rule of the church, that Mormons must, on no account, trade with any but Mormons. The pains and penalties of exclusion from the church and utter damnation after death are threatened for those who disobey this rule. The first effects of this were greatly injurious, if not fatal, to many Gentile merchants in Salt Lake City; but its full results are not yet determined. It is probably not universally obeyed, and its force will weaken rather than increase with the movement of population and competition consequent upon the Railroad. There are certainly several very large and wealthy Gentile mercantile houses in Salt Lake City; and a considerable percentage of the trade and business life of the town is in such hands.

Next to Young, whose title is President, and whose province is unlimited, are a Council of Twelve Apostles, the first of whom is Vice-President. Below these is the order of the Seventies, including in which are the Bishops and Elders; and these, with a small circle of capable business men, attached to Young and the church, apparently by mercenary or lustful motives alone, make up the entire governing power of City and Territory. Five hundred must be a large allowance for the men in authority and in influence, and half of these I should say were only powerful by reason of a narrow, bigoted zeal, that made them useful in carrying out the decrees of men of broader power and more mixed motives. Brigham

Young is not the only man of real power in this organization; and it is not safe to say it would crumble to pieces with his death; but the number of those, both capable and willing to lead a crusade for its maintenance, I do not believe exceeds a dozen. It is easy to recognize among many of the most prominent men in this autocracy mere camp followers, who would never, of choice, endanger either lives or property in its maintenance. Under strong pressure or temptation, they would hasten to make terms for themselves. But for the time, the organization is compact and vigorous, and apparently able and ready to make a fight for its existence and independence.

But this is not describing how we passed our week among the Saints and Sinners of Salt Lake City. We went out in the mornings to see the city; the wonderful hot sulphur springs, baths for all the rheumatics and dyspeptics of our especially rheumatic and dyspeptic American nation; the cotton-factory and model flouring-mill of President Young; the orchard and garden of "Brother" Felt; the great store and the new tannery of "Brother" Jennings; the silk-worm beginnings of "Brother" Watt, who wanted to marry his half-sister, but Brigham Young, finding she was pretty, "sealed" her to himself; but, finding she was false, "sealed" her back again, and she is now one of her brother's wives; up the canyons for the water-works and the view of the valley; and so on. In the afternoons, we dined out with the "twelve Apostles," on fat and juicy mutton, rich and rare roast beef, turkeys of the New England Thanksgiving pattern, vegetables to match in every variety, and plum-pud-

ding *à la* King George, with golden seal champagne and deep old port to moisten their digestion,—whatever these Apostles preach to their followers, they are not necessarily ascetics themselves;—while in the evenings, we went to Gentile strawberry festivals and danced with pretty girls who were content to have many lovers but one husband, or took a quiet tea with a one-wive Mormon. Again we spent the day with the soldiers at Camp Douglas, back of the city, and heard the black, sad side of Mormonism, as told to them by its victims, or made a long excursion over to Rush Valley, where the discharged California soldiers were hopefully developing silver mines. Our Mormon hosts took us, one day, on a picnic excursion to Salt Lake,—a "stag" picnic, be it noted,—so we could bathe *au naturel*, our friends said,—so we should not ask their "women" how they liked polygamy, we thought.

This Lake is, indeed, the phenomenon of the whole interior basin. It lies across the valley fifteen miles from the city, is very irregular in shape, but about fifty miles wide by a hundred long, and salter than any ocean; so salt, indeed, that fish cannot live in it, that three quarts will boil down to one quart of fine pure salt, and on whose dense waters the bather can float like a cork, though the sharp brine must be kept from his mouth and eyes under penalty of severe smarting. High rocky islands stud its area; under the free wind of the open country, its waves have an ocean roll, and will breed sea-sickness at short notice; but its picturesque surroundings, the superb sunsets within its waters, and the buoyant brine, all invite to

pleasure-sailing upon its surface. What elements these, and the plentiful sulphur springs of the neighboring hills, and the charming scenery of the whole valley, and especially the fine location and premature development of the city, all are in the making of Salt Lake the great interior watering-place of the Continent! Invalids and pleasure-seekers will flock hither by the thousands; and the simplicity of Mormon life, with its single indulgence, will sooner or later be supplanted by the various resources of pleasure that fertile and self-indulgent fashion can combine around a new and greater Saratoga. But when we came out of our bath in Salt Lake, a thin crust of fine salt dried upon our bodies, and in rubbing ourselves off with towels, we had a most excellent substitute for a rough flesh-brush.

The city has, indeed, a most charming location, and is happily laid out and improved. Coming out of the mountains on the east and north, we enter upon a high plateau or "bench" of land, commanding the valley for forty or fifty miles to the south, and west to Salt Lake and the mountains that seem to rise from out of the water, and, stretching southward, guard the valley in that direction. The city lies directly below, on a second or third bench or gradation, as the open plain falls away into the lower valley, through which the River Jordan sluggishly winds its way from Utah Lake, forty miles in the south, into Salt Lake itself, the home of all the streams of the mountains and valleys around. Between river and lake, and under the highest mountains, on what seems almost a level plain, but holding a grade that keeps

the irrigating streams in quick motion, and promotes dryness and health,—with wide sweep of fertile valley before it, Salt Lake shimmering with the sunlight in the far distance, and the delaying Jordan ribboning the gardens of grain and grass below,—with mountains behind white-capped in snow even under the summer's sun, and hills in front that often rival them in hight and garniture,—Salt Lake City spreads itself with luxuriance of space, and with luxuriance of garden and orchard growth, that almost hides its buildings.

The streets are broad and regular,—one hundred feet from curb to curb,—dividing the town into squares of just ten acres, and these again are divided into eighths, which leaves an acre and a quarter for each home. Only in the business streets and in the lower and poorer quarters are these home lots subdivided. The houses were originally altogether of adobe, or mud bricks dried in the sun; now, stone and red brick are introduced for the larger buildings and stores, and lumber varies with the earlier material in dwellings and second-rate business establishments. The houses are mostly small, and a story or a story and a half in hight; they often suggest the peculiar institution of the country by a long frontage with numerous distinct entrances. The number of wives a man has is frequently indicated by the number of front doors to his house.

A full square of ten acres in the center of the city is devoted to the central church edifices. Here is the old Tabernacle, a large, low, barn-like structure, holding several thousand people; also the new Tabernacle,

which will contain from ten to fifteen thousand, is two hundred and fifty feet long, one hundred and fifty feet wide, and ninety high, built of stone, covered by a grand arched dome, and looks in the distance like a huge deep platter turned bottom up. In the most conspicuous location of the same square lie the foundations of the Grand Temple, begun many years ago, and to be finished when the church has leisure and money enough. The plan proposes a structure that rivals the cathedrals of Europe, and is grander than any church edifice in America. This square is surrounded by a strong, high wall of adobe brick and plaster.

Similarly guarded from cunning eyes or profane entrance by a high, strong wall, is Brigham Young's entire square, opposite. Within this are the "tithing-house," where are gathered in the tenth part of every man's yearly productions or profits, the other offices and store-houses of the church, two large houses for Young and his extensive family and his private offices, a school-house with cupola for his children, immense barns and sheds for his animals, and far in the rear his grand model flouring-mill. Fine gardens and orchards fill up the vacant places. Here is the central life and authority of the State. The telegraph of the church, extending all over the Territory, centers here, and here is the office of the special church newspaper organ.

The principal business street is long and well built. There are a few stores of the very first character, both in size, amount and variety of goods, and extent of business done. There are several firms, some

Mormon, others not, that do a business of a million and over each every year. The great Mormon establishments often connect manufacturing of some kind with their business, and frequently have branch stores all over the territory; but they are all in the hands of close allies, relatives, or subservient instruments of Brigham Young, and are under his sharp surveillance. The hotels, two of which are large and well managed, are all kept by Mormons; and so far as possible, all the avenues to money-making, all the instrumentalities of life in the city, are in the hands of creatures of the head of this Church and State organization. If a Mormon is suspected of unsoundness, or is getting too rich and powerful, he is persecuted out of the way, or "called of God" to go as missionary somewhere, and leave his business in somebody else's hands, or the "tithings" are applied so sharply as to keep his fortune within reasonable bounds. Many cases are given in illustration of these and other ways of enriching the church and preventing the growth of individual power.

