

# THE MORMONS AND THE SILVER MINES

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BY J. BONWICK



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AND THE

## SILVER MINES.

BY

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## P R E F A C E .

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AN apology may seem to be required for writing upon so hackneyed a subject as "The Mormons." But, as in this moving age even that conservative people have varied in opinion, a record of such change and of its cause was at least desirable.

While the writer saw, in his brief visit to Salt Lake, no reason to think that the religious system of Mormonism was losing its power, he could not fail to observe the inherent weakness, and tendency to destruction, of the practice of Polygamy.

In this day of religious inquiry, when the foundations of creeds are being so severely tested, a brief sketch of Mormon belief, from an authorized text-book, may not be unwelcome to some. It is becoming to give a hearing to those who, while so far differing

from us, claim to form their opinions from the same recognized Protestant standard.

As to the home life in Utah, it will be found that Mormonism is Orientalism in the West, though without its torpor and slavery.

No apology is needed for the geological portion of this work. The increasing investment of English capital in American mines demands further intelligence respecting such metallic resources, which are necessarily connected with questions of geological science. The rapidly extending spirit of emigration asks anxiously for more light upon that supposed *Better Land* in the West.

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# MORMONS AND SILVER MINES.

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## I.

### *THE MORMON HOME.*

WHAT a glorious ride was that from Sacramento over the Sierra Nevada!

As the panting engine struggled up that height, snorting with energetic effort, it seemed to demand the sympathy of the tourist, and get a clap and a cheer on its daring race.

How glorious the landscape! how bracing the mountain air! Who would creep over a low and monotonous flat, or labour for breath in crowded streets, that could mount into Eagle-land, looking down and around upon fantastic cliffs, romantic waterfalls, virgin peaks, and virgin forests? The lofty aspirations of humanity are called forth where aiguilles pierce the blue depths of heaven, and the fleecy clouds

are sporting in the pure, bright, atmosphere about one.

It is something to see a new region, to dwell with another race, to admire fresh marvels of nature, to tread ground sacred to noble deeds; but to spring up to sierras, so beautiful, so picturesque, so diversified in charms as those of California, and do it easily and swiftly, at a dash and a roar, with a delicious sense of danger, yet reliance on human power, was a delight more exciting and exquisite than anything I felt beneath the shade of Mont Blanc or the Acropolis of Athens, than I knew when sailing through the voluptuous isles of the Pacific or the glittering icebergs off Cape Horn.

Is it strange, then, that when the jewels of the Pleiades sparkled over those Alpine peaks, I spent hours at night on the platform of the car, in spite of a thermometer several degrees below Zero?

We had no barren moors, no tame-swelling downs, no bare, harsh-outlined Scotch hills, no uniform table-mounts, but rich foliage and glorious forests at first, with rocks of every hue and form, set off by firs and snow, as we clambered higher.

Then, to pass through the *Palisades*—to rush thirty miles an hour along that tortuous canyon,

on each side overhanging mountains, from which a crag might fall with one more hasty breath—was a memory for life! Our very daring seemed to awe the heights, and all their titan force acknowledged human rule.

Descending into the Desert of the Great Basin, one's enthusiasm subsided, for a desert in the extreme cold is not inspiring.

Again the hills rose at the head of Salt Lake, and wonder was indulged at the look of that still, mysterious sea. We were in Mormon-land; and thought, if not imagination, was busy once more.

I made my acquaintance with Utah under difficulties. The earth was covered with snow. It had by no means the smiling aspect with which the Promised Land greeted the first Mormons, the one hundred and forty faithful, who were led through the waste, howling wilderness by that Moses of modern Israel, Brigham Young. They encamped beside the Jordan in July, 1847.

How great an advance has been made since then! They found a desert, but made a garden. A region of dry and desolate plains has been rendered productive by hard work and clever irrigation. Towns have arisen, trades have flourished, order has been established, and a sound foundation for future prosperity has un-



deniably been laid. It is easy to laugh at the Mormon President, and sneer at the Saints; but probably no settlement elsewhere, only twenty-five years raised from the wilderness, and owing its development to no special good fortune, as California can exhibit a fairer exterior, or a larger percentage of comfortable, sober, well-to-do people.

"Frank Leslie," the New York "Illustrated," is not partial to the polygamists, but is quite ready to acknowledge the solid good to be found among them. A writer therein says:—

"There is abundant proof that Utah has prospered under Brigham Young more than any other Territory; that there has been less crime in proportion to population by far than in the others; indeed, that Salt Lake has formed in this respect a striking contrast to many of the cities beyond the Rocky Mountains."

He then gives an illustration of the other kind. "A settler, writing from Pioche, Nevada, describes that town of 1,200 inhabitants as more than half composed of convicts, cattle-thieves, renegade Mormons, men banished from society for their crimes, and ready for anything. Of the forty-one graves in the burial-place, all had died with their boots on but two, mostly shot, but some cut. The

writer slept with a bulldog, a Henri rifle, and a six-shooter. His partners were killed, and his life twice attempted. When we contrast that calm retreat, a bare locality between two bare hills, overlooking a bare plain, the inhabitants "packing six-shooters" night and day, with the vegetation sprouting on all sides of Salt Lake City, and blooming gardens surrounding the houses, it cannot be affirmed that nothing is to be said in favour of Brigham Young: and now is the time when whatever can be said comes up for the consideration of the people of the United States."

The Mormons never dreamed that the United States would have anything to do with them again. They thought themselves well rid of persecution. They had moved from the *Stars and Stripes* to the shelter of the Mexican flag, though hundreds of miles from any place where a Mexican was living, and where there was not the remotest chance of molestation or visit. The valley of the Jordan was nominally in the Mexican province of California, though separated from the inhabited or inhabitable part by a desert and two cloud-capped ranges.

But the inevitable followed them. A quarrel between the two republics concerning the American aggressions in Texas terminated in favour of the stronger. A small bill for direct

and indirect claims was presented, with a plain intimation that it must be paid. Land nearly equal to the half of Europe was part of the spoils. California was surrendered in 1848, and the unfortunate Mormons, who had fled so far to escape the clutches of the eagle, found themselves once more within the power of those terrible talons.

Still there was the highest probability that they would not be interfered with in their retreat; so they formed themselves into the State of Deseret at the beginning of 1849, *Deseret* meaning *Bee* in the holy language of the Golden Plates. Alas! their troubles had only commenced. The Californian *gold fever* broke out with great violence at that very moment, and the Mormons discovered, to their horror, that their out-of-the-way wilderness had become the highway and house of call for thousands of reckless gold-seekers.

Gladly would they have fled again. But whither could they go? Where was there a corner unvisitable by the almost omnipresent Yankees? I wonder no revelation ever came to the church about this calamity. But, like brave men, they submitted to circumstances, and obtained definite boundaries out of California, in 1850, for their territory of Utah, containing 84,500 square miles, or nearly the area

of Great Britain. Then, though the governor and judges were appointed by the President, local administration fell into the Mormon hands.

General Taylor was for turning them out of Utah. And this prejudice was before the era of polygamy, and not owing to that peculiar institution. But President Fillmore stood their friend against this man of war. Once when Brigham Young was exclaiming against the general's conduct, and adding, "He is now rotting in hell for it," a judge took him severely to task for his uncharitable way of speaking of the dead. Young, who had no personal esteem for the functionary, replied, "You'll see him there one day, and believe it then."

To raise funds with which to carry on the government, the Mormon Territorial Legislature established a curious system of licences.

Bankers with capital under 100,000 dollars paid 100 dollars a year; over 100,000, but under 300,000, they paid 500. Merchants paid no more than 500 dollars when their capital was 500,000 dollars, though they were arranged in twenty descending classes. Hotel keepers were of five classes, varying from 25 dollars to 100 dollars; those having restaurants were rated from 40 dollars to 75 dollars; and, having

billiard tables, up to nearly 1,000 dollars a year. Land agents paid 25 dollars, the same as dentists, surgeons, bill posters, and assayers. A theatre was rented at 200 dollars, and a shoeblack was let off for 2 dollars.

As to punishments for crimes, murder was visited with death; rape, with ten years' or more imprisonment; seduction, twenty years and a heavy fine; adultery, two to twenty years and a fine, though only the husband or wife could prosecute. The keeper of a brothel was subjected to imprisonment and a fine of 500 dollars; and the holder of a gaming table to one year and a fine of 800 dollars. If a husband died intestate, it was ruled that his wife succeed to the estate; but it was to be equally divided among the children at her death.

Salt Lake City has been so often described that a short notice may be sufficient in this volume.

The streets are two chains, or 132 feet, wide. The city is divided into blocks of an acre and a quarter in each. The houses are, except in the principal street, standing in well-kept gardens or orchards. The main street has some really fine stores and public offices. The City Hall is a handsome building, fit for a flourishing municipality of far more than five-and-twenty thousand inhabitants. The theatre is of an

imposing style of architecture, and the performances are said to be conducted upon a system of propriety which Macready and others strove so unsuccessfully to introduce in London. ' All the pieces, however, have to receive the approval of the heads of the church, and the character of the actors has to be considered.

The post office is convenient to the business quarter, although I observed the telegraph office established in a chemist's shop. A view of the city from the *Bench*, or raised place, is always admired by strangers. The worthy elder who kindly drove me round in his buggy gave me, from that elevated station, a capital description of the neighbourhood. Fort Douglas, at the foot of the Wahsatch hills, overlooks the city, and could easily, if required, quiet any attempt at Mormon rebellion.

Lecture halls, schoolrooms, public libraries, churches for sinners as well as saints, and the interesting museum, lie before the visitor at the *Bench*. But the sight of all is the sacred region devoted to the Prophet and the Church. This is enclosed in a strong wall of cobble stones and adobe, or sunburnt bricks, though the latter is commonly called *dobie* for shortness. The word *adobe*, though now Spanish, was originally Arabic. Most of the houses are constructed of these large rude-looking bricks.

Unless they wear down by the weather, or are washed away by heavy rains, they look decent, and are cheaply run up.

The Prophet's houses are known by the sculptured figures on their tops. One is called the Bee House, the other the Lion House. Within the ten-acre enclosure, also, are the Bowery, the Tabernacle, and the Temple foundations. The Bowery, a shed-like edifice, was the first church of the Mormons. It will hold three thousand persons, and is still generally used during the winter season.

The Tabernacle, erected for the enlarged border of Zion, is a very remarkable building. Its dome-like roof attracts the eye of the approaching visitor, like St. Peter's of Rome from the Campagna. This is certainly one of the largest buildings in the world with a single-span roof, and not a column of any sort to support it. The mode of construction is peculiar, and evidences the talent among these supposed ignorant Mormons. One was careful to tell me that Brigham Young had seen revelations, which did away with the necessity of sending for Gentile architects, as Solomon had to do.

Nearly fifty pillars of red sandstone—so called—are set around to form the main part of the side, and to uphold this elongated dome of interlaced timbers. The elliptical boundary is

not of a very solid character, as from one pillar to another the space was sometimes filled up by a huge doorway. I was told that this was a means of easy exit for the congregation, 14,500 of whom could be seated. The windows were in the upper part of the side wall. There was no pretension to beauty or even ornament.

Observing some holes in the roof, I was informed that these were for two purposes ; they afforded ventilation to the space beneath, and they were the means by which persons could ascend for the repair or cleansing of the roof. The room, or hall, although 250 feet long by 150 broad, was only 62 feet high, and had a squatty look about it. "It was made for use and not for show," was the exclamation of my guide, an intelligent and manly-looking Englishman, officiating as porter to this House of God. To show the acoustic properties of the building, he went to one end and I to the other, and words of an ordinary pitch were most distinctly heard.

Facing the east of the tabernacle is the rostrum, or platform, for the great ones of the church. There were seats for the priests, the bishops, the seventies, and apostles. High above all was the raised chair of the President, and by no means so grand as the episcopal throne in a cathedral. Beside it, but on a



slightly lower level, were the seats of his two counsellors.

Behind this platform rose the really magnificent organ. I was gratified at the sight of the ingenious builder, a Mormon, of course, but an Englishman. It was the largest organ built in the United States, Mr. Beecher's grand instrument in Brooklyn church having been brought from Europe. "That, sir," said my guide, "is Mormon work. The designer and workmen were Mormons, and the material came from Mormon land." A description of the instrument may interest musical readers.

The pipes are 2,000 in number. In the great organ the stops and pipes are, principal, fifteenth, open diapason, stopped diapason, mixture-three-ranks, flute harmonic, hold flute, flute *à cheminée*, dulciana, twelfth, trumpet, bourdon. The swell organ has claribella, principal, clariflute, stopped flute, cremorne, hautboy, open diapason, stopped diapason, mixture-two-ranks, bassoon, bourdon, piccolo. The pedal organ has open bass, sixteen feet; dulc bass, sixteen feet; principal bass, eight feet; stopped bass, sixteen feet; great open bass, thirty-two feet. The mechanical stops are great and small, pedal and great, pedal and swell, tremblant, bellows, signal.

The guide showed me the plan of the Temple,

and described it to me. The elevation is not so very imposing, though its style is unlike any other; that is to be expected, as the scheme was unfolded to Brigham Young by vision. The sketch, however, did not show that which will be by far the most important and interesting portion—the ornaments. These will not be fanciful cathedral forms, demons and angels, supplemented by heads of kings, queens, prelates, and popes; but they will be eminently symbolic of divine truths. Such allegorical and mystical devices will give the building a great charm to those who are interested as to the meaning thereof. It has been truly said, that if our enthusiastic lovers of ancient art knew the real meaning of the pagan symbols which they have allowed on priests' dresses and in their churches, and for which they profess such reverence, they would regard them with horror and disgust. But as Brigham Young has, according to theory, received higher illumination, he is not likely to introduce symbols which may convey an unhallowed meaning to the scholar.

All that I was privileged to see were the foundations of the edifice. As these have remained in *statu quo* for a number of years, a dozen or more, I inquired, rather innocently, for what they were waiting. Two reasons were given. It was said that the men could not

work the stone in winter. That was right enough, but it did not explain why they had not worked in the many summers before. The second excuse was that they were waiting for the southern extension of their railway system, when the stone could be more easily brought down.

But one might speculate upon other reasons for this delay.

The granite came from the Cottonwood canyon of the Wahsatch, some fifteen miles south-eastward. Huge blocks, lying about on the surface, have been broken up to furnish the materials. Have the Mormons discovered, what a geologist has asserted, that this *granite* is a sham and a delusion? If it be, as declared, only an altered conglomerate rock, instead of the regal, crystalline, heaven-formed granite, would it do to use in the construction of this monument of Mormon glory? The very foundations already laid seem to me but feet of iron and clay, the latter predominating. One can respect honest granite like that of the Egyptian temples, but how can one reverence a stuff which had once rolled its particles in dirty waters, and then by some after-effect assumed the appearance of the genuine article? Is not the delay also a standing exhibition before prying Gentiles that Mormon doubts

are struggling with Mormon faith? "They won't go on with that temple," said a fellow, "because the rascals know they'll have to skedaddle soon."

May there not be another reason in the minds of the leaders—the repository of the secrets of the Church?

Like all other millenarians in all ages, but especially at present, the Mormons are expecting the *Second Advent* very shortly. May not the leaders believe that the reign of the Saints is to begin in their lifetime? If so, is it not reasonable that they would prefer to have a hand in the erection of the Temple in the real new Jerusalem? May they not be collecting resources for this very scheme? As the Throne is to be established in Jackson county, Missouri, (what a name for the new Jerusalem!) would they not retrace their steps eastward to build this monument of their own and Another's glory? The "Standard of the Church" has the following question and answer:

"Where will the new Jerusalem be commenced?"

"In Jackson county, Missouri, where the Temple, the site of which was dedicated in 1831, will be eventually built."

To others may be relegated the duty of

erecting the Temple at Salt Lake city, according to the Prophet's plan. In this it is seen that the building will not be large; the length is put at 186½ feet from east to west, and from north to south 99. When I expressed my surprise, the guide answered that Solomon's temple was much smaller, and that a temple was not a tabernacle in which the multitude were to worship. It was rather for esoteric than exoteric purposes, a place for the performance of higher and secret rites.

The foundations are strong enough for a good house, and the walls will be eight feet thick. The basement is to have a room, 57 by 35, for baptisms of believers. Rooms on each side, each 19 by 12, would be for attiring purposes. On the second story is to be an arched room, 120 by 80, with several other smaller halls. A third story would have a division of apartments. A temple of three storeys would be certainly unique. It would have quite a homely, business look about it, suitable for a church combining so much common sense and materialism with their visions and dreams.

Three towers are to be raised at each end of the temple, and two central ones are to be 225 feet high. Though reputed by the uninitiated to be only for ornament, or to afford a fine view,

it may be supposed that the designer had an ulterior idea in setting them forth.

My worthy guide took the trouble to give me a lesson on Mormon faith when we were within the tabernacle.

"What do you want with the twelve apostles?" I asked.

"Could there be a true Christian church not built upon the apostles and prophets, with Jesus Christ as the corner-stone?" was his interrogative form of reply. He then went on to say that as Christ was with His church, so must there be always apostle witnesses. In this His church proved itself to be the genuine one.

The gentleman had rather a mean idea of some outside of his communion; but that is a common one with all infallibility-mongers. He spoke of others as "so-called Christians," and considered that, after all, we were but Pagan Christians, and not Bible ones.

"You Protestants," said he, "vaunt a good deal of your respect for the Bible, but you always keep the bounds the heads of your denominations have set you. If one went off the track on his own account, he would be an infidel directly in the eyes of his church, while his church would be reputed infidel in the eyes of other churches."

He strongly emphasized his opinion—com-

mon to all infallibilists—that the result of inquiry upon the basis of private judgment on the Scriptures must be scepticism. I could not but admit to him that the claim of his church for being the most faithful representative of primitive Christianity had some force in it. There was the democratic freedom of speech in the assembly, as well as the dependence of the speaker upon the Spirit's guidance. The rites were simple, and primitively performed. The officers were duly appointed. There was, too, the semblance of unity without the degradation of the individual member.

My visit to the museum was particularly interesting to me. There was much there to please saints and sinners, to instruct as well as amuse. It was a private speculation, though under the sanction of the church. I gained full value for the entrance fee.

There was a great deal to interest young Mormons. The worthy old gentleman presiding over the institution had got together, in that out-of-the-way place, a remarkable collection of animals, the keep of which must be burdensome. The enthusiastic showman was very demonstrative in seeking praise for one camel especially. Regent's Park could not show a finer specimen. Utah beasts and birds were there in great force. With some of the

former, in their wild haunts, I should not like to make personal acquaintance.

There were lots of curiosities besides ; such as minerals, Indian dresses, Egyptian and Hindoo curiosities, American antiquities, a copy of the Boston "News-Letter" of 1704, etc. But I was most interested in Mormon exponents, and in the exhibition of products of Mormon industry.

It is quite touching to see these memorials of their past history and sufferings. The hardships of their early settlement are brought to remembrance by some articles in the museum. There is the root from which the first soap was made by the home manufacturers. There is the brush fibre. Selenite plates are there, to show what was used for glass. Food might easily be raised, but clothes were a real difficulty with these poor creatures, shut up in their Arabia Petræa wilderness. Among the articles used for clothing were some ingenious contrivances from the raw material. There was actually a garment made out of dog's hair. The lady who executed this difficult work is now the wife of one of the bishops. The ordinary cloth was spun from the fibres of the American *paper mulberry*.

A collection of the vegetable and mineral



products of the territory of Utah impressed me. I was surprised to find that not only grapes, figs, and peaches flourished well in South Utah, but that rice and cotton were grown. The Mormons, as agriculturists, have taken more than one idea from their Chinese acquaintance. A little water is made to go a long way by irrigation.

The patriotism of the Mormon youth is duly appealed to in this museum, and their faith is equally excited. The history of their persecutions, and of their wonderful journey across that terrible wilderness, when they were driven forth by the cruelty of the rough western Egyptians, may be read in the museum. There, too, is preserved the sword of Joseph Smith, and a part of the celebrated baptismal font of Nauvoo, that stood upon twelve sculptural oxen. Observing a pistol, I inquired its history. It was the weapon given by the Sheriff, in order that Joseph Smith might defend himself against those human wolves that roared around the little prison of Carthage. It was a confession of the weakness of American law to protect a prisoner from a murderous mob. The Sheriff had no adequate force to resist the men of blood who broke down the door, and made a martyr of the Mormon chief.

It is, doubtless, pretty well known that the church, to a certain extent, has adopted Moravian principles, having business places for collective benefit. Over such "Co-operative Zion's Mercantile Associations" is inscribed "Holiness to the Lord," and the painted representation of an eye indicates the watchful glance of Deity over the traffic. This is, of course, an occasion of mirth to Gentiles. It is a question, however, whether the recognized honesty of the Mormons, and their singular repudiation of the bankruptcy court, may not have something to do with this recognition of God in the daily business of life. The English Puritans, no very contemptible race, had a similar fashion.

The streets were extremely quiet, excepting the main business road, where a thriving trade was being done. One shop was pointed out to me that turned over from eighty to a hundred thousand dollars a month. The Gentiles were then pretty plentiful in the thoroughfare. Waggon and fiery little mustangs were bringing down miners for their winter's spell. Money was flying about freely, especially at the bars of newly opened Gentile *palaces*. As to the streets themselves, they were in the most profound state of mud. Expressing my wonder how ladies could venture out into such

a sea of sludge, I was told that when the snow hardened it would be all right, and that very soon the municipality would be able to overtake the circumstances into which unwonted prosperity had thrown them. In spite of the mud of the road, however, streams of sparkling water rattled along the cobble-stone channels each side of the street, while the bordering trees must give a grateful shade in summer.

Other Mormon towns are rising into importance. The second in rank is Ogden, some forty odd miles north of the Salt Lake City, and on the main line of Pacific rail. It contains five or six thousand people, and was *raised* in 1850, on an affluent of the Weber, running into Salt Lake.

I do not remember ever suffering more from the cold than on the day I spent at Ogden, while waiting for the snow to be removed from the line. There was, however, some comfort in walking, as the mud was frozen. The place had nothing like the villa-garden aspect of the parent city, but partook more of the character of an Australian diggings township. The shanties—all of wood—were small and mean. The stores had clearly no want of business, though the hotels seemed uncommonly well supported; but there was a great traffic with the northern mines, and many travellers were

weatherbound. The Gentiles were heavy in complaints of the saints devoting territorial returns to their missionary enterprises, instead of making decent roads. But the saints might reply, that the western Americans were so accustomed to unmade streets and corduroy plank causeways elsewhere, as to be able to put up with no worse in Utah. Everywhere, for a couple of thousand miles on the route, did I witness the same thing,—great commercial activity, and even splendid buildings, with streets in primitive mud condition. Of course ladies wear top-boots for the occasion.

The Ogden people are planted upon a vast deposit of sand, loam, and cobble-stones, and have some excuse for bad roads. They have splendid farms in the locality, between the Salt Lake and the mountains northward. But many are employed *shipping* stores of all kinds to the mines. Of the established population, not above one-twelfth are said to be Gentiles. A careful, sober, and industrious race, the Ogdenites have neither time nor tastes to devote themselves to any other pursuits but hard work and Mormonism.

I visited the principal tabernacle there. It was of *adobe* structure, like the rest of the buildings, but exhibited strong symptoms of premature decay. That severe climate had

made some ugly cracks in the walls, quite dangerous to nervous worshippers. The interior was as rude as the exterior, and nearly as dilapidated. The Mormons are not æsthetic, if imaginative; and not superstitious, if credulous; but they might keep their school-houses and churches in a more presentable state. The walls of the Ogden tabernacle were not attractive inside. The wooden benches, also, suggested a plain and simple people. Singing books were lying about, and in the pulpit I saw the book of Mormon; though the prominent position was given to a large Bible.

At Ogden I formed the acquaintance of a member of the police force, on duty at the station. The uniform consisted in the letter P, with a star on the breast. He showed patience and tact in dealing with a large number of *roughs* waiting for the train to move on, who beguiled the time drinking, spitting, gambling, swearing, and tall talking. There was a great deal of humour with the blasphemy of these miners, drovers, and rovers. On the gold-fields of Victoria, at the Great Rush, when we had a queer gathering from all quarters, I did hear some oaths; but for volume, combination, and ingenious use of oaths, there could be nothing to approach that Gentile assemblage

at Utah. My police friend called my attention to this and other exponents of character, as an illustration of the effect of the bad teaching of so-called Christians.

Mr. *P. Star* enlightened me upon Mormon doctrine. He spoke with much earnestness, and, for a plain man, with a considerable knowledge of his subject. He was thoroughly up in the Scripture; but then he was brought up a Calvinistic Methodist in Wales. I was certainly impressed with his thorough sincerity. Our conversation extended over a couple of hours. He went all over the Mormon ground. He had, with the entire approval of *number one*, added a second wife to his domestic establishment, and assured me that both were godly women, happy with each other, and a great comfort to him. I told him that a London policeman had not pay enough to keep a couple of families. He pitied his brother officer, and was thankful for his own superior mercies.

When the train was about to move off, the worthy man came to shake hands with me, and fervently implored Heaven's blessing on my behalf. In my many rambles, I have met with few strangers for whom I have entertained more respect than for the Welsh policeman of Mormon Utah.

The railway from Ogden to Salt Lake City was entirely constructed by the Mormons, being, perhaps, the first undertaking of the kind executed with capital raised in the locality alone, and paid for as the work went on.

Brigham Young has no belief in debts, private or public. When cash comes in, and not before, he will extend the line southward to Fillmore, the territorial capital, one hundred and fifty miles, and to Cedar city, two hundred and fifty miles to the south. The latter place will become of great importance some day, when communication is opened up by the great line on lat. 35°, as the country around has coal, iron, water, and good soil. The capital is in the centre of Utah, though, as in most capitals of the American states and territories, it is only of legislative interest.

The railway system, though commenced by England, has been wonderfully developed in the States. Not less than seven thousand miles of line were made last year. By the "Homestead Law" of 1860 a grant of one hundred and sixty acres is made to every one, woman or man, willing to settle down as cultivators; this necessitates an iron road to open up the country, and bring down produce.

The Saints did not adopt the policy of Rome, and oppose improvements. As soon as money

enabled them, they constructed their branch from Ogden to Salt Lake City. And a well-managed line it is. No encouragement is given to *Bogus* ticket sellers. Any one unprovided with the right pass from the company has to pay fifty cents in addition to the regular fare. All classes travel together in common. We did not move on rapidly, but comfortably. There was one very merciful deliverance. Instead of screeching in the horribly frantic style of English lines, our engine gave forth a pretty musical note of warning. The American style of railway travelling is a great advance upon ours in many respects, but pre-eminently in the warning cry or signalling. They are a fast race over there, but pre-eminently a luxurious one. They believe in *greased lightning*, but seek to manufacture pleasure in musical thundering. And why not? Our screech need not be of a nature to arouse sleepers, and trouble the pain-tossed ones within a radius of miles, when another note would do as much service, and soothe instead of alarming. Instead of screaming when passing through a station or other places of danger, a bell attached to the engine is rung by the stoker. The tone of our bell, as we crossed streets on our approach to the Salt Lake City station, was



more melodious than an alpine horn. The effect of this upon the comfort of nervous travellers can be understood. A vessel of water, and another accommodation, provided in each long carriage, might be mentioned as additional advantages.

The passengers who belonged to the territory were easily to be distinguished from the rest. They were so quiet and subdued in aspect, they were so plainly though comfortably clad, and chatted together as cozily as English villagers. In one respect the Utah cars differed from all others I saw in America; they had quite an English stock of children on board. It is so sad to travel hundreds of miles in succession and not see a child among a gathering of fifty persons.

How different everything in Utah seemed to me after just coming from San Francisco! It was shadow to the other's brightness, and torpor to its vivacity. The city that rests on the shore laved by the warm waters of the bay is full of life and laughter. It is the land of the sun, as it knows nothing of snow and frost, while its gardens in December are smiling with flowers. The people are the keenest in business, as also the keenest in pleasures. Colours are gay as the heavens are gay. One might doubt if ever sorrow or

death invaded this Pompeii of the west. It is the mart of progressive commerce, the workshop of manufacture, the storehouse of silver and gold. Its ships visit every clime, its cellars are bursting with new wine, its mint gathers untold treasures, its stores are laden with grain and fruit, and nature has blessed it with glorious landscapes, and a climate ever bright and fair. Who would not be gay in the Golden City?

The streets are so different from those of Salt Lake. They cannot be praised for macadam and asphalte, though planking is preferable to unfathomable mud. But the shops are after the Palais Royal type, so tasteful is their display. Houses are not sombre-looking *dobie* walls of unattractive stupidity, but of wood in every possible fanciful style of architecture, set off by painters and sculptors. Instead of prosaic cabbages and apple trees, as around the homesteads of Mormons, the gardens have the luxuriance of a Cashmere valley, and the flowery gems of a Damascus itself.

The Paris of the Pacific has no need of homes, as its inhabitants are butterflies and humming-birds at eve, if bees in the day. And there is no want of theatres, concert-rooms, cafés, billiard-tables, dancing-saloons, public

gardens, and other delights, to draw them together, and sport away the hours. Mormons may dwell upon the mysteries of the Invisible, and delight in communicating with the Unseen; but for these, it is the present, the tangible, the flesh, that engross thought and time. What boots it what may happen in the future! A simple *to-morrow* is far enough ahead for their calculations, and a *yesterday* is already forgotten, for have they not a *to-day*?

What towering mansions for hotels! Who that could lounge in luxury in such magnificent rooms, and partake of a thousand delicacies at tables of exquisite taste, would submit to the dull routine, hard fare, bad cooking, cramped quarters, lonely sulkiness, conjugal weariness, of an ordinary so-called home? Have not the ladies their boudoirs for pretty scandal there, and gentlemen delightful retreats for ivory balls and choice drinks? Can they not sally thence to even gayer scenes and more crowded halls of fashionable splendour?

What a humdrum life those dull, plodding Mormons live compared to that of the sprightly, mirthful San Francisco folk! The latter, 'tis true, are spending their money, spoiling their beauty, destroying their health, shortening their days, and forgetting their God.

Montgomery, Kearney, Bush, Suttor, Wash-

ington, and Market streets would shine in any capital of Europe. Approaching Jackson Street, one falls into Mongolian company; and near to Barbary coast the degraded and fallen have their beat. The Hotels Grande, Occidental, Cosmopolitan, and Lick House may only be mated at Charing Cross and the Boulevards. The Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Jewish Synagogue, and other of the seventy places of worship, exhibit the luxury of the people not less than the hotels and cafés.

And yet this city of wealth and splendour has but a population of 180,000. A third the size of Manchester, it is far more demonstrative of business, grandeur, and delight. Their manufactures are wonderful. They already talk of covering Asia and Australia with machinery, and establishing California as the wine depôt of the world. Midway between Europe and eastern America on the one side, with China, India, and Australia on the other, they speak confidently of the Golden Gate closing upon the trade of the earth.

The city men are wise in their generation. They are not so lost to self-indulgence, great as that is, as to be indifferent to progress. They live half a dozen lives in one. They enjoy more, and they work more, than others. They have a protective tariff to develop their home

manufactures, but they reduce dock and harbour dues to court the ships of the stranger. With a state population of 550,000, they export sixty million dollars a year! Their mint has received 360,000,000 dollars. Their City Savings Bank holds 40,000,000 dollars. The city tax is three millions, upon an assessment roll of one hundred millions. They mean to grasp the trade of China, and be at once the Venice of commerce, the Lombardy of loans, the Ophir of mines.

The intellectual and moral exponents are so different from those of Utah. Schools abound, public libraries flourish, and a noble university is sustained. Charlatanism is favoured among such lovers of novelty. I saw a notice of a phrenological doctor of surpassing skill. Only pay your dollar, and you will learn the whole secrets of your being, the destiny of your future, and all the various diseases to which you are exposed; for, it is declared, "especially does the form of the head indicate the strength of the uterine and reproductive system. The head is also an index of the natural strength of the lungs, heart, stomach, liver, kidneys, spleen, back, and vertebra, and it determines the power of the system in warding off and overcoming diseases of all kinds."

A wonderful place is San Francisco for Sun-

day pleasure; but then it is so full of Germans, who are not given to church-going, preferring beer, tobacco, and singing. Sunday evening appeared to me wholly given up to theatrical and music-hall performances, dancing and gambling saloons, beer gardens, and drinking companies. Paris, and even Geneva, would be more devout, in spite of the seventy churches.

Salt Lake City has, on the contrary, the slowness, the order, the quiet respectability of an English county town, though without the neighbourhood of wealthy families and fine estates.

In dealing with the peculiarities of the Mormons, it is proposed to inquire into the question of their religious tenets, to regard their institution of polygamy, as well as to trace circumstances influencing their present position and their future history.

## II.

*RELIGION OF THE MORMONS.*

HAVING purchased a "Catechism for Children" in Utah, I proceed to give a digest of the doctrines therein contained. The book is published by authority, and sold at the Church Dépôt.

After giving his name, the child is asked how he came by it.

*Ans.* "By my father and mother; and it was confirmed upon me when I was blessed by the Elders of the Church."

He is then asked, When blessed? Where? By whom? When baptized—if baptized? By whom? etc.

The confirmation is by the laying on of hands. In reply to the inquiry as to the punishment of disobedience to parents, the catechism says, "A short life, with the constant displeasure and curse of God, and misery in the world to come."

Then comes the all-important question, how to know that there is a God.

*Ans.* "In three ways: first, by tradition; second, by reason; third, by revelation."

*Question.* "How do they learn by revelation?"

*Ans.* "God reveals Himself to reason; or He sends to them angels, who have greater power, knowledge, and glory than man; or He speaks to them by His own voice from the heavens; or He gives them dreams and visions."

"Are there more Gods than one?"

"Yes, many. 1 Cor. viii. 5."

"Must we worship more than one God?"

"No."

"Is Jesus Christ called God?"

"Yes, frequently. John i. 1, 14; 1 Tim. iii. 16; 'Book of Mormon,' Mosiah viii. 5."

"Is the Holy Ghost called God?"

"It is called the Spirit of God, and is one with God. 1 Cor. ii. 11; 1 John v. 7, etc."

"How can the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be one?"

"They are one in character and attributes, but not in substance."

"What kind of a being is God?"

"He is in the form of a man."

"How do you learn this?"

"Gen. i. 26, 27: And Jesus Christ was in the form of man, and was at the same time in the image of God's person."

"How can God be like man?"



“Man has a spirit, though clothed with a body, and God is similarly constituted.”

“Has God a body, then?”

“Yes, like unto a man’s body in figure. Gen. xxxii. 24, 28, 30; Ex. xxiv. 9, 10, 11.”

“If God is a person, how can He be everywhere present?”

“His person cannot be in more than one place at one time, but is everywhere present by His Holy Spirit. Ps. cxxxix.”

Proofs are given of the correctness of this teaching; such as, God talking with Abraham “as one man with another;” Moses and the seventy, “and they saw the God of Israel.” The “Book of Mormon” is cited; of Jared it is said, “Behold the Lord showed Himself unto him.”

In the Book of Nephi it is recorded: “He saw one descending out of the midst of heaven, and he beheld that His lustre was above that of the sun at noonday.” God is said to have revealed Jesus Christ to a great multitude of the Nephites.

Joseph Smith was favoured with a similar interview: “One of them spake unto me, calling me by name, and said, pointing to the other, “This is my blessed Son, hear Him!”

It is then added: “Numerous revelations have been given in these days, many of which

are published in the 'Book of Doctrines and Covenants.' "

The materiality of the Deity, and His localization, may appear gross ideas to be maintained at the present day. When I attempted to expostulate with a bishop upon this materialism, I was quietly asked if I, like the rest of Protestants, refused to be guided by the Word of God.

Joseph Smith spoke plainly enough upon the materiality of God. Thus he says, "If the veil was rent to-day, and the great God, who holds this world in its orbit, and upholds all things by His power, if you were to see His body, you would see Him in all the person, image, and very form as a man."

Brigham Young declared at the conference of 1859: "God, the father of our spirits, was *once a man* like any one of us, but He is now an exalted being."

Lorenzo Snow, a Mormon apostle, ventures to assert, "God is the most egotistical of all existing beings."

Orson Pratt, the philosopher of the Church, expresses himself as boldly, though in choicer terms; saying, "The substance of which He is composed is wholly material. It is a substance widely different, in some respects, from the various substances with which we are more im-

mediately acquainted. In other respects it is precisely like all other materials. The substance of His person occupies space the same as other matter. It requires time for Him to transport Himself from place to place."

Elsewhere he says :

"God is a spirit; but that does not make Him an immaterial being. The adversaries of materialism assert that God is an immaterial, indivisible substance, of which the centre is everywhere, and the substance nowhere. But the indivisibility of a substance implies impenetrability, or the incapacity of two substances to occupy the same space at the same time. Now, if an indivisible substance exists everywhere, as it cannot be penetrated, it will absolutely exclude the existence of all other substances. A substance indivisible, immaterial, is perfectly absurd. You teach that the Divinity consists of three persons of one and the same substance, and that each of these persons must be everywhere present. Very good ! But although everywhere present, each of these persons must be of infinite extension ; or, at all events, capable of occupying two or more places at the same time. If a substance have infinite extension, it ceases to be a figure, for person implies limits of extension, which are called figure."

There is, however, more than bigotry in his affirmation that "Immaterialists are Atheists." As God has existed always, and is material, he must suppose, with the ancient philosophers, that matter is eternal. He thus further reasons :

"We conceive the sublime and glorious personages of Deity Himself to consist of a certain number of the most superior and most intelligent particles of the universe, existing in a state of union; which union, if not eternal, must have been the result of the eternal and anterior powers of each individual particle. An unintelligent particle is incapable of understanding or obeying a law, while an intelligent particle is capable of both understanding and obedience. It would be entirely useless for an intelligent cause to give laws to unintelligent matter, for such matter would never become conscious of such laws, and, therefore, would be totally incapable of obedience."

The Shakers of America teach the duality of the Supreme, and that He is both male and female. This was the opinion of Hesiod and other Greek poets. The Shakers admit that Moses thought God appeared, when it was only an angel. To them He is the Eternal Father and Mother.

It is somewhat singular that while the Mor-

mons have reproduced, in their anxiety to observe the letter of the Law, the old anthropomorphic ideas of the Godhead, another people, the Christadelphians, have broached the same ideas, and from the same asserted reverence for Scripture truth.

The originator of this rapidly extending sect was an American,—Dr. Thomas, recently deceased. He was esteemed by the Rev. Dr. Cumming as a learned expositor of the Book of the Revelation, having similar views with himself upon the Second Coming.