Within the last few months, a new plan has been devised for extending and compacting the business affiliations of the church. It is that of putting all extensive trade and manufacturing operations into coöperative associations, and inviting all the Mormon population to take shares in them. The great Mormon stores in Salt Lake City have been thus converted, and the principle is rapidly extending to all business enterprises in every part of the Territory. It has two advantages,—that of extending the common interests of the grand organization, and ensuring

the enforcement of the rule that Mormons shall buy only of Mormons, and that of distributing the losses of any revulsions in business, or any break-down of the Mormon rule, growing out of the revolutionary influences of the Railroad. It strengthens the power of the leaders, and it enables them to change their investments, or, as they say in Wall street, to "unload."

The long dry summers of all our New West render irrigation a necessity to all diversified culture of the soil. The Mormons were the first people in the United States to resort to this means of counteracting the peculiarities of this western climate. They began it at once on their arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, and have carried it to a good degree of perfection, especially in the city and its neighborhood. The streams that come out from the mountains are diverted and divided through the streets of the town, and among the farms of the valley above the River Jordan. Thus lively brooks course down the gutters of the streets, keeping the shade trees alive and growing, supplying drink for animals and water for household purposes, and delightfully cooling the summer air; besides being drawn off in right proportion for the use of each garden. Once a week is the rule for thus watering each crop; to-day a man takes enough for one portion of his garden; to-morrow for another; and so through his entire possessions and the week. Under this regular stimulus, with a strong soil, made up of the wash of the mountains, the finest of crops are obtained; the vegetable bottom lands of the New England rivers or of the interior prairies cannot vie with the prod-

ucts of the best gardens and farms of these western valleys and plains under this system of irrigation. There needs to be enough rain in the spring or winter moisture remaining to start the seeds, and there generally is; after that, the regular supply of water keeps the plants in a steady and rapid growth, that may well be supposed to produce far finer results, than the struggling, uneven progress of vegetation under dependence upon the skies,—a week or a month of rain, and then a like prolongation of sunshine. The gardens in the cities and villages are tropical in their rich greenness and luxuriance. I do not believe the same space of ground anywhere else in the country holds so much and so fine fruit and vegetables as the city of Salt Lake to-day.

The soil of this and the smaller neighboring valleys is especially favorable to the small grains. Fifty and sixty bushels is a very common crop of wheat, oats and barley; and over ninety have been raised. President Young once raised ninety-three and a half bushels of wheat on a single acre. I should say the same soil located in the East, and taking its chances without irrigation, would not produce half what it does here with irrigation. Laborious and expensive as the process must be, the large crops and high prices obtained for them have made it a very profitable recourse.

But a singular change seems to be creeping over all our Western regions under settlement, in this matter of climate and of rain. Summer rains are palpably on the increase, and the necessity of irrigation is lessening, especially for the grains and slow-

growing vegetables. When the Mormons first came here, there was no rain from April to November; but now summer showers are of frequent occurrence. It is so in Colorado and in California,—there is a growth in the moisture of the summer and a lessening need of artificial watering for the main crops. The phenomenon is peculiar, and has yet received no satisfactory explanation. Connected with this change, it is observed here that Salt Lake is growing in size and freshness, and the Jordan increasing in width and sluggishness of movement. In broader phrase, the whole basin, once evidently filled with water, is slowly returning to its old condition. The Lake is rising at the rate of a foot a year. General Connor's little steamboat, that has been carrying ties for the Railroad across the Lake during the last year, certainly rode for a mile over what was good grazing-ground five years before. Does Providence propose to drown the Mormons out, and with water solve the problem that is puzzling our moral philosophers and statesmen?

The country drained by the Great Salt Lake is about one hundred and fifty miles east and west, and two hundred and fifty north and south. Four or five large streams of fresh water pour into it; and the facts already stated, that it has no visible outlet, and that its waters are one-fourth salt, mock science and make imagination ridiculous. Other salt is found in the country; there is a mountain of rock salt a few miles away; and below in Arizona is a similar mountain, whose salt is as pure as finest glass, and a beautiful specimen of which Brigham Young showed to us.

The Territory of Utah covers the region drained by the Salt Lake, and perhaps one hundred miles more, both in breadth and length. But the Mormon settlements extend one hundred miles farther into Idaho on the north, and perhaps two hundred miles into Arizona on the south, clinging close, through their entire length of six hundred to seven hundred miles, to a narrow belt of country hardly more than fifty miles wide; for on the east of this are the mountains, and to the west the great Central American Desert, that forms part of the great internal basin of this section of the Continent, and leads the traveler on to the Sierra Nevada Mountains of the Pacific States. These settlements are mostly small, counting inhabitants by hundreds, gathered about the course of a mountain stream; but there are several places of considerable importance, as Provo in the south, and Ogden, where the Railroad enters the valley, in the north. They tempt a railroad line down to the Colorado River, which is navigable to a point six hundred miles south of Salt Lake City, and doubtless one will sooner or later be built. In 1865, before the Pacific Railroad was so quickly promised, the Mormons were making promising experiments in bringing their goods by steamboat up the Colorado River, and thence by teams up through the line of their settlements to the capital, as likely to be cheaper than teaming them across the Plains and over the Mountains from the Missouri; and this route is quite sure to be developed and improved in the near future.

The population of the Territory is probably from

one hundred thousand to one hundred and twenty-five thousand; of which from twenty-five thousand to thirty-five thousand are in Salt Lake City. Before the entrance of the Railroad into the valley, not more than three or four thousand were non-Mormons or Gentiles. The policy of the leaders has been to confine their people to agriculture; to develop a self-sustaining, rural, population, quiet, frugal, industrious, scattered in small villages, and so manageable by the church organization. So far, it has been admirably successful; and it has created an industry and a production here, in the center of the western half of our Continent, of immense importance and value to the future growth of the region. The land is cut up into small sections, and most of the farms are very small. Indeed, of the forty-three million acres that the Territory measures, only about half a million are supposed to be capable of culture, and the number under cultivation is estimated at one hundred and thirty-four thousand, or about one acre to an inhabitant. Every man is encouraged to raise everything possible needed for his sustenance, and this gained, and the church securing its share, there is not apt to be much left for profit.

Following out the principle of self-support and independence, the simple manufactures have been gradually introduced. Several small cotton-mills and one or two woolen-mills are in successful operation; hides are plenty, and there is a tannery, also a manufactory of boots and shoes; cotton grows in the southern settlements, and persistent and partially successful efforts have been made to introduce the

silk worm. Wood and lumber are scarce and high, the former fifteen dollars a cord, and the latter forty to sixty dollars a thousand. Coal is found in the mountains, but fifty miles away, and before the Railroad was open it cost in the city thirty to thirty-five dollars a ton. There are at least a hundred flouring-mills in the Territory, and flour, grain, butter, bacon, home-made socks and yarn, and dried peaches are the principal productions in excess of consumption. Probably two hundred thousand pounds of dried peaches were sold to the Idaho and Montana miners in the year (1864) of the greatest emigration to those territories. Alive not only to all opportunities for making money, but to the necessity for supplying every want of their population, that there may be no room for an antagonistic element, the Mormon leaders are now alert to introduce such other and higher classes of manufactures as an increased prosperity and the facilities of the Railroad may put in demand. Among these are wagons and agricultural implements, for which a company is formed and other preparations made.

With wise instinct of its depraving distractions and its rarely recompensing pursuit, Brigham Young has persistently discouraged all mining operations among his people. He has been fortunate in having no rich discoveries made within his lines to tempt them to break his commands. Occasionally there has been a temporary excitement over placer diggings here and there in the mountains, or over discoveries of deposits of gold or silver ores; but none of them have ever amounted to much. The Gentiles have, how-

ever, wasted much labor and money in prospecting and trying to work some silver mines in Rush Valley, about twenty-five miles from Salt Lake City, but though here and at other points there are undoubted deposits of the precious metals that, by and by, with cheap labor and simple processes for reduction, will pay to work, as yet nothing in this line has proved recompensing. Iron, the Mormons admit, exists in large quantities, particularly in the southern mountains; they have made some efforts to develop and work it, but failed for want of proper workmen and materials. But as to gold and silver, they are incredulous; and not only that, President Young argues that the world has many times more of both than it needs for financial purposes; that the country is poorer to-day for all the mining of gold and silver in the last twenty years; and that for every dollar gained by it, four dollars have been expended.