Dr. Thomas read the Bible for his opinions upon Deity, he said, and went not to philosophers for information. Thence he drew his notion of the materiality of God, and His fixed locality in the heavens. He does not, however, read *Elohim* in Genesis and Exodus as standing for the Most High. He regards these as high Intelligences, to whom the creation of the world was entrusted, and who appeared to man at various times. He and the Mormons have not stated, however, that the word *Elohim*, or gods, is used in the Bible for the images of Laban, the strange gods of Exodus (chap. xii.), the false gods, Dagon, and even for Chemosh and Melcom.

An opponent of the leader of the Christadelphian movement has this reflection upon

the Divinity of that body: "He is possessed of a certain order of gross power, but evidently does not know how to rule the creatures He has formed." Then he adds, alluding to another dogma of the sect: "The only thing He can do with nine hundred and ninety-nine out of one thousand of them is to put them out of existence."

The Mormons have puzzled themselves as to the particular locality in which God resides. Some persons are disposed to think He may dwell in the Pleiades, and other metaphysicians conclude that there is a gigantic sun round which the universe revolves, and wherein the Creator may be found.

The Christadelphians, like the Mormons, have no faith in the Trinity of the orthodox. They speak of the Holy Spirit as "an effluence from the Father's person and presence, and filling universal space." One of their chief writers thinks it a sort of electricity.

As to Jesus, both they and the Mormons esteem Him the chosen Son of God, rewarded for His service by being literally placed on the right hand of the Father, where He remains till His second coming upon earth. They quote with approval these words: "That same Jesus He (God) hath made Lord and Christ." According, therefore, to Mr. Roberts, the pre-

sent head of the Brethren of Christ, "There is but one God—the Father."

We return to the catechism. After questions upon the attributes of Deity, another knotty subject is introduced.

*Question* : "Did the spirits of all men exist, then, before they took bodies upon the earth?"

*Ans* : "Yes, they existed in the spirit world. Jer. i. 4, 5; John vi. 62."

"For what purpose are the spirits of men sent to take bodies upon the earth?"

"That they may be educated, developed, and perfected, that they may enjoy a fullness of knowledge, glory, and power for ever, and thus ensure the dominion and glory of God."

"How many states of existence do intelligent beings, who become gods, experience?"

"Three grand states."

"What is the first state of existence?"

"Intelligences are begotten spirits—sons and daughters to God, in the spirit world, the spirits being in the form of man's natural body."

"What is the second state of existence?"

"The spirits are sent to dwell upon some world, and to take upon themselves mortal bodies, and become more fully acquainted with the nature of good and evil, joy and sorrow, that their perception of pleasure and happiness may be perfected, and they thereby be enabled

to appreciate and enjoy a fulness of bliss throughout eternity.”

“What is the third state of existence?”

“After having laid down their mortal bodies, through corruption and death, the spirits receive bodies not subject to death, and those spirits who have been faithful to their Father in Heaven, during their first and second estates, are exalted as kings and priests, and they receive power, dominion, honor, and glory, similar to what God possesses, in celestial worlds, for ever and ever.”

“Have spirits, when in the spirit world, any understanding of the experience through which they must pass before their arrival at perfection.”

“Yes, they have a general idea of it.” \*

“Repeat the passage.”

“Now the Lord had shown unto me, Abraham, the intelligencies that were organized before the world was; and among all these, there were many of the noble and great ones; and God saw these souls, that they were good, and He stood in the midst of them, and He said, ‘These will I make my rulers;’ for He stood among those that were spirits, and He saw that they were good; and He said unto me,

\* “Pearl of Great Price,” page 24. (One of the Mormon authorities.)



‘Abraham, thou art one of them, thou wast chosen before thou wast born.’ And there stood one among them that was like unto God, and He said unto those that were with Him, ‘We will go down, for there is space there, and we will take of these materials, and we will make an earth whereon these may dwell,—and we will prove them herewith, to see if they will do all things whatsoever the Lord their God shall command them; and they who keep their first estate shall be added upon; and they who keep not their first estate, shall not have glory in the same kingdom with those who keep their first estate; and they who keep their second estate shall have glory added upon their heads for ever and ever.”

“Did the spirits, who were to take bodies on this earth, rejoice or grieve at the prospect before them?”

“They rejoiced, and sang songs together, and shouted aloud for joy. Job xxxviii. 4, 6, 7.”

Here we are brought face to face with the ancient doctrine of pre-existence, as held and taught by Pythagoras, Plato, the Hindoos, the Chinese, the Egyptians, and such moderns as Fontenelle, Chateaubriand, Schlegel, etc.

Some draught of Lethe doth await,  
As old mythologies relate,  
The slipping through from state to state.

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And ever something is, or seems,  
That touches us with mystic gleams,  
Like glimpses of forgotten dreams.

The revival of such a dogma in the nineteenth century, and in America and Britain, may well excite astonishment. And yet the philosophic Lessing arrests the scorner with this inquiry: "Is this hypothesis so laughable merely because it is the oldest?" The learned Dr. Döllinger, of Munich, informs us that the ancient mysteries taught it.

The Christian Fathers looked at it not unkindly. Origen hoped it might be true, as it would then account for that puzzling assertion that God loved Jacob and hated Esau. Were this for deeds done in a previous state, the justice of God would be vindicated. Others quoted Jeremiah, "I knew thee before thou wast formed," etc.

In the ancient Hindoo "*Bhagavat Gita*," we read that "the soul, on returning to earth, profits by its previous acquirements." In the heathen form of Mexican baptism, practised before a knowledge of Christianity, or the downfall of Christians in America, the priest entreats the god to "permit the holy drops to wash away the sin acquired by it (the child) before the foundation of the world, so that it may be born anew." (!)

The Mormons, in thus reviving so ancient a creed, are seconded in their work by the singular alliance of continental spiritualists, in France, Germany, Russia, etc.

To understand more clearly the views of the Church of Latter Day Saints on pre-existence, let us glance again at their notion of spiritual existence.

Orson Pratt observes: "Christians say the soul thinks; matter cannot think. But they had better prove that the soul is not matter before they maintain that matter cannot think."

Upon pre-existence this Mormon leader is explicit enough. Elsewhere is recorded his opinion of the spirits in the other and spirit world longing for a tabernacle, or body, in this life. Upon that anxiety is founded a strong argument with women to accommodate themselves to the inconveniences of polygamy, so that they might be the happy means of gratifying these body-seeking souls of the upper regions.

He argues against the supposition of *occasional* spirit creation.

He adds: "That which dwells within this tabernacle is much older than what the tabernacle is. That spirit which now dwells within each man and each woman of this vast assembly of people is more than thousands of years old.

In Joseph Smith's inspired translation of the Bible, we find the pre-existence of man clearly laid down, and that the spirits of all men, male and female, did have an existence before man was formed out of the dust of the ground."

Here the Mormons join issue with the Christadelphians. The latter regard the soul as being not only material, but mortal. It is of the body, and with the body, dying along with the body. The Christadelphians believe, with Archbishop Whately, the Rev. E. White, etc., that the Scriptures plainly teach the non-immortality of the soul. They, therefore, who require a special creation of souls for certain individuals of mankind at the Resurrection, are not likely to believe in their pre-existence. But they agree with the Mormons in giving to the faithful immortal bodies at the coming of Jesus Christ again. The Christadelphians, however, confine this gift of life to those only described by Paul as waiting for "His appearing." The Mormons, on the contrary, cannot kill those souls that had existed from the foundation of the world, and are not so very clear about the disposal of them at the Second Advent.

As the souls had a pre-existence, they could not be supposed to terminate their existence because of the accident of entering a human tabernacle. Although, then, the catechism is

by no means explicit upon the other life, subsequent revelations affecting previous opinions, while future communications through the Prophet Young may still further modify them, yet it may be presumed that the Church of Utah accepts generally the immortality of the soul.

The founder of Christadelphianism says: "The Protestant abominations are all based upon immortal-soulism." When Leo X., at the Council of Lateran, pronounced a curse upon those not accepting the dogma of immortality, Luther thundered forth, "I permit the Pope to make articles of faith for himself and his faithful, such as, the soul is the substantial form of the human body; the soul is immortal." Such did not bind the German.

The fall of man has been, in one way or the other, accepted by all religionists. It is interesting to see the Mormon view of the doctrine, and the part Satan was supposed to play therein.

*Question.*—"When the spirits pertaining to this earth were begotten, what event took place?"

*Answer.*—"A grand council, or series of councils, was held in Heaven, when it was determined that this earth should be organized as a dwelling-place for the spirits while they took upon themselves bodies."

One of their revelations enters into some interesting particulars of the debate among the Elohim or gods. The devil was then one of the Elohim who were engaged in the work of creation. The familiarity of that personage with the courts of heaven was founded upon his previous existence there. Dr. Thomas echoes the implied belief of many when he says, "That Satan has access into God's presence may startle some who have not thought about it."

It seems, from Mormon revelation, that one of the gods proposed some alteration. "We will go down," said he, "for there is space there, and we will take of these materials, and we will make an earth whereon these may dwell : and we will prove them herewith, to see if they will do all things whatsoever the Lord their God shall command them ; and they who keep their first estate shall be added upon ; and they who keep not their first estate shall not have glory in the same kingdom with those who keep their first estate."

Well and good. But as it was necessary that one should be sent to inaugurate the new state of things on earth, jealousy started up. Two offered to go, and the first was preferred to the second. So we read that the other "was angry, and kept not his first es-

tate, and at that day many followed after him."

Here, so far, we have a sort of Miltonic version, and not unlike Milton's original from the Persian Zoroaster.

*Ques.* "Who was it that was angry, and kept not his first estate, because he was not chosen?"

*Ans.* "Lucifer, son of the morning."

*Ques.* "What did Lucifer propose to do if he were sent down to the earth?"

*Ans.* "He proposed to bring all mankind to the enjoyment of the glory of God, whether they kept their second estate or not, provided God would give him His glory."

All this is not Miltonic. The language employed by this great one of the Elohim to the Chief of the Council is thus reported: "Behold me! Send me. I will be Thy Son, and I will redeem all mankind, that one soul shall not be lost, and surely I will do it; wherefore, give me thine honour."

This self-confidence is worthy of the Miltonic hero. As, however, his proposition was rejected, he and his party insulted the rest, and were forthwith expelled from heaven. "He became Satan,—yea, even the Devil."

Revenge was taken for the affront received.

"Satan entered the body of a serpent, and

tempted Eve to partake of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, lest they should become as gods."

The rest of the narrative is described as we have it in the Bible.

*Ques.* "Was the penalty of death inflicted upon Adam and Eve?"

*Ans.* "Yes, spiritually and temporally."

*Ques.* "What was the spiritual death?"

*Ans.* "Banishment from the presence of the Lord."

We are then shown what a fortunate escape our first parents had.

*Ques.* "What would have been the consequence if Adam and Eve had partaken of the tree of life?"

*Ans.* "They would have lived for ever, subject to the devil, in the midst of the misery and evil which their transgression had brought into the world, and the word of God would not have been fulfilled."

After this we are brought face to face with that favourite doctrine of Mormonism, the family relation. This joy of life, this hope of the world, so shocking to Shakers and Ascetics, is thus shown to have been the good fruit of eating the forbidden fruit.

*Ques.* "Was it necessary that Adam should partake of the forbidden fruit?"



*Ans.* "Yes; unless he had done so, he would not have known good and evil here, neither could he have had mortal posterity, and he could not have cleaved unto Eve, as he had promised, after her fall."

The authority for this statement is the "Book of Mormon" (2 Nephi i. 8): "And now, behold, if Adam had not transgressed, he would not have fallen; but he would have remained in the Garden of Eden. And they would have had no children; wherefore, they would have remained in a state of innocency, having no joy, for they knew no misery, doing no good, for they knew no sin."

This prepares us for the next two questions:

*Ques.* Did Adam and Eve lament or rejoice because they had transgressed the commandment, and become acquainted with the nature of evil and good?"

*Ans.* "They rejoiced and praised God."

*Ques.* "Is it proper for us to consider the transgression of Adam and Eve as a grievous calamity, and that all mankind would have been infinitely more happy if the Fall had not occurred?"

*Ans.* "No. But we ought to consider the fall of our first parents as one of the great steps to eternal exaltation and happiness."

The Mormons, though deriding outsiders as

Gentile Christians, are not, as has been represented, without faith in Christ. Their notions may not appear either clear or decided on this point. When speaking of an atonement, one can scarcely make out, upon their theory of the Fall, why justice needed a sacrifice. They do, however, frankly acknowledge—

“We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam’s transgression.”

In their conception of the status, so to speak, of the Saviour, they are very far from being Gnostics. They acknowledge His Sonship in a way; for one of their advocates refers to Him as the offspring of Faith by the Virgin Mary. She was duly married, after having been betrothed by Gabriel to the Father. (!) He is expressly declared a creature, though a perfect one. He was, like other spirits, existing before His dwelling on earth, as we hear of His presence at heavenly councils; but He, like other spirits there, needed a body to reveal Himself. Yet, as a Son, in the sense of our Christian creeds, the Saviour could not have been, since Joseph Smith affirmed that “If Jesus was the Son of God, God, the Father of Jesus Christ, had a Father also.”

The Christadelphians have some such opinion; as Dr. Thomas speaks thus of Jesus:

“The chief begotten Eloah of Ail; and when sealed with the Holy Ghost at His immersion in Jordan, the Deity manifested Himself in Him.” They, like the Mormons, have not the ordinary Christian ideas of the Trinity—both asserting that the Scriptures reveal no such dogma; but they believe that Christ perfected Himself, and was raised to the Divinity. He has now received the gift of the Godhead.

Mormons and Christadelphians assert that they accept no creed of Churches, but search the Scriptures for their creed. They do not add, “with the interpretation of our founders.” The latter, however, depend more on reason, and the former on special revelation. Both rely upon the supposed saving work of Christ. Thus, in the Mormon catechism, there is the question:

“How, then, was a redemption from the effects of the Fall wrought out?”

“God sent His only begotten Son, who knew no sin, to die for the sins of the world, and thus satisfy the demands of justice.”

Again: “Does not the redemption of Christ extend to the personal transgressions of all mankind?”

“Yes, but only upon conditions of obedience.”

Calvinism has no place in their faith. To the inquiry if little children can be considered

sinners in the sight of God, the reply is, "No, they are redeemed solely through the atonement of Christ."

I put a similar question to a gentleman in Utah. He repudiated the idea of God sentencing a child to the flames of hell simply because of the accident of its birth at all.

"I am a polygamist," he said, "but rather than give the devil the chance of roasting a child of mine, I would forswear marriage, and turn Shaker."

A special revelation, however, settled the difficulty. It was this: "Behold, I say unto you, that little children are redeemed from the foundation of the world, through mine only begotten."

The "first principle of the Gospel" is declared to be Faith; and this "in God, and His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ." John iii. 16.

Instances of faith are then mentioned. The second principle of the Gospel is Repentance.

*Ques.* "Does repentance consist in mourning and groaning, and hanging down our heads sorrowfully?"

*Ans.* "No. A man may do those things, and yet never repent."

The catechism then brings the child to Baptism. This rite is a necessity with Mor-

mons, as with Roman Catholics and many Protestants. They go farther than most, as they limit the exercise of administrative functions to those authorized by Jesus Christ to baptize. When Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery were set apart for the work in 1829, they were ordered to baptize and ordain each other; and so the gifts of the Spirit have been successively handed down to baptizers now.

As the child is supposed to become accountable at the age of eight years, it may then be a subject for baptism—"the law of adoption, or the door of the Kingdom of God."

The Mormons cite Scripture for their two great doctrines respecting it—the remission of sins by it, and the opening of heaven through it. They declare solemnly: "No person who has arrived at years of accountability, and has heard the Gospel, can be saved without baptism." Consequently, infants, not being held accountable, are not the proper subjects of baptism; as, moreover, they cannot obey the Gospel in faith and repentance, they cannot be admitted to the rite. Like as in the days of primitive Christianity, the rite is solemnly and privately administered in the presence of believers only, and that by immersion.

*Ques.* "Do not many people believe that

baptism should be performed by sprinkling or pouring water upon the person? ”

*Ans.* “Yes; but such people are in error, and their sprinkling or pouring is of no avail, for God does not recognize it.”

The Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper is declared by the catechism commemorative of the sufferings and death of Christ. 1 Cor. xi. 23—26. It can only be administered by those in authority. All members of the Church, not under Church discipline, have a right to the ordinance.

Jesus is said, in the “Book of Mormon,” to have revealed Himself among His Nephite disciples in America, just after His resurrection, and there shown them how to keep this sacrament. He is reported to have said then : “Blessed are ye for this thing which ye have done, for this is fulfilling my commandments, and this doth witness unto the Father that ye are willing to do that which I have commanded you. And this shall ye always do to those who repent and are baptized in my name.”

None, therefore, but believers, and those who have been immersed, can be admitted to their table of the Lord. This is not, however, a saving ordinance, as supposed by some others, but merely a commemorative one, leading the members “to reflect on the mission of their

Redeemer." As in the ancient Church, which the Mormons, like Anglican Ritualists, profess to copy, the Sacrament is administered every Sunday. They have not the remotest sympathy with transubstantiation, which they declare to be heathenish and not scriptural.

But, like as in the ancient Church, they are particular as to the drink upon the occasion. The Jews, even now, will not use intoxicating wine at their Passover, but manufacture an unfermented liquor for the purpose. So the Mormons will only use what Christ called the fruit of the vine. When, then, they cannot have the unintoxicating wine, they use water.

However, as a revelation settles all disputes, and saves confusion, a special communication arrived from heaven, in September, 1830, directing the Church to employ water, rather than take for the Sacrament the wine of their Gentile enemies.

The Ten Commandments are enforced in the catechism, with the distinct statement that God Himself wrote them upon the stones twice over. The "Word of Wisdom" was given in addition, coming to Joseph Smith, February 27th, 1833. It is contained in the "Book of Doctrines and Covenants," along with other revelations.

This "Book of Wisdom" is very practical. It teaches that it is not good to drink wine or strong drinks, to drink hot drinks, or to chew or smoke tobacco; for "that strong drinks are for the washing of the body, and that tobacco is a herb for bruises and sick cattle." It lays down the truth that herbs and fruits are for the good of man, and that flesh ought not to be eaten except in times of winter and famine. Those who keep this "Book of Wisdom" are promised health and wisdom, as well as preservation from the destroying angel.

On all sides I was assured that there could be but one Church, one genuine religion, as there was but one God, who could but reveal one truth. This, of course, the Mormons have secured.

*Ques.* "What are persons who separate themselves from the Church of Christ called?"

*Ans.* "Apostates, because they apostatize, or fall away, from truth and righteousness."

"Are the various religious societies apostate Churches?"

"No, because they never constituted any part of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints."

The Church is to be favoured by the Melchisedek priesthood, and the Aaronic priest-



hood. The first is the higher, as involving closer associations with prophetic power. Not only does the president belong to it, but the apostles, the seventy, the patriarchs or evangelists, the high priests, and the elders. But bishops, priests, teachers, and deacons belong to the Aaronic, as they merely administer outward ordinances.

The president, Brigham Young, has two counsellors to aid him. The twelve apostles are a travelling presiding high council. The bishops are ordained by the president, the true Pope of Mormonism. I was informed that one was appointed to each district, and held supervision over the conduct of members. They looked, also, after the poor, and acted as judges in affairs. The priest had to preach, baptize, and administer the Sacrament. The deacon assists the teacher in looking after the comfort and piety of the saints.

The Church, in its executive power, is promptly obeyed. If a man be held suitable for a mission to any place, to it he must go, and does go. He may take a wife with him, but one only, and must be prepared to make any business sacrifice on the occasion.

Great difficulties are constantly experienced by these missionaries. They go without scrip, and must fight their own way. Like Paul of

old, they are to take no pay, but maintain themselves by the labour of their hands while preaching.

The first party that left Liverpool for the American home of the Church consisted of forty persons. This was in 1837; Brigham Young started from Liverpool with a band in 1840.

The Dispensation of the Fulness of Times is that of the Mormon development. The catechism gives 1820 as the date of Joseph Smith's first revelation, when the Father presented His Son to the future prophet. In 1823 the angel Moroni appeared to him, spake of his mission, and showed him the golden plates on which the Mormon Scriptures were written in the reformed Egyptian language. But upon Joseph Smith's attempt to lift them from the stone box, the angel bade him wait four years longer.

On Sept. 22nd, 1827, the angel gave him the plates. These formed a packet about six inches thick, eight long, and seven broad. By the aid of two stones in silver bows (the Urim and Thummim) he was able to translate the story of the Jaredites, who left at the building of the Tower of Babel, and of the Nephites and others—ancestors of the American Indians—who left Jerusalem six hundred years before Christ. The whole story was

engraved, and the plates hidden, about fourteen hundred years ago.

These plates are said to have been seen by eleven persons, and were afterwards returned to the safe custody of the angel Moroni, who, we presume, knows where they are now.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was duly organized at Fayette, Seneca County, New York State, on April 6th, 1830, and consisted of six persons only. A spot for a temple was dedicated at Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, in 1831. Driven from that place in 1838, the saints settled on the Mississippi River, at Nauvoo. A temple was built at Kirkland, Ohio, in 1836, and another at Nauvoo in 1846.

Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were murdered by a mob at Carthage, in 1844. The saints were driven from the lovely Nauvoo in 1846, and made their wonderful passage across the great wilderness, thousands of miles, to the Promised Land of Great Salt Lake Valley. The foundation of the third temple was laid there in 1853. Brigham Young was nominated president in 1847.

In spite of persecutions, the Church is ultimately to triumph, it is said, and the scene of that triumph will be the country in which it has been so persecuted.

The millennium of the Mormons is connected with this final victory. The catechism thus refers to it in connection with the spread of their gospel, which "will speedily go forth, and be proclaimed to every nation, and kindred, and tribe, and people, that all the inhabitants of the earth may repent of their sins, and escape the judgment which God is about to pour out upon the wicked."

So far, they are like other advocates of the doctrine in other Churches, requiring but the witness of the preacher in all lands, whether the people hear to understand, or not.

Then it is added, "And be prepared to stand when the Lord Jesus Christ shall be revealed from the heavens in flaming fire; to take vengeance upon the disobedient, reward the obedient, and reign in peace and righteousness upon the earth."

In conversation with Mormons, I could not discover that they held millennial views in a spiritual sense; but as a state of things literally to take place, in the sense described by some Protestant advocates of that doctrine. There are to be real flames, real slaughters, real saintly bodies fighting under the generalship of a true sword-bearing Jesus. So far agreed. The Mormons part company with their fellow-Protestant believers when it comes to the ques-

tion of locality, as their Jerusalem is America. Other followers of the dogma seem content to let America be perfectly undisturbed by wars, Armageddon, etc., because the writer of the Apocalypse had not been "Across the Ferry."

*Ques.* "Will the Lord inflict great judgments upon the wicked?"

*Ans.* "He will visit them with war and famine, plague and pestilence, until they are utterly wasted."

"How will the righteous be engaged during the time the wicked are thus punished?"

"Those who obey the Gospel (*Mormon one*) will gather together on the continent of America, and build up the New Jerusalem, and other cities, and also many temples to the Lord, and become a holy, prosperous, and mighty people, and will be called the Zion of the Lord, and He will reveal His knowledge and power and glory among them, to the astonishment of the nations."

"Where will the New Jerusalem be commenced?"

"In Jackson County, Missouri, where a temple, the site of which was dedicated in 1831, will be eventually built."

"Why will so many temples be erected?"

"Because in them the saints will be baptized

for those persons who have died without a knowledge of the Gospel, and will attend to all the ordinances of salvation and exaltation for themselves and their dead friends."

Again do we observe more charity in the Mormons than in some others; as the saints are ready to undergo baptism for the dead, that they might avert by this self-denying process the everlasting misery of their more ignorant brethren in the flesh.

As to the resurrection of the dead, they believe in three resurrections. The first took place at the crucifixion of Christ, when all the saints from Adam were raised. The second will be when Christ comes. The third takes effect after the thousand years of the millennium.

It is to be a literal resurrection; always excepting the presence of blood. Jesus rose with flesh and bones, they say, but not blood. The saints cannot appear with blood, as that is the life of earth. Flesh and bones will be alone present in the individual immortal body.

Some millennial prophets of our own and previous times have injured their credit by mistakes in their calculation as to the exact time of this flesh-and-bone appearance. The Mormons are full of faith, for Smith has expressly declared, "In 1890 the face of the Son of Man will show itself in the world."

The Christadelphian authority, Dr. Thomas, may again be cited. In speaking upon the passage, "Quicken these mortal bodies," he thus questions the reasonableness of popular opinion:—

"Where are these bodies? They are nowhere! Only a little dust remains of them in Sheol; and unorganized dust is not body. What, then, is necessary that Paul's words may come to pass? Manifestly that the saints appear as mortal bodies."—"Mortal flesh must be erected, and pre-resurrectional consciousness fleshed upon it, that the saints of Rome and Corinth may experience the life of Jesus in their mortal flesh."

The Shakers of America are not less fervent millennarians. As, however, they read the Scriptures through a different medium, their "second coming" views differ from those of the Mormons. The latter, as polygamists, rejoice in the prospect of dwelling under the reign of the Lamb with their families of wives and children about them. The Shakers, on the contrary, contemplate a millennium of virginity. Their Lamb was slain, or cut off, from the foundation principle of the natural world, never marrying nor allowing marriages.

Though not more orthodox than the Mormons about the Trinity, they hold that the "ultimate

and final resurrection" will be signalized by the bodily appearance of the duality in Divinity. The male and female principles will be illustrated. They quote the passage: "The marriage of the Lamb is come, and His wife hath made herself ready." The forty-fifth Psalm teaches them the dual order of the kingdom of Christ. There is no dispute about who is meant as the Lamb, though doubts exist about the queen. The Mormons declare this to be the Church, while the Shakers would infer that Mother Ann may be therein revealed. The "virgins, her companions, that follow her," are the men and women who constitute the virgin Church, says Elder Evans.

The doctrine of the Holy Ghost is a pillar of the faith of Mormonism.

The uninitiated into the meaning of terms may not be aware that by this title different conceptions may be entertained. Thus, Dr. Thomas, the American founder of Christadelphianism, distinctly assures us that "electricity is the term science has bestowed upon what the Bible calls Spirit." Then the Shakers have an idea of several Holy Ghosts, and speak of that promised to the primitive Christians as a separate one. The Mormons, like some of our principal religious bodies, believe that the



gift of the Holy Spirit follows upon baptism. Their catechism asks :

“What are the peculiar manifestations of the Holy Ghost?”

*Ans.* “Among others, visions, dreams, prophecies, speaking in divers tongues, interpretation of tongues, discernment of spirits and angels, knowledge, wisdom, extraordinary faith, healings, and miraculous powers.”

“Can these manifestations of the Holy Ghost be obtained by men in all ages of the world?”

“The manifestations of the Holy Ghost always follow faith in, and obedience to, the Gospel of Jesus Christ.”

“Do not many people teach that these gifts are done away, and no longer needed?”

“Yes, but such persons are false teachers, and the wrath of God is kindled against them.”

It is furthermore shown that through unbelief these manifestations are not enjoyed by religious people in general. Rather, it may be said, because they are not of the true Church; as Mormons, Irvingites, and the Church of Rome declare, all believing in the continuance of these supposed apostolic gifts.

With the materialistic views concerning the Holy Ghost in Utah, one is prepared to understand why its operations there are regarded so

differently. With ordinary Christians, it is sufficient that its gracious offices are confined to the moulding of the character of man, to the comforting and guiding of good people, to the elevation of the soul to the Divine standard, to that transformation of our inner life by which we are made more holy and happy here, and fitted to be more holy and happy hereafter. This is the blessed privilege to be enjoyed by all who will seek for it. We are generally content to forego the extraordinary graces which partake somewhat of a mesmeric character. But it is to these that Mormons attach so much importance.

The possession of certain powers of a *quasi*-miraculous kind are held forth as the best testimony of their having the true Church.

Miracles are currently reported. The very dead have been raised among them; and the use of oil, with the prayer of faith, has been as efficacious with them as with our Peculiar People at Plumstead. The Unknown Tongues were once more common than at present with them; it was so with the Irvingites, or Apostolic Church.

The Holy Ghost, however, is chiefly utilized by them in connexion with visions, and the oracular declarations, or allocutions, of their apostolic or prophetic authorities. As the

councils of the Churches of Greece and Rome were supposed to be inspired, so are the councils of Utah. As the Popes and patriarchs are said to have especial enlightenment from the Holy Ghost, so it is with prophet Brigham Young. All parties assert their claim from Scripture, and attempt to prove it by assertiveness and asserted miracles.

The great hold Brigham Young has upon his people is from his supposed familiarity with Heaven, and his being the chosen medium for Divine communications. Whether in trance or dream, in vision by night or illumination by day, spirits commune with him, and the Deity manifests Himself unto him.

The revelations are often upon what some might consider trivial occasions, but which Brigham Young might esteem of consequence. But this sort of thing is not confined to Utah. I cut the following advertisements out of American papers :—

“This is no humbug! By sending thirty cents and a stamp, with age, height, colour of eyes and hair, you will receive, by return of mail, a correct picture of your future husband or wife, with name, and date of marriage.—Address,” etc.

Another engages to gratify this common craving of juveniles, and give a report of “your

whole life, past, present, and future, with a beautiful and correct picture, name, and address of future husband or wife, together with date of marriage." And all this by merely forwarding a shilling "to the greatest living astrologer"!

No wonder such a work as this is advertised: "Psychologic Fascination; or, Soul Charming." Demand begets the supply. I find, however, that the law can take cognizance of this revelation, as a man was brought up at the court of Philadelphia for fortune-telling, the complaint being made by his own wife. Had the poor creature been fascinated without being charmed?

The remorseless Dr. Thomas is especially wroth with those who use the Bible to support the claims for such spiritual communion as the Mormons and others acknowledge, saying: "Their divinations upon these topics, when not borrowed from the Bible, are only lying rhapsodies, the dark and malarious thinkings of nervous flesh, rioting in the spectralia of musty theosophisms, talked into it by the Gospel nullifiers and pulpit mar-texts of the 'chairs' and 'sacred desks' of Christendom."

This Christadelphian authority, while endorsing the Mormon materialism of Deity, laughs at the spiritual credulity of Salt Lake and

Mount Lebanon. He will have no return of a spirit, when the Bible says, "The dead know not anything." His only idea of communication is expressed in these words:—

"Jesus came, the Medium through which the Father operated in word and deed. He spoke the words, while the Father, who performed the miracles, passed, by their effect, the electricity of His Spirit, as it were, through the words and their sensoria, stamping impressions there." He would consider Brigham Young as like unto a blundering manipulator at a telegraph office.

America is commonly ridiculed as the land of religious quacks. But history gives a good catalogue of these from every nation under heaven. While England can exhibit a Joanna Southcott, and has sent forth Mother Ann and Brigham Young, she has no occasion to laugh at the vagaries of America. But with all the modern absurdities, they are not more foolish and mischievous than the errors publicly taught during the first four centuries of Christianity, to say nothing of something worse than absurdities sanctioned by the Church in the Middle Ages.

The year 1871 revealed another "Church of the Second Coming," and in the hitherto prosaic realm of Australia, so long free from the

visits of fairies and ghosts, who could not formerly get across the salt sea.

As the Melbourne story may not be generally known in Great Britain, the telling of it will not be out of place. It has, too, especial points of interest, with a little local colouring. The revelation of the mysteries came out through a trial last year. Some of the parties in question were pointed out to me at the time, as I was then residing about four miles from the scene described by the press.

The trial at the Gum-tree township of Oakleigh arose out of a quarrel between two rival prophets, one inducing a disciple of the other to claim some thirty pounds—feloniously, though spiritually, drawn from his ignorance and credulity. All the persons were residents of the district of Nunawading, a few miles only from the capital of Victoria, and the reputed haunt of sylvan divinities,—*alias*, wood-cutters and charcoal-burners.

The land is very poor, but the forest is dense; occupiers of farms, therefore, depend more upon their wood-carts than ploughs, and upon bags of charcoal more than bags of potatoes. Noble mansions and stately fanes are not known in that quarter. But the schoolmaster is there, and preachers of all sorts venture into the woods. The Anglican, Romish, Presbyterian, Indepen-

dent, Baptist, Wesleyan, Primitive, and other Churches are recognized among the sparse and limited population of the rises and gullies of Nunawading. The lovely Yarra Yarra glides by, and the massive granite hills of Dandenong rear their fronts on the border.

As the sturdy, healthy, honest, but somewhat grimy woodcutters stood in the Melbourne market waiting for customers, who would have suspected that in that group were two men claiming extraordinary, if not divine, powers, and assuming the control of the gates of heaven and hell? Who would have thought that one, at least, was the head of the "Church of the First-born," and, if not the Saviour Himself, His earthly representative, and the forerunner of His second coming?

J. C. M. Fisher was the prophet. Andrew Wilson was the unfortunate dupe, who gave his money when a believer, and wanted it back when a recreant to the faith. James J. R. Bignell was the rival prophet, who induced Wilson to make the claim at court, so as to burst the bubble of the Church.

A happy family were they all at one time, when camping under the gaunt limbs of the stringy-bark trees of Nunawading. They held their love feasts, they rejoiced in the privileges of belonging to the true faith, they foresaw with

gloomy satisfaction the doom of the infidels outside of the Israelite bounds, and they honoured Fisher as their lawful head, paying him justly the tithes due to his saintship. They were certain of the speedy destruction of all sublunary things, and their own individual elevation to distinguished positions in the kingdom to come.

At their meetings, usually held in Fisher's hut, they sang hymns, prayed, expounded prophecy, and interpreted dreams. They were spiritualists of another order. The healing of the sick and the interpretation of dreams became the privilege of the founder. Several deposed to Fisher proclaiming himself the Messiah; he only allowed to being a sort of *Paraclete*. When his figure was placed in the Melbourne waxworks, placards announced him the "Nunawading Messiah."

Bignell, though working for Fisher as a charcoal-burner and wood-carter, was of service at other times as assistant prophet. The Elisha aspired to the office of the Elijah, and did not wait for a translation to bring about the dignity.

Both had been attached to the so-called Church of the Israelites, or Beardites. These Christian followers of the Law of Moses wear long beards and long hair. Instead of cutting



off the hair of the head, they roll it up behind, chignon fashion, and only allow it to wave freely on religious festivals. One Wroe came out to Australia from England many years ago, and made disciples in the bush. I have known several of his converts. Like with so many new sects, they attach great importance to the second coming, and hold many opinions akin to Mormons, etc., with reference to the literal interpretation of Scripture. About seven years ago considerable excitement was raised in Melbourne concerning some secret, peculiar, and not modest practices among the Israelites or Wroeites.

Fisher and Bignell were desirous of ruling in the so-called "Church of the First-born." When the latter set up independently, he solemnly affirmed, "Fisher is Balaam, that is, taking the truth from every man that ever came before me, and from the Church of Israel."

This respectable carter was favoured with visions. One was of his going down into the pit, and loosening the souls of those imprisoned there. This foreshadowed his prophetic dignity, and more. He describes other visions: "One, where my own witness saw Satan trying to prove me a liar, but I proved him a liar, and bound him with a chain."—"Another, of me holding a cup of water over a mask for the

Israelite, with a board above it, written, 'Come and drink of the water of life freely.' "

These visions were decisive evidences of his mission. But he drew out in the form of a letter, a copy of which is now before me, a series of charges against his former leader.

"What did you mean," cried he, "when you told that young man to come up to Jones's to me that night, because you had had it revealed to you that I was the young Adam that was to stand in your place on the earth, which you confirmed to me the next morning? Now, Mr. Fisher, you told me and Harry a lie, and became a false witness of God, saying these things were of God, which were not of God. If He did not reveal it to you, you are the liar. If He did, you have fought against me with knowledge, and God will judge you accordingly."

It seems poor Wilson, the dupe, had a child on the point of death that Fisher promised to save. Bignell now asks, "Do you remember the death of Wilson's child, when you told me and Wilson there was power of spirit with us to save the child, or even half the world?"

He proceeds to severe condemnation of his immoralities, and the indictment is thus wound up: "Mr. Fisher, your ten years expire in the Jewish month Adar, or February, after which

time, unless you make a full confession to God and the Church, you and all those that hold with you, will be given over to the sword.(!) The ten kings that have given their power to you, as the beast, will turn and hate you and the Church. They shall know that the power that upholds me is the same that you threatened to break down ; and whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken, and upon whomsoever it falls it will grind him to powder."

He then appeals: "How often have you pronounced the sentence of death on me? I am still alive, and live for evermore."

As belonging to the Church of the First-born, he would soon behold the second coming, and there and then receive that immortal body promised to the Israelites indeed, in spite of the threats of Fisher, who assumed to hold the keys of Peter. There had been, it appears, several personifications of the risen Saviour, sent to warn men of the coming judgment. Thus we have Bignell's modest saying :

"Wroe was the fifth. I am the sixth. The seventh will say, 'It is done;' and he says, 'Behold! I come quickly.'

"I remain, the watchman to the people of Israel,

"J. J. R. BIGNELL."

"Copied by the Secretary of the New Jerusalem Church."

If this be not the assumption of the Messiahship by Bignell, who charges Fisher with that impropriety, it is something suspiciously like it, and beyond even the pretensions of Brigham Young himself.

Bignell prospered. A farm was purchased for him by the faithful. A spirit told him he was a lineal descendant of Moses, and the true head of the Church. The Spirit stirred him out of his rest one night, by shouting three several times these awful words: "Arise, Bignell! Arise, and crush Fisher!"

And yet Bignell was willing to acknowledge the mighty works of Fisher, in his miracles, etc.; only he deemed the power to come from the devil. So say many in England of the wonders of spiritualism.

It was certainly not proper for Fisher to do on a small scale in Australia what Young does in Utah. He should not have called a girl his "elected one." Nor should he afterwards have seen another elected one. It must have been a mere slander that he, like Young, undertook to seal even married women to himself. One husband was said to have given consent to his wife being made the high-priestess. Bignell might well call him the false Messiah, if his charge were true, that Fisher had said that every believer was free "to elect as many women as he

liked, whether married or single, until he found the right one."

Fisher publicly denied these and other statements, and swore that he had never acknowledged himself the Messiah. But he was said to have promised a farmer an infant Moses, on condition of sleeping four months in a stable. As the poor fellow selected an inclement season for his retreat, his friends had to save his life by forcing him to give up his cold quarters.

Wilson, who lost his money, was very bitter against Fisher. He declared that the other had, six years before, given himself out to be none other than Christ. A hand enclosed in a white surplice, (!) and holding a book, had appeared to him, and a voice had said, "Thou shalt uphold these laws."

As the simple man had lost three children, his inspired master came to him, and, said Wilson, "he asked me not to let any more children die;—there was 'no call' for their dying."

And yet after that he did let another die. One child was saved, after the Plumstead "Peculiar People" fashion, by the use of oil and prayer. But it was not right, while having the power to save life, for Fisher to prevent the appearance of life. One man was not very ready with his tithe-paying each week, though

well able to spare it for the Church, *alias* Fisher; and so the prophet was reported to have angrily said, "You shall have no more children."