Chief among the distractions of the week was a performance at the Salt Lake theater in honor of the distinguished guests. For the worldly wisdom that presides here has made generous provision for the amusement of the people. The theater is one of the finest and largest buildings in the city; it compares well with the best opera-houses of the East in size and appointments; and the performances in it are always respectable and sometimes very superior. There is generally a star actor or two from the East or from California; but the principal portion of the performers are amateurs,—merchants and mechanics, clerks and laborers, wives and daughters of citizens of Salt Lake City. The scenery and dresses

are all first-class, and there is evidently a stage manager who understands his business. We had a drama and a spectacular farce for our evening's entertainment; and I have rarely seen a theatrical performance more pleasing and satisfactory in all its details and appointments. Yet the two principal men characters were by a day-laborer and a carpenter; one of the leading women parts was by a married daughter of Brigham Young, herself the mother of several children; and several other of his daughters took part in the ballet, which was most enchantingly rendered, and with great scenic effect.

The house was full in all its parts, and the audience embraced all classes of society, from the wives and daughters of President Young,—a goodly array,—and the families of the rich merchants, to the families of the mechanics and farmers of the city and valley, and the soldiers from the camp. Babies were in plenty; and these, with long rows of wives, and a patriarchal-looking old gentleman at the head, testified to the polygamous institution. Out of respect to the strangers, Brigham Young sat with his "first wife" in a private box, and did not thrust the retinue of his lechery before us. He built and owns the theater, which cost $200,000. It is run in the name of and for the benefit of the church; and as most of the actors and actresses cost nothing, and the institution is naturally popular, it is understood to be quite profitable. The prices of admission are nominally high; but the doorkeeper takes pay in "produce," and many a farmer from the valley drives up with the whole or part of his family, and a load of grain,

pork, or "garden sass," to buy their entrance to the evening's entertainment in the theater. It proves, indeed, a most useful and popular social center and amusement for the whole people, and its creation was a wise and beneficent thought.

But even all these were not the most interesting or important features of our week's experiences and observations in Salt Lake City.

XII.

MEN AND WOMEN, OR POLYGAMY, IN UTAH.

Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and other Leading Apostles—Long Interviews and Talks with Them—Discussion about Polygamy—Suggestion of a New Revelation against it—Later Extension of Polygamy—The Sabbath Services of the Mormons—Preaching by Brigham Young—Extracts from Mormon Sermons—Mr. Colfax in the Mormon Pulpit—How does Polygamy Work?—The Children—The Husbands and the Wives—What the Latter Say and How they Bear it—Illustrations of Polygamous Life and Habits—Brigham Young's Children and Wives—Beauty and the Beast—List of Young's Harem.

Of course we had a good deal of curiosity, while in Utah, to study the persons and characters of the Mormon leaders and the operation of polygamy; and though one avenue to information was largely denied us, every other was freely open, and the lacking in that was measurably made up to us by plenty of second-hand testimony from and about the fractional wives of the saints. When we arrived, Brigham Young was away from the city; but he soon came back in grand state, for he travels among his subjects like an oriental prince, with procession of carriages and men on horseback. He takes with him always two personal servants, one a barber, and the other

SALT LAKE CITY—BRIGHAM YOUNG—PROPOSED MORMON TEMPLE.

one of his wives. Directly he came, with half a dozen of his Apostles, to pay his respects to Mr. Colfax,—for the Speaker had given out that he should observe Washington etiquette, and not call first on him, which pleased the Gentiles,—and they spent most of a morning with us. We had free and familiar talk of the Territory and its industries, of the scenery, of irrigation, of the Indians, of everything but the one theme upon which both sides were the most eager to compare notes. Young explained to me the Mormon policy as to the Indians; in brief, it was that they had found it cheaper and easier to feed them than to fight them. But, he said, they could not last long; the food and the diseases of civilization are killing them off; even white bread, of which they are very fond, weakens and destroys their constitutions. And he told of an Indian boy, whom he took into his family, robust and healthy, but, though he fared as well as his own children, he soon sickened and died.

Brigham Young is a well-preserved, good-looking man of now near seventy years; stout, smooth-faced, self-controlled; slow and careful of speech; with a light gray eye, cold and uncertain; a thin, short under-lip and chin, betraying great power of will, and which shrank and curled and quivered under feeling with a most devilish ugliness. That lip and that chin were the only indexes to his character, as exhibited in his life, that I could find either in his face or manner; but they showed that he would allow nothing to stand in the way of his purposes. There was not the faintest sign of rashness or weakness, but

abundant token of the spirit that would send and has sent men to a sudden grave, in the most cool and relentless manner, for resisting his authority or standing in the way of his purposes. He is physically a handsome man, and takes great pains with his dress; but he was to me repellant in personal atmosphere. In conversation, he is cool, quiet, but intelligent and suggestive, has strong, original ideas, but conveys them with rather coarse and ungrammatical language. He was somewhat formal, but courteous, and at the last affected frankness and freedom, if he felt it not; and when his eye did sparkle and his lips soften, it was with most cheering, though not warming, effect; it was pleasant but did not melt you.

Heber C. Kimball ranked next to Young in church and state, when we were there, and was accounted by the Mormons to hold the gift of prophecy in even more divine degree than his leader. But he seemed to us, from all we saw and heard of him, a blessed old rascal; unctuous in looks and manners as Macassar hair oil, and pious in phrase as good old Thomas à Kempis; but a consummate hypocrite, hard and tricky at a bargain in worldly matters, and tyrannical to his long retinue of sorry-looking wives, the happiest day of whose lives was that of his death. His office appeared to be that of keeper of the seals of Heaven, and the fulminator of the Divine wrath or the dispenser of the Divine grace, and he distributed both about with equal vulgarity and repulsiveness.

George A. Smith is another of the head Apostles, and succeeded Kimball as Vice-President. He is one of the oldest and most faithful Mormons, very intelli-

gent in their history, and a heavy, full-orbed man, with solid qualities of body and mind, who contents himself with five wives. Two of the Apostles, Amasa Lyman and Franklin Richards, are Massachusetts men; several others are Englishmen, who are now creeping into place and power in the church; and they all average four wives each. Perhaps the most refined man of our hosts in personal appearance and manners was a Mr. Felt, originally from Salem, Mass.; he lived in a very neat two-story cottage, embowered with trees, and with two or three suggestive front doors. But the American proportion, both of leaders and followers, is fast decreasing. Brigham Young himself says that fifteen out of every twenty of the original American Mormons have apostatized; and Apostle Smith says five out of six.

Two or three of the party who called on us had fine faces,—such as you would meet in intellectual or business society in Boston or New York,—but the strength of most of them seemed to lie in narrowness, bigotry, obstinacy. They looked as if they had lived on the same farms as their fathers and grandfathers, and made no improvements; gone to the same church, and sat in the same pews, without cushions; borrowed the same weekly newspaper for forty years; drove all their children to the West or the cities; and if they went to agricultural fairs, insisted on having their premiums in pure coin.

When we came to return their call, and met at Brigham Young's office pretty nearly the same company of prominent Mormons, there was a full hour's frank talk of the whole matter of polygamy. He

had, just before we entered, been bothered by a man who could not keep his "women" straight, and either wanted a reinforcement of authority from head-quarters, or liberty to take an additional wife by way of equalizing the contending forces; and it was not long after we were seated ere he blurted out the blunt question to Mr. Colfax—"Well, now you have conquered the South and abolished slavery, what are you going to do with us and our polygamy?" With his usual tact, Mr Colfax replied that he had no authority to speak for the government; but for himself, if he might be permitted to make the suggestion, he had hoped the prophets of the church would have a new revelation on the subject, which should put a stop to the practice of polygamy. He added further that, as the people of Missouri and Maryland, without waiting for the action of the general government against slavery, themselves believing it to be wrong and an impediment to their prosperity, had taken measures to abolish it, so he hoped the people of the Mormon church would see that polygamy was a hindrance and not a help, and move for its abandonment. Mr. Young responded quickly and frankly, and apparently as much to the surprise of his friends as to our own, that he should readily welcome such a revelation; that polygamy was not in the original book of the Mormons; that it was not an essential practice in the church, but only a privilege and a duty, under special command of God; that he knew it had been abused; that people had entered into polygamy who ought not to have done so, and against his protestation and advice; and that wives

and husbands, in polygamy, were constantly fretting him with their troubles. At the same time, he defended the practice as having biblical authority, and as having, within proper limits, a sound, moral and philosophical reason and propriety.

The discussion, thus opened, grew general and sharp, though ever good-natured. Mr. Young was asked how he got over the fact that the two sexes were about equally divided all over the world, and that if some men had two, five, or twenty wives, others would have to go without altogether. His reply was that there was always a considerable proportion of the men who would never marry, who were old bachelors from choice. But, retorted one, are there any more of such than of women who choose to be old maids? Oh yes, said he, most ungallantly; there is not one woman in a million who will not marry if she gets a chance! Mr. G. Q. Cannon, an Englishman, and probably the most learned of the Apostles, strongly pressed the biblical usage and authority for many wives, as above all laws and constitutions, but was asked as to the effect of the same usage and authority for human sacrifice,—would you, for instance, if commanded by God, offer up your son or your enemy as a sacrifice, killing them? Yes, he promptly replied. Then the civil law would lay its hands upon you and stop you, and would be justified in doing so, was the apparently effective answer.

In the course of the discussion, Mr. Young asked, Suppose polygamy is given up, will not your government then demand more,—will it not war upon the Book of the Mormons, and attack our church organ-

ization? The reply was, emphatically, No, that it had no right, and could have no justification in doing so, and that we had no idea there would be any disposition in that direction. The Mormons would then take rank and take their chances with the other Protestant denominations,—the Methodists, Baptists and Episcopalians,—and all would be left free to work and quarrel together on the same platform of equal rights.

The talk, which was said to be the freest and frankest ever known on that subject in that presence, ended pleasantly, but with the full expression, on the part of Mr. Colfax and his friends, of their hope that the polygamy question might be removed from existence, and thus all objection to the admission of Utah as a State be taken away; but that, until it was, no such admission was possible, and that the government could not continue to look indifferently upon the enlargement of so offensive a practice. And not only what Mr. Young said, but his whole manner left with us the impression that, if public opinion and the government united vigorously, but at the same time discreetly, to press the question, there would be found some way to acquiesce in the demand, and change the practice of the present fathers of the church.

But this indication of a change of base was not well received by the Mormon leaders generally. They protested against it, and very soon after we left, it was disowned or explained away, and polygamy took a fresh start. There has seemed, indeed, to be an effort to extend its complications and influences, and get

everybody into it of any character or power in the church or in society. When we were there, it was estimated that not more than one in six or eight of the men had embraced the practice; but since, it has increased from fifty to one hundred per cent., and one in three or four of the men have more than one wife each. So the evil has grown to formidable proportions, and its eradication, even its limitation, seems much harder to compass than it did in 1865.

Our afternoon's talk with Young and his associates included the proper way of treating the leading rebels and the merits of slavery in the abstract. He boldly espoused slavery *per se* as established by Divine authority, like polygamy, but denounced the chattel system of the South; and he opposed the hanging of any of the rebel chiefs as an unwise and aggravating policy. Now that peace is established, let all be pardoned, he said; but early in or during the war, he would have disposed of the rebel chiefs that fell into the hands of the government without mercy or hesitation. Had he been President when Mason and Slidell were captured, he would have speedily put them "*where they never would peep*," and negotiated with England afterwards. As he said this, the thin lip shortened and the lower jaw worked, most diabolically; and I felt sure he could be as good as his word, and no longer doubted where the inspiration for the Mountain Meadow massacres, the slaughter of the recusant Josephites, or the various assassinations by the "Danites" of individual rebels from the church or uncompromising Gentiles, came from. Young thoroughly believes in punishing his enemies

with fire and sword, and all in the name of the Lord his God. He is a resolute and literal Old Testament Christian in theory and practice,—thus far at least.

On both Sabbaths we attended the Mormon religious services in the Church square. Meetings are held every Sunday, also, and on some week-day nights, in the church edifices in each of the twenty wards of the city, where the local bishops and elders drill the people in all the duties of life, instructing them with a plainness and with an autocratic authority as to their entire line of thinking and acting, that any other Protestant people or even any American Catholics would resent with indignation. But their ignorant, fanatical followers seem to take it all as law and gospel, and are under such strict surveillance and authority that most of them would not even dare to disobey or protest. At the Tabernacle building, the gathering is from the whole city, amounting commonly to several thousands, and the services are conducted by some of the Apostles. The congregations are naturally not of a very high grade, either of physical beauty or mental capacity,—they were as dreadfully commonplace as you can imagine the refuse of the English factory towns, with a sprinkling of the peasantries of Germany, Finland, Sweden, Scotland, Norway, even Iceland, would be. Yet they exhibited improvement over their probable former life in tidiness of dress and better living. But the small narrow heads told of limited brains and shallow thought. The handsome girls were few; the fine-looking women even fewer; intelligent, strong-headed men were more numerous; but the great mass, alike in size, looks and

dress, were below the poorest, hardest-working and most ignorant classes of our eastern large towns.

The gatherings and the services, both in speaking and singing, reminded me of the Methodist camp-meetings of fifteen or twenty years ago. The singing, as on the latter occasions, was the best part of the exercises, simple, sweet, and fervent. "Daughters of Zion," as sung by the large choir one Sunday morning, was prayer, sermon, song and all. The preacher that day was Apostle Richards, but beyond setting forth the superiority of the Mormon church system, through its presidents, councils, bishops, elders and seventies, for the work made incumbent upon Christians, and claiming that its preachers were inspired like those of old, his discourse was a rambling, unimpressive exhortation, such as you may have heard from a tonguey deacon in any country Baptist or Methodist meeting-house of the last generation. The Bible, both Old and New Testaments, is used with the same authority as by all Protestants; the Mormon Scriptures are simply new and added books, confirming and supplementing the teachings of the original Scriptures. The rite of the sacrament is administered every Sunday, water being used instead of wine, and the distribution proceeding among the whole congregation, men, women and children, and numbering from three to five thousand, while the singing and the preaching are in progress. The prayers are few and simple, undistinguishable, except in these characteristics, from those heard in all Protestant churches, and the congregation all join in the Amen.

The next Sunday, especially for our edification, Brigham Young himself preached; but he was very unsatisfactory and disappointing in his effort. There was every incentive for him to do his best; he had an audience of four or five thousands spread out under the "Bowery," adjoining the Tabernacle, where the summer meetings are held; before him was Mr. Colfax, who had asked him to preach upon the distinctive Mormon doctrines; around him were all his elders and bishops, in unusual numbers; and he was fresh from the exciting discussion of the day before on the subject of polygamy. But his address lacked logic, lacked effect, lacked wholly magnetism or impressiveness. It was a curious medley of scriptural exposition and exhortation, bold and bare statement, coarse denunciation and vulgar allusion, cheap rant and poor cant. So far as his statement of Mormon belief went, it amounted to this: that God was a human, material person, with like flesh and blood and passions to ourselves, only perfect in all things; that he begot his son Jesus in the same way that children are begotten now; that Jesus and the Father looked alike and were alike, distinguishable only by the former being older; that our resurrection would be material, and we should live in heaven with the same bodies and the same passions as on earth; that Mormonism was the most perfect and true religion; that those Christians who were not Mormons would not necessarily go to hell and be burned by living fire and tortured by ugly devils, but that they would not occupy so high places in heaven as the Latter Day Saints; that polygamy was the habit of all the children of God in the earlier ages, and was

first abolished by the Goths and Vandals who conquered and reconstructed Rome; that Martin Luther approved of it in a single case at least; that a clergyman of the Church of England once married a man to a second wife while his first wife was living; and that in England now, if a man wanted to change his wife, he had only to offer her at auction and knock her off for a pot of beer or a shilling, and marry another. A good deal of boasting of the success of the Mormons, their temperance, frugality and honesty, and a sharp denunciation of the "few stinking lawyers who lived down in Whiskey street, and for five dollars would attempt to make a lie into a truth," were the only other noticeable features of this discourse of the President of the Church of the Latter Day Saints. It was a very material interpretation of the statements and truths of Scripture, very illogically and roughly rendered; and calculated only to influence a cheap and vulgar audience. Brigham Young may be a shrewd business man, an able organizer of labor, a bold, brave person in dealing with the practicalities of life,—he must, indeed, be all of these, for we see the evidences all around this city and country; but he is in no sense an impressive or effective preacher, judged by any standards that I have been accustomed to.