This trusting creature, Wilson, said in court, "I understood that while I contributed money, neither I, nor my wife, nor the children could die."

Another evidence of his simplicity came out: "Fisher said he could not cure the child, but that my wife should have a baby, and that the spirit of the dead child should enter into it. I was not, however, to be the father of the child." This communication was made to the lady first, and by her to her husband. When interrogated about it, Wilson got the satisfactory assurance that it was a command of God.

Again: "I said at our meetings that I had had a revelation after Divine communication. I thought I was walking at the seaside; I found a fish, one side of which was of gold, and the other of stone. When I told Fisher, he said, 'Do you not understand it?' I said, 'No.' 'What would it make if you add an r?' I answered that I supposed it would make *Fisher*. 'Does not that convince you?' he exclaimed. 'The fish is the symbol of the law, human and Divine. The gold signifies the

human law, and the stone the Divine law.' For that reason I concluded Fisher was the Messiah." (!)

*The Magistrate.* "And you took all this for granted?"

*Witness.* "I thought it a very feasible explanation."

The magistrate declined to saddle Fisher with the repayment of the cash, given at various times, and not without some equivalent; for, said he, "Every person who changed his religion might, if the case were taken as a precedent of committal, turn round and sue the clergyman of his former religion, for having obtained support from him by false pretences."

But the case re-appeared at the Sessions before a Judge in Melbourne.

There Bignell repeated his slanders, and added that Fisher had taken a wife from a man whom he called his Elijah. "Fisher," swore Bignell, "told me he was the Messiah."

"We lent Fisher the money," said these wood-carters, "because we did not want the Lord to be in straitened circumstances. We expected to get it back again, and to be saved in health and strength, and our family for ever, according to what Fisher said."

The counsel caught at this, and said, "Then

you not only wanted your money back, but eternal life, too, for the accommodation."

Fisher acknowledged the tithing, asserted the freedom of the gifts, but rebutted the charges of immorality.

The Judge, in declaring for Fisher's side of the question, made some observations which excited a little surprise in Melbourne.

"As to the 'Church of the First-born,'" said he, "I see nothing worse in its being thus called, than in designating a church 'All Saints,' or 'All Souls.' Nearly all religions have sprung from humble sources, and the ministers of them all claim certain privileges."

The Melbourne *Telegraph* added: "His Honour then alluded to the privileges obtained by the priests of the Church of England, and by the Pope and Church of Rome, as being quite as much, if not more, than those claimed by the head of the Church of the First-born, supposing he should claim the powers it was said he did."

Brigham Young is not, therefore, the only infallible head of a Church, and not the only one claiming special revelations. But the soil of Australia is not so favourable to a development of the spiritual as that of America. Neither Fisher nor Bignell has much chance of escape



from the toil of charcoal-burning and wood-carting, for the more honoured and profitable position of president of a flourishing "Second Coming" Church in Victoria.

Having, from their public and private discourses, got a knowledge of the doctrines of the "Peculiar People," at Plumstead, Kent, I was struck with the agreement of their opinions with some of Mormon teaching.

They are looking forward anxiously for the Second Advent, expecting that the Lord will then raise them to honour and immortality. They have great faith in the use of oil and prayer by elders in times of sickness. They have a similar confidence in direct communication with heaven, regarding themselves as peculiarly favoured by the Holy Spirit. They attach great importance to the literal rendering of Scripture, and have no more respect for Protestant clergymen than the Mormons have. One said to me, alluding to their treatment of disease: "We are punished for following the Bible, which others receive; only we believe in it."

They appeared to me different from the Mormons in one respect—their attention to spiritual religion. I was impressed with their high tone of piety, which was not seen in rant and pretension, but in the quiet demonstration

of a deep and sincere feeling. Their preaching is evangelical in the widest sense. They look for salvation. By this they mean that subjection of the inner nature by the operation of the Holy Spirit, upon their reception of Christ's atonement. This immediate effect answers somewhat to Methodist conversion and entire sanctification in one. They rely upon the teaching of John, that they who commit sin are of the devil. They therefore regard those only as true believers who, not satisfied with open profession, have had the sealing of the Spirit in the absolute conquest of evil within them. I heard one say he had been for ten years in this happy state.

Unlike the Mormons, they are opposed to polygamy, and even indifferent to the question of the flesh. They look so intently for the coming of their Master, and so thoroughly and practically believe in the necessity of holiness of life, that they rather incline to be ascetical. They do not favour the Mormon baptism, nor their system of government. The men seem to eschew shirt collars, and the women to favour blue or lilac bands to their modest-looking bonnets. They were all, though poor working people, scrupulously clean, and their hair was neatly displayed. In their neighbourhood they have the reputation of strict honesty, and

genial kindness. Brethren and sisters they call each other; and by their demeanour they exemplify that affectionate family spirit. No excitement appeared in their services, but there was a great heartiness of worship. They sang hymns to most peculiar tunes, though not discordantly.

Altogether, they reminded me forcibly of the "Brethren" of the Middle Ages. At present little known, and even persecuted, they cannot fail eventually to gain the confidence of Christian people by their genuine piety, and enlist the sympathy of working men and women by their simplicity, earnestness, and disinterestedness. Alas! how soon may this simplicity become pride, and this love become discord! The "Peculiar People," like the Mormon "Peculiars," will not be so amicable and lovely when they assume the rights of infallibility; a fate, unhappily, which the student of history foresees coming upon them.

Without doubt, the central doctrine of Mormonism is the Second Advent, and its ushering in of the millennium. In all parts of Christendom, and in all ages, has this hope been entertained. Some have expected it so confidently, as to sell their goods, or give away their property. Fifty years ago a large number of Germans made their way eastward, anxious to be among the

first to greet their Lord when He appeared on Mount Ararat. After terrible sufferings, they reached Georgia, not very far from the place ; but few survived a murderous attack from the Kurds. Russian Schismatics, or Dissenters, greatly favour the doctrine, and that of special spiritual illumination.

Still, America has produced or developed most Second Advent Churches. But before the Whites appeared in the forests of the West, the Red men were contemplating the approaching end of all things, and the destruction of all the human race but a few favoured ones. The Spaniards, 350 years ago, found the Indians relying upon the purging of the world by fire.

The Mormon faith in the millennium and in spiritualism was for a time exhibited under leaders, after the Mormon fashion, at Mountain Cove, Virginia. The "Auburn Apostolic Circle" had two prophets, ex-ministers, who spoke through the medium of Paul, David, etc., claiming, as Brigham Young, "supreme and unquestionable authority in all matters." They were "in unity the organ of inspired communication from the celestial sphere," and were the two witnesses of the Revelations. The "sacred family" was not managed with the worldly wisdom employed by Brigham Young, and fell out. The Rev. T. L. Harris, one of

the heads in 1851, a man of rare gifts and eloquence, has lately formed another community in the West, having a distinguished English diplomatist as one of the family. They wait for the second coming. Mr. Harris, like President Young, etc., believes he holds the keys; for in a prayer he was heard to cry out, "O Lord, thou knowest we do not wish to destroy men with fire from our mouth." As a medium, however, he has produced a volume of cleverly written poems.

When will men be content to sit, like Mary, at the feet of Jesus?

## III.

*POLYGAMY AT UTAH.*

WHEN Joseph Smith started on his mission as a religious reformer, the plurality of wives had not been revealed to him. On the contrary, his teaching went the other way altogether. Fifty years ago the "Book of Mormon" was made known to him by the Urim and Thummim spectacles provided by an angel. From the translation of that ancient work, so long ago buried by Mormon, the American Israelite, we read:—

"David and Solomon had in truth many wives and concubines, which was abominable in my sight, saith the Lord."

Preceding his conversion from the one-wife system, he translated as follows from the so-called Book of Jacob, in the "Book of Mormon":

"Hearken, my brothers, to the word of the Lord; for no man amongst you shall have more than one wife; of concubines there shall be none, because that I, the Lord God, take delight in the chastity of women."

Noble sentiments these for the "Book of Mormon" !

In the "Book of Doctrines and Covenants," a supplement to, or comment upon, the "Book of Mormon," we have these words: "Thou shalt love thy wife with all thy heart, and shalt cleave unto her, and none else."

As some mischievous people of Missouri circulated some strange reports about the new sect, a revelation came to Joseph Smith, which has been recorded in the "Book of Doctrines and Covenants" :—

"Inasmuch as this Church of Christ has been reproached with the crimes of fornication and polygamy, we declare that we believe that one man shall have but one wife, and one woman but one husband, except in case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again."

After the Almighty had been made to speak thus solemnly and decisively upon the question, He is suddenly shown as the ordainer of the opposite condition of things. According to the Anthropomorphic ideas of Deity generally maintained by the Mormons, God is beheld, like man,

"To one thing constant never."

Within a year or two of His enforcement of monogamy, the Creator is described as shifting

round to be the advocate of polygamy, and commanding its observance.

On the 12th of July, 1843, Joseph Smith, at Nauvoo, received from Heaven this surprising revelation. But, like a wise man, he deemed the communication a little too strong for even his disciples just then, and prudently kept back "the Word of the Lord."

But a few were aware of the nature of the revelation. It was necessary to make trial of the faith of some, and needful to test the capacity of Mrs. Smith to acknowledge the mandate from on high. As she did not admire it, and might have made a fuss about it, the policy of concealment was adopted. It was buried out of sight till August 29th, 1852, when Brigham Young brought it forth before two thousand elders, bishops, and others.

Speeches from safe and influential chiefs had prepared the way for this great announcement.

The revelation commences thus:—

"Verily thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of my hands, to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as also Moses, David, and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines, behold, and lo! I am



the Lord thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter.”

Then follows a formidable threat :

“ Behold ! I reveal unto you a new covenant, and if you abide not in that covenant, then are ye damned.”

Gentiles might speculate upon the present state and future prospects of the leader, as he failed, during his lifetime, to make known this covenant.

We are then brought down from ancient Jewish times to the prosaic nineteenth century of new America, and from Solomon to Smith. As woman, in the meantime, had thrust herself to the front, especially in the United States, it became necessary to honour the sex by special reference to Smith's wife, as well as to himself.

“ Verily, I say unto you, a commandment I give unto mine handmaid, Emma Smith, your wife, whom I have given unto you, that she stay herself, and not partake of that which I commanded you to offer unto her ; for I did it, saith the Lord, to prove you all, as I did Abraham, and that I might require an offering at your hand, by covenant and sacrifice ; and let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those that have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before me ; and those who are not pure, and have said they

were pure, shall be destroyed, saith the Lord God." — "And I command mine handmaid, Emma Smith, to abide and cleave unto my servant Joseph, and to none else. But if she will not abide this commandment, she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord."

Now history claims to state as a fact that Emma Smith was very refractory. Joseph and two or three elders came to show her what was her plain line of duty; and she, with the perversity of a woman, could not discern that said path. She did think that what was required of the goose should be asked from the gander, but not that the "cleave only to one" should apply to Emma only.

The story goes that, after hours had been vainly spent to enlighten the mind of this obstinate woman, the patience of the apostle was exhausted, and he said, "Emma, attend to your own affairs, and let the anointed of the Lord fulfil the works for which God has raised him up."

This sanction of polygamy was given in 1843, but, for prudential reasons, was kept from the Mormons till 1852.

When, in 1852, Brigham Young publicly proclaimed the Divine authority of this communication to Joseph Smith, and intimated that the Holy Spirit had called upon him, Brigham

Young, to make known this gracious promise to the Church, he evidently felt the necessity of urging some plea for women to receive this gospel.

“To be saved, a woman must be sealed to some good man,” exclaimed the prophet.

It had been revealed that every woman needed introduction to heaven by some good man. She, poor thing, was but a mere rib of humanity, and quite unfit for association with dignified patriarchs, and polygamic Solomons, unless the *entrée* was procured by her husband! The introducer, however, was to be the *sealed* husband.

We are thus led to the recognition of two sorts of husbands—for time or for eternity. It would be very hard to make a woman's entrance into paradise dependent upon the accident of her natural marriage. Her present husband might not be one of the faithful, or not one with whom any celestial affinity could be established. In such a case she could secure firm ground by being spiritually married, or sealed, to another, dead or alive.

For obvious reasons it was better to be sealed to a departed saint, about whose eternal safety there was no doubt, than to a flourishing saint, who might, perchance, prove to be a traitor to the cause.

A great many Mormon women are hanging to the spiritual skirts of Joseph Smith, and not a few to his existing successor, as sealed wives. The question, however, has been asked whether, as women can be sealed to the deceased Smith, they might not be sealed, also, to Solomon, or any other departed hero of Scripture story. If settled in the affirmative, a widened scope is afforded to female imagination. It is just possible that the difficulty of decision may disquiet the minds of wayward women, instead of affording them the peace of gratified ambition. It is somewhat probable, also, that the husband for *time* might feel himself unpleasantly situated; for while his gentle partner is taken up with thoughts about her spiritual, sealed husband — Melchisedeck, for example — she is under the temptation, unwittingly, of paying less respect to her earthly mate.

The idea of marrying one man, and being sealed to another, became rather popular with feminine fancies. It removed something of the coarseness that otherwise lay in the acceptance of polygamy. All women wished to be saved, and all were willing to be saved upon the easy terms of a matrimonial engagement. The lady might have in her mate for time a suitable object of her union for eternity. If the man had not piety enough for sealing

purposes, but had a good house, a good temper, or good looks, he might readily be taken as the husband for time, though another be selected for the introduction hereafter.

To wait upon a good man, to solace and cherish him, to receive lessons of grace from his lips here, while promised his eternal presence and blessing, would surely be gratifying to a religious girl, even though, by her marriage, she formed but the third or thirteenth member of the circle.

Scripture testimony was adduced to show that the great end of a woman's life was to bear children. All women have not been able to realize this honour and privilege. Some, like the Shakers, have been so impressed with the awful risk of introducing a being into the world who would, perhaps, perish everlastingly, that they decline to render themselves partners in a transaction which seemed to add to the glory of the evil one. The Mormon prophet, however, had abundant texts to confirm his argument. Still, the natural delicacy and purity of the female mind, even among these humble followers of Mormon, revolted at the coarse idea of living mainly as breeders to the social republic.

To relieve this proper feeling of uneasiness, another great truth was enunciated. Souls of men were prepared from the beginning. When a body was formed, a soul was sent down to occupy it. Now it was revealed, as the leaders said, that a considerable number of superior-like souls were waiting an introduction into the bodies of human creatures ; but would, very naturally, prefer a community recognized as a holy one upon earth.

Who, then, with any true, loving, feminine nature, would not rejoice to be the medium of presenting an abiding tabernacle to such spirits ?

If, by marrying with a polygamist saint, a woman could be the means of giving a home to a soul panting for a corporeal state, the vulgarity of connexion became a romance, and maternal instincts were gratified under the blissful inspiration of poetical impulse and religious fervour.

The apostle Orson Pratt, while announcing that “ marriage for eternity is re-established,” has these observations upon the maternity notion :—

“ The spirits of men and women have pre-existed for thousands of years ;” and that among these were “ some more noble, more intelligent, than others, called the great and

mighty ones, reserved for the dispensation of the fulness of time, to come forth and enter their earthly tabernacles among the people that are most righteous upon earth. But among the saints (*Latter-Day ones only*) is the most likely place for these spirits to take up their tabernacles, through a just and righteous parentage."

He then adds: "The Lord has not kept them in store for five or six thousand years to send them among the Hottentots, Negroes, or idolatrous Hindoos."

What a glorious revelation was this to tender-hearted women, willing to sacrifice themselves for the honour of being instruments in so great a work!

There is no doubt whatever that thousands of Mormon women are actuated by this exalting idea in their submission to the embraces of a pluralistic husband. They are ready to obey the natural instincts when under the guidance of the moral sentiments, and become wives that they may yield tabernacles for waiting souls.

Some rude persons doubt whether the souls called "the great and mighty ones," "more noble and intelligent than the rest," have really begun to descend upon earth. Judging by the present rising generation of Mormon-

dom, the youngsters have not generally developed to any extraordinary degree in virtues or genius.

But objectors will arise at all times.

Brigham Young, who has more of the quality of common sense than most men, who has great administrative powers, who has considerable grasp of thought, and knows how to apply energetically and wisely all resources at his command, has not the higher intellect of Orson Pratt, and by no means his romantic notions, and feminine tone of gentleness. All who know him yield to his superiority of magnetic power, but fail to discern much delicacy and refinement. Men of his type cannot be expected to be other than hard-headed, though he is far from being hard-hearted. When, therefore, he approaches this subject of waiting souls, he does so with a blunt honesty of purpose and directedness, with a plainness of appeal that shows he is no dreamer, and sees no necessity to veil matters.

There is, however, a coarseness which must not a little shock his more sensitive hearers; and his egotism causes him to drag forth his own private establishment before his people, in a style that would excite the unbounded astonishment of a polygamous Turk.

"It is the duty of every honest man and



every woman," says he, "to prepare as many tabernacles as they can for spirits; therefore, in case my wives should choose to quit me, I would go and seek for others who would submit themselves to the celestial law."

His own female property must be surely aware of the fate awaiting them. He is now only seventy years old, and may long live for their enjoyment of his society. But when he goes to Paradise, they go, according to the celestial law, to his successor in the chair of the prophet, as Saul's wives descended to the possession and inheritance of his successor, David.

One is not surprised to find that President Young is not profoundly struck with reverence for the other sex, and that his sympathies would hardly run out after modern ideas of female rights. "If I did not," he said, "consider myself competent to transact business without asking my wife, or any other woman's counsel, I think I ought to let that business alone."

In his courtships nothing remarkably romantic appears. He is no sighing lover, nor humble suppliant for ladies' smiles. Having on one occasion gone far out of his usual way to secure a fair one, perhaps the only one who did not bow to his nod, he is said to have

closed up a brief and not exciting argument with these last and decisive words: "If you will marry me, I will save you, and exalt you to be a queen in the celestial world; but if you refuse, you will be destroyed, both soul and body." Who could withstand the adorations of so imperious and prophetic a lover? The lady yielded.

The *Millennial Star* is thus jubilant upon Utah polygamy: "Thanks be to God that, through the Gospel of Christ, there is one spot on earth where the sanctity of female virtue, freedom in agency, and woman's rights (!) are guarded with holy vigilance."

Such an elysium should be, at least, attractive to women, if it did not produce among them a regular stampede to run to the goal of bliss.

As one of the elders was fluently employing the Scripture argument, I ventured to assert that the bishops were required by the apostle to have one wife.

"Right," said he; "they must, at least, have one wife."

In my conversation with the highly intelligent keeper of the Museum at the Salt Lake City, I learned that, after all, the institution depended upon the simple question of inspiration. Joseph Smith and Brigham Young had

received direct revelations from heaven, being prophets. All objections must yield before such spiritual communications. It would be fighting against God to deny the right of polygamy.

This gentleman was a believer in the Old Testament, which favoured the extension of population, rather than the New Testament, which practically tended, as he said, to the limitation of the species, if not its ultimate extinction. He left the patrons of monks and nuns to cite apostolic life, and Paul's ascetic and abstinent practice and teaching, while he was content with the acknowledged and direct approval of production by the Almighty Himself. The Creator had commanded the increase, and blessed the increase. The seed of Abraham were especially to be as the sands by the sea-shore, and children were true olive-branches of joy to parents.

Furthermore, it was shown me that the Scriptures often declared that the glory of a man lay in his offspring. The more of them, therefore, the greater the glory. Then, the other life is but a continuation of this, where, though there is no marriage, since that has been already arranged for on earth, there will be maintained the full enjoyments of the family relation. A man, consequently, who begets

a large family here, will be honoured in the other world above those not so fortunate, or so attentive to the calls of duty.

I was not able to follow the worthy man in this line of argument, owing to the prejudice of previous training. I could not help thinking that it was hardly fair to reward a pluralist by surrounding him in heaven with the glory of his gathering of children, when such a right had been obtained by the sacrifice of so many poor fellows of his own day, rendered wifeless through his absorption of so many of the other sex.

I was compelled to acknowledge the force of one thing he mentioned, that it was surely better to be the second wife of a good man than the first and only wife of a bad one.

I was solicitous to gain from this gentleman a knowledge of the proportion of polygamists in Utah. He could not say exactly. Most Mormons had but one wife. There might be three-fourths or even four-fifths of the men who were not provided with two or more wives.

Children are held to be the greatest blessing a man or woman can receive. Mormons, like Jews, Hindoos, and Chinese, are horrified at the thought of being childless, and take extra-

ordinary means to divert from women so deep a curse. Thus, though a woman have no offspring by a man to whom she had been sealed for eternity, she may have by other husbands; and such children will go to the glorifying of her deceased lord. (!) Even should the woman have never known the husband selected for sealing purposes,—whether Joseph Smith, or Joseph of Arimathea, or any other man,—still her children by others would belong to him.

When a husband is long away on a mission, and permission be given for his wife to seek another, though temporary, home, any children born in the interim are judged to belong to the absent one, and respected accordingly by him and the community. This is rather curiously called “raising up for a deceased brother.”

As a marriageable girl cannot enter heaven without the introduction of a husband—should she die before her nuptials could take place, or a selection be made, a good-natured brother will please to adopt her, after death, as one of his sealed wives. Then, as the poor soul had no opportunity of having children to add to her glory hereafter, it is the will of the aforesaid self-nominated spouse to confer upon her the right to certain children which one or other of his own wives may bear unto

him. Thus is she not only saved, but blessed with offspring.

But no marriage of any kind can take place without the consent of President Young, as the head of the Church of Latter-Day Saints.

So long as Utah maintains the right she has hitherto enjoyed, will polygamy flourish; but across the border—north, east, south, or west—the Mormon ceases to enjoy that privilege.

Just after the establishment of the Church at the Salt Lake, and when it was important to open up some better highway for believers than that terrible waggon journey of the Overland Route, another was opened by the Mormons. They purchased a large quantity of land at San Bernardino, fifty miles from the Pacific coast, and formed a settlement in that land of vineyards and orangeries. But afterwards Mexican California, in which place their location was made, got transferred to the American Government. Polygamy, therefore, cannot be practised there, as it is opposed to the laws of the State of California.

A number of disgusting and most improbable stories have been told by travellers about Endowment House. This hall of secrecy at Salt Lake City, where certain private initiations took place, was reported to be the scene of abominations in connection with these sup-

posed mysteries. That they should have an "Inner Circle" was nothing wonderful. It was but natural that the celebration of this sort of Masonic rite should be held with closed doors. But it was as likely that nameless improprieties should form part of the ceremony, as that a red-hot poker should be employed at the installation of a true Masonic brother.

It is sometimes forgotten by the slanderers that the Mormons are not a gathering from the *demi-monde* and their companions, but mostly from the pious, though ignorant, of our own country people. The Calvinistic Methodists of Wales yield a good percentage. In England and Scotland, the recruits have uniformly been from among the readers of Scripture, if not always members of Churches. Sweden, Norway, and Denmark have sent thousands of honest, God-fearing, earnest men and women to Utah. It cannot be, then, that such persons, if recognizing moral instincts, and professedly governed, however ignorantly, by religious feeling, would tolerate the existence of known violations of the rules of decorum and virtue, as has been asserted by prejudiced Gentiles, or by renegade Mormons. The very man who parades the filthiness of these meetings, and who speaks from personal partnership in it, has elsewhere contradicted his slander by the

expression of his conviction of the purity, the modesty, the honesty of the female converts.

There was one phase of Mormon life for which I was hardly prepared, and which exhibits an amount of Mormon confidence in human nature not found on the banks of the Bosphorus.

Roaming about the streets of Salt Lake City, I came to a bookseller's shop in the main street. Tempted by some literature in the window, I ventured upon a purchase. Behind the counter were a lady about five-and-twenty, and her husband, as I presumed, a man of some five-and-thirty years. But in this climate people maintain their good looks so well, that I may have mistaken the ages of both. As the gentleman subsequently owned to being the grandfather of several youngsters, his fresh and blooming juvenility of thirty-five may be set down at forty, if not forty-five.

Of course the conversation dropped upon polygamy. I am quite sure I did not introduce the subject. When it did come up, my sense of good breeding would have kept me silent, as a lady was present, had not the said lady herself plunged gaily into the discussion, and led off most prominently.

Usually, the Mormons prudently maintain a



reserve upon their peculiar institution. They know the ridicule cast upon it, and are conscious that questions from Gentiles are dictated as much by malice as curiosity. As an old traveller, thrown among various nations and beliefs, I had learnt to respect the conscientious opinions of others, and not suspect the human intelligence and virtue of others, because their doxy was not my own. My charity, or my worldly wisdom, was often rewarded by candid avowals from some who would have otherwise been reticent enough.

On this occasion I was let into a little romance.

"I dare say you think us man and wife," said the bookseller.

"Most certainly," was my reply.

"Then there you are certainly mistaken."

"Indeed! then she is your sister?" I suggested.

"Wrong again; we are not related at all."

The lady smiled and nodded at my confounded condition of intellect. What could I say? What would any modest man think? I waited for the story. It was given after this fashion :

"We Mormons are brethren, and act as such. My friend, this lady's husband, had business calling him to the East, and requested

me to look after his business and wife while he was away."

"Then *you* are not married?" I whispered.

"Married! to be sure I am, and have four grandchildren; besides my own family, belonging to me."

"Then you are only here in the day, going home to your wife when the shop is closed?"

"Wrong again, sir. My wife is just one hundred and twenty miles off."

I was confounded utterly, and perhaps looked so, as the lady came to the rescue, and informed me that it was all true, and that her husband's friend had thus chivalrously, at request, left his wife, children, grandchildren, and farm, one hundred and twenty-miles off, to come there to look after her and a strange business.

It was strange, very strange.

As I could not help a smile stealing over my countenance when hearing this interesting tale, and seeing before me a really handsome, healthy man, and a pretty and healthy young woman, an explanation was volunteered with a total want of reserve that spoke well for the simplicity of a primitive people.

"I had made a covenant with God," said the gentleman with great seriousness. "Of one

common faith, we are brothers and sisters, trusting one another," he added.

As I refrained from making any remark upon so very delicate a subject, so singularly brought before me, I might have been supposed indulging some sceptical ideas upon the maintenance of his covenant; for, to my bashful surprise, he appealed to the lady. And she, with no bashful surprise, quietly signified her approval of his ingenuous declaration.

Are the Mormon women satisfied with the state of things at Utah ?

Opinions have been freely expressed as to the discontent or hearty approval of the parties in question. It has been said by Mrs. Pratt, and other Mormon writers, that women accept their position with pious resignation and thankfulness. She herself exults in her blessed condition of having five sisters added to the household, and pities the poor neglected spinsters elsewhere. Others declare that, if able to express their opinion, and dare the vengeance of their lords, these wives would indignantly express their horror, as well as sorrow, at the lives they are doomed to spend in worse than Moslem harems. It has been again and again asserted that the Salt Lake females have the most miserable appearance of unhappy, down-trodden, hopeless wretches.

Were the views of English women canvassed as to the happiness of the marriage state, a considerable minority would be found abundant in fault-finding, with regret for the past folly of venturing upon a trial at all. It would not be surprising, therefore, that a Utah lady should exclaim, "I would rather see my daughter in her shroud than married to a pluralist;" or that others should mourn over years of gloom, unrelieved by a ray of sunshine.

It is, however, singular that, out of the thousands of women mated to polygamists, not one could be found to bring a public charge of bigamy against her husband; and equally odd that the wives, in a meeting assembled, memorialized for the perpetuation of the system.

A chance visitor, I could add little weight to either side by an expression of my own experience. I could say, however, that the women I saw about the streets, or within their own homes, were about as buxom, healthy, contented a looking class as I have seen anywhere. They wore no outward appearance of unjust and unkind treatment, and they sought no sympathy from Gentiles in pleading glance or tale of woe. I never heard of a secret band of philanthropists in Utah, prepared to smuggle out of the country the female victims of Mormon despotism, as there used to be in

Washington and Baltimore, to forward northward the runaway slaves. There are Gentiles kind enough there to organize themselves for such a benevolent purpose, if required, and send on soul-distressed women to the highly appreciative markets of California, Montana, and Nevada, where the knot could be tied speedily, and to gentlemen who would confine themselves to the one-wife system.

I thought, anyhow, that grief and care had not reduced the victims in flesh, for the wives of Utah are a deal heavier than their sisters in the monogamous East. They may, and do, appear somewhat dowdy in their dress. But in Utah the fashions have hardly intruded themselves. The old faith still holds its members to the use of strong, serviceable, comfortable, but not gay and expensive garments. The ladies' bonnets are some half-century-old date; yet they must be more useful, in such a climate, than the apology for head-gear among ourselves. A Parisian *grisette* would be shocked at the style of dresses, and their fit. But, apart from the rigidity of public opinion upon the subject, the circumstances of their quiet life in the wilds of America called for no exhibition of taste. For many years the men and women had enough to do to make a living, and no oppor-

tunity to spend money in finery. With plagues of drought and grasshoppers, with poor land and poor resources, with utter isolation from outside civilization, with the earnest, anxious present before them, there was little inclination to give any thought to personal adornment. And now, in spite of the wealth rolling in from opened traffic and prosperous mines, the women are not yet disposed to change their old habits, or to adopt the ways of the Gentiles. The young folks will learn to dress, and the dowdy demonstration will gradually drop off.

Of course, I was told by Mormons that the wives were perfectly happy. I was not told otherwise by the Gentiles there. It is probable, however, that much discontent might exist without the display of it. Mormon women would be too proud to confess their mistake to outsiders, and too mortified at their own folly to proclaim their regret.

There is another cause for the silence of wives under the burden. They voluntarily submitted to the yoke, and did so from no pecuniary necessity which obliges so many Christian females to marry; but from a fixed religious principle. Whatever disappointments they might afterwards experience, whatever the evils under which they had to groan, their com-

plaints would be stayed by pious considerations. More than that—they would not only yield in resignation of spirit, but find a sort of cold comfort in the reflection that they might thus be working out their own salvation.

If once accepted, as an article of faith, that it is the will of God that they be married, as one of the necessary contingencies of their ultimate redemption, good women might grieve in secret over domestic troubles, but seek grace to bear with cheerfulness the burden laid upon them by the ordinances of Heaven. It may, nevertheless, be reasonably doubted whether any but a small minority of Mormon wives object to polygamy, or are sensible of any peculiar hardships and miseries in their lot.

Wives of British workmen may, after all, have more need to complain of tyranny, harsh treatment, neglect, and the ills of grinding poverty, than their sisters in Utah. The revelations of our police courts, home missionaries, ragged-schools, and women's rights' advocates, give Mormons some strong facts for their arguments.

After all, the question of relative happiness in a State is unsatisfactory. Few would deny that the negress of South Carolina, though a slave, was more jolly and content in her life

than the free-born white. It was then said that she knew no better, and that her very cheerfulness was the result of that coarse, unthinking animalism produced by slavery. But Mormon women are too much engaged in the real struggle of life to dwell upon imaginary miseries; too busy at honest work to have any morbid fancies.

President Young sets an example for other husbands. In his Bee-house his wives are as busy as bees. Do they not live in Deseret—the bee land? Is not the beehive set over their very seraglio? How can they help being busy as bees?

They make the clothes of their children, and of themselves, as well as each having a twentieth part of the duty of clothing their august lord. They take the raw material, and spin and weave, as the wives of the old Jewish patriarchs used to do. Then, there is the garden, there is the kitchen, there is the dairy. No want of employment is found. Embroidery, leather work, and other fancy engagements with the needle, do something more than employ time; they yield something to sell to the Gentiles, or the faithful outside.

The women are not shut up in zenanas, to brood over sorrows in idleness and luxury. They are not nuns, fed and clad by the charity



of others. They are earnest, active, out-of-door workers, looking to their own labour greatly for the means of raising food for their children.

Rights they have, and rights which are respected. They can hold property; they inherit from their husbands; and the wealth of an intestate polygamist is divided equally among his lady partners.

Each has her own house, or separate apartments. Each has an equal claim upon the attentions of the husband. Each has the satisfaction of procuring divorce if the gentleman be not prudent in his behaviour.

To bind down women for time and eternity, without the chance of escape from the men who hold them in bondage, would indeed be a hopeless state of things. But in claiming his right to more wives than one, while denying women the privilege of more husbands than one at the same time, the Mormon has made one great concession to the weaker sex—the right of divorce. This right can be exercised in Utah so freely, and is so exercised, as to excite the astonishment of simple-minded Gentile visitors, and considerably damp their ardour for the cause of injured woman.

If the husband be proved to have strayed to other quarters, the wife is freed from him. If

he should have been absent from her without just cause for twelve months, she is released from her vows. If he be convicted of intemperance, her claim for divorce is allowed. And if, in a moment of anger, he raise his hand against her, his mission as her lord is at an end.

What is a little confounding to outsiders is the facility with which the Church authorities, before whom the cases are tried, consent to the rupture of ties. The sanctity of the marriage relation must surely suffer some rude shocks from the frequency of divorces.

It costs a large sum of money for a woman to get release from a bad man in England, but twenty dollars will suffice for the object in Utah.

Slandorous individuals do say that divorce often follows a previous understanding with another person. The dissatisfaction with a present home may ensue from a discovery of some affinity with a gentleman over the border. If the selected party happen to be an elder or bishop, the husband will have little quarter from the court. He may find himself in the position of the poor little fellow who was carried to the police office by his indignant wife, who held him securely under her arm, and charged him with having cruelly and wantonly assaulted her.

Let the worst come to the worst, then, the Mormon wife can get rid of her tyrant, and may, if provided with cash, good looks, or handy hands, soon enter the portals of another marital establishment. It is the consciousness of this mode of relief that checks the sentimental chivalry of Gentiles on behalf of oppressed Mormon wifedom.

There is not equality in the harem. The first wife, as in Abraham's day, has the best of it. She may be old and ugly, but she is still the superior, and the real mistress of the household. No number two can be admitted without her consent. Occasionally her peculiar views are disregarded by the Church, when appeals to her reason and piety have failed, and the second lady is allowed in spite of her protests. Otherwise, the first must either, like a good-natured Sarah, beg of her lord to take another partner, and one of her own selection, or she must signify her acquiescence with his private choice. As the husband clasps the hand of number two, or nineteen, at the altar, number one must clasp the left arm of her husband, in token of her approval.

Many will question the freedom of the first wife's consent to receive a sister. Human weakness will often be severely tried. Her own religious faith, her love for her husband,

her magnanimity of mind toward the rival, are the subjects upon which an appeal is made to her. But who can tell the hidden grief of many a one, leaving an English home with the father of her children, and having to submit henceforth to a half or a quarter share of that husband's love and attention?

The other wives, being in a lower sphere, may feel secretly no better pleased than the Sarah of the house. At any rate, the individual ladies can hardly be said to have reason to be proud of their husbands, however jealous they may sometimes be. If not remarkably jubilant in their domestic associations, the woman could scarcely be expected to be so.

Though visitors remark the healthy aspect of female faces, they do not fail to observe a demureness, a modesty, a retirement, a sort of shrinking from strangers, that would seem to indicate a sense of being watched, if not repressed, by the stronger sex. An American writer thinks "an investment in a Mormon heart and home must be rather an uncertain stock for a woman."

If dissatisfied with their position, there is not so much prospect of relief. It is possible to be divorced; but the next mate may be objectionable in himself, and have other partners of the throne besides the lady herself.

To remain in the place without a husband would be acting in such violation of the rules of propriety as to subject herself to annoyance and persecution. To go to another State as a divorced Mormon would not add to her happiness, for she would be guilty of the crime of forsaking the Holy Land for Egypt. To give up her religion, once conscientiously received, were worse than the rejection of marriage. Besides, the poor creature may have children, whom she may love too well to leave, and whom, if once she left, she would not be permitted to have again.

At the period of my visit a story was told of the sufferings of a mother who sought for her two children, after having fled to California. She made two journeys to the Salt Lake, succeeding each time in rescuing a child, although running considerable risk of the detection of her disguise.

The household arrangements of polygamy are various. In some cases the ladies live in one house, having separate apartments, while my lord sojourns in a dwelling by himself. This is Brigham Young's method. Others, like Orson Pratt, have the wives under their own roofs. Some, again, prefer a scattering process: one is in this street, another in that; a third is in the suburbs, and a fourth in a neighbour-

ing township. I did hear of Mormons having partners located in all the leading cities of the territory.

There are two advantages connected with the last-mentioned plan. The gentleman may be often away from Salt Lake in commercial travelling, and will thus find a convenient home in his varying quarters. As the ladies so distributed are expected to earn their own living, and keep their own children, there is always the expectancy of some overplus from their labours to add to the funds of the man who has honoured them in being called their husband. A Gentile told me that these wives, discreetly chosen, and judiciously placed out, would pay from twenty to fifty per cent. upon the outlay of capital, besides furnishing free quarters when the collector went his rounds.

The first wife adopts the name of her husband. She is known as Mrs. Smith. The other female claimants are recognized as Sister Sally, Sister Jane, etc. The hopeful son of Sister Sally would speak to a stranger of *Mrs. Smith* and *Sister Jane*, his mother's fellow-wives.

As may be supposed, among a people enjoying such facilities for matrimony, and believers in the absolute necessity for women belonging to a man, the state of illegitimacy is

regarded with horror. The Mormons, who are such sticklers for Scripture warrant, and desire, like the Peculiar People of Plumstead, to be guided in their daily life and conduct by the injunctions of prophets and apostles, are fully prepared to carry out the supposed Divine command about "cloud-dropped" children.

In Deuteronomy, twenty-third chapter and third verse, it is said that such persons shall be excluded from civil and religious rights down to the tenth generation. Commentators soften the terrible harshness of this law—fit comment upon polygamy—by informing us that this *mamzer* was not the offspring of a Hebrew woman, but of some Gentile foreigner. The Mormons do not seem to confine their curse to the intercourse with outsiders. Utah Gentiles are slanderous enough to think that such moral *lapses* are compounded for in subsequent marriages.

That Mormon women are not without their friends may be seen from the following excellent testimony of Jules Remy: "In emphatically declaring that they are pious, modest, chaste, faithful, devoted, sincere, laborious, honest, humble in all respects, it is satisfactory to find ourselves agreeing with every traveller who has, like us, spent some time on the borders of the Salt Lake."

Even that traitor to Mormondom, Hyde, who so bitterly inveighs against the masculine adherents, has a gentle word for the others: "The women are all sincere; their sufferings and their sacrifices prove that."

Truly the angel part of humanity,—notwithstanding all said to the contrary by Talmudic Jews, Greek philosophers, and Christian monks,—women, even under the Mormon *régime*, are better than their faith and position may be supposed to make them.

For twenty years the system of polygamy has been tried. What are the results?

It seemed a blessed institution to provide for an excess of female population, when female converts were preponderating so much. It seemed good in various ways for woman herself. But it has its drawbacks most decidedly.