A good many Mormon sermons have been reported and published, some by themselves, others by Gentile listeners. Their language in many instances is shockingly blasphemous; in others, where rebellious or vain or wicked women are denounced, or the young girls are instructed in their duty to become con-

cubines and bear children as soon as the laws of nature will permit, it is positively filthy and disgusting, such as would not be tolerated elsewhere out of the vilest dens of great cities. As specimens, not of such sermons, but of the more decent sort, I quote a few independent sentences,—they are from Brigham Young, and Apostles Smith and Pratt:—

"When a man comes right out like an independent devil, and says 'D—— Mormonism and all the Mormons,' and is off with himself to California, I say he is a gentleman by the side of a nasty, sneaking apostate, who is opposed to nothing but Christianity. But now, you Gladdenites [a band of recusant Mormons,] keep your tongues still, lest sudden destruction come upon you. I say, rather than that apostates should flourish here, I will unsheath my bowie-knife and conquer or die."

"There are sins that men commit for which they cannot receive forgiveness in this world, or in that which is to come; and if they had their eyes open to see their true condition they would be perfectly willing to have their blood spilt, that the smoke thereof might ascend to heaven as an offering for their sins, and the incense would atone for their sins. I know when you hear my brethren telling about cutting people off from the earth that you consider it strong doctrine; *but it is to save them, not to destroy them.* It is true that the blood of the Son of God was shed for sins through the fall and those committed by men, yet men can commit sin which it never can remit. There are sins which can be atoned for by an offering upon an altar as in ancient days, but there are also sins which the blood of a lamb, of a calf, or of turtle doves cannot remit; *but they must be atoned for by the blood of the man.*"

"No wonder that you grope in the dark; that you are subject to doubts and fears concerning your eternal salvation. The law of celestial marriage is right, but you will not obey it, and those of you who do not accept the Gospel of Christ can expect nothing but darkness. There is no inducement for any man to become a Latter Day Saint unless he accepts the Spirit of God in his heart and obeys His teachings."

"If an elder has borrowed from you, and you find he is going to apostatize, then you may tighten the screws upon him; but if he is

willing to preach the Gospel without purse or scrip, it is none of your business what he has done with the money he has borrowed from you. If you murmur against that elder, it will prove your damnation! No man need judge me. You know nothing about it, whether I am sent or not; furthermore it is none of your business, only to listen with open ears to what is taught you and serve God with an undivided heart."

"How was it with Mary and Martha, and other women who followed Jesus? In old times, and it is common in this day, the women, even Sarah, called their husbands lord. The word is tantamount to husband in some languages. Master, lord and husband are synonymous. When Mary came to the sepulchre, Jesus said unto her, Mary! She said unto him, Rabboni, which is to say master. Is there not here manifested the affection of a wife? These words were the kindred ties and sympathies that are common between husband and wife." The same discourse declared that Jesus was himself the bridegroom at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, and that Mary and Martha were both his wives!

These are fair illustrations of the intellectual and religious husks on which these poor people are fed from Sunday to Sunday. Perhaps they are above the average in propriety and piety of expression; but they show, better than any characterization of mine, the spirit both of priests and people; how brutal is that of the one, how debased that of the other.

Mr. Colfax's presence in their pulpit was certainly a novelty for the Mormon audience. On the Sunday evening after Brigham Young's sermon, he repeated there, by request, his eulogy on the life and principles of President Lincoln, then a fresh theme everywhere in our broad land. The audience was swollen to five or six thousands; and, dull of comprehension and fanatically devoted to Young and his Apostles as most of them were, they could not have failed to feel that they were listening to a higher order of eloquence

and patriotism,—to nobler thoughts in nobler garb,—than those which were usually doled out to them. At least they listened with rapt attention and apparent sympathy; and it is rare that they hear so lofty and loyal sentiments from that platform. The Mormon preachers never allude to the national government but to criticise, belittle and abuse.

But of polygamy in practice? How does it operate?—what are its results?—what its prospects? Most obviously, first, there are plenty of children. The houses and yards and streets swarm with them. The Divine injunction to increase and multiply, that they may people the earth, is held in great respect by the Mormon patriarchs. They quote it often in defense to Gentile doubters, or as injunction to hesitating believers, men or women, who fear to launch away on the sea of polygamy. The care of the children is obviously not of the best; it would not be strange if many of them were not wise enough to know their own fathers; but this is not the worst form of their ignorance. There are fathers who are loyal, there are mothers who are tender, of course, even the more tender because of their own sufferings, and the church exhorts and enforces a certain degree of care and instruction; but the general life of the Mormons is simple, material and hard; there is not only little unity in polygamous families, but a good deal of discord, and the children cannot avoid suffering, not only from neglect and from the general debasement and materiality of life, but sharply and especially from the inevitable revenge that outraged nature, unelevated and undisciplined by cul-

ture, is forever certain to wreak on those nearest and even dearest to it.

Their religion is of course the great reason for polygamy; it is the excuse of the men; it is the reconciliation of the women. Many, perhaps most of both sexes really believe in it as a religious duty; but I find this part of their religion is much easier and more acceptable to the men than to the women. The former go to the sacrifice with a certain brutal joy; the latter with a hard, sad resignation. When men talk with men, as men, the truth cannot help but crop out as to such a matter as this; and the chances are two to one, that before you get through discussing polygamy with a many-wived Mormon, he will commend it, with a lustful leer, to the master-passion of the sex. But with the women, ignorant and degraded as most of them are, the universal testimony of all but their husbands is, that it is a grievous sorrow and burden; only cheerfully submitted to and embraced under a religious fanaticism and self-abnegation rare to behold, and possible only to women. They are taught to believe, and many of them really do believe, that through and by it they secure a higher and more glorious reward in the future world. "Lord Jesus has laid a heavy trial upon me," said one poor, sweet woman, "but I mean to bear it for His sake, and for the glory He will grant me in His kingdom." This is the common wail, the common solace.

In some cases the common wives live harmoniously and lovingly together; oftener, it would seem, they have separate parts of the same house, or even separate houses. The first wife is generally the recog-

nized one of general, especially of Gentile society, and frequently assumes contempt for the others, regarding them as concubines, and not wives. But it is a dreadful state of society to any one of fine feelings and true instincts; it robs married life of all its sweet sentiment and companionship; and while it degrades woman, it brutalizes man, teaching him to despise and domineer over his wives, over all women. It breeds jealousy, distrust, and tempts to infidelity; but the police system of the church and the community is so strict and constant that it is claimed and believed the latter vice is very rare. As I have said, we had little direct communication with the women of the Saints; but their testimony came to us in a hundred ways, sad, tragic, heart-rending. One woman, an educated, handsome person, as yet a single wife, said, with bated breath and almost hissing fury, to one of our party, in some aside discussion of the subject,—"Polygamy is tolerable enough for the men, but it is hell for the women." Poor creature, she has now bitterly realized in her own what she then saw in other lives, for her brute of a husband has since had "sealed" to himself, not only for eternity but for earth, two or three young and fresh girls.

The only half wives we saw intimately were two young Englishwomen, of nearly equal years; they appeared together in the parlor and in public with their husband, and dressed alike; but they had the same quiet, subdued, half-sad air that characterized all the Mormon women, young and old, that I saw in public or private. There is certainly none of that "loudness" about the Mormon ladies that an East-

ern man cannot help observing in the manners of our Western women generally. And I hardly think the difference is to be attributed to the superior refinement and culture of the sisters of the Salt Lake Basin; it rather and really is the sign and mark of their servitude, their debasement. Indeed, we have the frequent testimony of the husbands, and even of Brigham Young himself, to the irreconciliation of wives with the polygamous state. Said Young in a public sermon: "It frequently happens that women will say they are unhappy; and husbands testify that 'my wife, though a most excellent woman, has not seen a happy day since I took my second wife.'" And then he proceeded to scold them for their rebellious feelings, and to enjoin upon them the Divine duty of sweet submission!