Divorces, the necessary product of polygamy, have not had a useful tendency in the community. They have brought no increase of happiness or virtue by their number.

Children have not increased proportionately thereby. Brigham Young's seventeen or twenty wives have borne fewer than they would have done if distributed. Then the disproportion between the sexes has been widened, as far more girls than boys appear. In the



polyandrous districts, as the Himalaya country, more boys than girls are produced.

Women have suffered. They have been unduly depressed in the undue exaltation of men. Their homes have not had that comfort, that freedom, that feminine independence, so necessary and good for them. *They have had no husband companion.*

Men have suffered. They have had an increase of cares. Their domestic life has wanted liberty. They have dwelt, if not in fear, at least in restraint. They must exhibit an unnatural reserve at home. They dare not excite the jealousy of one wife by the display of affection toward the other. They have not dared to indulge in those delicate attentions, those grateful tendernesses, so common in the household of one wife; nor could they hope to enjoy that unbounded confidence, that dear solicitude, that bright companionship, that unwearying affection, and that sweet spontaneity of loving looks and ways, to be experienced with *one* alone.

A host of enemies howl round the institution. Men growl at the Mormon absorption of the article required. Women—especially women's rights' women—resent the degradation of the sex. Moralists are shocked, and politicians are enraged.

Men have reason to growl at the Mormons. Why should the latter take advantage of religious enthusiasm, and so appropriate the mass of women? It is easy to talk of the glory of Solomon, with his harem of a thousand; but, apart from the sad lesson taught by his dreadful departure from God through the harem, men in this day of juster principles ask what the effect was upon the children of such connection, upon the nation at large, and upon the males deprived of their share at home. That monarch's polygamy was bad for all around.

The Scripture warrant for polygamy can be as clearly maintained, according to Mormon argument, for the possession of concubines. The Mormon heroes of Old Testament story are not reprov'd, by commandment, for their conduct in reference to these; why should not Utah accept that part of the example also? Why, with a strange inconsistency, should polygamy be lauded and adopted, and the other portion condemned and rejected? Jephthah, and other children of such associations, stood in high favour in their day; so, according to the argument, bastardy should be virtuous and commendable.

Polygamy was possible in the squatting life of Abraham, in an open, sparsely-populated country; though, even then, the conduct of

that Arab shiek might not be thought right toward the men of his own little clan. It was possible in an age submissive to the divine right of kings and chiefs; who thus enjoyed the privilege to trample upon the dignity of man, and outrage the convictions and instincts of humanity. It was possible under circumstances when women were held as goods and chattels; when they were uneducated, and believed themselves born for the service of the other sex, with no freedom of will as daughter or wife. It was possible when the earth was thinly inhabited, or when wants were few and easily satisfied, as a large family might be maintained without perplexity or care. But in these days of criticism and inquiry, of thinking and reading, of close packing and high prices, polygamy is inexpedient, objectionable, unprofitable. In olden times public opinion ran with it, now it runs against it.

The Mormons are not justified in their assertion that polygamy must necessarily be opposed to the social evil. They justly boast of the removal, to a great extent, of that abuse from their own border, though only during the early days of a new Church. But was it so in the days of the Patriarchs? Was it so in subsequent polygamic times with the Jews? Does not that terrible evil

exist with the polygamy of heathendom and Mahometanism? Must it not be so, because of the absorption of women who would have otherwise been the wives of the many, and not of the few? Great as the evil is in Christendom, it is even worse elsewhere, especially where polygamy is the law.

Have not legislators provided for the state of things in polygamous countries, by the facility with which marriages can be contracted for a month, or other limited time? Is there not an indecent haste to get daughters married there, because of the temptations to violence and wrong-doing? Are there not troops of loose women in Mahometan lands?

Polyandry is a natural and detestable consequence of polygamy.

When Mormons boast of four-fifths of the world being on their side, they have not a firm ground to rest upon. Until about thirty years ago, every country, Christian or otherwise, held slaves; but that fact by no means established the truth of slavery as an institution. The antiquity of an evil, or the wide popularity of an abuse, would not establish the position of non-interference.

Under Mormonism, woman is unjustly dealt with. If she happen to be first wife, she has to submit to share her husband with others. If not

the first wife, she has to feel her inferiority to the first, and her consequent degradation as a wife. She has to be told that her express and highest mission is to marry. There is no Scripture warrant for this. Huldah, Anna, and others held aloof from the marriage rites, and were still honoured by their people. There is no reason in it. Our instincts are not always to be gratified when ever so laudable; and many find no suitable opening for their development, however satisfactory the exercise. One instinct may overcome the force of another; and moral motives and aims may, and often do, prevail against the strongest leadings of natural instincts.

If men for certain reasons exercise the right of rejecting matrimony, shall not women be allowed equal freedom, as governed by similar laws of reason? Should it be held disreputable, or contrary to Scripture warrant, for Miss Martineau or Miss Florence Nightingale to persist in their taste for a single life?

Brigham Young and his friends have a strong opinion upon the place woman holds in the intentions to the Creator. She is pre-eminently sent into this world for the convenience of souls waiting for an earthly tabernacle.

It is the declaration of this view of woman's mission which has aroused the indignant remon-

strance of the advocates of woman's enfranchisement and elevation. They demand the recognition of some higher object than that in her creation. They detect beneath the calumny the wish to hold her in bondage. If this be woman's chief mission, then is she lower than man, who has confessedly nobler and loftier calls of duty in the world than that of being a progenitor. If that is to be held to be her primary service on earth, civilization will receive a fatal shock, and humanity a deadly wound.

The voice of reason, the demands of enlightened civilization, the lessons of experience, the claims of Scriptural purity, not less than the individual happiness of husbands and wives, and the real welfare of dear children, all call for the repudiation of a system which, while seeking refuge in the letter of the Bible, is in every respect inimical to its spirit, and is both iniquitously unjust, and scandalously immoral.

## IV.

*MY MORMON FELLOW-TRAVELLER.*

I HAD a Mormon neighbour in the railway carriage for nearly a thousand miles. His patriarchal appearance drew my attention. Long shaggy hair and beard gave him a wild, bush aspect; but the snowy hue was overwhelming the dark brown colour of the locks, and made him venerable. His head was of unusual size, denoting force and energy. The face, however, was placid in expression, if not inclined to the stupid. There was no fire in the eye, and the lips were too full and loose for an ascetic. His huge bulk, roughly and even coarsely clad, was sprawled over the seat in a mode more indicative of ease than of manners. An enormous hat, never removed night or day, added to his picturesque appearance.

Being in the vicinity of Mormondom, I had an inward persuasion that this old gentleman was a disciple of the prophet. I resolved to fraternize.

At first my friendly feelings were not reciprocated. He lounged back, and dealt in monosyllables, but threw a side-glance at the inquisitive Gentile. By this time he had not only monopolised two seats, but, rapaciously seizing a cushion belonging to an unoccupied place, he managed to rig up a style of couch that must have been amazingly comfortable. Some of us quite envied the old fellow, and wished we could muster up impudence enough to appropriate ditto. The conductor, passing through our car, looked at the lolling Mormon; but, after debating the question of disturbance, concluded to let the saint enjoy himself.

Putting on the amiable, and employing that tact which belongs to the Jacobs of civilization, I laid siege to my venerable Esau. Dashing at once into Mormonism, being satisfied, as I told him, that he belonged to the faith, his interest was excited, and he talked freely. Nay, he got so far excited at last, as to forsake his cushion, sit down beside me in a decent, proper manner, and courteously enter upon a luminous exposition.

Our conversation was resumed from time to time. So well was he convinced that he had a good listener, if not a promising neophyte, that he ventured upon a narrative of home affairs of quite a private nature. Beside this, he gave



me to understand that he was on a mission to the East. He even exhibited his travelling certificate, duly signed by the chief officers of the Church at Salt Lake. I break no confidence as to the name of this respected brother.

He was a veteran of the host. Converted by the teachings of the original Joseph Smith, he joined the holy band at Nauvoo, and helped to rear the temple there, though he said nothing about his connexion or otherwise with the celebrated Danites. Subsequently, he travelled through the desert to the banks of the Utah Jordan, and took up his abode in the Canaan of the true Israel. It was a splendid yarn he gave me as to the perilous adventures he met with in the wilderness, and the difficulties to be overcome in that first settlement by the Salt Lake. I could not but honour the courage of the man, and his simple faith and trust. He was of the right stuff to form a colony in the face of bloody Indians, and contending with the stern resistance offered by nature itself in the wilds.

It is not my object to tell the reader what I learned of the Mormon creed from my fellow-traveller. He had evidently been too seriously struggling for a home to dispose his mind to literature. His dogmas came by word of mouth to him, and not by books. No reading man,

he could not be called wholly illiterate with his extensive knowledge of the Scriptures. All the Mormons I ever met were wonderful Biblical scholars. He was well up for argument, and stood his ground with abundant texts and examples from Holy Writ. It struck me, however, that he was a little astray upon a few popular articles. He said he could find no Trinity in the Bible, and was not prepared to accept that doctrine because the Pope or any others swallowed it. He was not clear about the Atonement, though referring vaguely to Jesus dying a sacrifice for man. The Holy Spirit was a sort of presence of God, or rather an emanation from Him, as He is located, according to Mormon interpretation of Scripture. The Spirit could not be seen, but God could be, and had been. For this he gave me abundant quotations.

I was a little curious as to his conceptions of a devil. Either he was not quite settled in opinion, or I was too stupid to gather his views. That person had been from soon after the foundation of the world, and he had just made his appearance when Jesus came upon earth. There was thus a mistake about his statement or my catching it. At any rate, the individual referred to was no source of terror to the honest Mormon. This might arise from his inability

to receive the theory of eternal punishment ; or, at least, he was far from being sound there.

That which was most to my purpose was his version of polygamy, and that will suit the reader better than his enunciations of theology. Here he was animated enough. It was an affair of the heart. It was the battle-field of Mormons with Gentiles. It was dear to the old man's soul—so he told me. I had Scripture and reason laid before me. Example and precept came freely in the discussion.

I was a little shocked on that American soil, and then outside of the Utah Territory, to hear such an ungallant exposition of anti-woman's rights' opinions. Of course, while man could take a dozen of the inferior creatures, one of the latter must be content with a single husband. Again, while a specimen of the nobler sex could be sealed throughout the eternities to several women, no woman could seal herself to two men. The privilege was one-sided only. The lady, however, had this sublunary satisfaction, that if she were sealed to a man who had departed this life, she could still be married to another for time. No harm was done if, when across the Jordan of death, she should be claimed by the other, and her earthly spouse be left to wander with other

ghosts along the banks until he had found his sealed partner.

The brother had a special argument to present upon divorce. "Don't you see," said he, "that if the man were not suitable for her in the other world, he was not required for this. She might get rid of him, and be united to one whom she knew already to be one she could sympathize with, and he with her, through all eternity; why not be together in time as well?"

I submitted to the force of this argument; always supposing I stood on the platform of the lady and her delivering angel, and was not required to look at the thing from the discarded husband's point of view. In the latter case, I fancied I might see objections. Yet I failed not to perceive, at last, that a woman seduced by such heavenly qualities in another man was not wholly desirable to retain in one's private establishment. Her desire for personal salvation, her intense desire for a suitable partner throughout the eternities, might as well be gratified, though it involved the sacrifice of a husband to whom she was not, and would not be, sealed.

A man had far less difficulty in cutting the knot for himself. This was not so urgent a matter, as number two or three could be tacked

on, and mitigate the sorrow endured by the poor fellow with his number one. Should the incompatibility be annoying, the divorce was the surgeon's knife of relief.

Touching upon the delicate subject of adultery, I was not surprised to be informed that, though the command was clearly declared to be death for the woman's offence, and for hers only, they were not for carrying matters to that extremity! We should think not. It would be hardly allowed, even in liberty-loving America. It was sufficient now to levy a fine, with imprisonment occasionally, and get rid of the naughty one. There was this merciful provision, however: unless the husband prosecuted, no one could condemn her.

I was assured that the man offending could be fined, and that even heavily, if the wife belonged to a leading saint. Imprisonment has not been unknown. The children, in the event of divorce, were disposed of according to the wisdom of the tribunal. In an instance of gross misconduct in a wife, her children were liable to be taken from her, so as not to be contaminated by her improper example. The proceedings altogether were conducted, he declared, strictly according to the leadings of Scripture, their only rule of faith and morals.

He gave me a curious story of early Mormon

times. In the backwoods of early days a considerable amount of gentleness and charity could not be looked for. Missouri, some thirty-six years ago, was regarded as the outside of all 'creation, especially the northern part, now pierced by the great railway. It was a place where roughs did congregate, and deeds of violence were as often applauded as blamed. Punishment was awarded according to sentiment. The "served him right" argument was conclusive for the acquittal of a murderer. It was in this pleasant region of wild wolves and still wilder men that the Mormons formed themselves.

Prejudice was strongly set in against them, as they were not wanting in angles against which men rubbed in passing by. But the saints have never been renowned for too much meekness, and were not disposed when smitten on the right cheek to turn the left to an assault. They were much more ready to act upon the recognized border notions, and give tap for tap. Though they were only the Latter Day Saints, they were strongly impressed with the loftiness of their calling, and were prompt in following the warlike propensities of Early Day Saints, rather than the teachings of the meek and lowly One.

The governor of Missouri was determined

at last to root them out. Report came that he was organizing a voluntary band of the floating rascaldom of the district, and that ten thousand men were to march on to their Zion. Prudence was thought the better part of valour, and Smith, with nine prominent leaders of the community, came forward to submit themselves to the hazardous experiment of a public trial.

A force was despatched to conduct the prisoners to the governor's gaol. "But," said my informant, "while the devils were rejoicing at the capture, the Lord sent His angel for their deliverance." I did not quite catch the exact character of the said messenger, whether it was a soft appeal or a hard bribe; but the effect upon the leader of the party was satisfactory. All at once, in a rough part of the country, a drinking shanty was reached. The men were soon helplessly drunk, and the noble ten found ten horses saddled ready for their escape.

The old gentleman entertained me with some particulars of his farming home in the far distant west. He had been a farmer before the great journey of the new children of Israel over the wilderness. When he, with the rest, suffered the moral pressure to leave the country, property had to be sacrificed. Vainly did he

attempt to get the half, the quarter, the eighth of the value of his farm. He discovered, he said, that times had changed since the first exodus. Then the saints spoiled the Egyptians, but now the Egyptians spoiled the saints. Arrived at the banks of the Jordan, his privations were long and severe. He admitted that the unexpected and awkward gold discovery, near his quarters, had made a material difference as to his comforts and the value of his estate.

He had two wives, and a power of children of all sorts and sizes. But I was charmed with the judicious management of the Mormon patriarch. He did not shut up his ladies in a high-walled harem, with slaves for attendants, and dresses and delicacies for entertainment. He did not even put them together, so as to expose them to the chance of disagreeable friction. He had certainly no slaves, and was in no position to give them servants. This is his story:—

“I just gave them their own house, which I rigged up. Each one has her own place and her own children to look after. I gave them each some cows, fowls, and so on, to do the best they could.”

“And they do well?” interrupted I.

The experiment would perhaps make each desirous to excel the other in the character of



butter, the quality of eggs, and the height of the pile of dollars' profit.

He admitted that his plans had prospered, that quarrelling was unknown, and that stock was increasing.

## V.

*MORMON NONCONFORMISTS.*

HOW vainly have men been striving after uniformity of belief! While all over the universe order and beauty reign by virtue of a rule opposed to uniformity, the human race have made society hideous by their frantic attempts to square all to one standard.

It is not pleasant to find one's self a dissenter ; and yet an English Churchman is so in Scotland, as the Roman Catholic is in England. An Armenian once said to me in Turkey, "You see how many religions there are in this country. The Greek Church, as a really ancient one, I can respect, but this intrusive Romish Church is an upstart. Mine is the true Church; others are but schismatics."

Something quite as consistent with infallibility of views I heard not long since expressed by an educated gentleman, and on behalf of his own sect. He denied it was a sect, though then embraced but by a few hundreds only.

He claimed for its dogmas the stamp of apostolic authority, and treated his opponents as blinded sectarians. Alas! in the very lifetime of its founder, this true Church had its dissenters! Only the other day the Bulgarian Church seceded from the Greek patriarch.

Such has been the fate of Mormonism. It has its dissenters. There have been Gladdenites, Rigdonites, Stringites, Wrightites, Josephites, Godbeites, etc., etc. The Josephites claim, however, to be the true Church, and declare the Salt Lake demonstration to be the fallen one. That is not a peculiarity in their case. While strictly acknowledging that a Church must be founded by revelation, as it was by Joseph Smith, and established by revelation, as it is in their own teachers, they deny subjection to all the revelations of everybody in general, and of Brigham Young in particular. They do not, any more than Old Catholics, receive the Popedom principle—introduced as a recent heresy according to their version; and they are especially wrathful at Brigham Young's inspiration making polygamy one of the corner-stones of the Mormon Church.

Though the body is not well represented at the Salt Lake, it is all-prevailing in some parts of Utah Territory, and in the lovely country

round Bernardino of southern California. From all that I heard, they have the reputation of a godly life, and of simple manners.

A Mormon leader, referring to this and another division, said to me, "You see how false is the charge brought against us that we are a persecuting people. Although those parted from us, even rebelling against the authority of the Church, and printing abominable slanders and falsehoods, we never molest them. We tolerate them, as we do the Gentiles." This is perfectly true. Men do say, however, that before the presence of Gentiles in that quarter such charity was unknown, but that the State took effectual care to preserve uniformity in faith.

The Josephites found their chief opposition to the orthodox ranks upon the polygamous question. They declare that Joseph Smith had but one wife, and adduce the evidence of his wife Emma to the same effect. On the other hand, several have upon oath made mention of facts which prove the contrary. Desdemona Fullmer asserts that she was married to Smith by Brigham Young, in July, 1843, and in the presence of Emma herself. Fanny Murray is said to have been also married to the same person four months after. Not only do we find Brigham Young acting as the clergyman for

the hero of Mormonism himself; but the brother of the first prophet, Hyrum Smith, gave a second wife to Parley P. Pratt, in the presence of Parley P. Pratt's first wife, on the 2nd of November, 1843. One Glover swears that in August of that year he was "married or sealed by Hyrum Smith, by order of President Joseph Smith, to Caroline Whiting and Caroline E. Hubbard, according to the principle and commandment contained in the Revelation on Celestial Marriage, given July 12th, 1843." Lastly, we have the testimony of a daughter of Hyrum Smith that, while she was living with her aunt Emma Smith, she heard her declare that she was present and witnessed the marrying or sealing of Eliza Partridge, Emily Partridge, Mariah Lawrence, and Sarah Lawrence, to her husband Joseph Smith, and that she, his first wife, gave her consent to the same.

As it is thus a matter of swearing and cross-swearing, the Gentiles are unable to decide between Brighamites and Josephites.

But if the latter be the Low Church of the Mormons, and the former be the High, that distinguished fraternity shares the fate of the rest of religious organizations in having a Broad Church.

The reputed founder of the Broad Church

of Mormonism is Mr. Godbe, now, with Mr. Harrison, bringing out the *Salt Lake Tribune*, in opposition to the orthodox prints—the *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Herald*.

This new section of Mormons takes decidedly broad views of doctrine. They are no ascetics, no rigid toe-the-line dogmatists. They are eclectic enough to think that there is good in all, and that truth is seen running as a silver thread through systems otherwise condemned. Whether, like our own Dean Stanley's school, there is a generous desire for union on the ground of diversity, that all might in a friendly manner partake of the State loaf, paid for by themselves as a whole, or whether there is sufficient cohesive power in this body to prevent their early dissolution, it may be premature to pronounce an opinion.

My informants were by no means clear as to the dogmatic position of the party. One of themselves appeared very floaty in ideas, and not much caring about substantial and settled forms of faith. He was simply a Progressionist, he said, like the early Christians. As they were not provided with any fixed faith, cut and dried, but went through a process of education and development, according to the Acts of the Apostles, so must men of every age, he thought, grow in the best way they could.

Where he was drifting to he did not know, nor did he mind. He was willing to be taught of Heaven, as Heaven was pleased, anyhow, anywhere, to communicate its will.

But I was assured by certain devout ones that the Godbeites had been given over to Satan, to whom they had voluntarily surrendered themselves. I was told that these were sinners above others, inasmuch as they had once received the light, but had turned themselves away from its benign and safe influences, to follow the *ignis-fatuus* of their own imagination. I was most solemnly assured that they had blindly yielded themselves to that awful and soul-damning sin—the right of private judgment, and the duty of private interpretation of all revelation !

Further investigation satisfied me that they were not less moral than the orthodox, though a great deal more daring and inquisitive. Thus, one, investigating the Mormon doctrine of Baptism of the Dead, found two passages upon which the ordinance was established; “but which,” said he, “to my mind, go to show that it was Joseph Smith’s belief in, and reverence for, the ancient Scriptures, that led him to adopt this principle, carrying out the common practice of one authority falling back upon another: Joseph leaning on Paul, Paul leaning on Moses, Moses

leaning on some other teacher; and so back and back, until we lose the final authority in the past."

They are not only of no particular opinions, but delight in showing the inconsistencies of others. They are amused at the cordial, reciprocal hatred of sects, with their individual assumptions of infallibility. They are cynical observers of religionists of ever-varying shades. The Mormons are not spared. In their organ, the *Tribune*, now before me, occurs the following, evidently approved, sentence :—

"The Mormons have their baptisms, confirmations, genuflexions, priesthood—apostolic and Aaronic, a spitfire god, a brimstone hell, a purgatory, works of supererogation, and all the namby-pamby fooleries of priestcraft, only to be tolerated in an Indian medicine man, or in a leader of some rude hordes that can only be governed by an appeal to their superstitions or fears."

And yet in the leader of the same paper there is every determination to see justice done to the saints. Stoutly opposed to polygamy, the editor says, nevertheless :—

"But we do not regard the bulk who have gone into polygamy as morally guilty of licentious cohabitation, or anything of the kind. To the extent that the law may make them so, a



juror must affirm it, or himself be guilty of a violation of the law; but we do not regard such men and women of the Mormon faith, who have from religious connections entered into polygamous life, as licentious or adulterous in a religious sense. Nor do we wish to see them hounded to death for their faith in this particular, however erroneous it may be, and is to us."

How can such men be called Mormon Non-conformists? Simply because they came out from that body, objecting to certain practices and dogmas, though admitting the same source of thought—revelation.

Mormonism is essentially spiritualism. There is the belief in the revelations of the unseen world. Inspired men, however, are supposed still to exist. It is an article of faith in Mormonism, as in Roman Catholicism, that the Church inherits the gifts of prophecy, healing, the working of miracles, and the especial privilege of the guidance and teaching of the Holy Spirit. Prophets are continued to the present day.

Emma Hardinge, the eloquent exponent of American spiritualism, writes that: "Among the Mormons, very excellent spirit mediums are to be found, especially in the direction of prophecy and healing. They claim that these

gifts are communicable by the old apostolic mode of laying on of hands."

Some wonderful things happened there through the reputed spirits about twenty years ago. Not only were windows smashed, and heavy tables flung about, but one medium, knowing only English, was able in a trance state to write answers to sealed letters in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, French, Chinese, and Mexican. There may be something, however, in what a spiritualist thinks may help this western power, when he thus speaks: "The wonderful transparency of the atmosphere, and the heavy charges of mineral magnetism which permeate California (including Utah and Nevada), seem to be amongst other causes which peculiarly favour the vision of the seer, and the production of powerful supra-mundane phenomena."

But the Godbeites claim the right of questioning the veracity of such communications, and of trying the spirits. They are quite willing to hear what the ghosts of the departed may have to deliver, but conclude to sift the evidence. They clearly go upon the presumption that liars abound in the other world, as in this, and require to be watched. Yet, while acknowledging the fact of celestial communications, they decline to honour one above another, ex-

cepting as the teaching shall be consistent with reason, and be in harmony with the divine character. They esteem Jesus Christ the highest and best of mediums.

On this principle they admire the foundation of Mormonism, whose success was indebted, they say, to the number of mediumistic men and women in the body. "Spiritualism, and not Brigham Young, then," exclaims the editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, "created Mormonism, and brought forth its marvellous results in its missions and gatherings." Again: "Mormonism, originally, was nothing more or less than a great spiritual movement, with, of course, its peculiar methods, and a matchless Church organism, which the ancient apostolic and prophetic spirits behind the veil, who were its 'controlling powers,' evolved. The heavens were at the back of the Mormon movement at first, or a certain class of spirits were, and these the elders and their believers called God and the Holy Ghost."

Another principle of missionary success was discovered, which, of course, was simply another exposition of spiritual laws. It was found that it did not matter about the man's being unlettered, and not over clever, as long as he was endowed with what we call now the inspirational nature." This may be a new

light to some as to the cause of the success of Mormonism, to be, perhaps, applied to some other sects.

The *Salt Lake Tribune* accounts for the wonderful charm about the hymns of apostle Pratt, saying: "They were full of spiritual chords, and these, when struck, started the spirits into life, and the spirits, through their mediums, were the causes of the effects."

Still the Godbeites have not a reputation for piety, according to the general acceptance of the word. I found the following story, put into large print by itself, in a copy of the *Tribune*: "A coloured man in Alexandria, Va., has been trying to play Elijah, and be fed by ravens, but it doesn't work. Two weeks ago he left his employer, dressed in his Sunday clothes, saying he would work for man no more, as the Lord had promised to provide for him. He was found nearly starved to death, and so weak that he could not crawl, having eaten only two peaches and a pear in twelve days. Not a single raven came to feed him."

## VI.

*THE MORMON PRESS.*

THE Americans are called "a newspaper race." The Mormons of the States have their organs, of course. So great a necessity does it seem in the West to have a paper, that, in the neighbouring territory of Nevada, a population of a couple of thousand souls contrived to have their local illumination. The Mormons have not a literature equal to that of California, according to their population, not being a profoundly studious community. San Francisco alone issues thirty newspapers and periodicals. One hundred years ago there were but four newspapers in the United States. One number of Frank Leslie's paper, illustrating the Chicago fire, ran up to 480,000 copies.

The American press has been so often described, that remarks upon its character seem needless. The love of fun breaks out on odd occasions, and is a great relief to the satire and

rancour of political partyism. As an Australian colonist, I was amused with the following American note :—

“Of ‘kangaroo tail,’ the latest article of food in England, a London journal says: ‘Those who object to the destruction of life can eat this meat without a scruple, as the tails of kangaroos are so large that they must be an inconvenience to their owners; while, by placing the animals under the influence of chloroform, their tails can be painlessly amputated, and packed in tins before they are aware of the operation.’”

A Californian paper favours its readers with a vision of what happens to those who neglect to pay up for their copies :—

#### “AN EDITOR IN HEAVEN.”

Apropos to an article going the round under the above heading, an exchange presents the following legend :

Once upon a time, after a demise of one of the corps editorial, he presented himself at the gate of the Golden City, and requested admission. The door-keeper asked him what had been his occupation while on *terra firma*. He replied he had been an editor.

“Well,” said the watchman, “we have a crowd of your kind here now, and they all come in as ‘dead heads.’ If you pay your passage, you can come in ; if not, you must place yourself under the control of a personage you ruled tyrannically down below”—meaning the devil.¶

Not having the wherewith to go in, our brother of the

quill and scissors posted off, and presented himself at the entrance of Cloutie's dark domains, where a very dark-complexioned gentleman stood sentry, and asked in a gruff voice, "Who comes?"

"A humble disciple of Faust," was the calm reply.

"Then hold on; you can't be admitted," exclaimed the gentleman in black, evincing considerable agitation, and fiercely scowling upon him.

"Why not?" demanded the typo, who began to get somewhat huffish, and looked around for a 'sheep's-foot' with which to force an entrance.

"Well, sir," replied his sable majesty, "we let one of your profession in here many years ago, and he kept up a continual row with his former delinquent subscribers; and as we have more of that class of persons here than any other, we have passed a law prohibiting the admission of any editors, only those who have advanced our interest in their papers on earth, and even those we keep in a separate room by themselves. You have published many things operating against us, and always blamed the devil with everything that went wrong, so you can't come in. We enforce this rule without respect to persons, for our own peace and safety. Now travel."

Casting a droll leer on the outside sentinel, our typographical friend started on again, determined to get above. This time he took with him an old file of his paper, and presenting it to the guardian of the celestial city, requested that it might be carefully examined, and they could see whether he was entitled to a free ticket. In due course of time the conductor came along and took him in, telling him that he had been a martyr to the cause of human improvement, and that resolutions had been passed to admit all members of the art preservative who had abused the devil while below. He added that as they had been punished enough by being with the 'devil,' all their future punishment is commuted.

He further stated that not one delinquent newspaper subscriber could be found in Heaven.

The Americans criticise in a merry vein sometimes. Thus, a notice of Wachtel's stentorian display in "William Tell" is thus stated: "Judging from his tremendous *suivez moi!* he might have been heard all over the little Swiss canton, had the stalwart tenor been the original Arnold; and the music-loving Austrians would have laid down their arms, and fallen on their knees in conquered admiration; and so, the fight not fought."

The *San Francisco Chronicle*, during my stay, gave a pathetic account of the editor's trials during the preceding three days:—

"*Thursday*.—We had a libel suit, in which extraordinary efforts were made to ensure our conviction, from which we made a narrow escape.

"*Friday*.—We had an attempted assassination, from which we had a still narrower escape.

"*Saturday*.—Our press-room was on fire, damaging our proofs and materials to a considerable extent, and rendering it problematical, for a time, whether the Sunday readers of the *Chronicle* would receive their papers promptly. We still live, and wait the next event."

Some of the western periodicals are poor enough in paper, print, and matter. I pur-



chased, on the way across, the *Rock River Review*, published at Sterling, Illinois. This monthly is supplied for the small subscription of one shilling a year. It contains four very small-sized pages, of four columns each, and has five advertisements. The information is local and general, and a bit of poetry is given in. The following quotation, from its leader, on the Battle of Life, shows the moral tone of this western prairie press:—

“The first and chief of foes we meet is Self, the greatest tyrant of them all. Self must be conquered first. If you leave him still unconquered, and turn to battle with Want, with Ill-fortune, or with Opposition, when you are hotly engaged with one or all of these, and near conquered, this tyrant will step up behind you, and wound you, disable you, and conquer you.”

Newspapers are commercial undertakings in America. One scheme has been adopted with success, as a means to promote a sale—that of lotteries. But some proprietors offer inducements to smart young Americans to cater for them, by premiums for lists of subscribers—cash-down ones. Thus the *Agriculturist* agrees to give articles worth so much for so many paid-up annual subscribers. For a list of seven, one gets a hundred sorts of flower-

seeds, valued at 5 dollars; for 14, a library, at 15 dollars; for 8, a gold pen, at 6 dollars; for 33, a sewing-machine, at 55 dollars, or a tool-chest, at 55 dollars; for 53, a cyclopædia, at 80 dollars; for 70, a library, at 100 dollars; for 76, a melodeon, at 112 dollars; but for 330, a piano, at 625 dollars.

The local newspaper is not a correct exponent of the politics of the place. Down-east men are most given to types, and run in the line of newsmongering. They are, therefore, mostly Republican, while the inhabitants of their particular settlement may be largely indoctrinated with Democratic ideas. Most of the reading people everywhere are Republican; while many Irish, not accustomed to subscribing for a paper, favour the other political faction. Even newspapers of enormous sale do not necessarily influence the opinions of their subscribers, who may purchase, say, the *Herald*, for its capital commercial intelligence, without the least sympathy with its political views.

In San Francisco the Germans and French inhabitants have their own press in their native tongue. Elsewhere in the States, Germans are not given to newspapers. They are quiet plodders on their own honest way, content to let others drag the political machine. The late war awoke many to the conviction that their

interests at the homesteads were involved in the question of politics. But more than all, the antagonism of the Irish has begotten an anti-Celtic feeling among the German farmers, and so induced them to take in a paper, that they might see what their rivals were about. A great impetus has thus been given to German literature; for, although able in most cases to converse in Anglo-American, they prefer to read in their old Teutonic type.

The two best papers westward are the daily *Alta California* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The former has four very large pages, containing in its thirty-six columns about six-sevenths of the space of the London *Daily News*. But then, in the same length of smallest type, there were 199 words in the *Alta*, to 169 of the *News*. The advertisements are admirably classified, and attractively displayed.

The Mormons required a medium through which their theocratical government could communicate the orders and wishes of Heaven. Their interest in other countries was but feeble; their sympathies with other objects than those connected with the spiritual kingdom were seldom called forth. The nations without were in darkness; and their affairs, though associated with the works of kings and the happiness of hundreds of millions of book-taught people, but

slightly moved those who knew their mission was simply to gather together the saints from among the nations, and then reign as priests and kings of Israel over a yielding world.

But when the Gentiles, in their restless turbulence and their ardour for wealth, ventured across the border of the promised land, other questions arose for the chronicles of Utah. The strangers wanted food, and would pay for it. They needed goods, and would pay for them. They brought news, and told the same. Prices, tariffs, supplies and demands, and even news, now entered the columns of the Mormon press.

This was not an unmixed good. It was pleasant to catch the murmuring echo of a distant scene, and human sympathies would come and go in spite of any creed. It was agreeable to be relieved of surplus stock and grain, and so add comforts to their wilderness home. It was a source of thankfulness to get supplies for old wants, and not distasteful to have new wants when these could be met. But the thoughts were drawn from the tabernacle; the converse was not henceforth confined to the revelations of prophet and apostles, and the heart was sometimes moved by other sentiments than those belonging to Zion. The newspaper was read to the sacrifice of pages of the "Book of

Mormon," and the moral influence of spiritual leaders could not but suffer from this irruption of old-worldism.

One paper failed to satisfy the thirst, and another was started. The evening and the morning had each a tale to tell in Utah. Then came a trouble, and a new call for a newspaper. Dissent arose in the Church. There never was a Church without it. When tongues are not silent, the pen is not still, and the merry type will rattle an accompaniment. An organ of the heretical, schismatical ones appeared.

The *Deseret Evening News* was the first-born of the Mormon Utah press. It counts an existence of twenty-two years, but has not long assumed a daily dress. As a sheet, it is an inch longer and an inch narrower than the London *Daily News*. Its list of brevities is carefully selected, and some news or other may be found in every column. Commercially speaking, the thing pays. In a specimen now before me, four columns and a half of the seven on the first page are occupied with advertisements, four on the second, six on the third, and six on the fourth. With five-sevenths of the matter of a newspaper paid for in that shape, the public can be treated freely with two-sevenths of news. When a weekly, in dear times for paper, the annual subscription was six dollars.

The office is in the best position, attached to the Church property. I had not the pleasure of speaking with the talented editor, a man of deserved respect in the community, but the sub-editor gave me much information, and exhibited a loyal spirit toward old England, his native home. This gentleman was an ardent politician in the Mormon cause, and eloquently, and evidently with earnest sincerity, pleaded for the truth and solid advantages of his Church. With men of like intelligence, honour, and ardour, Mormonism must be more strongly entrenched in reason as well as faith than many others dream of. With such vigorous, hearty, faithful advocates, there is no likelihood of the system dying out yet.

The *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, of much more recent origin, has greater vitality about it than its venerable companion, though less appreciated, of course, in high quarters. But it may pay as well. In the copy before me, twenty-six of thirty-six columns of its four very large pages are devoted to advertisements. Among the intelligence columns are "Inklings" and "Lightning Flashes." I noticed, in a statement of "What English workmen sing," that my countrymen were accustomed to use "The Secularist Manual of Songs." More than once I was told that Englishmen were

making up their mind to do without a God. Mormonism only could save them.

One feature of the paper is rather uncommon. It is there said: "Anonymous communications cannot find place in the columns of the *Herald*, no matter how much we might desire to publish them. The name of the writer must in every case accompany the communication." The subscription for the *Herald* is ten dollars a year. Like the San Francisco paper, it is published every morning but Monday. This is by no means Israelitish. Sunday morning in Christendom generally is held more sacred than the evening. To our British notions, it would be less shocking for printers to begin their work before twelve on Sunday night, than have the Sunday morning paper shouted forth as folks go to church.

The last newspaper of the Salt Lake City is the *Tribune*.

The *Deseret News* is a paper of eight pages. It is the Radical fault-finder with the saints and their headship; the organ of the Dissidents or Nonconformist Mormons; and is largely patronized for reading purposes by the Gentile population. It naturally takes rather the side of the central Washington government, than favouring the territorial authorities. There is spirit, and there is spite, about

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its utterances. It may be that writers have a real grievance that torments their memory, even if without any present disabilities troubling them.



## VII.

*SIGNS OF CHANGE IN MORMONDOM.*

THE iron horse goes galloping along at a furious rate, and has made some wonderful changes even in Utah.

The halcyon times are gone. In the days of despotic theocracy, when everything was settled by special revelations from the Most High, made to His exalted and favoured creatures, the leaders among the Latter Day Saints, there reigned a calmness and serenity which seemed a return to patriarchal simplicity. The apostles and bishops ruled, and the people obeyed. Patrols restrained unlicensed expression of opinion, and enforced respect to the infallibility of the Church.

Again, there was little money then, but plenty of hard work. The effect of such a condition of things was to prevent the development of individual thought, and the expression of individual sentiment. There was little or no communication with the external and ungodly

world. The mass of the brethren and sisters had arrived there very ignorant of literature, and simple in their ideas. Obligated to work hard, unprovided with any reading but that sanctioned by the Church, and consorting only with those of their own opinions, the dreariness of uniformity was mistaken for the bliss of one common faith, and the stagnation of thought was held to be sanctified contentment. There was not only obedience to dogma, but submission to practice. When there was not only the expressed decree of Heaven for polygamy, but public sentiment in its favour, the institution could not but prosper.

It might be asked how so expensive a system as that of the maintenance of two or more wives could exist with so poor and struggling a community. I put the question to a Mormon. His answer was to this effect:—

“When the Lord and His angels brought us up out of Egypt, into this Canaan, we found ourselves remarkably situated. We were poor enough, and had a wilderness to subdue before us. But we had an excess of females, they having, as in the time of Jesus, heard the truth gladly. It was absolutely necessary that we should band together for labour, and equally necessary to provide for these good young women. Then the Lord showed us a way with

His pillar of cloud and fire, that is, His servant the prophet. We were to carry out the Abrahamic covenant. Our Sarahs gave unto us maidens for wives. Then there was no burden upon the State. All were provided for. The women as well as the men laboured upon the land, made clothes, and were helpmeets to each other. We dwelt in peace together, because we had one common interest."

Upon my arrival at the Salt Lake, many remains of the old patriarchal life were seen. But, as with some geological formations, while undergoing a process of denudation and degradation, exhibit on both sides of the valley the horizontal and undisturbed strata, now daily increasing in distance from each other, so did I notice, amidst some marvellous exponents of progress, the ancient humdrum of peace, the stereotype manifestation of dogmatic uniformity.

The houses of wood, or of adobe—sun-dried bricks—were unpretending in exterior, and modest in furniture. The rooms were neither lofty nor large. Set back from the streets, the dwellings were surrounded by gardens and orchards, presenting a most attractive picture to visitors. No idle, dirty, noisy children were seen about the premises, and no idle, gossiping women. The sentiments of home-life appeared

from such a view to be dearly cherished and honoured by the people.

The dress of the inhabitants was generally strong and well made, if not of expensive material and of fanciful fashion. The men were plainly but respectably clad. The most common-looking of labourers wore comfortable and suitable clothing. Women, generally, were not ambitious to imitate their New York sisters in the extravagance of their attire, but were modestly and decently dressed.

The behaviour was correct enough to the street gazer. I witnessed no impropriety of conduct, nor heard indecorous language. After dusk there was a freedom from noise and disturbance quite striking to a visitor from California. No reeling drunkenness, no parade of licentiousness, no tongue of foulness, distressed the eye or ear of morality. Having heard much of the wickedness of Utah, I was constrained to think how pleasant it would be if Paris, London, and New York could as cleverly conceal the deformities and horrors of vice.

Notwithstanding circumstances, there was still a respect for religion, an attention to pious duties, a deference to priestly authority, an observance of moral injunctions. The stores were emblazoned with the words, "Holiness to

the Lord," and the eye of God was portrayed figuratively upon the wall. Mormon institutions existed, Mormon rule was established. One and another assured me that the storm would pass, and the Church, as the floating ark, would be preserved. There was nothing to fear. The Church was founded upon a rock, and the gates of hell could not prevail against it. "Had our covenant not been from the Lord," said one, "it could not be maintained. But who can fight against God?"

The *non possumus* prevailed at Utah, as at Rome. How could the Church, having the truth, yield at all! Enemies might be permitted to triumph for a while, but Zion must be established upon the everlasting hills. There was but one truth; there could be but one. That truth came from Heaven, and was entrusted to the Latter Day Saints, to keep till Jesus Christ should be revealed from the Heavens in flaming fire to take vengeance upon the disobedient. This is the pleasant delusion of the true Church, as taught by Pope Brigham and his clerical supporters.

But the signs of change were equally conspicuous as I walked and talked in Utah. Foes within, as well as foes without, are working to produce the change. A reformation has taken place; a real secession or schism has appeared.

The temporal sovereignty of the Mormon Pope is jeopardized, if not rapidly yielding to pressure. His spiritual power is even now questioned by some who call themselves real or old Mormons, and who refer to the Brighamites as a temporary and successful revolt against the Mormon faith in its purity and integrity.

But the Gentiles are there. I observed the main street unmistakably alive with them. The bustle, the loud talking, the vulgar swearing, the drinking, were all Gentile. Not that all Gentiles are of a low character. On the contrary, many persons, besides the representatives of the United States government, are of real respectability in station and conduct. Even places of worship are being now attended by two denominations of Gentile Christians. A Mormon assured me, as he pointed out the buildings, that he rejoiced in their coming. It was time, he thought, that some fear of God should be shown by the outsiders.

Though doubting the power of our friends to reconvert the Mormons, the residence of Christian ministers at the Salt Lake, and the holding of our religious services there, will be likely to attract the notice of inquisitive young people, and induce them to contrast the two teachings.

I was not a little astonished to see displayed in Gentile windows the lowest class of New York publications. Inquiring about this, I was told that young Mormons were the ready purchasers. Their education had been sadly neglected; they had been long restrained in thought and practice; and now that they dared break through this restraint, they were kicking over the traces, and going in for the greatest rubbish and abomination of literature that even New York could supply. Unfortunately, what the lads buy, the lassies read, though it may be by stealth. Example at home, when contrasted with tales of Gentile life, is not calculated to raise their standard of virtue. The very oft-repeated discussions at the table, and at the tabernacle, concerning women, and the marriage relation, are not likely to develop modest ideas in girls not under the mental discipline of implicit and honest obedience to a fanatical faith.

I was more than once assured that a sort of leavening is going on among Mormon families that will eventuate in licentiousness and unbelief. This must not only produce disorganization, but disintegration. Not the most fierce persecution, not the ablest literary opponents, can reasonably be so dreaded as this insidious but most destructive influence of a corrupt litera-

ture. If there be any correctness in the slanders of residents, the young people of Utah are not slow to imitate the vices of which they read.

While disposed to give all honour to the Mormon community for their progress in material prosperity; while admiring their well-laid-out streets and gardens, while praising their energy in overcoming physical difficulties, and while acknowledging their tenacity of opinions and the general moral tendency of their exhortations, I am obliged to declare my surprise and regret that schools and literature have been as yet so little heeded by the Church.

Education cannot, for very shame-sake, be longer neglected. In spite of themselves, the Mormons will be compelled to use the school-books of the United States. The eyes of the young are not likely to be sealed after this. A serious blow to spiritual supremacy, though not necessarily destructive to Mormonism itself as a sect, may be counted upon when the school-master is really abroad in Utah.

The mining interest is already working, and mightily, the change of present things. Miners come down from the hills around to obtain supplies from the Mormons, to enjoy a little civilization, and indulge in too much liquor. They have plenty of cash, and spend it freely; who, then, could possibly be rude to them?



Certainly, it is against shopkeeping human nature. Their free talk and free ideas are thus freely circulating.

Again, though the Mormons, in more than one instance, told me that the Gentiles did not settle, did not intend to settle, and wanted no farms in the territory, there is pretty good reason for believing that the Gentiles quite approve of the grapes of Canaan, and are making up their mind to get hold of some of the best bunches. Their stores give one no impression of a limited sojourn; and their churches are of no temporary order of structure. At present, it is true, trade and mining occupy the thoughts of the Gentiles. But as it is already apparent that farming pays, dollars and muscles are moving towards cultivation. The land, if not quite abounding with milk and honey, is pronounced uncommonly good, and every train from east and west is bringing new arrivals. When the time comes for the saints to be confronted in their midst by a population of a foreign and formidable character, the tug of war will be felt.

At any rate, the Gentiles of the mines will be felt in their influence upon the future destinies of Mormonism. No mines in the world are more promising, or more engaging the attention of capitalists in Britain, than those in

and around the Mormon dominions. What the enterprise of this interest has effected may now be seen in Melbourne and San Francisco; what it will effect will be seen in the cities of Utah. Faith has drawn 150,000 to the Salt Lake, while gold has attracted 600,000 in less time to California.

The influx of wealth is working the mightiest change of all among the Latter Day Saints. At first they stoutly resisted the temptation. The heads of the Church forbade all intercourse with overlanders. They forbade their young people going to the gold placers of the Sierra Nevada. They subsequently prohibited prospecting among the metal-bearing rocks of their own mountain home. But the seduction was too strong for their power. The overlanders were welcomed for the sake of their dollars expended. The diggings of California were frequented by Mormons. The silver leads of Utah and Nevada were sought for by the faithful.

Even after this, the leaders pleaded and exhorted for the right use of their riches. The saints were informed that revelation had permitted them to gather in the spoil, but only that they may consecrate it to the Lord in the work of missions. A good quantity of dollars was spread along the flat for forty miles, in the form of a railway line to the great Pacific

crossing. But this was the means of increasing the bullion of the State.

It has been generally observed that men's liberality does not keep pace with growing wealth. A young man willingly spares one-tenth of his salary when but fifty pounds, but will esteem five per cent. upon an income of thousands to be an extravagance of charity. All Mormons did not give their profits to the cause of missions, nor hoard it in their coffers. Tempters appeared with enticements to expenditure, and luxury entered.

A writer in the *Sacramento Union* has an observation upon the social effects of this increasing wealth, the beginnings of which were obvious to my own eyes when in Mormon territory. First, in referring to old habits of thrift and economy at Utah, he mentions the non-existence of millinery bills in that epoch of simplicity and poverty. "But," continues he, "times are changing, even in Mormonism. Mormon ladies have the passion for dress that is inherent in the sex. Gentile silks and poplins, frills and furbelows, are witching things. Salt Lake ladies, even of the most saintly sort, hanker after these, and will have them. Gradually, a ribbon, an apron, a bonnet, or a new dress, with some approximation to style, makes its appearance

even in the harem. The disease is catching ; and when it becomes badly contagious, woe to polygamy, for no Mormon will be able to support more than one wife, any more than a Gentile, when the fashion-plate is admired and worshipped among Mormon women as it is by their Gentile sisters."

Whatever the joke on the surface, all visitors can see the force of the argument already. Tracts and speeches will be less effectual in the subjection of polygamy than fashion-plates. Men will discover that wives will then not only be more expensive to keep, but do a great deal less for their living, than in the primitive days. Young women will discover that a man with only one wife can afford to have her better dressed, and indulge her in more ease, than the saint with half a dozen wives. They may elect, therefore, to marry on the sole condition that one lady only be maintained by the establishment.

The break-down of Mormon peculiarities is not far distant.

## VIII.

*THE POLITICAL SITUATION.*

“WE must crush these wretches,” said an American to me in a car.

“And why?” asked I. “Are they so much worse than the rest of your people?”

His reply was decisive. “I hate the devils, and would gladly join in hunting the vermin to death.”

This man was a representative of a large class of would-be tyrants and persecutors in this land of freedom. It was all in vain I tried to get his reasons. They were but devils and vermin in his eyes. I must say that others beside Mormons shared in this gentleman’s charitable feelings. He was equally prepared to shoot down, burn out, or otherwise get rid of, certain of his own countrymen who dared to think somewhat differently from himself upon political ideas.

This sudden outburst of virtuous indignation in America is strange to outsiders. Five-and-

twenty years have passed since these religionists settled in Utah. They dwelt there quietly until lately. They had outlived, by their steady industry, and mind-your-own-business morality, many charges formerly brought against them as a band of rogues and horse-stealers. Now they are to be crushed.

But somebody has something to say on the other side. Naturally enough, the snug farms, the paying mines, the fine improvements of the Israel, would fall into the hands of some enterprising Gentiles at a reasonable figure, if but another emigration could be forced on. But then somebody else would have something to say.

The merchant would decidedly object to any such interference. These people are making money, and are among his very best customers. One of their stores gets through a million of dollars a year, a good percentage of which goes into his pocket. They are safe customers. He makes no bad debts among them, though they know how to make a good bargain; their religious leaders enforcing the practice of commercial honesty. No, the merchant objects to any interference with this people.

The mining capitalists of the great silver land of Nevada have equal reasons to have the peace kept with their Mormon neighbours.

The mines could never have been opened in such a sterile desert of rocks had not the Mormon agricultural settlements been handy. The very labour hired by the capitalist in these mines has been largely Mormon. But for these people, therefore, bread would have been at famine prices, and vegetables unknown. Property investors all around Utah are of the opinion of a New York authority: "Certain it is that the material prospects of Utah cannot be improved by crushing down a thrifty population."

Englishmen would, or ought to, object to this wholesale injustice. With the exception of very few, all the Mormons I met with were English and Welsh. When one of the editors of a Salt Lake paper learned I was an Englishman, he rose from his chair, took my hand with a hearty clasp, and said with real emotion, "And I too am English, thank God!"

The advocates of religious freedom, and the lovers of fair play, will have something to say on the question of any employment of force to reduce convictions. The age of dragoonades ought nearly to have passed. Nothing that Protestants can say of the Mormons can be so bad as Roman Catholics have said of them. If the latter are not to have the indulgence of *autos da fê*, thumbscrews, and Smithfield demonstra-

tions, as measures to restore Protestants to the true faith, and so save their souls, should the said Protestants be allowed to torment those who, with all their absurdities, claim to be a true Church founded upon the Bible alone? But the spirit of advanced Liberalism will surely never sanction the invasion of religious rights with violence.

"No," say others; "we are not going to use the sword. We mean only to use the lever of law to upset them."

And how is this being done? Let us see.

As Utah is subject to Washington, because it is still only a territory, though having far above the population which has gained State rights for other localities, a certain judge was sent down to Salt Lake. He was a cute specimen of his race of political lawyers, a class of men somewhat different from the old English tribe of settled family attorneys and solicitors. He came to worry the Mormons, and succeeded to admiration.

It happens that the Mormons are not sufficiently enlightened to permit free trade in the sale of alcoholic liquors. Like as in England, the municipal authorities of Salt Lake objected to extensive licensing. Formerly, such was their apprehension of the danger of strong drink, that they would only sanction the existence of one



public-house, and that was kept by a brother, amenable to the terrors of the Church. For many years this house served the population, now over a hundred and fifty thousand disciples.

But mines broke out in their midst. A foreign people arrived. An increase of trading Gentiles, also, took place simultaneously. The one house of call was too slow to the taste of the new comers; and though the quality of the stuff was unobjectionable, restraint as to quantity was a decided infringement of the rights of the subject. The Mormon leaders heard with compassion the pitiable outcries of these distressed individuals, and agreed to their prayer for licensed houses of their own. To limit the extent of mischief likely to arise from these multiplied tempters, a very heavy licence fee was fixed. As profits were good, the fee was cheerfully paid.

Soon after the new pressure commenced, a few months ago only, one man was resolved to try a fall with the Mormon authorities. He put up a fine hotel, laid in nearly twenty thousand dollars worth of liquor, and boldly declared he would pay no licence. The mayor civilly showed him that this meant forfeiture of stock. He was laughed at. The city police cleared off the cellar property. An action at law was commenced. And what was the

result? The hotel keeper was the victor, and the city council was condemned to pay a fine of three times the value of the sequestered liquor.

As the aforesaid literary gentleman said to me when proudly acknowledging himself an Englishman: "Such an act of tyranny and injustice could never be done in old England, but could be done by the democracy of America."

What about Judge McKean's attack upon polygamy?

Now, with all due respect to conscientious scruples, most of us fancy that when supposed convictions of duty clash with the interests of a commonwealth, the first must give way. A worshipper of Kali believes it his solemn privilege to bespatter our brains against his ugly image of the goddess. It is our happy privilege to call in the police for our protection. There are certain gods and saints who are patrons of thieves; but we decline to allow such pious instincts to prey upon our purses. The religious claims for the practice of polygamy, excepting where universally admitted, must be in like manner disallowed. It may seem wicked and rebellious to oppose the heaven-sent revelations to Brigham Young; but we do so in the interests of civilization so called, and because if folks were allowed by superior wealth or influ-

ence to absorb the women market, there would be a manifest injustice to some others of us who might like to have a wife, but be unable successfully to compete with polygamists.

But how did the United States Government deal with the question? It has been said with some truth that had not the gold and silver mines of the Pacific side been revealed, and had not the iron road passed through Utah, no attempt would have been made to interfere with the institution. There is, at least, this difference between polygamy and slavery, that, whereas the victims of the last-named institution loudly protested against its continuance, those of the other are the strongest advocates for its existence.

Judge McKean was to remove the cause of scandal. How did he proceed? He saw, as others saw, that the thing was dying out, and that another generation would see the last of the practice. But his business was to evidence the earnestness of Government to put down the evil. As soldiers could not very well be employed in the affair, unless by a Sabine process, the lawyer had to settle it by a process of law. But where was the law which these Mormons had broken, and under whose statutes they would be punished? Alas! it did not exist.

“But is not bigamy punishable?” Yes, if number one or number two wife will consent to prosecute. But the wives of Utah could not be induced by flattery or threats to appeal for help. They hugged their chains. What was to be done? The case was thus put by a gentleman in Salt Lake, and yet no polygamist:—

“The court and its officers say, in effect, that, inasmuch as the crime is anomalous and shameful in its character, measures equally offensive in the matter of taste, and nearly as questionable in a moral and legal sense, are wholly justifiable for its overthrow. The court itself, as well as its constituted mouthpieces, are compelled to admit that it is forced ‘to disregard the forms of law and justice’ in the accomplishment of its important work.”

This is humiliating to confess, and a triumph to Mormonism. Again and again I was told, “We are legally right, and they know it.” Even the *New York Tribune*, speaking of the legal fiction, observed: “It must be confessed it is not so much in the interest of abstract justice as in that of society.”

In 1852, at the first sitting of the Legislature of the territory of Utah, an Act was passed called “Offences against Chastity, Morality, and Decency Act.” It condemned adultery and the improper association of the sexes. The

sagacious judge made the happy discovery that this enactment could be twisted to serve his purpose. It would be the rebound of the boomerang upon the thrower to have the Mormon law directed against the Mormons.

A slight matter had been neglected. Sound jurists say that intent governs the deed. Now, was it probable that a legislature of polygamists, in condemning vice, intended that their law should be applied to themselves? Would they ordain the imprisonment of the adulterer for a term of years, if they regarded the wrong-doing as one which they themselves were daily practising? In condemning the immoralities of a lascivious life, and fixing a fine and confinement as penalties for its conduct, could they have believed the act applicable to their own polygamous course? It was funny to talk about being hoisted by their own petard; but was it not sharp practice?

It was to no purpose that the Mormons showed the inapplicability of the Act. It was idle for them to exclaim that polygamy was only to be put down by trickery and fraud. It was equally useless for them to cite the authority of Story, the Judge Blackstone of America, that "the constitution of the United States guaranteed alike to the Mahometan and the Christian the right to practise the tenets of his

religious faith unharmed." It was a subject of jest when they showed that the great English nation acted upon this principle of freedom, and did not interfere with the polygamous customs of its subjects in India and elsewhere. All was in vain ; they were to be judged and condemned, and that upon this act of a Mormon Government.

One Hawkins was singled out for trial. I was told by an elder that, when the jury were impannelled, it was discovered that all but one were Mormons. That was but natural, as they stood in the proportion of twenty to one of Gentiles. The difficulty was removed by the discharge of the eleven, and the selection of a set of more agreeable opinions : so Hawkins was fined 500 dollars, and sent to prison for three years.

Higher game was demanded, and the president of the Church was charged with a similar crime, as he had sixteen wives. But few seemed to believe that the Washington administration meant to carry out their threats. A Mormon deputation had gone to the capital, and a compromise was expected. A party of fanatics declared their disbelief in the sentiments of the great Napoleon, that Providence was on the side of the heaviest battalions, and boldly wished to unsheath the

sword of the Lord and of Gideon. The majority of Mormonites take a more worldly-wise view of the case. They have, likewise, been out of sword practice, having so much occupation in the counting out of dollars.

Then what is their hope in this extremity? A diplomatic one. They must oppose the lawyer with the vote of citizens. Public sentiment may be a lord of misrule in the States sometimes, but it is a powerful lever at all times. The States, though in the Union, are not united brethren. The Territories, usually slighted by politicians, can make themselves heard upon occasions. Now they are beginning to arouse themselves. If the central authority can bring down the iron heel upon the territory of Utah, it may come upon other territories. A common cause of oppression may result in a combination. Not a few have cried "Shame!" at this Lynch law of justice; even the columns of New York and Washington papers have pronounced against the trickery.

And what compromise would spare Mormon humiliation, satisfy the Government, and give State rights to Utah territory? To force the Mormons to turn adrift all their wives, except the first, would be an act of cruelty to children, and injustice to weak women. To leave them their wives, but prohibit any

future additions to harems, may appear to be guilty and cowardly in a Christian rule, yet still be the quietest solution of the riddle. But would the Mormons consent to such a compromise? The following letter, from one styling himself an obscure member of the Church, is really so good that no apology is necessary for its introduction here:—

“It is a matter of life and death with us; yet, if Congress will give us a liberal State Government, legalize all marriages up to the present time, assume the responsibility of vetoing the commandment of God requiring us to practise polygamy, and stand between us and the heavens to receive all penalties that might otherwise be inflicted upon us for ignoring the said commandment, then, and in that case, I, as an individual, should be prepared to sanction the discontinuance of polygamy, until the Government should petition us to take back the boon of which it deprived us.”

If this carefully worded document be representative of Mormon ideas, and if the Government be prepared to place its shield between the Mormons and the darts of Jove, then the Mormons may not be crushed after all. They may inhabit their lovely region in peace, pile up the dollars, grow in numbers, and calmly, though confidently, wait for the time when the



Government, finding its shield useless against the said darts, and pitying the objects of Divine wrath for broken covenant, should petition the Mormons to take back the boon of which it had deprived them.

The *Deseret*, official organ, remarked some time ago, that "if Congress shall determine to restrict marriages in this Territory or State," it shall "name some distant day in the future for the restriction to take effect, say, after another quarter of a century, in order that all now living who believe in a more liberal marriage may be in nowise disturbed in the exercise of their faith, as the Constitution directs and guarantees. In that time experience would show whether the system was or was not likely to die out, as some declare it is now doing."

This is a very mild way of putting it. The proposed compromise may, after all, be adopted. That period would seal the fate of the present holders of plurality, and the junior branches are not likely to adopt the practice.

A Mormon wrote thus apologetically to a Utah paper: "We did not manufacture the revelation commanding polygamy, nor do we consider ourselves any more to blame for its existence than we are for a shower of rain from on high."

A couple of years ago Congress passed the

Collum Bill, for the extinction of polygamy. But the difficulty was how to deal with the Mormons in Utah. The Act upon which the recent cases have been tried was a similar one to that passed in Massachusetts, and had but one object, the prevention of crime and indecency. The Mormon legislature ruled that it did not apply to secret cohabitation.

There were two questions in this political situation. Besides the attempt to prove polygamy to be adultery and bigamy, an effort was made to affix the charge of murder upon sundry Mormon chiefs, including President Young. A number of Gentile emigrants and Mormon apostles disappeared mysteriously. In one instance Indians massacred a party, though now it is affirmed that whites were so disguised. One man is ready to swear that a direct mission was issued by Brigham Young for the murder of certain parties, and that Danite executioners secretly carried out the order. The three distinguished Danite leaders were Ephie Hanks, Orrin Porter Rockwell, and Bill Hickman.

The evidence rests almost absolutely upon one man, Hickman, and he an outlaw and an assassin. The Mormons themselves are ready to admit that some well-recognized rascals have been got rid of in a hasty manner; but they plead the necessity of Lynch law with the

ruffians, thinking that such slippery characters were best dealt with after the Californian system of "hang him when you have the chance."

Without doubt, some awkward revelations would come out upon a fair trial. But while we in Britain never doubt the honour of a judge and the love of justice in a jury, the good qualities of both are reasonably suspected in western America. Ireland may in a political rush exhibit similar uncertainties. It is to be feared that violence was employed in the interests of the Church, as elsewhere in all times. Men perform atrocious deeds under such pious sanction, and think they do God and the State good service.

Brigham Young was counselled to surrender, and procure bail. This was done, and he then retired to St. George, on the Southern border. It was said when I was in Utah, that the old man would prefer that sunny home to reappear-ance for a trial. His attorney openly said that he would be surely condemned by the United States court, as the intention was to condemn, not to try, the case. Others said, "Let him stop down there, and we shall not interfere with him."

But the veteran, who retired for the warm climate south, was not the man to shirk a

difficulty. He is, doubtless, in no mood to be a martyr. He is shrewd enough to perceive a way of escape, and is too plucky to decline the combat. The Probate Court—the territorial one—has fought well against the Marshal and State authorities. It demanded the release of the Prophet, who was present at the time of the discussion. The other side declared its intention to carry the case to a higher court.

The following quotation from the *Chicago Tribune* of May, gives a recent statement of the case:—

“All the Mormon prisoners under arrest and indictment in Utah have been discharged, and the Supreme Court of that territory has accepted the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, that its proceedings in criminal business since September, 1870, have been unconstitutional. Some of these Mormons have been under arrest for more than a year; no less than two dozen have been indicted for murder, and several are now serving out their sentences upon conviction for other offences.”

The *Tribune* then comments upon these high-handed measures:—

“All these prosecutions have been instituted for the purpose of breaking up polygamy, and,

like all extra-judicial prosecutions, have only strengthened the institution. The attempt of the court to make a law to cover the case and to ensure convictions, has resulted in a disastrous failure, and polygamy is, in the Mormon mind, stronger than ever, because of the martyrdom of the saints who have been persecuted."

Every Mormon with whom I conversed was loud in his denunciations of the tyranny. An elder spoke to me thus:—

"We have been treated worse than dogs. We have been robbed of our rights as men. By the Constitution of the United States a territory has the privilege of being admitted as a State, with all its rights of self-government, when the population arrived at 70,000. We are more than double that amount, and cannot receive the freedom. Even the rights of naturalization have been denied to our Scandinavian Mormons, though granted everywhere else to their fellow-emigrants. But Mormonism is of God, and must prevail."

After all, the question of politics is more involved in that of polygamy than anything else. President Grant put it plainly in his message: "In Utah there still remains a remnant of barbarism repugnant to civilization, to decency, and to the laws of the United States.

It is not with the religion of these self-styled saints that we are dealing, but with their practices. They will be protected in their worship of God according to the dictates of their conscience, but they will not be permitted to violate the law under the cloak of religion."

The Mormon cannot see why his polygamy is not as much a part of religion, and under entirely Scripture sanction, as the celibacy of the Shaker. And if children are a blessing, and their multiplication a benefit to the State, the Mormon practice, he holds, must be better than the Shaker one. Yet the latter is no offence in the law, while the former is held to be so. Anyhow, the Mormons ask whether they are not more worthy the protection of the Government than the Perfectionists of New York State, who indulge in complex marriage. They cannot understand why America, professing to govern without relation to religion, and to give such entire liberty to religionists, shall be less liberal than the English, governing a State Church, and yet permitting polygamy in their dominions, when it is practised on religious grounds, as among the Mahometans of India, etc.

The American papers make fun out of the political situation, as is the wont of the humour-

loving race; for Jonathan will have a grin out of the ugliest circumstances. All sorts of fun, of course, are brought out in illustrations. Some amusing things appeared while I was in the States, exhibiting rare talent of pencil and much suggestiveness.

One is, "The Mormon Problem Solved." The tabernacle is in the background, and President Grant thoughtfully confronts President Young in the foreground. The space from front to rear is filled up with a dense line of wives and children. A tempting young lady hangs lovingly on one arm of the prophet, and an aged partner hangs lovingly on the other. Brigham is represented saying, "I must submit to your laws, but what shall I do with all these?" The General replies, "Do as I do—give them offices."

Frank Leslie's *Budget of Fun* has a laughter-provoking page on the occasion.

There is a huge bed for Brigham and his wives, whose boots and slippers form an extended line at the foot. Husband, and wives of indefinite quantity, are sitting up night-capped in bed, listening with horror, when "a nocturnal knocking is heard in Utah."

Another picture gives a sketch of the home. The wives are plunging into a pell-mell free

fight. Rolling-pins, irons, and brushes are being used in the ardour of the conflict. A sheriff or marshal is handing Brigham Young an order for his arrest, adding, "I have come to take you away from your wives." The Mormon is grasping the hand of the officer with great fervour, exclaiming, "Thank God for that!"

Before his departure he has to embrace his wives, which is rendered most expressively. The beloved one utters, "Farewell, my loves, my doves!—it is my country's call!" The children set up a howling cry of "Pa! pa!" and the artist displays the various forms of infantine grief.

The parting at the door of the "U. S. Court" is ludicrously put. The wives, of all ages, colours, and degrees of ugliness, are bidding him farewell.

Then there is the examination of the accused before the law's stern judge, when the complacent Mormon is represented concluding an address thus: "If I can only have one wife, your honour, I prefer getting a new one, and start fresh, you know."

But when the terrible sentence is passed: "This court condemns you to live with all of 'em for the rest of your days," the agonized culprit, clasping his hands, and with a



look of intensest emotion, entreats compassion, praying, "Mercy! mercy!" Meanwhile, the wives in the court are grinning with delight at the verdict, and the jurors and masculine spectators are overwhelmed with grief at the severity of the sentence, and weep with sympathy for the unhappy man.

The last scene shows us the president ready for his travels. He is bidding farewell to his numerous family, and is prepared to go off by the first train with Mrs. Young, a lovely damsel, in the height of fashion. He waves his hand to the excited, angry group below, saying, "I leave you my blessing — and our children."

But the moralist and Christian would not be satisfied with the indulgence of laughter or a sneer at the evil of polygamy. With all our admiration for the principles of civil and religious liberty, the tolerance of a system which saps the foundation of morals, and blasts the future of our race, cannot be endorsed. It is not the only immoral doctrine defended on the score of religion. Enlightened reason, and true civilization, must determine the propriety of permitting practices in public which may be assumed to be sanctioned by the revelations of the Bible, or the inspired visions

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of modern prophets. The interests and well-being of society have to be consulted by the authorities, and guarded by right-thinking citizens.

## IX.

*EDUCATION IN THE FAR WEST.*

MORE interested in this subject than any other connected with national progress, I was gratified to find the earnest desire of politicians to supply schools. I do not profess to give information about the eastern States, recently so well described by Dr. Macaulay, of the "Leisure Hour." My observations were confined, by pressure of time, to the western.

America is a big country. To speak of an American system, is almost like referring to an European one. The several States and territories differ as they vary in situation and period of existence. Laudable as has been the efforts of the several governments to contend with ignorance, much remains to be done.

Whenever I hinted that public instruction was not perfection in the United States, I was reminded of the uncultivated emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland. My experience in Australia, however, is confirmed by the testi-

mony of Americans, that, thanks be to the so-called Irish national system, the number of those leaving Ireland uneducated is small indeed now.

That something can yet be done in school progress, may appear from the following paragraph I cut out of the *New York School Journal* of last Christmas:—

“Some queer answers were elicited at the examination of Government clerks at Washington. One young gentleman being asked the plural of ‘it,’ replied ‘its.’ Another, to the question, ‘Where do the Northern lakes empty themselves?’ answered, ‘Into the Gulf of Mexico.’ Yet another, to the question, ‘In what direction is the North Pole from London?’ answered, ‘North-west.’”

A few years ago it was announced, that of those who could neither read nor write in the United States, there were, of native born, 874,418; of foreign born, 346,893; and of the blacks, 1,650,800. And yet Mr. Horace Mann, the highest educational authority of America, asserted that these returns of 2,872,111 were not correct. He ventured to say that they might safely be doubled.

The enormous extent of the country, and the sparse character of much of its population, should be taken into account.

In Australia, the schools are more numerous in proportion to the population, than in America, and are attended very far better by the pupils nominally attached to the schools. The teachers, as a rule, are better paid, and are more carefully selected. The liberality of the colonists in their school system might be adopted by the wealthier mother-country.

Without doubt the educational system of Boston is worthy of all praise. But the condition of the ordinary district schools in most of the States is not so admirable. Josh Billings has the following sketch of a teacher :—

“There is one thing in this basement world that I always look upon with mixed feelings of pitty and respect.

“But there is one man in this world to whom I always take off mi hat and remain uncovered until he gets safely by, and that is the distrikt schoolmaster.

“When I meet him I look upon him as a martyr just returned from the stake, or on his way there to be cooked.

“He leads a more lonesum and singul life than an old bachelor, and a more anxious one than an old made.

“He is remembered just about as long and affeckaiteli as a gide-board iz by a travelling pedlur.

“Enny man who has kep a distrikt school for ten years, and haz boarded around the naborhood, ought to be mager general and have a penshun for the rest ov hiz natural days, and a hoss and wagin tu du hiz goin’ around in.”

It must not be forgotten, however, that where a people are struggling for a living, as in all new settlements, learning is apt to be regarded as a luxury, and not a necessity. Teachers who depend upon a sparsely-peopled agricultural district endure the common experience of small fees grudgingly paid. Some of the American States have rich endowments of schools meeting this difficulty; and the Australian Governments supplement by stated salaries.

The Central Government has been liberal in furthering such educational processes as come within the scope of Congress. Letters are conveyed nearly four thousand miles, from north-east to south-west of the States, for the small charge of three-halfpence, and pamphlets, etc., under three ounces, for one penny.

There is one part of the educational system which might be elsewhere adopted, always supposing that young ladies elsewhere have the self-sustaining self-command of their sisters in the States. I refer to the mistress taking her pupils on the grand tour in Europe.

Last autumn there was a party of nearly a

score, under their instructress, escorted by a courier, that penetrated even to Egypt. The *New York Herald* had a pleasant notice of a girl moving thus in the poetry of travel, "because she has not come abroad when her taste has become neglected by age, or her appreciation chilled by domestic ties."

The writer afterwards bursts forth thus:— "Such an aggregation of young and attractive girls, blushing with health and vitality, attracts the curious gaze of the astonished European, who can little understand why a young lady should have anything beyond a shallow property in music and domestic accomplishments." Hear it, fathers of Britain!

Education is far from being healthy and prosperous down South. Even Virginia, by the confessions of Virginians to me, is not too well supplied with schools; and those do not get well supported. Efforts are being made by the benevolent in the North to establish schools for the blacks, though the poor whites have been miserably neglected.

It is at the extremes of the continent, eastward and westward, that public instruction is seen to greatest advantage.

California is associated with gold and rowdiness in the minds of most Englishmen. The better informed may suspect that the country

has advanced from its rude and rough manners of the gold rush, and that some sort of civilization has come in the wake of wealth. But few, unless visiting San Francisco, could imagine the material progress of the new State, and the organization of means to become a great people.

In no respect did I mark this development so wonderful as in the school system.

Visiting five of the largest public schools, I was constrained to say that I had never known anything like them elsewhere. I never beheld such order with so little effort. The scholars were evidently in no awe of their teachers, and the teachers in no dread of them. While these showed the conscious superiority which office as well as knowledge conferred, those yielded a deference without the surrender of their rights. I watched attentively countenances as well as movements. I failed to perceive anything but the most cordial expression. The young folks knew they were Americans, and therefore to be treated with respect and justice. The teachers considered them as ladies and gentlemen, and as ladies and gentlemen in ease and courtesy, but with perfect self-reliance, did the girls and boys behave.

But then the teachers were women. Would English lads of sixteen have yielded such



homage and obedience to an English mistress? Would a mixed class of thirty boys and thirty girls, side by side, of ages from twelve to sixteen, preserve among us that strict propriety, that unfaltering attention, that smiling sense of freedom, which I observed before a female teacher in San Francisco?

The lady was very slight in form, and quiet in deportment. She neither stormed nor pleaded. For nearly an hour I sat by her side, and never heard her chide any one for improprieties. She never seemed to expect that one would, unless by the purest accident, disturb the class. And no one did disturb it.

But would not the girls quiz the boys, and the lads have a wink at the lasses? They were only divided by a narrow passage up the middle of the room. Looks there were. A little chagrin was on the face of a young fellow as he heard laudations of a feminine rival; and I detected a glowing glance of triumph in a lass, thrown across to a brother, as she finished the reading of a very successfully prepared exercise. Beyond this there was perfect order.

The lesson was a difficult one, upon verbal analysis, the driest of the dry. First one read, standing, and then another. Criticism upon the respective papers was conducted by the mistress. As she gave the proper version,

pens were busy in the correction of faulty exercises. Some quiet smiles passed at an extra mistake, though the pupil was permitted to give the reason for the inserted error.

I was charmed with the frank reply to the question, more than once propounded, "Which of you have that error?" Several in succession rose respectfully and honestly to say, "I have, teacher." But I never heard the rejoinder of, "How stupid of you!" It was simply, "Then you can alter it." The general discussion at times became quite animated. And yet it was upon the most abstruse of subjects, grammatical analysis!

Such teaching and such discipline must become a power.

The school furniture everywhere surprised me. Our English lads are not too remarkable for the order inside their desks, nor for the propriety of the exterior. Ink blots, scratches, and notches are the usual adornments. But in San Francisco, in the supposed whittling region, I never saw a desk obscured by ink, or deformed by cuts. On the contrary, I noticed many polished up like drawing-room furniture, and the top covered with green baize, to prevent accidents.

But then every boy and girl had individual desks, there being a space between every

couple of pupils in the room. The teachers' platform was kept in beautiful order, and exhibited not a little taste. Flowers were there. Maps, books, apparatus, were all nicely kept. And this singular propriety I noticed in each school, and in each class-room of the school.

The buildings erected by the Board of Education were well constructed for the object. There was plenty of space allowed, and thorough ventilation afforded. The cost in the first instance was provided for by debentures. The interest on these bonds was felt to be a hardship by the board, as it was a subtraction from the annual grant, which was needed for the purposes of instruction only. When I was there a discussion was taking place upon the subject. As a young community, with so many demands upon the public purse for public works, it was felt difficult to relieve all the anxieties of educationalists, while persuaded of the necessity of doing so.

The rapid increase of population, and the still more rapid increase of educational appliances, had thrown the funds of the board into arrears. The estimated expenses for 1872 were considered to be at least £15,000 beyond the expected revenue. A supplementary grant would have to be asked for.

San Francisco has 200,000 people, but with only a small proportion of children. One-sixth only of the population come within the legal age for school—six to fifteen years. Of these, out of twenty-six parts, nineteen attend public schools, five attend private or Church schools, and two are elsewhere employed, or kept at home.

The expenditure last year was over 700,000 dollars. The cash came from various sources. The city school tax brought 450,000 dollars, and the State gave 95,000 dollars. The school board is elective, one member being sent from each ward of the town. The school superintendent is also elected. One of the head teachers had just been raised to that office. In some parts of the British dominions, it is not supposed necessary that such an officer, or a school inspector, should have had previous knowledge of the art of teaching.

The public school teachers were 438 in number. Of these, fifteen were gentlemen giving special lessons in French, German, music, and drawing; and twenty-four were masculine principals or vice-principals of higher schools. The rest, 393, were of the gentler sex, though not perhaps the less strong-minded. One lady complained to me of the indignity thrust upon her portion of creation; "as if,"

said she, "a woman could not be as fit to be principal as a man could." I observed, however, that the assertives had secured such offices connected with five grammar schools and twenty-nine of the primary schools. Some day they may secure a higher post.

I was amused with the way in which one young lady referred to the sexes. At a mixed school of nearly one thousand pupils, there were eighteen teachers, of whom two only were of the lords of creation order. "But then, you know," added my fair informant, "they had to look after the boys in the playground, and such like." She looked supremely superior as she delivered this sentence. I bowed my head in silence.

As to payment, the high school principal got 3,000 dollars, and the heads of grammar schools 2,100 dollars each. The salaries of the principals of primary schools varied between 1,000 and 1,500 dollars. The teacher of the coloured school had 1,200. The assistants received from 840 to 1800.

Unhappily, justice is not yet awarded to the sex. Female teachers are not paid quite so much as the males. To a lady who referred to this shameful injustice of the tyrant domination, I respectfully hinted that usually a man was paid more, as he was expected to keep the

family. At the same time I glanced down at the wedding-ring on her finger.

I was immediately informed that I was in a lamentable state of benightedness. A vigorous speech was meditated. Apprehensive of the despicable part I should play in such a discussion, I prudently—perhaps some may say shamefully—lowered my flag, and diverted the conversation. I was, however, pretty distinctly told that the Board had done them some justice of late, and would soon be compelled to do more.