The first generation of Mormon-born girls and boys is just now coming to maturity. Despite their education they are not very eager to embrace the Divine institution. But it is hard to escape its meshes. Some of the girls have bolted and married Gentiles; but more have been gobbled up as fresh victims for the middle-aged and old men of the church. The elders preach submission to this to the girls with sanctimonious solemnity as a Christian duty, and then make haste to take advantage of the conviction they have gained. Two unmarried Mormon young men stated the case very humanly when they said: "This polygamy would be all right, only the women, you know, 'pull hair' so like darnation!"

Polygamy introduces many curious cross-relationships, and intertwines the branches of the genealogical

tree in a manner greatly to puzzle a mathematician, as well as to disgust the decent-minded. The marrying of two or more sisters is very common; one young Mormon merchant in Salt Lake City has three sisters for his three wives. There are several cases of men marrying both mother (widow) and her daughter or daughters; taking the "old woman" for the sake of getting the young ones; but having children by all. Please to cipher out for yourselves how this mixes things. Consider, too, how these children of one father and many mothers,—the latter often blood relations,—are likely to become crossed again in new marriages, in the second or third, if not the first, generations, under the operations of this polygamous practice; and it is safe to predict that a few generations of such social practices will breed a physical, moral and mental debasement of the people most frightful to contemplate. Already, indeed, are such indications apparent, foreshadowing the sure and terrible realization.

In many cases, the Mormon wives not only support themselves and their children, but help support their husbands. Thus a clerk or other man, with similar limited income, who has yielded to the fascinations and desires of three or four women, and married them all, makes his home with number one, perhaps, and the rest live apart, each by herself, taking in sewing or washing, or engaging in other employment, to keep up her establishment and be no charge to her husband. He comes around, once in a while, to make her a visit, and then she sets out an extra table and spends all her accumulated earnings to

make him as comfortable and herself as charming as possible, so that her fraction of the dear sainted man may be multiplied as much as may be. Thus the fellow, if he is lazy and has turned his piety to the good account of getting smart wives, may really board around continually, and live in clover, at no personal expense but his own clothing. Is not this a divine institution, indeed!

Brigham Young's wives are numberless; at least no one seems to know how many he has; and he has himself confessed to forgetfulness in the matter. The probability is he has from sixteen to twenty genuine or complete wives, and about as many more women "sealed" to him for heavenly association and glory. The latter are mostly pious old ladies, eager for high seats in the Mormon heaven, and knowing no surer way to get there than to be joined on to Brigham's angelic procession. Some of these sealed wives of his are the earthly wives of other men; but, lacking faith in their husbands' heavenly glory, seek to make a sure thing of it for the future by the grace of gracious Brigham. Down East, you know, many a husband calculates on stealing into heaven under the pious petticoats of his better wife; here the thing is reversed, and women go to heaven because their husbands take them along. The Mormon religion is an excellent institution for maintaining masculine authority in the family; and the greatness of a true Mormon is measured, indeed, by the number of wives he can keep in sweet and loving and especially obedient subjugation. Such a man can have as many wives as he wants. But President Young objects

to multiplying wives for men who have not this rare domestic gift; and he finds great annoyance in being teased by men, unfit to drive double teams of women, to let them try their hands.

Brigham Young has in all some sixty or seventy children; the younger ones, as seen in his school, to which we were admitted, looked sprightly and bright and handsome; and some of his grown up daughters are comely and clever; but his older sons give no marked sign of their father's smartness. Brigham, Jr., and Joseph A. have set up as polygamists and prophets for themselves. They are big and burly fellows; Brigham has shown some business capacity, and has been a good deal of the time for years in England and New York, forwarding the emigration of the church; but the accomplishments of the other are summed up as smoking good cigars, drinking good liquors, playing poker, licking his wives, and preaching the Mormon Gospel. It cannot be said, surely, that he does not practice what he preaches.

The grand Head of the Church manages his household on strict business principles. A son-in-law acts as commissary; the wives have nothing to do with the table or its supply; and whenever they want new clothes or pocket-money, they must go to this chief of staff or head of the family bureau. He does not allow any of them to come begging or whining about him for any cause,—when he wants one, he sends for her. And the rule for children, "Speak when you are spoken to, and not otherwise," is the law of his domestic economy. Considering his opportunities, he seems to have made a rather sorry selec-

tion of women on the score of beauty. The oldest or first is a matronly-looking old lady, serene and sober; the youngest and present pet, who was obtained, they say, after much seeking, is comely but common-looking, despite the extra millinery in which she alone of the entire family indulges; while all between are very "or'nary" indeed. Handsome women and girls, in fact, are scarce among the Mormons of Salt Lake,—the fewer Gentiles can show many more of them. Why is this? Is beauty more esthetic and ascetic? Or, good-looking women being supposed to have more chances for matrimony than their plainer sisters, do they all insist upon having the whole of one man, and leave the Mormon husbands to those whose choice is like Hobson's?

The following list and description of Brigham Young's family, made up from various sources by Mr. Coffin of Boston, who visited Salt Lake City in 1868, agree substantially with the information we obtained concerning them during our earlier visit. The extract will help my readers to a personal appreciation of the fact and operation of polygamy; but it is an institution, after all, whose realities neither description nor imagination can fairly set before the mind:—

"This is the harem. A covered passage leads from the ground floor to another building East in which is the general business office of Brigham Young, and from which telegraph wires run to every hamlet in the Territory. Another passage leads to the private office of Brigham —back of which is his private bedroom, where his concubines wait upon him,—Amelia to-day, Emeline to-morrow, Lucy the day after.

"Brigham's lawfully wedded wife was Mary Ann Angell,—a native of New York,—the mother of five children,—Joseph, or "Joe" as he

is called at Salt Lake, Brigham A., John, Alice and Luna. She married the prophet while he was a young man, before he was a prophet, and with him accepted the revelations of Joseph Smith. She lives in a large stone building in the rear of the harem. Brigham does not often visit her now.

"His first concubine is Lucy Decker. She is the lawful wife of Isaac Seely, mother of two children; but Brigham could make her a queen in heaven, and so, bidding good-by to Isaac, she became first concubine, and has added eight children to the prophet's household.

"Her younger sister, Clara Decker, also aspired to be a heavenly queen, and became his second concubine, and is the mother of four children.

"The third is Harriet Cook, mother of one turbulent boy, who does pretty much as he pleases, as does the mother. When in her tantrums she does not hesitate to send Brigham to the realm of evil spirits.

"Lucy Bigelow is said to be one of the most lady-like of all the concubines. Mrs. Waite, wife of one of the United States Judges of the Territory, who saw all of the ladies of the harem, describes her as of middling stature, dark brown hair, blue eyes, aquiline nose and a pretty mouth. She is pleasant and affable.

"Miss Twiss has sandy hair, round features, blue eyes, low forehead, freckled face, but as she has no children, is not of much account in the eyes of the prophet. She looks after his clothes, sews buttons on his shirts, and acts the part of a housewife.

"Martha Bowker is another of the same sort, quiet, neat in dress, childless, and therefore of little account.

"Harriet Barney, like Lucy Decker, left her husband and three children to become a concubine that she might have exaltation in Heaven, but has not been honored in the harem, not having added any children to the household.

"Eliza Burgess is the only English woman in the harem, small of stature, black eyes, quick-tempered, but mother of several children.

"Ellen Rockwood, daughter of the jail-keeper, is another of the unfortunate women—not having had children.

"Mrs. Hampton, whose first husband died at Nauvoo, afterward married a man by the name of Cole, who left her at Nauvoo and went to California. Brigham, hearing of his departure, sent for the wife, who obeyed the summons and became a concubine, lived in the harem

eight years, then was cast out by Brigham. She now lives at Ogden City with her son, Nephi Hampton.

"Mary Bigelow is another castaway. She lived in the harem several years, but Brigham became tired of her and sent her away.

"Margaret Pierce is another who, not having added to the glory of the prophet by being a mother, is of little account, though still in the harem.