Another teacher remarked to me, “And pray why should we not be paid equally, if the result of our labours be equally satisfactory?” Then, after a pause, to secure my proper attention, she concluded: “But when it is admitted that the ladies produce better results, I think they might at least receive as much salary.” In that instance I did no violence to my judgment and conscience, when I politely confessed my belief in the superiority of the teaching by certain American ladies.

The numbers attending the city schools are considerable. One had nine hundred present, another nearly as many, and several counted over seven hundred pupils.

The High Schools prepare for the State University, which is a noble institution at

Berkeley, across the Bay. The successful candidates at the examinations of Grammar Schools are passed upwards to the High Schools for advanced studies, as the primary scholars may be raised to the Grammar Schools. Singing and drawing are taught in all. Science receives careful attention.

The Cosmopolitan Schools were first established six years ago, and have been a great success. It had been found that German, the second language of the United States, could not be neglected by Government School Boards. German parents wished their children to be instructed in the noble literature of their country, and German private schools were extensively maintained. To bring these children under the same instruction as others, and to afford those others the advantages of German learning, Cosmopolitan Schools were established.

I entered one while a German master was giving his lesson, receiving my instruction on the system from the really pretty and clever mistress of the school. There were present the three races speaking English, German, and French. The first formed five-tenths, the second three-tenths, and the third two-tenths of the class. Part of the day is devoted to French, part to German, part to English lessons. This

homogeneous education is a welding of the several communities.

The High Schools were handsome buildings though nothing equal to the magnificent edifice I visited at Omaha, the new town on the Missouri river. The State of Nebraska gave ten acres for it. The building had already cost a quarter of a million of dollars. As its spire towered nearly two hundred feet above the summit of the hill, looking down upon a town not yet provided with regularly made streets, I could but respect the country thus honouring education. A huge seminary for females rises like a castle on the banks of the Mississippi, at Lyons.

Already that new State of Nebraska has public provision for most of its young members, and boasts of over forty Teachers' Institutes. All children are there admitted free of charge, and books are granted to indigent pupils. As in California; it is maintained that "a liberal expenditure in education is the truest economy in the end;" and, as elsewhere, all the schools "are free from sectarian teaching."

Public Libraries and Mechanics' Institutes share, as in Australia, grants in aid from the Government. Even the mining land of Nevada has its Public Library. That of Washington, which I visited, contained 250,000 volumes.



Undoubtedly the most prominent educational establishment in the United States is that founded by a private individual at Washington. This is the Smithsonian Institute, under the energetic and wise administration of Professor Henry. That gentleman is anxious, however, for the real purposes to be legitimately carried out. As he told me, he would have the library and museum purchased by Government, and the whole proceeds of the valuable estate devoted to the collection and dissemination of information. Books and specimens should be forwarded to all parts of the Union, as the specified instructions were "to increase and diffuse knowledge among men."

It was to be expected that, in a country where woman is more honoured and more justly treated than in other countries, the fair sex should receive a due share of educational advantages and honours. But the union of the sexes in large classes, and even among those of respectable parentage, excited my interest. As before stated, I never witnessed interruptions of lessons in consequence of the arrangement, and all teachers assured me that the system worked well.

Mr. Superintendent Harris has given his official opinion upon the subject. He says: "We give to the youth of both sexes more

privileges or opportunities for self-control than are given in the old world-society."

He then goes on to say: "The masculine extreme is mechanical, formalizing in its lowest shape, and to merely intellectual training on its highest side. The feminine extreme is the learning-by-rote system on the lower side, and the superfluity of sentiment in the higher activities. Each needs the other as a counter-check."

The Californian authorities record their approval on the following grounds: Discipline has improved; the boys being less rude, and the girls losing their prurient sentimentality. The instruction has improved, and the individual development has been more sound and healthy. Co-education is pronounced the best.

The report has this passage: "That the sexual tension be developed as late as possible, and that all early love affairs be avoided, is the desideratum; and experience has shown that association of the sexes, on the plane of intellectual contest, is the safest course to secure this end." Alas! for philosophy; in spite of planes of intellectual contest, human nature will creep in.

I was almost ashamed of coming down from the high standard of "higher activities" and "planes," but must beg pardon of the graver

reader if I venture upon a quotation from the loftiest of educational literary authorities—the *New York School Journal*. The piece is entitled “The Smack at School,” and was written by W. P. Palmer:—

A district school, not far away,  
'Mid Berkshire hills, and winter's day,  
Was humming with its wonted noise  
Of threescore mingled girls and boys,—  
Some few upon their tasks intent,  
But more on furtive mischief bent,—  
The while the master's downward look  
Was fastened on a copybook,  
And even just behind his back  
Rose sharp and clear a rousing smack !  
As 'twere a battery of bliss  
Let off in one tremendous kiss !  
“What's that ?” the startled master cries.  
“That, thir,” a little imp replies,  
“Wath William Willuth, if you pleathe—  
I thaw him kith Thuthannah Peathe !”  
With frown to make a statue thrill,  
The master thundered, “Hither, Will !”  
Like wretch o'ertaken in his track,  
With stolen chattels on his back,  
Will hung his head in fear and shame,  
And to the awful presence came—  
A great green bashful simpleton,  
The butt of all good-natured fun.  
With smile suppressed, and birch upraised,  
The threat'ner faltered, “I'm amazed  
That you, my biggest pupil, should  
Be guilty of an act so rude !

Before the whole set school to boot—  
What evil genius put you to't ?”  
“ ’Twas she herself, sir,” sobbed the lad ;  
“ I didn’t mean to be so bad ;  
But when Susannah shook her curls,  
And whispered I was ’fraid of girls,  
And dursn’t kiss a baby’s doll,  
I couldn’t stand it, sir, at all,  
But up and kiss’d her on the spot.  
I know—boo-hoo—I ought to not,  
But somehow, from her looks—boo-hoo—  
I thought she kind o’ wished me to !”

Education in Utah had not advanced as it has with the restless, go-ahead, perfection-hunting Californians. Not that it is altogether neglected, but that it is neither so well endowed nor so much talked about.

I am ashamed to say that my thoughts were so taken up with Mormon exponents at Salt Lake, that I did not go much into the school-question there. To two of the leaders in the Church I expressed a wish to see something of their system of public instruction ; but they showed no enthusiasm about the subject, preferring to speak on the interesting political topic, and rather put me off the track.

It was pretty clear they had little to boast of, because they, like other parties, were full of apologies.

“ Can you expect,” said one, “ that a poor

people, as we have always been, could devote much time or means to studies? We found it hard work to get bread, put clothes on our backs, and help the saints on."

Californian teachers had laughed when I spoke of visiting a Mormon school. One suggested that women were too busy in Utah raising children to instruct them, and that the men—bah! Another intimated that as they got heavenly revelations so cheaply, they would never be so silly as to throw away dollars upon teachers. The general idea in the Golden State was that, as instructors to be worth anything must needs be women, and as women in Utah occupied so peculiar a position with their jealous and tyrannical lords, there never could be schools at all.

Anyhow, as the Mormons are not of a literary turn, and as they are too much occupied just now defending revelation and polygamy, education has suffered. I do not doubt that increased attention will be devoted to it when the present chaos has resolved itself into order. The Mormons are not opposed to learning, nor do they dread it; they only neglect it under pressure.

In Ogden, there not being anything else very remarkable to see, I did hunt up a school. I plunged through a morass after one seminary, and found it closed. Dodging about, inquiring,

I got up to the best district school. That was closed, as the building was undergoing some repairs—sadly needed. The school furniture, moreover, was not like the Californian.

I was agreeably surprised to drop upon an Episcopalian Protestant school. It had been newly established for the families of coming Gentiles. The building was a small, but neat, wooden one. The master was thoroughly up to his work. He had procured suitable desks and appliances, but deeply regretted the very low condition of his scholars. Putting the latter to an examination, I was quite of the same opinion as to their need of lessons. Most of their parents had led a wandering life in the west, and the children had few chances of getting any instruction. My Protestant informant had a good word for the Methodist effort near, but was sure that the Mormons had greatly neglected the work of public instruction.

I was favoured at last in getting to a Mormon school. What trouble I had to reach it! The road was in such a fearful state. The snow had partially melted under the warm sun, and thus revealed the mud beneath.

The school-house was a wonder. It was of the true order of Irish cabin. There was no attempt at ornament, outside or in. No neat

garden led to it. The walls, of adobe, were dirty, and full of cracks. The roof was desperate. The floor was—filth. A very rough home-made kind of board served for a desk, and forms were of the most primitive order.

As to material—there was no map, but there were a few battered books and broken slates. The very few copybooks were rude in manufacture, and ruder in caligraphy. In the worst part of the Australian bush, where there may be a dozen houses over a space of as many square miles, I never saw such neglect as in this town of 5,000 people. Even if not the best school, and that it assuredly was not, it was a public school under official management.

The master—not a mistress, after the Californian order of teachers—was a rough, good-tempered lump of a man, huge in bone and muscle, able to do hard work, but not up in pen-craft. He bemoaned his condition, and admitted he could do nothing for want of tools. I asked him if he were a regular teacher by profession. He was not, but was glad to do something in winter, as his out-of-door trade could not be carried on then. He stated that his pay was small; and I was ready to declare that the pay, however small, was adequate to the work performed.

The boys and girls were some fifty in number.

They were far from being clean or refined, but were healthy and jolly, not at all oppressed by study, and not perversely anxious to learn. I gave them a tale of my travels, but failed to excite the interest produced by an address in California. They were not to be interested by the wonders of the outside world so easily.

Proceeding to a slight and discreet examination, I was surprised at their lamentable ignorance. Of grammar and geography they were wholly innocent, and the results of their more humble lessons were not remarkably apparent. It was a mortification to my Melbourne pride to know that, though some were sixteen years old, not one had heard of the place. They had known Australia by repute, but had no idea of its position. A few ventured upon a guess. One thought it in America, but the oldest lad briskly sang out that it was "along in Europe."

Without doubt I saw the worst specimen of Utah schools; but then, as my lady friend in San Francisco would have said, "it was only taught by a man, you know."



## X.

*WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN AMERICA.*

MORMONISM necessarily brings up this important question, and no traveller in the United States can escape the inquiry. It is possible to travel through California without knowing it was a gold country, to be ten years in Australia without seeing a flock of sheep grazing, to live in London fifty years without visiting the Tower, but quite impossible to move in America without hearing conversations upon the two subjects of dollars and women's rights.

The traveller, if a Britisher, is made painfully sensible of his inferiority of sex. Men may engage in all sorts of menial occupations; but women, except in Utah, live lives of comparative ease and dignity. Now and then an indignant fellow—of course a German—will blurt out something rude about the privileges of woman-kind; otherwise, looks, words, and actions are

made to illustrate the respect and devotion of the stronger for the higher half of humanity.

The traveller is led to perceive a sort of undercurrent of antagonism between the parties in question, rather openly avowed by the ladies, but carefully concealed, though sedulously cultivated, by the gentlemen.

When I innocently expressed my surprise that a young lady should "be allowed to go out on her own hook, and unmarried, to a heathen mission field, and among a barbarous race," the enterprising missionary somewhat curtly told me that women knew how to take care of themselves, quite as well as men did anyhow.

Presuming upon a week's acquaintance as a fellow-voyager, I ventured to remark that I really did wonder she had not chosen a husband to go with her to so lonely a place in the tropical forests. She gave an emphatic pat with her foot on the deck, elevated her head somewhat sharply, and replied, "I don't want a man dangling about my heels."

Lords of the creation in Europe are not accustomed to be held at so cheap a rate. They have usually thought themselves considered a bit of necessity by the other side. But then they were not, perhaps, aware how clearly Mrs. Farnham, of the States, has demonstrated the superiority of her portion of creation.

“Life is exalted,” says she, “in proportion to its organic and functional complexity; woman’s organism is more complex, and her totality of functions larger than those of any other being inhabiting our earth; therefore, her position in the scale of life is the most exalted—the sovereign one.” She is pleased to add: “Where the higher functions come into play, woman is in advance of man.”

When, therefore, in a crowded omnibus, I, approaching the state of an elderly gentleman, rose up to surrender my seat to a gaily-dressed girl of seventeen or eighteen, she tossed her head on one side at my invitation, but plumped herself down in the vacated place. I felt a little sorry, a little mortified, a little ashamed.

As I stood up in front of her, and holding hard by a string from the roof of the ’bus, I could not help saying to myself that no colonial daughter of mine would have acted in that uncivil manner. But I ought to have recognized the change of country.

I saw nothing but the greatest respect paid by American gentlemen to their sisters in the flesh, and regretted to hear on all sides of the discourteous return of such attentions.

Some of these ladies have so long brooded over the real and imaginary disabilities of

their sex, that they unfortunately cherish in their gentle bosoms a positive aversion to fathers and sons elsewhere. The reporter of a western convention says: "Dr. Mary Walker says she would like above all things to experience the emotions of a man for an hour or two. She desires to know just how they think and feel, to the end that she may be better prepared to fight them."

It is easy to understand, then, how a lady apologizes for women marrying a man for his money. She answers: "Because there's nothing else in him worth having."

Though rather shocking, the following description of women by an Affghan poet—a dreadful Mahometan polygamist—might amuse some of the abused individuals:—

All womankind are of intellect deficient,  
And the voluntary causes of all earth's ills.  
Thou mayst be straight and even with them,  
But they are crooked and wayward with thee.  
Do them a thousand benefits and services,  
Yet at a single word their hearts sulky grow.  
They have no fidelity in their composition ;  
In all things they are fickle and changeable ;  
Tame in tongue, but untamable in heart.  
They are beautiful in person from head to foot,  
But are like unto the wily serpent within.  
Say no more about them, O Khushhal !  
It would be better that they had never existed.

The present days, and those in America, are favourable for ladies. Celts and Saxons there are equally courteous. When the old Celts valued their queen at one-third the cash value of a king, and when old Saxons sold their daughters to whom they pleased, the millennium had not arrived.

Perhaps the secret, after all, lies in the numerical superiority of the rougher specimens of the order. In Utah they are steadily trying to restore the balance in a most patriotic way, as more female than male children are born there. Finding that at their Galega settlement of north-eastern Madagascar there was an excess of male births, the French authorities officially suggested polygamy as a corrective of the evil.

I saw in Western America a print illustrating one of the sad consequences of this disparity. A gentleman is kneeling, hands crushing in the left-hand side of his waistcoat, and a girl in tender teens is walking disdainfully away from him.

If the deficient supply eastward excites interest, how must it be westward? The lamentable state of affairs is thus rudely depicted in the subjoined account of courting in Nebraska :—

## COURTING IN NEBRASKA.

In Nebraska, women are scarce and men are plenty. In market phrase, the woman "demand far exceeds the supply."

A heavy dose of girl, none of your homœopathic prescriptions, is what Nebraska needs, and the stomachs of her young men will always remain sour until the supply comes. You have no idea east how anxious young men in this region are to marry. In the words of a prairie farmer, courtin's hot.

The poor man is passing through a bitter experience. A party of us were duck-hunting the other day on the Missouri bottoms. Night overtook us before we were aware of it, and we were obliged to seek lodgings at the first dwelling we could find.

It was a small one-story structure of three rooms, and occupied by a family of six—father, mother, daughter, and three sons. The sons were all unmarried, and from the calls that were made afterward, we judge the daughter was unmarried also.

We hadn't been in the house five minutes when some kind of a vehicle drove up, and two young men were ushered into the parlour.

Straightway the mother and daughter held a whispered consultation, which closed with an invitation to the sitting-room for supper.

It was evident the young-men callers had been to supper; they stayed in the parlour with "sweet sixteen."

Scarce had we taken our seats at the table when a howl from the dogs outdoors announced another comer. He seemed to avoid the front door, and knocked at that where our party was just sitting to supper.

The mother rose to answer the summons, when we were surprised by the daughter opening the parlour door and rushing forward with,—

"Don't get up, mother; it's one of my fellows! Come in, Jim; how do you do?"

And Jim entered in response to the cheery salutation. He made himself as comfortable as possible till we had finished our supper, when another whispered consultation proved that the "parlour is full as it ort to be," whispered by miss in response to some motherly suggestion.

The old man solved the question by inviting us into the kitchen to smoke.

It was evident that Jim didn't smoke, for he remained in the sitting-room.

We would have doubtless enjoyed a quiet cigar had not the old lady opened the back door, and shouted at the top of her voice,

"Come round here to the back door!"

It was another young man, and we fancied he looked as if he had come in rather late.

Two young men within the parlour, one in the sitting-room, and one in the kitchen! What should be done? The courting business was getting hot. There was another talk between mother and daughter. It was evident their devices had been exhausted.

The old gentleman was called into the corner. He settled the question with a whisper:

"I'll not move again till the settin'-room's full!"

Into the sitting-room went number four, and we smoked.

It was full ten minutes before the next disturbers came, and they entered the kitchen with the air of old acquaintances.

We looked anxiously at the host. Taking his pipe from his mouth, a single sentence relieved us:

"Them's the widowers. Stick!"

And we "stuck," and smoked on.

For the next half-hour the girl must have been kept busy. The widowers had certainly a third of her time.

It was nine o'clock. We wished to go to bed, and the only bed we had discovered was in the parlour. The old gentleman divined our wishes, and said,

"I'm sorry, gentlemen! But this is one of the regular courtin' nights! Them fellers in the parlour never leave afore midnight, and the widowers allus stay all night. And that ain't the worst of it. Dan 'll be here at ten o'clock! I and the boys allus sleep in the haystack Friday nights. Yer welcome to that!"

The parlour, sitting-room, and kitchen full, we retreated to the haystack.

In response to a question on the point, the old gentleman said,

"Friday night it's purty bad, but Sunday it's wuss. Last Sunday night there was ten on 'em, and the girl is getting more and more partikiler. The more she gets, the more she wants."

On the haystack, with a stiff breeze driving away the mosquitoes, we heard Dan drive up.

One of the last remarks of the old man before we fell asleep was—

"Yes, gentlemen, courtin's hot in Nebrasky."

As to personal charms, the American young lady from fifteen to twenty will beat all feminine creation. She is an unmistakable beauty. There is a spirituality and refinement about the face inexpressibly attractive. The colour is so delicate but perfect.

Still, fastidious Englishmen are a little cooled in ardour when the fair one begins to speak. The key is in so high a pitch, the tone is so *staccato*, that one's excited sensi-



bilities are shocked, and the worship of the divinity declines accordingly. Then, there is not that coyness which emboldens the timid British lover, and increases the ardour of the pursuer. The lady stands up to an argument with an entire stranger with perfect self-possession. Neither is there in her manner the exquisite tact of the Frenchwoman, and her delightful endeavours to please. The American beauty deems it unnecessary or degrading to stoop to conquer.

No one can say that the American ladies are unacquainted with the art of dress. Some judges are ready to declare the superiority of New York to Paris itself in point of fashion. The foreign traveller is struck with the general taste displayed : colours, patterns, style, shape are consulted with success.

It is true that artificial helps come to the aid of the *modiste*. But I do not see why shopkeepers should so prominently hang out to public inspection, alarming bachelors, those singular compounds of calico, tape, and Indian rubber, some yard or more in length, to supply the defects of the feminine person, and give rounded proportions to some parts of the body too commonly flat-board-like in the eastern States.

The dress accomplishment cannot be ac-

quired without a large expenditure of time, and also of money. I was told of a lady who took eleven dresses with her on a trip to the "Springs," but sent for more the second week. The enormous development of wealth in the States meets this heavy demand. A New York paper thus chronicles progress: "A young lady who went to Europe last summer, taking with her only a small carpet bag, has returned with sixteen well-filled trunks."

But the consumption of time tells most disastrously. Not only is the domestic duty neglected, the nursery neglected, the husband neglected, but the woman too often neglects the culture of her mind, her heart, her happiness, in devotion to dress.

Notwithstanding the high standard of civilization in the eastern States, the neglect of the commonest attention to health is obvious to the most careless traveller. Men are dyspeptic, and women are dyspeptic and consumptive. The table temptations, the absence of exercise, the hanging over heated stoves, the neglect of ventilation, the want of outdoor walks, the everlasting sucking of candies, the high-pressure talk and parties, unite in rendering women useless to homes, and miserable in health. Old age comes on rapidly in looks and feebleness. Maternity suffers cruelly by

this absurd mode of life. The real rights of woman are sacrificed to cruel and senseless fashion.

Mrs. Stanton makes the self-imposed tortures of ladies an argument to prove their superiority. In answer to the question, Can girls stand a college course of study as well as boys? she writes :—

“I should like you to take thirteen hundred young men, and lace them up, and hang ten to twenty pounds weight on their waists, perch them up on three-inch heels, cover their heads with ripples, chignons, rats and mice, and stick ten thousand hair-pins into their scalps; if they stand all this, they will stand a little Latin and Greek.”

The beauty of American women has been enthusiastically praised by their countrymen; but it is as fleeting as the rose-tint of the Alps.

An American writer, after describing the effect of temperament upon beauty, places his own countrywomen, as a rule, among those of the mental or nervous temperament. He thinks the face is generally oval, the forehead high and pale, but the bosom only moderately expanded. “There is,” says he, “at the present day, and in this country, an excessive and morbid development of this temperament, especially among women, which

is most inimical to health, longevity, and happiness."

Attempts have been made to lay the chief cause of the offence on the climate, so dry and stimulating, inducing undue excitation of the nerves, and producing the angularity and harshness of feature so common in the States. But the climate has had no parallel effect upon the Negroes of that continent, as they are well enough developed, and are as happy as they are healthy.

The wonderful contrast presented in the ladies now with those of the past century is another puzzle with American philosophers. Their grandmothers were rosy and vigorous, with full and rounded busts. This leads Mr. Jacques to inquire, "How has the sound health and vital stamina of our grandmothers been lost? The country air has not deteriorated; pure water and sunlight never fail, and have not lost their virtue; wholesome food, or at least the materials for making wholesome food, are more abundant. Where, then, shall we look for the causes of the decay of health and beauty (for the latter always goes with the former) among the women of the country?"

He fancies that the hard labour of the veterans of the kitchen and dairy may have occasioned the birth of a punier offspring.

But, for a long period, the prosperity of the country has enabled American housekeepers to hire help; and it is certainly not among all country people that the deterioration is to be observed. Elsewhere, the same writer gives us a satisfactory explanation of the causes of ill-health in the community.

“No other civilized people, probably,” he says, “are accustomed to abuse their stomachs so badly as we Americans of the United States. Our food is often badly chosen, still more frequently spoiled in cooking, and almost always eaten in utter disregard of dietetic rules. We eat too much flesh meat, and too little bread, vegetables, and fruits. Our hot, soda-raised biscuits, hot griddle cakes saturated with butter, and the hot, black, intolerable coffee, which form the staples of our breakfasts, are, in the way in which they are taken, among the most deleterious articles ever put upon a table. Now, add to our badly-chosen dishes, and our objectionable cookery, the rapid eating, imperfect mastication, and the continually interrupted digestion which our intense and feverish life necessitates, and we have a complication of abuses which would, one must believe, have long since utterly destroyed the vital stamina of any people not originally endowed with marvellous physical powers.” Add further-

more to this, "The women of our country are suffering incalculably from want of the proper exercise of the muscles."

Fault was reasonably found with fashions of dress, to which American ladies are willing martyrs, and in which, above many things of social life, a reform is needed. Their pale cheeks, indigestion, headache, nervous debility, and crooked spines are spoken of as the results of their system of education. This is called "a system of mental forcing which is fast destroying the vital stamina of the rising generation." The teachers are credited with producing pale and interesting girls, fashionably delicate, and too good to stay long on this lusty, life-loving earth.

Another writer contrasts the English girl with her sister, saying: "Her frame is larger, her muscular system better developed, her nervous system in subordination to the physical, her strength more enduring, and the whole tone of her mind healthier." Mrs. Stowe attributed much of our countrywomen's health, and consequent beauty, to the habit of early rising, and much walking in the open air. "One meets ladies past fifty," she observes, "glowing, radiant, and blooming, with a freshness of complexion and fulness of outline refreshing to contemplate." She is reminded of

It was not always so even in America. We have the record of a maids' petition to the governor of South Carolina, which is highly suggestive of altered times. It is dated from Charlestown, March 1st, 1733.

"The humble petition of all the maids whose names are underwritten.

"Whereas we, the humble petitioners, are at present in a very melancholy condition of mind, considering how the bachelors are blindly captivated by widows, and our more youthful charms thereby neglected; the consequence of this our request is, that your Excellency will for the future order that no widow shall presume to marry any young man till the maids are provided for; or else to pay each of them a fine for satisfaction for invading our liberties; and likewise a fine on all such bachelors as shall be married to widows. The great disadvantage to us maids is, the widows, by their forward carriages, do snap up the young men, and have the vanity to think their merits beyond ours; which is a great imposition on us, who have the preference.

"This is humbly recommended to your Excellency's consideration, and we hope you will prevent any further insults.

"And we poor maids, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

One of the first things I read, upon landing at San Francisco, was the following advertisement :—

“A convention to aid in ‘the enfranchisement of women,’ will be held at Sacramento, on the 7th, in the Congregational Church. Miss Susan B. Anthony, and Laura De Force Gordon, will make speeches.”

The first school I visited in California was conducted by ladies. Conversing with one of the teachers, I was informed that, as it was universally allowed that ladies taught better than gentlemen, it was a grievous shame that the pay was still heavier on the defective side; and that that injustice must be remedied *right away*.

When passing through Indiana, I learned that Miss Lizzie Campbell had struck. She was not going to teach at a rate lower than that bestowed upon a male. The School Board met for a consideration of the strike, and concluded to raise Miss Lizzie's stipend equal to the sum granted to the *inferior* teacher.

I extracted from the Californian *Mail Bag* a statement of the progress of the war of sexes in that golden State :—

“The women teachers in our high schools have had the superhuman audacity to petition for an increase of salary, sufficient to make their



remuneration equal to that of men performing the same labour. We do not envy the mental condition of those teachers yet to learn that they are female in sex. Are they blind to the fact that their stature is considerably less than ours, and their muscles, as a rule, not so largely developed; that they are beardless, and wear their hair long; that their flesh is soft, and in some cases even flabby? Let them once realize these and other kindred anatomical differences, and then dare to assert that persons who are essentially unlike should be equal in salary. The petition is preposterous, and so are they. They might as well try to draw out Leviathan with a hook, or bind Arcturus and his sons, as convince a board of educational males that there is any sense in their demand. We are fatigued of them, the rascally, insolent, misguided, well-meaning, nice, sweet, loveable darlings! Give them whatever they want, you antique duffers of the board, or we shall make it very warm indeed for you."

But California early patronized the fair. Of course it was not from real reverence for the sex, but a vulgar, earthy, selfish principle that governed all their legislative acts. The men wanted women in that outlandish part of the world, and, mercantile as they were, bade high for the article in demand.

"Only walk this way," they cried aloud. "Here, ladies, gems of creation, etc., etc., only step this way for the relief of suffering humans in this destitute corner of the earth, and we will grant you unheard-of privileges. In addition to the endless devotion of our hearts, our lives, and our purses, we hereby agree to guarantee that you shall hold, and continue to hold, all property you may possess before marriage. If your husband be unfortunate in speculation, you shall not suffer thereby, as the homestead with its hangings, or the sum of five thousand dollars, shall be secured to you personally out of the bankrupt estate. If your husband should become a drunkard, and so be induced to take less care of his property, you shall be allowed to draw out five thousand dollars, if he have as many, and go into business on your own private and protected account. If, however, you prefer slipping the cable of legal attachment, you shall be safe to receive a most liberal share of the goods. Only walk this way, ladies."

The bait took. Women poured into the golden State. All was fair, businesslike, above-board; but it was selfish. The complaint of the east was that this unwonted liberality arose from a mean, mercenary spirit on the part of the men, and not from any deep conviction of

the tyranny women had so long borne from them.

It is only in modern days, and very modern ones, that the real duties of men toward their sisters have been seriously investigated, and the grievances of women lucidly exposed. Any injury or injustice received by one half of mankind should surely awaken the sympathy of the other half; but the perpetration of such injury or injustice by one half upon the other moiety is simply monstrous folly. The awakening of society to the claims of woman is the most hopeful sign of the times. Too long isolated in position, thought, feeling, and effort, it is high time the sexes were placed *en rapport*, for their own mutual advantage.

When, however, negotiations are opened up between parties long at variance, or long misunderstanding each other's interests, an immediate reconciliation of difficulties cannot be calculated upon, nor can a cordial relationship be at once established.

Thus it is with the impending *rapprochement* of the two sexes. They are drawing nearer to each other, although loudly vindicating their respective rights, and indulging in a little banter or bluster in the defence of their claims. Some men stand too much upon their supposed masculine privileges, and some

women are too waspish in their attacks upon their old masters. If the ladies be a little severe, and the gentlemen somewhat rude or mirthful, the question is meanwhile getting a thorough ventilation, and justice will be done to the oppressed.

In olden times it was said that civilization travelled westward. Now, however, the tide has turned, and it is the business of the east to be enlightened from the west. The woman's rights movement is not the only progressive principle of lasting benefit to our race for which the world will be indebted to America, and particularly, let it be said with all truth and gratitude, to the American women.

Slaves and serfs have never readily discovered their own disabilities, and have been even slow to appreciate the advantages of freedom. The general lack of interest, until of late, in the question of female emancipation among females themselves is not to be wondered at, and should not be made an argument for the suspension of unappreciated effort.

There are three sides from which this movement is regarded. It is seriously entertained by a few earnest men, and by a larger number of women. It is questioned or objected to by a still larger number of both sexes. It is the subject of spiteful or good-tempered joking by

a third class, who are of the thoughtless or prejudiced of the stronger half of humanity.

A good specimen from the last-named list of opponents appeared in the American *Phunny Phellow*, when I was in the States. It is here inserted:—

#### A WOMAN'S THOUGHTS ON WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

Women have "rights," we hear, to which their  
mothers,

Poor souls! were most unfortunately blind;  
Our modern girl aspires to meet her brothers  
With equal strength of body and of mind.

Nay, say not she would learn but graceful things,  
And such as help the fireside to adorn.  
This is to clip the power of both her wings,  
Like helpless Sampson by Delilah shorn.

This stumps her into Lilliputian height  
Beside her Brobdignagian rival, man,  
And she, at last awaking to her right,  
Means to contest his laurels where she can.

There's blue-eyed Lucy, with the golden hair,  
(Or Luke, she'd better call herself hereafter);  
Time was when she'd have been a "thing of air,"  
All rippling over with Elysian laughter.

But girlish triflers can no longer yield  
Their sweets to breasts where no such weakness  
lingers,  
And Lucy now can dexterously wield  
The student's forceps in her dainty fingers.

She knows each hidden muscle of your frame—  
    Could tell your bones with accurate precision ;  
Can meet her brother students without shame,  
    And grasp the surgeon's knife with firm decision.

There's Maude, as a public lecturer, "a star,"  
    And "female suffrage" wholly bent on gaining—  
While bright-eyed Grace is reading for the bar,  
    In hope, some day, the woolsack of attaining.

But who, 'mid lawyers, doctors, speakers, all,  
    Shall find sweet woman for the home fireside ?  
Will student Lucy pause at love's low call,  
    And condescend to be a blushing bride ?

Nay, surely, those stern lips could ne'er relax  
    Beneath the pressure of a lover's kiss ;  
Nor ever could that Spartan bosom wax  
    Warm with sweet hopes of fond maternal bliss !

Then where are hapless men at last to find  
    The gentle helpmate in the work of life,  
If woman, all alike to instinct blind,  
    Are eager but to join the world's hard strife ?

A lady, in a letter quoted by Moore, has put the matter in a plain way, thus : " I don't care about women having an actual share in the government, but I do care that women shall be recognized as the other half of mankind, and not as a third, or quarter, as is too common. It seems to me that there are comparatively very few of our sex who feel what high, expanding powers lie folded up in them

as well as in man. They think so much more of seeing than of being. When their nature is purified and exalted, whatever rights may become theirs will follow naturally."

These are wise and thoughtful words. When women forget to act upon such a reasonable basis, they do not influence men to justice, but harden them against conviction.

We hear of a housewife who, in filling up her schedule of the census paper, described herself as the "head of the family," while in respect to the trade of her husband, she wrote, "He turns my mangle." The subjoined advertisement is from a Colorado paper:—

**W**ANTED—A girl to do housework. She will be permitted to receive company every day in the week, and a good substantial fence will be provided to lean against while courting, and an ample time will be afforded for that recreation ; but no piano will be furnished.

The woman's rights movement was initiated by Frances Wright, the so-called Fanny Wright, one despised in her day, but honoured now. In 1837, a petition for the redress of female grievances was presented ; but it only received five signatures. How different that small beginning from the recent English memorial effort, when nearly three hundred thousand subscribers were obtained in a few weeks !

Two principles are laid down: that women, in their natural rights, are the equals of men; and that woman's sphere cannot be bounded.

Miss Anthony puts the matter thus: "By law, public sentiment, and religion, woman has never been thought of other than as a piece of property, to be disposed of at the will and pleasure of man."

The outcome of the movement is prettily pictured by Mrs. J. Elizabeth Jones, of Ohio. We shall see "the beauty and the glory that will invest the future woman, when she shall have her proper place among the children of the Father; when she shall infuse her love-born moral perceptions, her sense of justice, in the ethics and governments of the earth; when she shall be united to man in a Divine harmony, and her children shall go forth to bless all coming generations."

But a great deal of hard work has to be done before that. Mrs. E. C. Stanton, of Seneca Falls, observes: "Blackstone declares that the husband and wife are one, and learned commentators have decided that that one is the husband." She feels that the American Constitution has regarded the Negro with more consideration than the free white woman, in granting him the franchise denied to her. For those who would keep her away from the



defiling, debasing influence of politics, Mrs. Stanton has a capital retort: "Any atmosphere that is unfit for woman to breathe is not fit for man."

The Hon. Wendell Phillips, a great anti-slavery advocate, came to the rescue of woman. "You have granted," said he, "that she may be taxed; therefore, on republican principles, you must grant that she ought to have a voice in fixing the law of taxation." Elsewhere he says, "What proves the clearest woman's need of the ballot? Why, the very inertness and ignorance which the lack of it has caused her." "The moral health of the country demands it." He is perfectly sensible of the great obstacle before the lady social reformers, observing, "It is not fashion, we shall beat it; it is not the fastidiousness of the exquisite, we shall smother it; it is the religious prejudice, borrowed from a mistaken interpretation of the New Testament. That is the real Gibraltar with which we are to grapple." Like many more, there and elsewhere, he considers that St. Paul "ought to be forgotten, so far as this doctrine goes."

Andrew Jackson Davis, the great American spiritualist, has thus stated the grievance of woman: "The tyrannical laws of the State, which were instituted by men for men, wrest from

the mother the right to her own children. These men-made laws patronizingly provide for such dependences as women, infants, apprentices, and idiots; and, politically speaking, all such are considered possessed of equal rights—viz., to obey the fiat of legislative enactments, and to keep away from the ballot-box.”

On the other hand, we have an opposite declaration coming from the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, Philadelphia :—

“Resolved—That in the opinion of this synod the present movement for female suffrage is a reform against nature and the Bible, and counteractive of the Divine economy of the household.

“That we recognize the primordial and beautiful law of heaven which assigns to woman a different sphere from man; that law of duality which runs through the Divine economy—the duality of day and night, of the head and the heart.

“That in the name of the great majority of women, who repudiate this woman's rights movement, and who do not wish nor ask for political suffrage, we express our protest against the existing and persisting appeal for political equality.”

This cruel thrust has come from a stout Protestant body. The Romish Church is known to

be antagonistic to the cause of women especially as their saints have ever cherished so very mean an opinion of the sex. Protestant and Catholic divines of America thus consign the poor souls to the paradise of the Abrahamic covenant, put them in their place of humble subjection, and exclaim, with the rabbins, "Woman ought not to be above her distaff."

What can the unhappy creature think of herself, when the great oracle, Augustine, says, "It is a bad thing to look upon a woman"? when Jerome, that pillar of the Church, cries out, "A good woman is a fabulous bird"? The Jew, that model of husbands, to whom the priests deliver her bound, and in tears, thanks God each morning that he was not created a woman.

Is it a marvel, then, that, while gentle, meek, retiring women in Europe should "almost crave forgiveness for being born," their rebellious, fast, audacious sisters of the States should begin to doubt ecclesiastical interpretation of Scripture, and venture, as the early fathers did, to read the early chapters of Genesis in some other than the literal mode?

In spite of the great majority who will not have their rights, there are a few in Britain who read with thanks what the good Kingsley

wrote, that "while the relations of the sexes are looked on in a wrong light, all other social relations were necessarily, also, misconceived." They do not forget what he elsewhere says upon the disdain of the ancient religious: that "the monk regarded the nun, the nun the monk, with dread and aversion; while both looked down upon the married population of the opposite sex with a coarse contempt and disgust which is hardly credible."

If the descendants of the Puritans be a little heterodox in these days, can one be surprised? The times have changed since that pleasant trial took place in Connecticut, in the year of grace 1650. It seems that Sarah, quite promiscuously, dropped her gloves. Jacob, coming by, picked them up. Commercially bargaining like the typical Jonathan, the selfish fellow demanded payment for his trouble; and absolutely, and that in Connecticut, in the year of grace 1650, asked for a kiss in return! But the worst has yet to come. Sarah so forgot the rules of maiden propriety, so outrageously contemned the virtuous laws of Connecticut, that she gave her neighbour Jacob the kiss. But, fortunately for the framework of the universe, or the stability of morals in New England, the atrocious act was witnessed. The horror-stricken spectator hastened

to the fathers. The culprits were hauled up before the legal representatives of the State Church, severely admonished, assured of their rapid descent somewhere, and each was fined the sum of twenty shillings.

But the sisterhood of progress in the States look hopefully to philosophy. Frenchmen, so polite, are usually determined foes to female emancipation; and, while monstrosly excusing the weaknesses of husbands, are complacently happy when a wronged husband takes bloody revenge on a wife. But Fourier, of the ideal Phalansteries, would have the chiefs of the communities chosen from among both sexes by the free vote of both. He openly proclaims as his principle—"not more for man than for woman." He even prophesies that "woman in a state of liberty will surpass man in all the functions of mind and body which are not the attribute of physical force."

Legouv  , another French reformer, observes: "The French Revolution, which has renovated everything to free men, has, so to speak, done nothing for the emancipation of females." Girardin announces that "without equality of children before the mother, the equality of citizens before the law is but an imposture." He triumphantly inquires, "Do you believe that Madame de Girardin would deposit in the

electoral urn a less intelligent vote than that of her *valet de chambre*?"

Madame d'Hericourt fights for the American side. She taunts the nobler part of creation thus: "Men fly marriage because they wish not a true woman by their side." She meets the charge of wifely extravagance with this retort: "If you loved us for what we are worth, and not because our clothes and jewels please you, we should not ruin you."

But the woman's rights cause has no sympathy from French Socialists. Their leader, Proudhon, scorns and despises woman. She is, says he, "a courtesan or a housekeeper." He, a Parisian, assures the world that man is the most virtuous side of humanity, that woman is the tempter and seducer, and should be punished by law for leading man—weak, confiding man—astray from morals! Woman, with him, is in "a constant state of demoralization." In fact, he confesses that "without man she could not go out of the bestial state"! His definition of woman is, "a sort of middle term between himself (man) and the rest of the animal world."

French Socialism is worse than a Lutheran synod or even Catholic authorities can be.

But hope may come from the philosophic St. Simonians, who preach the equality of the sexes. Leroux is a fine champion,—telling the

weaker ones, "You are our equal, not because you are women, but because there are no more slaves and serfs." The Fraternity, and the Icarians of Cabet, are willing to raise women.

The mystical Fusionists of the Continent labour from another standpoint. As God is neither male nor female, men and women should be one in the sight of the law. Their leader, Tourreil, says: "Woman is the mould which perfectionates or degrades the species, according as the mould is good or bad." He very beautifully and correctly observes: "That man be happy, it must not be that one of the two halves suffers. And would it not suffer if it is subservient to and oppressed by the other?"

Positivism is progressing, perhaps, more in the United States than in Europe. I was struck with the statement I heard there of its reception even among regular church-goers. The influence of its teachings on the future of women has a deep interest just now. Comte himself would treat her as a child or minor. She must be supported by father, husband, or the State; but on no account to enter upon trades, professions, or duties appropriated by the other sex. Once a widow, she must remain so. Once a wife, she must be so, whatever her treatment, till death relieve her from her husband's yoke.

But Comte's followers astonished the philosopher by a declaration that, on that head, woman, they preferred adopting more liberal views.

The American papers have many a joke at the expense of the ladies. An attempt made by some strong-minded ones to vote at a recent New York election, brought out some characteristic illustrations. One represents two ladies coming up to the booths. The first wears spectacles, and has the masculine jacket. She manfully confronts a rollicking-looking fellow at the door. The younger one has the full-blown expositions of fashion, and gives a bold stare at a grinning, bearded German obstructive.

Another caricature amused me also. It is called "Our next President. This is how it will be during the presidential canvass of 1872." A lady in high boots, with extensive chignon and camel's hump of ribbons, is haranguing a mob from a balcony, while accompanied by youthful and matronly supporters. The audience, mostly men, are signifying their approval in cheers, but their disapproval in groans, and the hurling of carrots and stones at the orator.

A third picture gave me the story of "A romance of the recent election. Beauty's bribe



for voters." A young lady stands at the poll in a New York village, and barter kisses for votes for her favourite candidate. There is the booth, and beside it stands a pretty young lady on a raised step, holding a placard on a board,—“One kiss reward for every man who votes my ticket—no questions asked.” As gentlemen approach, she holds out a polling-paper, and her face to the self-betrayed patriots.

But I read the following account from an eastern paper: “Modesty, propriety, decency, and all the attributes which lend a grace and charm to womanhood, are ignored by females of the ‘strong-minded’ persuasion, in their eager and insane struggles to obtain what they can never get—the right of suffrage. When woman unsexes herself by claiming the privileges of her superior, man, she loses all claim to the respect and protection from the stronger sex to which she would otherwise be entitled.”

In the territory of Wyoming, close to Utah, the women managed to get slipped into the Constitution an admission of their political rights. A revision of the law took place last November, and a majority turned the scale against the suffrage of females.

Some anticipate a further relief for the oppressed, in the spread of spiritualism in

America. Those who suppose this only a crotchet of crack-brained enthusiasts are mistaken. Very hard-headed men have adopted it, and many practical notions are being evolved from it. Among these is that of female emancipation. As the ballot-box in the States is the standard by which everything is ultimately tested, spiritualism must soon make itself felt as a great political force.

Women do not neglect to mention that when, in the wild days of western Laramie, no justice could be attained from a jury of independent men, it was agreed to submit cases to a jury of women; and from them a true and honest verdict was obtained.

Property was first secured to married women in the United States in 1847.

I was pleased to observe how many ladies were employed in the Treasury, etc., in Washington. At the Smithsonian Institute—the noblest free gift of an American—I saw ladies employed in various ways. But it seemed curious to hear of female lighthouse keepers.

In New York there is a capital organization known as the "Working Women's Protective Union." A paper describing it says: "Hard-hearted employers, it is stated, hesitate before thrusting poor girls into the street, since they

know that the protective union will defend their victims. Great care is exercised by the society in securing suitable situations for working women."

It is in education, however, that the American women are making their rights to be known and appreciated. They rush to the colleges, and compete with the men for prizes and distinctions. Complaints have been made, it is said, by the weak-minded students of the masculine sort, that they really cannot mind their books now as they did before the irruption of female seduction in the classroom.

Another complaint has been urged. The matriculation course will be lowered, it is said, to suit the obtrusive but less intellectual portion of our race. An M.A. or a B.A. bears now a certificate of certain hard work and accomplished study; but if female bachelors and masters are to be manufactured, the standard would have to be lowered, to the serious injury of learning and the rights of men.

While I was in the States, newspapers were chronicling the travels of a school of fourteen young ladies—Americans, of course—ranging from fourteen to twenty-one years of age. They had not been satisfied with the sights of

Paris and Rome, the clamber up the Alps, the look into Vesuvius, but had penetrated the Mahometan domains, even to Egypt, to the horror and fright of all good Mussulmans.

It is much to be hoped that so laudable an educational scheme, good for health and mental training, will be adopted by the heads of ladies' seminaries in Great Britain.

But the most alarming form in which the advance of woman has been thrust before American society is that of the revolt against marriage. One gets prepared for many changes in this revolutionary period, especially on the other side of the Atlantic. One General Thomson is recorded to have said of his American countrymen, "I change my religion every year, my politics every month, and my opinions every day, and yet I cannot keep up with them nohow."

In the good old times, there was no change for woman. At first the marketable property of her father, and then the absolute property of her husband,—to whom she had been transferred, for a consideration, by her parent, without inquiring as to her own individual tastes,—she had no change from the condition of serfdom. St. Ambrose said, "A woman shall give unto her parents the choice of a husband, lest she be reputed to be malapert

and wanton if she take upon herself to make her own choice."

But we have changed all that in these modern days. A girl may now select without even a consultation at home. Woman demanded the rights of property, and got them. She required further liberties in divorce, and got them. But it became a very serious affair when, in her ardour for freedom, and in the flush of success, she began to question the very bonds of matrimony itself. She seized hold of political and social ideas, elaborated by unimaginative scholars in the study, and clothed them with flesh-and-blood framework. Facility in procuring a divorce was the first movement.

It is curious to see how competing States appreciated this demand of the age, and came forward with the supply. Thus, feeble, struggling Illinois first bid for population by this tempting offer. Indiana was but slowly getting people so far westward. It was suggested that if a liberal divorce law were passed, women would rush thither, and draw the men after them. The enactment appeared. Abuse, or even incompatibility of temper and sentiments, would be sufficient to unchain the married. Six months' residence being required, a room was sometimes taken, and a trunk placed in possession of the premises to fulfil the law.

Mrs. Stanton affirms that the old law of marriage "was worthy the dark periods when marriage was held by the greatest doctors and priests of the Church to be a work of the flesh only, and almost, if not altogether, a defilement; denied to the clergy, and a second time forbidden to all." The able American advocate, Mrs. E. L. Rose, says, "I believe in true marriage, and therefore I ask for a law to free men and women from false ones."

But the progression of ideas went beyond the mere rectification of grave errors in marriage. It was not satisfied with the release of the oppressed and deceived from the grasp of the unscrupulous. It seemed to suggest the propriety of using divorce as a means of search after a mythical affinity. Pseudo-prudery discovered that living with a wife or husband, without this mystical correspondence of sentiments, was virtually an unhallowed and improper union, and it was not always thought necessary to wait for another world to reveal one's other true half.

Some of the woman's rights apostles ventured a little further. "Why," said they, "make use of the clumsy and expensive process of divorce, with all its publicity?" Of course this implied the search after affinities without the restraint of legal marriage.

Because evils had grown under the sanction of the rite, a complete emancipation from its thralldom was demanded. The delicate principle was thus laid down by Andrew Jackson Davis, who has so numerous a following in America: "The harmonial doctrines of marriage, which I uncompromisingly advocate by lip and life, are these: that all the treasures of one's heart's boundless love belong to some other one heart which is equally opulent. It is an immutable law that when two hearts feel truly and wisely drawn into one embrace, the parties thus united profess the power to render their union either transient or permanent."

But the reader must pardon the insertion of a more lengthy extract, because of the importance of the subject. It is not a fact that the present alarming attitude of this affinity principle is owing to the working of a sensual or frivolous sentiment in American society. Metaphysical inquiry and philosophical reasoning have been employed by the ladies who directly or covertly attack the time-honoured institution. One of their greatest authorities is that distinguished German, Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt. His opinions have exercised, and are exercising, a most disastrous influence upon the social habits of his own country people, to the imminent danger of the State. The intellec-

tual classes alone, perhaps, will be led away by them; and such only, it may be said, when the advance in both refinement and taste has not been accompanied by a corresponding study of the moral sentiments, or when home-life has lost its simple love and honest purity. These are the Baron's words:—

“The effects which marriage produces are as various as the characters of the persons concerned; and, as a union so closely allied with the very nature of the respective individuals, it must be attended with the most hurtful consequences when the State attempts to regulate it by law, or, through the force of its institutions, to make it repose upon anything save simple inclination. The radical error of such a policy seems to be that the law commands, whereas such a relation cannot mould itself according to internal circumstances, but depend wholly on inclination; and, whenever coercion or guidance comes into collision with inclination, they divert it still more from the proper path. Wherefore it appears to me that the State should not only loosen the bonds in this instance, and leave ampler freedom to the citizen, but that it should entirely withdraw its active solicitude from the institution of marriage, and that both generally and in its particular modifications it should rather leave it wholly



to the free choice of the individuals, and the various contracts they may enter into with respect to it."

Professor Newman thus discourses upon the American condition of things :—

"When we learn from the last census that the United States contain nearly seven hundred and thirty thousand more men than women, it is pretty clear that women who are worth having are sure to be able to prescribe to lovers the conditions on which they will accept them; and if this state of sentiment spread, the marriage law will go out of use in precisely the most spirited and most intellectual part of American society."

I was surprised, however, to hear in the States, what we are obliged to hear in Britain, where women, not men, are so much more numerous, that it was expedient to give daughters a knowledge of business, or make some special provision for their future, as they might not be married. But I heard, also, that the prodigious increase of the cost of living in American cities, and the difficulty of maintaining there an appearance according to station, from the frightfully luxuriant fashions of the day, may eventually make it impossible for any but the few favoured ones to marry.

One of the most distinguished professors

told me that he foresaw the moral ruin of his country from the operation of such causes. Women are demanding their rights, that they may be independent of the restraint and inconveniences of marriage. They may, and will, as in France, Germany, and Sweden, form independent alliances with men, preserving their liberty, while indulging sentiment.

We must not, however, be unduly alarmed at what we see and hear "across the ferry," Americans are fond of tall talk, and are excessively candid. If there be an evil, it will be often exaggerated for effect. They love excitement and the latest novelty. In their greed for news, they are dosed to nausea. They tell all and everything, however much to their national prejudice. An energetic, progressive race, they strike the cymbal, and sound the horn, to let the slow world of Europe know they are astir, and that they dare say and do anything they please. But the sound foundations of good morals have been laid in the States, and no wild storm of Free love can disturb their solidity. The barque of social life, though rocked on the billows of wayward thoughts and passions, will right itself, and will for ages to come be an ark of refuge to many foreign troubled ones.

In these telegraph days, our affections want

to fly as fast as our ideas. Our growing sensitiveness, from excited intellect and fast living, is more often to be blamed than passion for that increasing desire to be emancipated from the fancied slavery of marriage.

It would be easy to meet the specious arguments of the advocates of this supposed freedom, and so plead the cause of dear children so cruelly sacrificed to these sentimental novelties ; but it may be sufficient to tell an American story.

A couple had lived nearly two years in happy union. A beloved infant had been given them, though only sojourning on earth a little while. Unpleasant circumstances, such as happen to all in married life, arose to produce a disagreement. Offended pride and selfish obstinacy widened the breach. Each then accused the other of utter loss of affection. Sympathizing friends referred to the relief afforded by the divorce law. A lawyer was consulted. The old gentleman listened patiently to the tale of ruptured affinities. He knew the parties well, and expressed a wish to see them both the next day at a certain place. This was not far from the public cemetery. He led them in there to the grave of their darling, bowed, and took his leave. Solemn thoughts came over the pair, as their eyes fell upon that grassy mound.

The tears of the mother began to flow, and she knelt beside the grave. The softened husband took her hand tenderly, and whispered, "Don't give way, my dear." She arose quickly, looked at him earnestly, and said, "Then do you really love me still?" He merely replied, "I never lost my love, but thought you had lost yours for me." A moment after they were clasped in each other's arms. They did call again upon the lawyer, but it was to thank him as their true friend.

There is no doubt whatever that the doctrines of free love taught in certain quasi-religious communions in all ages, and notably in the States and in Germany, have received their most powerful impetus, in general American society, from the excessively candid avowals and pleadings of Victoria Claflin Woodhull, perhaps the best female lecturer in the world.

Disapproval of her principles, or misinterpretation of her language, has aroused against her the great majority of her countrymen. The rigidly orthodox are aghast, the licentious libertines are amused, the thinkers are confounded, and the prudent are justly alarmed. One of the New York wits writes, "Let Grant call home his Salt Lake regenerators. It's high time a high joint commission went to work on that high old gal, Victoria."

The Mormons were ready enough to apply this case. When I was in the West, the *Salt Lake Herald* had these observations upon the story :—

“Victoria C. Woodhull advocates doctrines that would uproot society, and make it a chaos, if they were universally adopted; but her doctrines are gaining ground, and that, too, because they strike a sympathetic chord in the breasts of those hypocritically corrupt, and corruptly hypocritical; and, while her system does not bind men and women down to the strict continence which Mormon polygamy does, there is little fear of legislation being applied as a remedy to correct the evils she is assisting to spread.”

But to suppose that the American public could tolerate the advocacy of unbridled passion, would be as gross libelling of our cousins, as dishonouring to humanity itself. When, therefore, Victoria C. Woodhull appears on the platform as an advocate of free love, charity and common sense demand a qualification of that theory as imagined by the vulgar, and in the exercise of charity some apology for the lecturer might be discussed.

The story of her life may be new to most British readers. It is so terribly true, that its recital in the burning words of this remarkable

woman could not but move an American audience.

The lady is not very young, having been born in the year 1838. In her youth she never knew a father's kiss, though often suffering from the cruelties of his hand. Her mother was as wayward and foolish as her father was inflexible and brutal. After a great "Revival," her mother became subject to hallucinations, dreaming dreams and seeing visions; and it is from her that Victoria inherits her astonishing mesmeric or spiritualistic powers. The father at times became similarly affected. Often in the deepest poverty, the children of this singular pair endured misery and hardship, and dwelt amidst a very storm of passion and excitement.

The girl Victoria grew up a visionary herself. Thoughtful, studious, sensitive, she believed that spirits conversed with her. Throughout her whole life she has led a sort of interior existence; yet, though like a female Swedenborg in this mysticism, she was not without practical ability. To this hour she is said to spend a part of each day in silent communion with the other world. Her religion is an intense belief in the presence of God and angels. In her trances she delivers orations of no mean order.

She was withdrawn from her wretched home at the early age of fourteen, to be the wife of Dr. Woodhull, a man spoken of as something worse than ordinary human nature. His intemperance, and his culture of improper society, desolated and impoverished the home of his young and unhappy wife. A child was born under distressing circumstances, and proved to be half an idiot.

But the mind of this injured and unfortunate woman strangely developed. Anxious to escape the miseries of poverty, she tried various methods of obtaining a living, as she could not expect the necessities of life from her partner. At length she struck upon a pursuit that led her to eminence and fortune. She became a trance medium and a healer. One of her sisters was also possessed of this power of healing under mesmeric influence, but was employed as a fortune-teller by her strange parents.

At the age of twenty-five, this sustainer of eleven years of marriage-purgatory got released from her bonds by a divorce. Not long after, a Colonel Blood called to consult her as a spiritualistic physician, and was surprised to hear her in a trance declare herself as his other half. A legal marriage took place between them. Afterwards, the lady induced her husband to

consent to the annulling of this tie, that they might live in a union upon its own merits. The intercourse is said to have been one of singular harmony ever since.

Both parties agree in one thing—spiritualism. The gentleman acts as the amanuensis when the pythoness indulges in her oracular deliverances. The publication of some of these communications, in a journal established for the purpose, has excited great interest, as much for the beauty of language as for the novelty of ideas.

Victoria and her gifted sister, Claflin, assisted by Colonel Blood, have organized a great business in Broad Street, New York, as bankers and stock-brokers! As, like other professional ladies, she claims the right of assuming a name, she has, singularly enough, chosen to be known as Mrs. Woodhull, though now without legal right to that appellation. The firm is Woodhull, Claflin, and Company. With characteristic energy she carries on this practical, commercial work, without apparent neglect of attention to politics, and the exercise of her high functions as a spiritualistic teacher and physician.

More than this, she has become the head of the woman's rights movement. Her eloquent memorial to Congress, claiming the suffrage, was written down from a trance utterance. She



was reported to have been aided by the spirit of Demosthenes! She ventured before the Judiciary Committee of Congress in Washington, and made her first speech in public before that honourable body. Since that, she has lectured repeatedly upon this political theme, and has been urged to aspire to the Presidency. Her admirer and fellow-spiritualist, Mr. Theodore Tilton, says of her, "In her lexicon, there is no such word as 'fail.' Her ambition is stupendous—nothing is too great for her grasp."

As a political economist, she holds that gold is not the true standard of money value, and contends that Government should issue its notes instead of coin. She is full of activity. It is said, "She can ride like an Indian, and climb a tree like an athlete; she can swim, row a boat, play billiards, dance, and walk all day like an Englishwoman."

With all her multiform engagements, she seizes time for parleying with the spirit world. On the roof of her own magnificent mansion she holds her Sunday converse with Deity and the angels, as she declines to attend church. She wears, sewn into the sleeve of her dresses, an extract from her favourite work, the Psalms: "Deliver my soul, O Lord, from lying lips, and from a deceitful tongue." When once asked

what was the greatest truth ever uttered, she replied, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

When in America I heard that, while married to Mr. Blood and divorced from Mr. Woodhull, both gentlemen resided at the same time in her house. This open defiance of the rules of propriety is not, it seems, to be identified with anything beyond indecorum.

It is said that her husband and she heard one night that the wretched Dr. Woodhull was lying near them in *delirium tremens*, and had mentioned the name of his former wife. The Colonel immediately drove to the hotel, and brought the sufferer to the house, where he was kindly tended by Victoria. Upon his recovery, a large sum of money was given him to start anew. Since then, however, the weak and wayward victim of intemperance has repeatedly returned to the home once so generously opened to him, and never since closed against him.

This act of imprudence has exposed her conduct to insinuations, especially with her known opinions on liberty. "But," says her apologist, "not all the clamorous tongues in Christendom, though they should simultaneously cry out against her, 'Fie! for shame!' could persuade her to turn this wretched wreck from her home."

Mr. Tilton is an enthusiastic advocate. "Knowing her as well as I do," he observes, "I cannot hear an accusation against her without recalling Tennyson's line of King Arthur—

"Is thy white blamelessness accounted blame?"

The editor of *The Golden Age* thus dignifies her: "Known only as a rash iconoclast, and ranked even with the most uncouth of those noise-makers who are waking a sleepy world before its time, she beats her daily gong of business and reform with notes not musical but strong, yet mellows the outward rudeness of the rhythm by the inward and devout song of one of the sincerest, most reverent, and divinely gifted of human souls."

The publication issued by this lady, under the name of *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, is so remarkable that a short notice of a June number may interest the general reader. It is headed "Progress! Free Thought! Untrammelled Lives!" The motto is "Breaking the way for future generations."

The paper contains sixteen moderate-sized pages. There are four pages of advertisements, which chiefly concern money transactions. Upon the first page is an advertisement of Mrs. Woodhull's writings. The International Working Men's Associations find an advocacy

here. The spiritualists have space afforded to them. A work on "The Infinite Republic" is being continued in weekly chapters. A clever article is written by Dora Darmoore on "Insanity and Divorce," another is by Mrs. Dr. Severance, while "E. W." contributes a learned paper upon "The Methods of Creation."

Then comes a long letter from V. C. Woodhull, addressed to the President of the Nominating Convention of the Equal Rights party, accepting from them the candidature for President of the United States; as that political section had just nominated her for President, and Douglass, the negro advocate, as Vice-President. A political statement of "Our Platform" follows: this is the doctrine of the Equal Rights party. The deputies recently sent by this Woman's Rights Society to the International Convention at the Hague were rudely refused admission there. Poor Greeley fares ill in the story of "The Fossil Candidate." M. Thiers is considered as the man of blood, by the writer of "Regenerating Labour to be our Saviour." Other articles are given upon political topics: as, "How to reach the Masses," "Broad Brim's Epistle to Victoria," "What we need in a President," etc. The "Stray Shots" contain some capital squibs. Two well-written poems claim attention for their pathos and good feeling.

However ridiculous it may appear to us that Victoria Woodhull should be put forward as a candidate to succeed President Grant, there can be no doubt of the earnestness of those who propose her. The reason for the selection is thus recorded by the Convention: "Because it deems that the personal, social, legal, and political liberties of woman have been better advocated by her actions, and in her speeches and writings, than by any other woman." The *Commercial Advertiser* of August 4th, 1872, is pleased to say: "Victoria foresees that the money question is yet to be the question with the American people, and, with the sagacity of her sex, she selects the position to be sustained by the majority of her countrymen." This is an allusion to the other great reform which she, as a leading banking authority of New York, seeks to carry out. She is as learned upon the currency question as upon female suffrage. She would have the national currency based upon the accumulated wealth of the country, and would at once get rid of bank-notes.

Her sister has, also, invaded the rights of men, even aspiring to succeed James Fisk as the Colonel of the dashing regiment. Though not able to lavish quite so much cash upon the troop as the Erie man did, her great wealth will

enable her to keep up a respectable military state.

Some other woman's rights advocates, as Lucy Stone and Mrs. Stanton, are much opposed to these energetic sisters. But the latter come forth boldly to call a spade by its homely name, and, as radical reformers, exclaim, in the stirring words of Victoria, "Who will dare to attempt to unlock the luminous portals of the Future with the rusty key of the Past?"

Mormonism is not the only system in America which has made use of spiritualism in connexion with woman's rights, though the only organization which has been successful. While the other political and religious movements, which failed, sought to emancipate the weaker sex, the Utah government were for reducing wives to an ancient standard of dependence.

The marked peculiarity of these American sects was that they all acknowledged the spiritual guidance of prophets, or leaders, inspired by supernatural agencies, and all looked for the second coming of Christ upon earth. A reference to some of the movements is interesting, as bearing upon and illustrating the Mormon development.

A community was established nearly twenty years ago at Kiantone, New York State, near

some celebrated saline springs. The water there was reputed to possess some marvellously healing properties. It was, consequently, regarded by a certain gentleman as a suitable locality for a settlement. Being a spiritualist of some reputation, and holding strong views upon the millennium, he induced a number of persons to gather round him, to enjoy peculiar advantages of health and spirit-communion there, and be the better prepared for the second coming.

It is not likely that all the disciples comprehended or received all the communications of the spirits there consulted. That accomplished lady and true-hearted woman, the authoress of the "History of Modern American Spiritualism," has this criticism upon the proceedings:

"It has become a matter of too much notoriety to veil or gloss over, that some of the inspired party who had assembled at Kiantone Springs claimed to be organs or mouthpieces, not only for spirits of an adventurous and scientific turn of mind, but also for others who proposed to establish a new social order upon earth, in which the marriage obligations were not treated with any great amount of reverence or conventional respect." But this "kingdom of heaven" burst in a very short time.

The "Sacred Order of Unionists" arose in 1862. The locality that gave it birth was New England. The leaders proposed to inaugurate the second advent. The peculiarity of the society was that it was double, comprehending the esoteric and the exoteric. The outer circle of member were not to know the profound spiritual truths delivered to the more fortunate and select inner circle. This is the explanation of the secrecy:—

"Its work of social reconstruction thus follows the natural or Divine method in the formation of human organism, beginning in secret, and proceeding in an orderly manner from centre to circumference. The centre or heart of the new social order is the Church. It has one supreme head, and an assembly consisting of twelve members. It has at its head a single mind, who receives suggestions from all sources, from the heavens above as well as from the earth beneath."

The order of its outward speaking was sufficiently ambitious. The following objects are named in one of the official publications:—

"1st. To unite man to man, nation to nation, planet to planet.

"2nd. To abolish war in all its forms, and to promote universal peace.

"3rd. To organize various co-operations and



beneficent institutions, which, without injuring the rich, shall greatly aid and help to educate the poor and the impoverished classes.

“4th. To establish such religious institutions and observances as are in harmony with man’s nature, and shall tend to his highest culture.”

The “happy family” were set to loggerheads by the meddlesome utterances of a medium in a trance, which astonished the outer circle, the members of which had not heretofore suspected the mysteries of the inner circle. The further exposure of those veiled practices, by a couple of the initiated, did not help the cause of spiritualism, and the “Unionists” disbanded.

A conference took place at Boston, and it was resolved that spiritualists, as a body, should publicly declare their horror of deeds and opinions eventuating from certain professed communers with spirits; as they wished, they said, to be “known and understood for what they really were, and their professions of belief no more to be confounded with the disorders of ‘Free-loveism,’ or the vagaries of fanatics, or one-idea reformers, who, speculating on the credulity of their fellow-mortals, planned schemes for elevating themselves into positions of leadership.”

The “Order of Patriarchs” had a suspected

character, though, doubtless, it was not so wrong as others. This was a Cincinnati production, and started and stopped in 1856. It was a secret society, and its doctrines were those of supposed heavenly communications. But the account of its origin was as romantic as an Oriental tale.

A certain person was inspired to go to a certain place. He went, and beheld a noble mansion. Upon his pulling the bell, a venerable looking gentleman, the owner of the enchanted castle, came to the door, satisfied himself that the rope-puller was the proper person, and then directed him to go home straight, when he would learn what he had to do.

Directly he got back to the pork-exporting town on the Ohio, he observed in his house a box just left for him by the Parcels Delivery Company. Opening it, what should he see but a marble slab, covered with singular marks or perforations. By the help of spirits, it was ascertained that this was a sacred and secret language, of great importance to mankind, and requiring a secret society for the reading of such remarkable intelligence. Upon this the "Order of Patriarchs" was formed.

It is said, however,—whether slanderously or not,—that the marble slab was not like the honest golden plate of the Mormons, as, though

inscribed in a peculiar language, it had the remarkable property of shifting its characters or perforations, so that successive revelations were obtained from the same surface.

The *Age of Progress* for the year 1856 distinctly charges the Order with impropriety. "The perforations," it observes, "in the slab are not stationary, but miraculously changeable, so that they will admit of infinite variations; hence, the mysteries are endless. The moral teachings of the slab-language, as we learn, embrace that of 'free-love' in its most revolting form. It teaches that the marriage contract shall be regarded as a mere rope of sand. Any man or any woman may repudiate it at will."

Though the charge was denied, and the shifting of the spiritual letters on the slab denied also, the society came to grief. The *Age of Progress* was charitably pleased to say: "Let those who have already thrown themselves into this pool of moral pollution follow those mock Abrahams, Isaacs, and Jacobs to infamy and to death."

Without for one moment charging the American community with sympathy with these peculiar institutions, which the very religious freedom of the country engenders, but which may be observed, also, under the genuine

despotism of Russia, it is right that they all, including Shakerism, with its unnatural celibacy, and Mormonism, with its polygamy, be sternly opposed by patriots and philanthropists, not less than by moralists, inasmuch as they strike at the root of that family relation, which is the redeeming feature of a fallen humanity.

The home is something more than the bulwark of civilization. It is the fabled Hope left in the box of Pandora. It is the blooming flower in the desert of life. No morning rose-tint of Alps sheds so charming and tender a radiance as the light of love that dwells in a true home. Such a portion is a blessing, independent of race or clime, of caste or position. It may be the heritage of the poor and oppressed, and their sweet refuge from the harshness and neglect of the outside world. It is the dwelling-place of the tenderest and purest of all earthly affections. It is the nursery of virtues as well as of forms; for, while it rears good citizens for the State, it trains souls for the skies.

Tempted, as we may be, to smile at the absurdities of fanatics and deceivers, it surely becomes us, at this particular epoch of human history, not only to condemn these follies, but to examine into the causes originating or

sustaining such theories, that we may reform the social anomalies of our times, and so preserve the honour and happiness of "home, sweet home."

## SILVER MINES.

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THE Mormons who went forth as persecuted exiles into the wilderness, have found something more than a home there. For some time they suffered from the wrath of heaven and earth. As men frowned upon them, and cast them out as leprous ones, the soil of Utah hardened itself against them, and the very clouds refused to bless them with refreshing showers. They delved in an ungracious soil, and the grasshoppers of the desert devoured their scanty crops. Their food was scanty and poor, and their garments were rudely prepared from the skins and plants of the wilderness.

All at once the tide of fortune turned. The heavens gave rain, and the earth yielded abundant fruits. The rills of the mountains coursed through their fields, and their barns were filled with plenty. Strangers bartered for the excess of produce, and the harvest hymn of thanksgiving was sung with joy.

And then the grim stony walls around them began to smile. They broke forth into merry laughter; and from their lonely gulches and gloomy canyons, or from their craggy heights and snow-wrapped tops, they threw out span-gles of gold, nuggets of gold, and dust of gold in very sportiveness. When Mormon hands were busy gathering this more valuable and less perishable manna, the mountains heaved again, and threw open to view the softer light of silver veins.

Many of us can recollect the wild days of the gold fever. Three-and-twenty years ago the world was mad with lust for gold. North, east, south, and west were stirred to their depths by it. "California!" was on every tongue, and visions of its treasures gilded the dreams of the soberest. The stampede for the "Golden Gates" will never be forgotten.

The fever spread among the farmers in the Jordan Valley. The Church pronounced against the rush. The plague must not enter the households of the saints. But the infection would come, did come, and swept through the camp. There was no help for it: the Mormons went in with the rest.

At first the bright sparklers were gathered on the sunset side of the glorious Sierra Nevada, which towered over the great basin in

which the Mormons dwelt. Then they glistened in the sunrise quarter, and gladdened the saints with a shorter journey.

But as if the time had come for an "Open, Sesame!" the auriferous eruption appeared at the very doors of the Mormons. The hills around their dwellings, so desolate and forbidding in winter, so bare and blinding in summer, called these children of the plains to come and take freely of their golden wealth. Yet, not content with this bounty, they displayed before the eyes of the saints veins of silver ore, which, though not so easy to extract as golden nuggets, rewarded the toiler with a gracious return for labour.

Once upon a time, and a long time ago, sundry bosses, peaks, and ribs of granite thrust themselves above the ancient waters which then rolled freely over what is now Western America. The rock, though itself a very frequent disturber, has been disquieted below by intrusive porphyries, and other igneous materials. Beds of old Palæozoic sandstones, mudstones, limestones, and conglomerates, that had tranquilly reposed through the stirring centuries, had been also invaded, rolled up, twisted, crushed, depressed, elevated, and transmuted by the fires beneath.

The whole mass rose by jerks and strains,



till the sunlight played upon mountain summits, and old ocean played around the base thereof.

Silurian formations were there, answering to our Welsh series; and Devonian Old Red Sandstone, like the rocks of Devon and Cornwall, exchanged their briny homes for the cool air aloft. But, though similar beds elsewhere abound with memorials of life, the Mormon rocky boundaries are singularly reticent as to these tales of the past.

There these wild-looking cliffs stood gazing at the stars, while many of their contemporaries in England and in Eastern America dipped their heads beneath the tide, and got a cap streaked with coal. A subsidence of part did take place much later, and a Cheshire-looking series of New Red Sandstone, with something like our Yorkshire moor-stone, got spread over. The Triassic sea extended from Mexico to British Columbia, but the bed was uncommonly broken by disturbing forces.

What a long time the waters must have hammered away at the dry land, when we find that to the south-west of Mormonland there is a deposit two thousand feet thick! Over how great a surface must these ravages have extended, to strew Triassic debris for two thousand miles and more!

Then came another change. The Sierra Nevada rose higher and higher, till their lofty heads pierced the highest clouds. They looked down upon the low level from which subsequently sprang the vast pile of the composite rocky chains. The Wahsatch mountains, on whose slopes the Mormon farms are hanging, swelled upward about this period.

The wild waves said what they pleased, without let or hindrance, from the region of the Canadian lakes, westward to,—we know not where,—perchance to China, save where the Sierra Nevada and Wahsatch repelled their soft or sulky moanings. But a wonderful work was being done below, worthy of the Titanic forces there! The Cretaceous system was being formed, after our Kentish fashion.

A vast Cretaceous sea laved the Sierra Nevada. Far to the eastward and northward, as well as westward and southward, an enormous deposit was left, after ages upon ages of denudations by the huger than ever Pacific Ocean, as it tore open the flanks of mountains, and carried downward and onward the varying material. From South California to Vancouver Island we now observe the product of this industry. In Upper Missouri the beds lie 2,500 feet in thickness, and reach down to Omaha. The grand valley of the Rio Grande

and the valley of Colorado were filled with this sediment.

A warmer climate, too, existed for the creatures that flourished at this period. There were monstrous lizards, curious corals, and minute foraminiferæ. The madrepores were just bursting into being, though the cephalopods were declining in number. Ammonites and nautili sported in the sub-tropical waters. The fishes became more after our modern type, while ungainly birds flew over the Sierra Nevada.

And yet it was not a quiet time. Metamorphic influences were very strong upon the rocks, converting them into forms like those prevailing in Paleozoic periods. The presence of extensive beds of coal in this Cretaceous system points out the strange changes through which it passed.

Now sprang upward the Rocky Mountains with this Cretaceous border, and other ranges darted yet higher than before.

Lastly came the Tertiaries, chiefly Miocene. A considerable portion of the present continent of Western America escaped these. They were of different characters. San Francisco got its sandstone gates then, and Colorado basin its deep marls. The horizontal sandstone of Carson Valley in the desert had

then its origin, and the Pacific slope of the Sierra Nevada, so rich in crystals of gold, was deposited in that Tertiary day.

This work done, the convulsions occurred with unusual vigour. A vast line of the new material was hurled out of the sea to become the coast range of California, and the dry land of the "Mormons and Silver Mines" appeared above the ocean. So violent and active was this period, that the rocks were much metamorphosed, and basaltic currents ran everywhere. Three distinct upheavals of the coast range can be detected.

The climate changed. The warm sea had given place to lofty land. Glaciers glided down the sides of mountains. Mormonland, not far from Salt Lake City, exhibits moraines, the *débris* of ancient glacial action, about 2,200 feet above the level of the Salt Lake.

Volcanic action was fierce enough during and after this Tertiary formation. Shasta, of North California, discharged lava from its crater 14,440 feet high. Other burning cones burst out with extraordinary and destructive energy. The Sierra Nevada seemed to reel under this fearful artillery. Diablo, whose magnificent cone I beheld in my travels, was active then with a vengeance, judging by the streams of lava traced to its cup, and the enormous de-

posits of ash at a distance from its rugged, vitreous walls. Volcanoes thrust themselves up amidst the primitive rocks of ranges, and the Cretaceous and Tertiary plains; the deserts of Colorado and the Great Basin bear witness to their presence. A funnel-like cone at the foot of Nevada shows a rim now of about 1,000 yards circuit, with a cavity 230 feet in depth.

And when came man? A long while indeed before the Mormon visitation, and even before the Nephites, and other supposed fathers of the Indian race. When the Drift period closed in, cutting off the communication with Asia which existed in the middle Tertiary period, man's works became then visible. The mammoth, or mastodon, must have been traditionally known, as we see sculptured representations of these animals on the old temple walls of Mexico, etc. Human bones have been dug from the loess at Natchez, and chipped flints lie along with the skeletons of mastodons by the Missouri. Part of a skull was recovered from a depth of 180 feet, near Table Mountain, California, in 1857. The Californian State geologist, Mr. Whitney, speaks of a skull unearthed at Los Angeles, 140 feet from the surface. The finder, a gold miner, had passed through five successive lava

beds, and four beds of auriferous gravel, before he fell in with this truly aboriginal cranium.

The president of the meeting of the American Scientific Association, in 1870, said in his opening address about the early American man: "So numerous and well-attested are the facts, that we must now regard him as the contemporary of many of the great mammals which have ceased to exist." After this, it is a misnomer indeed to speak of America as the new world.

The western provinces, whose geology it is proposed to describe by way of illustrating the subject of silver mines, are, first, California State, by the Pacific; next, Nevada territory; third, Utah Mormon territory; and, east of it, Colorado territory. All are rich in gold and silver, though the gold discovery preceded the announcement of the white metal.

The Mormons are happily situated between the mines, as well as possessing mines. Silver Nevada is west, and gold Colorado east; while golden Idaho territory is to the north of Utah, and silver Arizona territory to the south.

The Mormons, who called their country the Promised Land, and their stream the Jordan, loved to draw a parallel between their Deseret, the land of the Bee, and the Bible Palestine.

They had passed through the wilderness to

reach this home. And was not their wilderness like that of the Israelites? Had it not perilous wastes to be traversed? Were there not hills of sterility and plains of desert? Did not water fail them in it often; and was not the shade of trees a rare sight? Had they not to sink wells for drinking purposes, and dwell in tents when camping on their way?

And in the land itself there was a striking likeness. There was the fertile valley of the Jordan, and there were bleak and dry hills around. The stream ran into one lake, passed thence, and fell into a salt lake as its final resting-place.

It is true they had to endure the cold of winter, and the oppressive heat of summer; but so had the Israelites to do. They had dreadful droughts, and frequent famines; but so had the others. The sand swept over the country in blinding clouds in both places. Grasshoppers covered the fields of saints of old, and saints new. Deserts were about the one and the other country.

It was so comforting to the Mormons that the modern people of God should have been led, like the sons and daughters of Israel, from the land of bondage to the banks of the rolling Jordan.

There is, indeed, some singular agreement

of physical features. The Jordan of the Jews comes down from Lebanon, and glides into Lake Gennesareth. The Jordan of the Mormons falls from the heights of Wahsatch, and enters Utah Lake. This lake, thirty miles long by fifteen broad, has an abundance of fish, like Lake Tiberias. The river, however, does not plunge down a thousand feet in a series of twenty-seven falls, like that of Palestine. It is but forty miles long, and has a tranquil course. While much of the old Jordan runs between the limestone walls, with scarcely any proper valley, though having an open space of some fifteen miles wide near its exit, the Mormon stream has a fine vale of from ten to thirty miles in width all the way.