"Emeline Free, as described by Mrs. Waite, is the "light of the harem," tall, graceful, mild, violet eyes, fair hair, inclined to curl. She was a lively young lady, and Brigham fell in love with her. Her father and mother were opposed to polygamy, but Emeline had ambitious projects, accepted his proposal and became the favorite of the harem. The favor shown her brought on a row. The other concubines carried this jealousy to such a pitch that the prophet had a private passage constructed from his bed-room to Emeline's room, so that his visits to her and her's to him could be made without observation. She has contributed greatly to his glory in the future world by presenting him with eight children in this.

"The poetess of the church is Eliza Snow, said to be quite intellectual. In one of her poems published in Brigham's paper, the 'Deseret News,' she thus exalts the Mormon religion;

'We have the ancient order,
To us by prophets given:
And here we have the pattern
As things exist in heaven.'

"From which we are to understand that there are harems in heaven! So the Turk believes.

"Zina Huntington also writes poetry and acts as a sort of governess to the numerous children of the prophet. Zina came to Salt Lake with her lawfully wedded husband, Dr. Jacobs. Brigham liked her, sent the doctor on a missionary tour to England, took his wife into the harem, and became the spiritual father of her children,—made her his temporal concubine that he might also exalt her to be a queen in heaven! The doctor returned from his mission, apostatized, and went to California, where he now resides.

"Amelia Partridge has added four children to the prophet's household. She is said to be of a sweet disposition and is not jealous when the prophet turns his attentions to the other concubines.

"Mrs. Augusta Cobb was formerly a Bostonian, became converted to Mormonism eighteen years ago, left her home and accepted a position in the harem.

"Mrs. Smith, a devout Mormon, wished to be sealed to Brigham for eternity, but the prophet did not care to make her a heavenly queen. He sealed her to Joseph Smith for eternity and to himself for time.

"One 'poor unfortunate,' Clara Chase, became a maniac, and has gone to where the wicked cease from troubling.

"Amelia Folsom, a native of Portsmouth, N. H., is the mistress of the harem. She entered it on the 29th of January, 1863. She was then about nineteen and the prophet sixty-three. She has things pretty much her own way,—private box at the theater, carriage of her own, silks, satins, a piano, parlor elegantly furnished. If the prophet slights her, she pays him in his own coin."

XIII.

THE FUTURE OF THE MORMONS.

What of the Church and Polygamy?—How the Problem will be Solved—No Fit Successor for Brigham Young—The Past Neglect and Present Duty of the Government—The Division of the Territory—How the Soldiers attack Polygamy—The Order of Danite Assassins, and their Bloody Work—The Mountain Meadow Massacre—The Rebellious Morrisites and Josephites—Summing up of Observations in Utah and our Conclusions—Our Stage Driver "The Coming Man."

WHAT will become of the Mormons? Is polygamy to be fastened upon our social institutions, and are we to have a State of polygamists? If not, how is the evil to be cured? These are questions that every visitor in Utah, every student of the anomaly there so flourishing, asks of himself and of his neighbor. They seemed easier of answer in 1865 than now in 1869, for both polygamy and the power of the church that backs it have greatly increased since then; and yet I cannot but think we are nearer the solution of the problem,—not only as to time, but in means,—now than then. The whole spirit of the social life, the religion, the political government in operation there, is in such antagonism to everything American, to everything modern, that it must give way. It is Romish,

barbaric, monarchical; it crushes and degrades the individual, to uphold a system as tyrannical over persons and property as that of any Czar ever was, as supreme over the mind as that of any Pope, as enslaving to woman as that of any Sultan. The Railroad now crosses the Territory; it will soon pass up and down through it; and though the Apostles say they are not afraid of its influences, either upon the Mormon church or its "peculiar institution," and Brigham Young declares that his "must, indeed, be a —— poor religion, if it cannot stand one railroad," he and they will find out that it cannot and will not. Thousands of Gentiles will come in now, where tens came before; the railroads must have great work and supply shops at important points in the Territory; and they will bring a power of numbers and of influence, that cannot be met by the social, business or murdering persecutions, that have heretofore kept all foreign and resisting elements timid and weak.

What precise form the revolution will take,—where the wedge will be entered that shall split this rotten trunk to pieces, no one can wisely predict. The government cannot longer be so indifferent and neglectful of the situation here as it has been; it must come here with authority and power to protect citizens who are not Mormons, and will not be subservient to them, who will try titles to property with them, who will claim the right to marry their superfluous wives, who will set up rival churches and schools and papers, and all the other enginery of freedom and revolution. The work may be slow,—sapping the strength of the church by the processes of education, discussion and law, and

polygamy may fade away by degrees through the death of the old, and the absence of new disciples, —or it may come suddenly and sharply in a violent collision between the new settlers and the old, with the government taking the side of the former as the side of its long-neglected, long-outraged laws. But come it must and will. To doubt would be to question progress, to deny civilization, to outrage God.

I can discover no successor to Brigham Young. He has men of ability,—men of fanaticism and courage,—around him; able instruments for his will; but I see no "coming man" for his place; no one who can stand alone in his shoes, who can command such obedience among followers, such fear among outsiders, such serene victory over himself. Most of his wisest and ablest associates, men inspired with the traditions of the church, and inspiring the faith of its members, are all old like himself. They and he must soon die; and, if not before, then will enter in the elements of doubt and difference and disintegration, in response to the elements of change and revolution and re-creation that follow the banners of civilization and of democracy everywhere. No Mormon will admit this, perhaps; but it is truth by a diviner sight than any that he possesses. Devout as a Mussulman, devoted as a Romanist, zealous as a Methodist, there is a higher truth than he has mastered,—the truth of revolution in the interests of equality, of individuality, and of woman's independence. These are against him; these will conquer him, pray he ever so sacredly, fight he ever so valiantly. Brigham Young, Louis Napoleon, the Sultan and the

Pope are all doomed by the same law. Slavery went down under it, polygamy will follow.

But the government should no longer hold a doubtful or divided position toward this great crime of the Mormon church. Declaring clearly both its want of power and disinclination to interfere at all with the church organization as such, or with the latter's influence over its followers, assuring and guaranteeing to it all the liberty and freedom that other religious sects hold and enjoy, the government should still, as clearly and distinctly, declare, by all its action and all its representatives here, that this feature of polygamy, not properly or necessarily a part of the religion of the Mormons, is a crime by the common law of all civilization and by the statute law of the Nation, and that any cases of its extension will be prosecuted and punished as such. Now half or two-thirds the federal officers in the Territory are polygamists; and others bear no testimony against it. These should give way to men who, otherwise equally Mormons it may be, still are neither polygamists nor believers in the practice of polygamy. No employes or contractors of the government should be polygamists in theory or practice.

Here the government should take its stand, calmly, quietly, but firmly, giving its moral support and countenance, and its physical support, if necessary for fair play, to the large class of Mormons who are not polygamists, to missionaries and preachers of all other sects, who choose to come here, and erect their standards and invite followers; and to that growing public opinion, here and elsewhere, which is accumu-

lating its inexorable force, against an institution which has not inaptly been termed a twin barbarism with slavery. There is no need and no danger of physical conflict growing up; only a hot and unwise zeal and impatience on the part of the government representatives, and in the command of the troops stationed here, could precipitate that. There is a possibility still, as there was probability in 1865, that, upon such a demonstration by the government, as these pages urge, the leaders of the church would receive new light on the subject themselves,—perhaps have a fresh revelation, and abandon the objectionable feature in their polity. No matter if they did not,—it would soon, under the influences now rapidly aggregating, and thus reinforced by the government, abandon them.

In this way, all violent conflict would, I believe, be successfully avoided; and all this valuable population and its industries and wealth may be retained in place and to the Nation, without waste. Let the people continue to be Mormons, if they choose, so long as they are not polygamists. They may be ignorant and fanatical, and imposed upon and swindled even, by their church leaders; but they are industrious, thriving, and more comfortable than, on the average, they have ever been before in the homes from which they came hither; and there is no law against fanaticism and bigotry and religious charlatanry. All these evils of religious benightment are not original in Utah, and they will work out their own cure here, as they have done elsewhere in our land. We must have patience with the present, and possibly forgive-

ness for supposed crimes in the past by the leaders, because we have heretofore failed to meet the issues promptly and clearly, and have shared, by our consent and protection to their authors, in the alleged wrongs.

Though the Territory has abundant population for a State, there is and should be no disposition in Congress or the country to endow it with that organization, so long as its people continue to be so at variance with all the democratic principles of our nationality. It must be kept, at least, where the federal government can reach and govern it, so long as its local organization is such a pure religious autocracy, ruling in a manner defiant alike of the laws and constitution of the United States, and the first principles of a republican government. Not only is a free press and a free speech practically denied; not only is justice driven out of the courts; but the simplest rights of a man over his own property are outraged. When a Mormon dies, the church assumes control of his estate,—it goes practically into the common coffers, and the widows and children, however numerous, get henceforth only what the church chooses to give them. The idea of dividing the Territory up among the adjoining Territories is not practicable now; under it, the Mormons, instead of being divided and conquered, would divide and conquer; for, with their numbers and discipline, they could out-vote and out-manage three territories. The changes of population, by the opening of the Railroad and the discovery of new mines in adjoining sections of Nevada, will soon suggest the practical manner of reforming the Mor-

mons,—very likely reform them by their own operation, and without the government being more than a policeman on guard to keep the peace.

The soldiers at Camp Douglas, near Salt Lake City, were, during our visit, illustrating one of the ways in which polygamy will fade away before the popular principle. Two companies, who went home to California in the fall of 1864, took about twenty-five wives with them, recruited from the Mormon flocks. There were in 1865 some fifty or more women in the camp, who had fled thither from town for protection, or been seduced away from unhappy homes and fractional husbands; and all or nearly all found new husbands among the soldiers. Only the week we were there, a man with three daughters, living in the city, applied to Colonel George for leave to move up to the camp for a residence, in order, as he said, to save his children from polygamy, into which the bishops and elders of the church were urging them. The camp authorities tell many like stories; also of sadder applications, if possible, for relief from actual poverty and from persecution in town. The Mormons have no poor-house, and say they have no poor, permitting none by relieving all through work or gifts. But a late winter was so long and so severe, with wood at thirty and forty dollars a cord, that there was much real suffering, and the soldiers yielded to extensive demands upon their charity, that the church authorities had neglected to fulfill, or absolutely denied.

We hear less of late than in past years of the order of the "Danites," a band of secret Mormon assassins, who, under the direction of Brigham Young, put out

of the way any particularly threatening or provoking opponents of the church. But of their existence and diabolical operations there can be no doubt. In the fall of 1857 a Mormon sued Brigham Young for false imprisonment; the day before the suit came to court he was shot in his own house. In 1858, two men obtained a judgment of the court against a leading Danite, and both were shot in cold blood. About the same time, Mr. Babbitt, Secretary of the Territory, had a quarrel with Young, and was murdered. In 1866, Mr. Beanfield of Austin, Nevada, a highly respectable gentleman, had some difficulty with the Mormons, and was shot. In October, the same year, Dr. Robinson, Surgeon of the United States Army, who had taken possession of unoccupied land, was called from his house at night to visit a patient, and was shot. In August, 1867, three men,—Potter, Wilson and Walker,—who had given offense to the church, were arrested on the pretense of stealing a cow and put into jail. At midnight sixteen Avengers, disguised, broke open the jail and murdered all three. The United States Marshal arrested them, but the Mormon Sheriff permitted them to escape, without any effort to retain them; and the "Deseret News," the organ of the church, published a threatening letter to Judge Titus and backed it up by editorials, warning the Chief Justice to leave the Territory, and menacing him with death if he remained!

Some of these sharp and swift punishments for offending or resisting the Mormons have been on a larger scale. The Mountain Meadow massacre of a dozen years ago, in the southern part of the Terri-

tory, is one of the most notable cases. Its history is as follows:—One of the Mormon missionaries, Parley P. Pratt, was in Southern California preaching, and made a convert of a married woman, whose husband was absent. She left home, joined herself to Pratt, and became his concubine. The husband determined to be revenged, followed them to Salt Lake, then to Arkansas, where Pratt was preaching, and took vengeance by shooting him. Months passed on. One day a party of emigrants from the county in Arkansas in which the homicide was committed reached Salt Lake, on their way to Southern California. It was a party well to do in the world,—forty wagons and about one hundred and fifty persons. In one wagon was a piano. One emigrant, with his family, rode in a well built carriage. They purchased provisions of the Mormons and passed on, reached the green meadow among the mountains and stopped to recruit their stock before entering the desert. Several Mormon settlements were near by; some houses within sight. Suddenly they were attacked by Indians, or white men disguised as Indians. It was at daylight. The emigrants fought from behind their wagons, threw up a ditch and kept the assailants at bay. The fighting lasted a week. One morning a Mormon advanced, told them that if they would give up their arms, the Indians would not harm them. They complied with his request. Then began the massacre. All but seventeen children were killed, and the oldest of these was only six years old, —too young to give certain testimony, except that their fathers were shot down, their mothers and sisters outraged, and then had their brains beaten out

by men, who, though wearing an Indian dress, could speak the English language. A few days after the massacre, the wagons, horses, carriages, and clothing of the murdered ones, were brought to Salt Lake and sold. Ten per cent. of the proceeds went into the treasury of the church. Brigham Young bought the carriage for his own use, and the piano is now owned by one of the leading Mormons.

There have been two or three prominent apostacies from the church in the Territory during its history. The two most important were those of Joseph Morris in 1860, and of Joseph Smith, Jr., son of the original prophet, in 1863–5. Of the followers of Morris, some were killed and nearly all robbed by the Mormon leaders in Salt Lake City in 1862, under pretense of enforcing the confiscations of the church against them for their rebellious conduct; and those who held out against this assault and the continuous persecution of the church, some eighty families, moved off to Idaho Territory, and have made a settlement there. The disciples of Joseph Smith, Jr., or "Josephites," are scattered in Missouri and Iowa, number about fifteen hundred, and include several hundred who left Utah in 1864–5, under government protection, for fear of massacre by the instruments of Young. Smith is a man of sincerity and purity, but lacks the courage and the force to cope fairly with the combination under Brigham Young at Salt Lake City. His creed denounces Young and his followers as apostates from the true Mormon church, forbids polygamy, and professes loyalty to the government. The Josephites are thus reduced to a mere sect of Protestantism, as

Mormonism would be in the overthrow of polygamy and the severance of its church government from State craft.

All our experience and observation in Utah tended, however, to increase our appreciation of the value of its material progress and development to the nation; to justify congratulations to the Mormons and to the country for the wealth they have created and the order, frugality, morality and industry that have been organized in this remote spot in our Continent; to excite wonder at the perfection and power of their church system, the extent of its ramifications, the sweep of its influence; and to enlarge our respect for the personal sincerity and character of many of the leaders in the organization;—but also, on the other hand, to deepen our disgust at their polygamy, and strengthen our convictions of its barbaric and degrading influences. They have tried it and practiced it under the most favorable circumstances, perhaps under the mildest form possible; but, now as before, here as elsewhere, it tends to and means only the degradation of woman. By it and under it, she becomes simply the servant and serf, not the companion and equal of man; and the inevitable influence of this upon all society need not be depicted.

And so we could not, and cannot yet, doubt that, sooner or later, before the influences of emigration, civilization and our democratic habits, an organization so aristocratic and autocratic as the Mormon church now is must modify its rule; it must compete with other sects, and take its chance with them. And especially, that its most aristocratic and uncivilized

incident or feature of plurality of wives must fall first and completely before contact with the rest of the world,—marshalled with mails, daily papers, railroads and telegraphs,—ciphering out the fact that the men and women of the world are about equally divided, and applying to the Mormon patriarchs the democratic principle of equal and exact justice. Nothing can save this feature of Mormonism but new flight and a more complete isolation. A kingdom in the sea, entirely its own, could only perpetuate it; and thither, even, commerce and democracy would ultimately follow it. The click of the telegraph and the roll of the overland stages were its unheeded death-rattle; the whistle of the locomotive will speedily sound its requiem; and the pickax of the miner is already digging its grave. Squatter sovereignty must ere long settle the question, even if the government continues to coquette with the offense and humor the offenders, as it has done. Our bachelor stage-driver out of Salt Lake, who said he expected to have a revelation soon to take one of the extra wives of a Mormon saint, is a representative of the Coming Man. Let the Mormons look out for him!