The mysterious river Colorado, of Utah, has much more likeness than the Utah Jordan to the river of the Holy Land. That, like the last named, plunges down a deep and narrow channel, in gloomy gorges, lost almost to sight at times, and is as useless to man as the Jewish Jordan itself. In like manner does it drain all the creeks and rivers of the country, and carry off the same without benefiting the human race. Its walls are even more precipitous and lofty than those of the river of Canaan.

But while the Jordan at lake Gennesareth is 650 feet below the level of the sea, and at its



entrance into the Dead Sea 1,300 feet beneath that level, the Jordan of the Mormons does not exhibit such a difference, and is always far above the sea surface. Yet its fall is 500 feet in forty miles from Lake Utah to Salt Lake, though the latter is still 4,290 feet above the Pacific Ocean.

The shores of Lake Tiberias are basaltic, and have both hot and sulphur springs. Around Lake Utah, also, the igneous element is in force, and hot springs as well as sulphur and soda springs are in the vicinity. But the Dead Sea of Palestine is remarkably like the Salt Lake of the Mormons, though not nearly so extensive, and without islands. Both are in a deep depression of the continent; both receive rivers, without having an outlet; both are unsuited to the sustenance of life; both have a neighbourhood of rocky and sandy deserts; both are far saltier than the ocean, though they are supplied with fresh water only; both are, in all probability, the remains of ancient gulfs; both have treeless, inhospitable neighbourhoods, with a silence both oppressive and mysterious.

The Salt Lake is more than twice the length of the Dead Sea, and nearly four times the width, but its waters are the shallower. The first is not quite so salt as the other, though

both are five or six times as salt as the ocean. Nearly one-fourth the weight consists of salts. Out of twenty-four parts, ten are sulphate of lime, ten are muriate of soda, and four are muriate of lime. The proportions in the Salt Lake are twenty of common salt, two of sulphate of soda, and a small quantity of chloride of magnesia. The specific gravity of the Atlantic is 1.02; that of the Dead Sea, 1.13; and that of the Salt Lake about the same. Both have beds of salt in the marl or clay.

While Lebanon towers, in Mount Hermon, 10,000 feet at the head of the Jordan of Palestine, the Wahsatch source of the other river rises 12,000 feet. Both ranges have primitive rock, metamorphosed and volcanic rocks, with a cretaceous formation on their slopes.

The depression of the Dead Sea is much greater than that of the country in the vicinity. The Salt Lake is the lowest part of the Great Basin, a vast desert 500 miles long. The water was formerly greater in extent, as was also the surface of the Dead Sea. In both cases raised beaches are noticed. Thirteen of these "beaches" have been counted in the happy valley of the Mormons.

There are, however, depressions near the Mormon abode below the sea-level, though so many hundreds of miles now from the ocean.

The most remarkable of these is the Death Valley, forty miles long and ten broad, being at least 200 feet below the sea surface, though surrounded by very high land. In a march of fifty miles from the north end of the valley, one may gain peaks 15,000 feet in height.

It is strange that Death Valley should be without water. A little rain may occasionally reach it, and form a marsh for a few days; but for years it is quite dry. A party of emigrants, in 1849, camped there. The fearful drought destroyed the whole party. A geological surveyor crossed the place eleven years after, and saw the remains of their camping fires.

Though without active volcanoes, Palestine and Utah are subject to earthquakes. In both, the water-supply seems diminishing. The Mormons are more enterprising than the Jews were, as they do not depend on wells, but make use of a system of extensive irrigation, and husband the precious water from the hills. The geological formation of both countries is thus similar, and the men of Utah consider themselves the spiritual sons of Abraham, the true Israelites.

A mistake exists as to the ranges of the Western United States. Thus it is commonly supposed that the Rocky Mountains form a

distinct barrier, clearly defined, and throwing their waters eastward and westward. On the contrary, the traveller, as I myself noticed, to my disappointment, sees no serrated peaks to excite his imagination; nor does he climb abruptly on one side, to descend precipitately on the other. Actually, the Rocky Mountains may be called a vast plateau, being 1,000 miles across. The region is singularly like a portion of Central Asia, and is almost as dry, barren, and repulsive as that. A few rivers, at considerable distances apart, find their way through the shallow gulches; but, while the Mississippi and Missouri have affluents on the eastern side of the so-called range, the western side is almost wholly a waterless desert.

On the other hand, the Sierra Nevada and the Californian coast range are pretty well defined in most places. Still, when I threaded the Sierra Nevada, and saw myself surrounded with lofty aiguilles and mighty bosses, I did not subsequently seem to get on a lower level of country generally, although in passing a portion of the Rocky Mountains I rose to the height of 8,200 feet above the level of the sea. Even when crossing the Great Basin, the rail was from 4,500 to 5,000 feet high.

Mr. Catlin, who roamed for many years as hunter and artist over these mountainous

regions, and who had an artist's observing eye, has an odd conjecture about the Rocky Mountains. Believing, like some others, that the ranges were once higher, even rivalling the Himalayas, he fancies that a vast hollow must be established by such an elevation. Seeing, then, that so many rocks are limestone, and therefore provided with fissures and caverns, the rain-water of the mountains would sink to the basins beneath.

He appeals to two recognized facts: first, that very few rivers, and those of comparatively insignificant character, are fed from these mighty hills; and second, that Indians, traders, and travellers have observed rushes of water through channels caused by the overflow of subterranean basins. The great Mississippi is certainly not helped much by the rainfall of the Rocky Mountains. Indians agree that the water does sink through the chasms of rocks, and they believe a great sea flows beneath the ranges. They recognize the *eau sec*, or dry ravine, as a sluice for the overflow of the caverns.

"Where can the water go?" asks Mr. Catlin. The Gulf stream, he thinks, cannot be produced by the trade winds, as its volume equals that of a thousand Mississippis. It cannot be owing to an equatorial current, the commonly

received idea of philosophers, as that current varies, yet the stream does not; while sometimes the current prefers going down the Brazilian coast, declining to enter the Gulf of Mexico at all. Then, again, the Gulf stream water is bluer, saltier, hotter than the sea through which it flows so distinctly, and in these particulars is different from the so-called equatorial current.

He concludes that the Rocky Mountains' subterranean chambers are the source. These will give a constant and regular discharge into the Gulf of Mexico. The water would be hot, because coming in contact with the well-known volcanic district southward. Abundant hot-springs are found in Mormonland, in Arizona, etc. Saline marls and rocks would give the salt characteristic; and the subaqueous islands, so to speak, of the Gulf itself abound with salt. As to the blue, that is a special character, seen alike in the Great Salt Lake and Humboldt Lake. He mentions the fact that the dreadful earthquake of 1869 increased the current of the stream.

I never heard that the Mormons made use of this interesting speculation, as they might have done, to show how Providence had associated their home with the great blessing that makes Old England and Ireland so pleasantly habi-

table. As from Utah descend those waters that reappear in the life-giving properties of the Gulf stream, so from that elevated region the streams of a better life-giving property course for the health of the nations.

To turn from these speculations, geological and theological, let us inquire into the practical question of silver mines, so rapidly developing within and without the border of Mormonland.

How to get the silver is the question. There it lies; but as it is not usually lying quite convenient for picking up, nor even in a presentable condition for ordinary folks to discover, there is the first difficulty of getting the material with which it happens to be combined. The next consideration is, how to induce the pretty, white, glistening, precious stuff to relinquish the society it has known so long, and with which it has formed more or less intimate association. Our human opinion may be that its company is quite beneath its position as a mineral, or that it had by no means dignified itself by an alliance with vulgar stone, earth, brimstone, arsenic, chlorine, antimony, and lead. It does unite with gold, it is true; but that is a rarer connexion.

Miners for a long time had no knowledge that that dirty yellow stone contained silver, or that heavy lump of rough-looking lead held

the pretty metal. When some student of mineralogy told them it was silver ore, they opened their eyes with wonder. Then to get at it they broke up the stone with rude appliances, and tempted the precious mineral to make its appearance by the best means they could. Sometimes they succeeded in their exorcisms, and the spirit came forth. But pretty often no necromantic arts of theirs could prevail in the conjuration. So it was with the gold miner in the olden times. He had to be shown where the gold was, and then how to get it.

When, about one-and-twenty years ago, I started from Melbourne gold-hunting, my mate, a colonial medical man, was as ignorant as myself how to find out where the gold hid itself, and how to draw the precious stuff, not only from its confinement, but from its particularly great-unwashed sort of company.

I shall never forget my first experiment. We had reached the gold-field after some curious adventures. Amongst such may be named two that made a deep impression upon our feelings. we were lost amidst the ranges, and spent thirty hours without food; and we had the satisfaction of pushing up behind for many a weary mile, as our horse refused to pull until he found us ready to help him.



Armed with our spades, and tin basins like milk dishes, we scooped up some auriferous gravel, and went down to the Loddon river to wash away the dirt. It was hot—very hot, in the burning month of February. Neither of us had done a day's rough work before in our lives. As we stooped down by the muddy stream, with a blazing sun over us, part of our enthusiasm sensibly oozed out. But the heat was nothing to the flies—those horrid, buzzing, big, ugly, tormenting, tenacious marsh flies. Oh, the torture they gave us! Not accustomed to bare arms, having to turn back our shirt-sleeves to do the washing, these fierce, heavy, lumping creatures settled upon our skin, and worried us till we well-nigh shouted "Nazareth!" in our agony.

The flies, as well as our own clumsy handling, were blamed for our ill-luck. The auriferous compound was taken from the place out of which others fetched the good stuff. We carried our dish to the stream, dipped the edge in to gather some water, shook about the clay and gravel till the water was discoloured, dipped in for more, after pouring out the befouled mixture, and so kept on shaking and pouring till the dish held nothing but well-cleansed pebbles. We looked in vain for nuggets, or even the very colour of gold.

Tempted to despair, we voted gold-hunting a bore, and thought of asking "Dobbin" if he would go downhill homeward without our having to push behind. But a good-natured "Derwenter"—*alias* runaway convict from the shores of Van Diemen's Land—having first relieved himself of some language that wanted removal, besides informing us that we were a pair of "duffers," went through the performance of the dish before our eyes, and finished off with a deposit of bright yellow scales, which he transferred to a wooden match-box. It was some time, even then, before we caught the right rotatory motion, which spun out the lighter mud, and left the heavier gold at the bottom of the pan.

What a Eureka of joy was ours when, with our own manipulatory exertions, a couple of grains stayed at the bottom! But that was mere surfacing. After trying our 'prentice hands at this introductory labour, our ambition was excited to go and dig a real hole in the gully.

Of course we had to pay our footing to the Gold Fields' Commissioner. That was thirty shillings for the month. Then we had permission to dig over an area some ten feet in extent. That was real manual work. How we groaned over that job! The working man of our party,

for we did take one up with us—to do the work, some slanderously said—managed to hurt his thumb on the road up, and his “tucker” was found for him by his professional companions.

The ground was duly measured off. In our sublime ignorance, it never occurred to us that all we had to do was to get down to the rock at the bottom, and dig about there for the washing stuff, without making extra work by making a big hole. We were green enough to describe a circle, by the aid of a bit of string, and sink a mighty big hole two dozen feet round.

It was tough work. The pick soon lost its point, and it had to go to the blacksmith. He devoted a few minutes to it, and charged five shillings. Before long, our arms were awfully tired, and our backs well-nigh dislocated. But all that was nothing to the state of our poor hands. Blisters came, and broke. Dirt got into the wounds, and the delicate flesh cried out at the touch of pick or shovel handle. There was little sleep for us that night in our miserable tent.

But our pride would not allow us to give in. Day by day we wrought, till gravel, ferruginous cement, and pipeclay were pierced to the depth of about fourteen feet. And there,—there, in a pocket of pipeclay, snugly reposing upon the slate rock, was a sight I shall never forget

in my life. We fairly trembled with emotion. Yes, that was a very nest of tiny nuggets!

And what was the next proceeding? We got out about a cartload of so-called washing stuff—a conglomeration of clay, sand, and gravel. This we carried down nine miles, to the nearest part for water, and rocked in a primitive sort of cradle, warranted to save but little gold on its ledges.

We two that had done this prodigious work—taking three weeks at that extensive well-digging—were satisfied with the one cartload of stuff. Our fortunes were made. The rain came on. We were tired of the gold-field, its hardships, and its society. We descended to the plains of civilization. But we were a little mortified to hear afterwards that a couple of Derwenters went down our shaft the day after we left, and took out a couple of hundred pounds in a few hours.

Since that day of small things, what progress has been made! Economy of labour, skill of labour, improvement of means, and wonderful inventions, followed. The “Long Tom” was a great help at sluicing, though it was only the other day that the hydraulic process was first employed.

When I first saw a quartz reef, it was a projection of a dozen feet above the top surface

of a hill. It amused us diggers, returning from work, to knock off a few bits, as curious specimens, to take home to our wives another day. After a time, some fellows who were not very lucky down in the gullies came up the hill, and cracked away for something more than mere amusement. As we saw them thus destroy the "specimen hill," we voted them Vandals of Bendigo. They used to smash up the specimens, and pick out the gold with their fingers.

Some while after, when on a visit that way, I found an old friend camped on the spot, and turned gold miner in the rock. He would pile up the stone with logs of wood and branches, and so soften the rock with a good roasting. He then washed out what he could. Improving in his plans, he mixed quicksilver with the crushed stuff,—crushed rudely enough. The amalgamated compound was put afterwards in a frying-pan over a fire. The quicksilver flitted, and left the real gold behind.

They were primitive times indeed when men sang—

In bush attire, let each aspire,  
By noble emulation,  
To gain a digger's chief desire,  
Gold, by wise regulation.

With spades and picks, we work like bricks,  
And dig in gold formation ;

And stir our cradles with short sticks,  
To break conglomeration.

This golden trade doth not degrade  
The man of information,  
Who shovels nuggets with the spade  
Of beauteous conformation.

What mother can her infant stock  
View with more satisfaction,  
Than we our golden cradles rock,  
Which most love to distraction?

Let those who dare try thwart our care,  
At our gold occupation;  
They with bewilderment will stare  
At golden incubation.

We dig and delve from six to twelve;  
And then for relaxation  
We wash our pans, and cradles she've,  
And turn to mastication.  
etc., etc., etc.

Some such rude times passed at the American mines. But they were in the golden days. It was far otherwise in the silver period. Miners had become an accomplished race. They had learned their trade. They would have been ashamed of so low a condition of the arts as that in which I wrought. When silver ore was discovered in California, Nevada, and Utah, it was attacked with rude appliances, but of a higher character than I saw in 1852. But even then the silver miner got on with

his work only while the metal was free. He knew how to tackle some stone. He could hew it out of the mountain, and even expedite the performance with the help of gunpowder. Then, axe in hand, he went up to a tree, and struck out of it wooden apologies for stamps. With these he shivered the rock, while amalgamation helped the rest. As soon, however, as the silver got into chemical combinations with other metals, or sulphur, and refused to come forth at the summons he was able to employ, the poor miner was done. He had to leave the vein, and declare the thing all up.

The same thing has been repeated in Australia. When labour failed, capital stepped in. The union of these two forces accomplished everything. And although, as in other marriages, occasional misunderstandings and even quarrels have arisen, yet both parties are persuaded that they are a deal happier than if separated.

Silver has been regarded as feminine, and gold as masculine. The woman's-rights-movement ladies should be informed that this classification has been made by the male philosophers, who claim for their own superior sex the superior metal. Some obdurate and obstinate bachelor is said to have said that silver was

called feminine because, like a lady, it is so deceptive, and so seldom discovered in native purity. A married gentleman is said to have said, though it was in the presence of a quick-hearing wife, that it was so called because it is so retiring and modest, so humble and diffident, so anxious to veil charms, instead of parading them; and yet so dear, beautiful, and valuable when perseveringly hunted up and hugged by its happy possessor. It is a fact, however, that while gold is usually found in a free state, and stands forth unmistakably as gold in the view of the most simple and inexperienced, silver is much more difficult to discern.

Native silver is uncommon in the west. Filaments are occasionally met with. There is no such mass as that found in Norway, upon which, as a table, a sovereign had his dinner laid.

No one would suspect the white metal disguised as a black powder. Silver-glance, or proustite, when pure, contains about seven parts of silver to one part of sulphur. This latter substance is more largely held in the sulphurets or sulphides, which are most generally found below water-level in a mine. The stephanite is a brittle double sulphide. This precious metal is detected in a sulphuret of antimony. In the Nevada mines, the ore has been seventy



parts silver to fourteen antimony and fifteen sulphur. In the lovely ruby silver of Reese River, we have silver fifty-nine parts, antimony twenty-three and a half, and sulphur seventeen and a half. It is known in a sulphide of copper. When with the sulphuret of iron, the ore is sometimes seen to mark like a lead-pencil, though this combination has not, I believe, been seen out of Saxony. Red silver is a connexion with a sulphuret; if with antimony, it is dark red, but with an arsenical sulphuret the colour is lighter. In one sort of combination with sulphuret of antimony, the crystals are very beautiful. But it is in association with galena, or sulphide of lead, that silver is more commonly known. This argentiferous galena is abundant in Western America.

Next to the sulphides, are the chlorides of silver. While the first are discovered below the water-line in a vein, the latter are above the line. Many of these chlorides are easily worked, and will cut with a knife like a piece of wax. They are of a lighter colour than the sulphides. Horn silver, which fuses in the flame of a candle, contains two-thirds silver to one-third chlorine. In the state of embolite, the ore is a compound of chlorine, bromine, and silver. The top veins of St. Arnaud's mine, Victoria, are chloro-bromides of silver.

No chloride exists in the Collingwood canyon of the Mormons.

A pure iodide of silver has equal parts of the previous metal and iodine. The selbite is a carbonate of silver. Selenite of silver is not common. Salts of copper and zinc frequently yield portions of silver. In a spongy, ferruginous material of Nevada, silver and gold were found, in the proportion of three of the first to one of the last. So much oxidation exists in a vein not far from the Salt Lake, that the metal is easily extracted from the ochreous-looking substance. Grey and yellow carbonates of lead yield it; and so does an ore of tellurium in El-Dorado county. I have not heard of its appearance westward in company with fluor spar, as at Frieberg, nor with manganese, as in Victoria.

Capital has enlisted the services of science to procure means for the extraction of silver from rich but impracticable ores.

Professor Babbage wrote upon "The Decline of Science in the Nineteenth Century." Formerly, philosophers despised gold, and were said to have spent their lives in the pursuit of knowledge, for its own good and value alone. It should be added, however, that when they found a truth, or made a discovery in nature, they either kept it to themselves, or only told

it in a secret circle of friends. In our days, when philosophers find out anything, they are in a feverish hurry to tell all about it right away, before another has the chance of revealing it. Furthermore, they are as much given to the pursuit of gold as their ancestors the alchemists, only preferring it ready coined for use. And still further be it said, men of science not only turn their discoveries to monetary account, but are willing to be employed, as the hirelings of capital, to try to find out something that may reduce or remove the difficulties standing in the way of the advancement of the said capital.

As the Stetefeldt process will work a revolution in mining throughout the mineral world, the English reader may wish for some knowledge of it.

There are several modes of action in dealing with the ore as it comes forth from the lode. It is taken to the machine to be broken into small pieces, and then placed under the stampers, to be reduced to powder. It has successively to be dealt with in tanks, pans, separators, and agitators. The power for each stamp is rated at about one and a half horse power; the pans require from three to six horse. The power exerted for the reduction of a ton of ore may be averaged at two horse.

In the wet process, the water has to be paid for at per inch. A miner's inch measurement is the passage of water through a square inch in the side of the measuring box, under a head usually of six inches. This would be at the rate of ninety-six cubic feet in an hour.

In the dry process, after drying the ore in a kiln, there is the crushing, as in the other. Then there is the roasting with salt in the reverberatory furnaces. Limestone is sometimes added, to decompose chlorides of copper and zinc, so as to extract the silver from such compounds, as well as from the silver ores proper. Amalgamation by quicksilver lays hold of the precious metal, and completes the miner's work.

Now the great difficulty and expense lay with the roasting, amounting to about fifteen dollars a ton of ore. This gave the oxidization of the metallic compounds, and converted the impracticable sulphides into the easily manageable chlorides. Unless the ore be rich, the operation will not pay. Even then there was an increased difficulty when copper or zinc got mixed with the silver compounds. A large amount of produce was thus left on the surface useless, or the mine deserted when the impracticable union appeared.

Mr. C. A. Stetefeldt, a Nevada mining gen-

tleman at Austin, has discovered a very simple mode of relief. He has a new desulphurizing and chloridizing process, contriving an easy mode of bringing particles of crushed ore in contact with means to effect the change required. Common salt, a chlorine compound, is the agent, and heated air the facilitator of the process. The powder, mixed with the salt, falls against a current of hot air, which rises in a shaft. The particles of sulphuretted metals are thus decomposed, forming metallic oxides, with sulphurous and sulphuric acids. The sulphuric acid, attacking the salt, liberates the chlorine, which combines with the oxides of the metal, or acts upon the still undecomposed parts of sulphurets, producing metallic chlorides, an easy form for the extraction of the metal. As each atom is more freely exposed to the heat, and the oxidizing and chloridizing agents, the effect is much more rapid as well as more complete.

The Stetefeldt involves less labour, fuel, and salt than in the reverberating furnace. One Stetefeldt arrangement with eight men would do the work of ten reverberatory furnaces with thirty-six men, consuming but one-fifth of the fuel, and using but one-half the salt. Ninety per cent. of silver in the ore is chloridized. The decomposition of the chlorides of the base

metals raises, also, the quality of the bullion. The cost of the new method is from six to seven dollars a ton.

A miner of Nevada assured me that the process was a very great success. The other day, in London, a mining authority added his testimony in its favour. The Stetefeldt was said to do all it promised to do. If so, the position of the British investor in silver mines is rendered more safe and promising.

Mining has not been in favour with the public exponents of morals and religion, and has had a bad name without good cause. Investments in such have been placed in the same category as ventures on a horse-race, or the turn of dice. As it had to do with metals, especially, mining got associated with the love of money as the root of all evil. There is a curious translation from Ovid, in an old Cornish history, illustrating this:—

Men deep descend into the earth,  
With mattock, shovel, and spade ;  
And wicked wealth is digged up,  
Which mischiefs all have made.

When mining was conducted upon purely speculative grounds, without science or forethought, its condemnation was justifiable; but now, as an old Cornish rhyme has it,—

Geological knowledge has its own use,  
Its adoption preventing mining abuse.

Good intentions and honest resolves have been sadly disappointed by the roguery or ignorance of those upon whose reports capital has to depend. But it is satisfactory to know that our sympathies are not much required for capital, as it is getting so prudent and knowing with the progressive tendencies of the age, as not to be so very readily taken in and done for.

A few western examples may be given. A notorious case occurred a few years ago, where a clever deception was practised. A mine was opened, and some brilliant specimens were judiciously planted about. The purchase was made upon representations accompanied by the specimens. Afterwards it was discovered that the silver ore was foreign to the locality, and the dreams of wealth were rudely dispelled. But surely, however carefully the specimens had been planted, a mining engineer, whose opinion alone should have been taken, might have detected the trick by an examination of the vein. In Australia I have known of a fellow *salting* a mine, by scattering gold-dust and nuggets about; but only in one instance did I hear of a "sell."

Mr. Whitney, Californian State geologist,

refers to several failures. Some workings at Arroyo Seco, he says, "have caused, at times, much excitement, and the expenditure of several thousand dollars, without any prospect of getting back a single one of them." Of the San Emidio's canyon, he writes: "The region has been frequently prospected for silver, although no indications of valuable veins were seen. It is said that over 50,000 dollars has been expended here."

But why was it? Capital ran ahead of science. The locality was the coast range of California. Miners had found out, what is perfectly safe and true, that silver ores are associated with metamorphic rocks. These chemically changed rocks, by igneous action in the neighbourhood, or the course of sap-like veins crystallizing formations otherwise bedded, are commonly primary or secondary, and, therefore, of periods when the production of silver took place. But occasionally, and not unfrequently in these very western mountains, a remarkable exception takes place, and metamorphism sets in with Tertiary beds. That very coast range is Cretaceous, a sort of border-land between Tertiary and Secondary, being either Eocene or Chalk, and is much metamorphosed. The geologist wisely tells the miner that if metamorphic rocks be proved to be only of



Cretaceous periods, there is very little chance of valuable gold or silver mines.

Ignorance caused many dollars to drop when some chrome-iron ore from Monterey was mistaken for silver ore. Sulphuret of antimony has been elsewhere adopted for the true metal.

The province of capital, therefore, is not so much to explore for mines, as to work those already revealed. There are sharp fellows, loving a ramble, with an eye to the main chance, and with sufficient cash to pay their own individual expenses, who poke about among the hills and canyons, utilizing their knowledge and experience, and so bring to light the existence of veins. Having done this much, they have to shout aloud their presumed luck, and invite capital to come. When capital is wise, it is not content with the assertion of the gentleman in question, but gets a scientific opinion from a man of recognized character, before casting dollars into a hole, to persuade silver bars to come up. Once satisfied, capital may act after the fashion of the Cornish Miner :—

If the lode be large, and runs on with the hill,  
He calls it a champion, and pleased better still  
With the prospect he is ; and, quite on the alert,  
Sanguine his hopes ; aye, he would venture his shirt.

Of course he is thinking of copper. It is a well-known saying in Chili : "He who works

a copper mine is sure to gain ; he who opens a silver vein may gain or lose ; if a gold, sure to be ruined." But the worst of aphorisms is that, though they read well, they are not always veracious. If any exception be found, it would, perhaps, be in the quartz veins of Sandhurst, in Victoria ; and the silver veins of Nevada, Utah, and Colorado. Besides, it should be borne in mind that, at the birthplace and period of this aforesaid saying, science had not been brought much into the field of inquiry with silver mines.

But to prevent the reader misunderstanding the writer, and to save him, perhaps, the monetary consequences of ignorance, a little time may be judiciously spent in explaining some mining terms.

The precious metals, while wayward enough in all conscience, have method in their madness of running. Veins there are, though faults or slides there are, dropping or raising them out of their course, and, at times, seeming to swallow them up altogether. A true lode or vein is a fissure in the parent rock, in which something foreign to the rock, and subsequent to its formation, is deposited. Often some trap or other igneous rock will run up the opening. Other mineral material may gather therein from the surface, or from the adjacent rocks. When

metals get chemically deposited in the fissures along with such foreign materials, we have a mineral vein with or without ores of precious metals. The ore may be in strings, ribs, or crystals. Changes are repeatedly, and often continuously, taking place in these veins.

There are often two sets of fissures, one crossing the other at right angles; the first are called the "right lodes," and the rest "the cross courses." They may contain wholly different minerals. Should the cross courses contain no ores, the metal in the lodes near such courses will be richer than ordinary. Lodes usually run nearly north and south, while courses are from nearly east to west.

How the pretty metal gets into the vein, and where it comes from, are questions not to be discussed in this volume. It must be a very interesting process, anyhow, to realize so interesting a result for us. As, however, igneous rocks, such as porphyry, basalt, greenstone, lava, etc., are so commonly found associated with mineral veins, it should not be accepted as a truth that they are necessarily useful in the production of the metal, as we have evidence to the contrary.

When the silver came into the fissure, is another question of speculation into which we must not enter. It is sufficient to say that the

bright white material is seen to appear at various epochs, though, perhaps, not more recently than a little before the chalk deposit. Sir Roderick Murchison thought the Ural Mountains were impregnated with gold when the highest peaks arose. Mr. Blake considers the silver came to Nevada in the carboniferous period.

The country, or rock in which the fissure exists, may vary as to locality. Usually it is granite or slate, with their metamorphosed compounds, volcanic porphyries, etc. When the country is of granite, or of slate, the kills of miners, the work is difficult and expensive. Some of the igneous rocks are very hard, as the basalts of the great basin. The trachytes and porphyries of Nevada are tough to drive through. There is a trachytic breccia of so decomposed a nature as to be worked by the pick easily. The Virginia City mines occur largely in a trachytic greenstone or propylite. The diorite of Nevada is a greenstone porphyry, and often of a recent intrusion.

The *wall* or *cheek* of the vein is the main rock. The *back* of the lode is the upper part. Veins are not always true fissure ones. *Gash* veins cross the bed ones. Deposits of ore on a line of true fissure have one true wall. Professor Clayton thinks the true fissure lodes have

yielded less silver than bed veins, contact lodes, stock-work mines, and ore pipes, as the fissure ones travel over much barren ground, or assume the form of mere pockets of metal. The pipe-vein, or chimney, is not in the fissure, and not so much to be depended on. Veins passing through two rocks may be rich in one and barren in the other. Veins are more inclined than beds, and are usually more or less perpendicular.

The part of a vein in work is the *stope* or *step*; it is overhaul or underhaul, according as the miner ascends or descends. The *underlie*, or *hade*, is the dip or inclination. The *foot-wall* is the under wall of a vein, the other is the hanging one. A lode cutting a right one obliquely, between it and the cross course, is known as the *counter* or *contra*. The cross course, as has been said, is nearly at right angles to the true vein. A *leader* is a small vein which, it is hoped, will lead to the real one. The *pitch* is a portion set apart for mining. The *gossan* is a sort of iron rust on the surface of a lode. The *gangue* is simply the matrix in which the ore is embedded, and may be fragments of quartz, lava, etc. A soft sort of clay in a vein is the *prian*. An *adit* is a cutting or gallery from some low land right into a mine, to drain it or work it. The word *wheel*, so often used,

is a corruption of the old Cornish *huel*, a mine.

If you see the lode or vein, you know it is there; otherwise, one man is about as good a judge as another of what ore may be below in the rock. An exception will be made by some on behalf of the *dowsers*, or wielders of the divining-rod. It may be easier to laugh at the contrivance than to prove its absurdity. Modern spiritualism brings us acquainted with wonderful magnetic powers possessed by some natures. The British Government employed a French dowser in the Crimea to indicate the presence of water beneath. A mining judge lately gave it as his opinion that "it was impossible to see through solid rock."

When the vein is caught, it is followed; but when it runs out into profitless threads, the lode is abandoned. In Victoria, however, a new era of mining has commenced, since the men found out that by digging down farther they came upon an enlarged portion of the vein, to be wrought with renewed advantage.

It was once thought that veins always got poorer according to depth. This has not been proved in the gold mines of California and Australia, though the silver lodes of Mexico were far richer nearer the surface.

In proportion as science enlarges the border

of our knowledge of mines, and as men gain confidence in the honesty of reports concerning them, especially when at a distance, so will be the amount of capital invested therein. A decided advance has been made in England, especially since the great discovery of the Stetefeldt process. In 1870 the amount of English capital in foreign and colonial mines only reached two millions, while the year after it was eleven millions. The present year may have a still larger investment. Nevada and the whole neighbourhood of Mormon land has already absorbed so much British capital, that the mines are more British than American.

There are, however, some other considerations for investors in these western mines. The legal tenure should be simple and safe. The expenses of working are of greater moment than the per centage of ores. The cost of reduction in one instance may be fourfold of another, having no difference of ore. Sulphides are more costly to work than chlorides. Money spent in machinery requires looking after; for, while it is miserable economy to have defective, ill-furnished works, there is no occasion for expenditure in unnecessarily extravagant or unsuitable works. Where water is distant from the mine, or timber far from handy, an enormous outlay is often needed.

A proper apprehension of the country, therefore, should be had, so as to prevent disappointment or deception. A well-watered, well-wooded country, like New Zealand, is very different in character to the dreary, bleak, treeless, and almost waterless region of western America, eastward of the Sierra Nevada.

The labour question is always of consequence. It is not merely a question of wages, but of the character of workmen. Elsewhere is given a statement of Chinese labour. Morals, as well as bone and muscle, have to be regarded. A man under the influence of religion, whatever that may be, is likely, all things being equal, to work more conscientiously than another indifferent to any. Mormons often make reliable servants in a mine. He who spends most wages in debauchery is least worth the wages he receives, as there are times when his work must suffer from the reaction of excitement.

The amount of wages in a district is modified by causes well worth the thought of the capitalist. The nearer the line of rail, the cheaper will be commodities, and the more accessible other labour: so that wages will be lower. The more remote the locality, the more uncomfortable the residence, the greater the danger or hardships, the scarcer and higher the labour. Physical geography affects the question another



way. Should the mine be so situated that the heavy snows of winter interfere, as they often do in Nevada and Utah, with the labour of miners for weeks and even months in the year, the wages will correspondingly mount upward, and the yield of ore be lessened in quantity.

Where practicable, and fuel is at all convenient, the reduction of ores had better be made on the spot. The removal of partially reduced ores, or bullion, is not like sending down the ore as it comes from the mine. It is not the mere mileage that demands thought, but the nature of the country to be traversed by the load, the kind of carriage, and the circumstances of the place to which the ore has to be sent. Want of proper calculations on this head provokes angry discussion, and occasions miserable failure in expectations.

The managers of distant mines have grave responsibilities, and should not be rashly trusted, any more than carelessly chosen. If well selected, a judicious confidence will not be misplaced, and will be a stimulus to energy. If well paid, temptations, whose name may truly be called Legion there, will be put out of a servant's way. In a country where speculation is rife, it requires not only much resolution and honour to resist engagement in ventures,

but a good salary to keep a man from meddling with things outside his own duty. So distant from Britain, so beset by sharp individuals, the mines might pay the better, and certainly quiet apprehensions of English capitalists, if a resident representative of the company telegraphed news, without interference with the practical work of the mining captain.

These suggestions are made with a view of putting English adventurers on their guard, and by no means to warn them from approaching a mine. The more safeguards are used, the more soundness will there be in the undertaking, and the greater probability of success. A certain amount of risk must be inevitable with all human pursuits. The grand secret is a reduction of risk in objects the most favourable for returns.

Believing, as I honestly do, that the time has come when mining ventures have more certainty about them than some other supposed safe modes of investment, I would advocate the employment of English capital in that direction. I do not say in the deep and poor copper veins of Cornwall, but in well-managed Australian gold mines now, and in the silver land around the Mormons. I have lost considerably in mining shares myself; but I must admit that I speculated without due

knowledge, and under a system of things very different from what now exists.

And, at last, we must turn to the silver mines themselves, and drop a passing word about them. Not identified with any, and not knowing a single director or officer of any company, I have no prejudices, and have no wish to exhibit the merits of any particular districts. Intending investors will, or ought to, make all necessary inquiries before depositing dollars.

It has frequently been said, "Why should Australians and Americans put their mines on our market? If the ore be as rich as they say, why don't they secure it for themselves, instead of benevolently offering it to us in England?"

The men of Nevada and Victoria have not the reputation for profound simplicity, with an innocent disregard of dollars. They may be depended on for securing the best deposits for themselves, or, rather, those most available for working. But in a region where there is such scope for individual enterprise, co-operative institutions are not so extensive. When, then, combined effort is required, and time and outlay are needed to develop the scheme, the men of new countries are not fit to cope with the undertaking. They are too restless, too anxious for immediate results, too desirous to utilize their

own cash their own way, and they let slip, therefore, many a recognized good thing from their very impatience.

One other reason will be, also, apparent. Here, in the real land of gold, Great Britain, there is such a surplus of savings, and so competitive and limited a sphere of operation with capital, that owners of money are willing to venture upon projects that show a fair prospect of five per cent., while Nevada and Victoria would shrug their shoulders at the poverty of the announcement. There is, too, more patient readiness to wait for returns in the British character than with the others; and there is a certain plodding philosophy in Englishmen that will admit, though with growling, the necessity for an increase of outlay to save a loss, make a future dividend more likely to come, and induce other dividends to follow.

In Victoria, ten feet of land for mining was the limit at first. Now a lease of one hundred acres may be got at a nominal rent. Quartz veins are treated with liberality, to favour the investment of capital. But the Californian rule is carried out in Nevada, etc., of granting a lease of only one hundred feet on the supposed line of reef. Therefore, when the British public are asked to invest in a mine embracing thousands of feet on the line, they may be sure

that some local speculation has benevolently purchased up the rights of a succession of leases of these hundred feet divisions. In Chili, and other parts of South America, the proprietor of the land supplies the labour in barreteros, miners, and apirés, bearers, while the habilitadors provide the needful capital. In the primitive days of old England, a man dug freely on crown lands where he pleased. Then came the church, and demanded tithes from the miner, because the ore grew in the soil, like corn. In 1780, the Derbyshire lead miners agreed upon one-twentieth, though subsequently the tithe was quartered. Richard II., in 1390, gave leave to one man to refine all gold and silver found in England, and to pay one-ninth to the Crown, one-tenth to the Church, and one-thirteenth to the lord of the soil. Lead mines in Britain then yielded more silver and gold than now. The lead mines of Scotland yielded James V. £300,000 worth of gold.

A tradition among the Indians speaks of a mountain, long sought for but never found, where a huge brilliant projected from the side of the mount, and threw its dazzling light over the forest. The silver of Nevada may be said to throw such a radiance now.

The State of California is not without silver,

though that is found associated with the gold ; not, as in Nevada, where the gold is seen associated with the silver. The gold of New South Wales, in Australia, is alloyed with silver, as in California ; and the silver of the Victorian St. Arnaud's mine has gold combined with it. The gold quartz vein of Whiskey Hill, Calaveras County, California, produced about fifteen dollars' worth of silver to the ton.

But Nevada State is pre-eminently the silver realm. Mr. Blake calls it "an elevated, semi-desert region, its surface being a constant succession of longitudinal mountain ranges, with intermediate valleys and plains, most of which are independent basins, hemmed in by mountains on all sides, and the whole system is without drainage to the sea." The railway from California skirts along the silver region, keeping the valley of the Humboldt River, in Nevada. The Great Salt Lake of Utah is near the north-east corner of Nevada. Oregon and Idaho are north of Nevada, California is west, Utah east, and Arizona south-east. Nevada is about the size of Utah, having an area of 81,500 square miles—*i.e.*, one-third larger than England. The Humboldt ranges there, of limestone and sandstone, are very lofty, lengthy, and desolate-looking, as they have not the forests of the Sierra Nevada. The Washoe, or silver range,

twenty miles only east of the Sierra Nevada, runs parallel to it for a short distance. All the hills of hilly Nevada exhibit a locality of "intense disturbance and metamorphism."

The Comstock mine of the Washoe district was the first of the silver revelations. Discovered by two brothers, in 1857, it was not wrought till 1859, when Peter O'Reilley and Patrick M'Laughlin gathered some heavy black stuff, which proved rich Bonanza or surface ore. The country is syenite, quartz, and greenstone porphyry. The latter, known as propylite, is the chief rock of Virginia City there. In six years the mine yielded 75,000,000 dollars of silver. The vein is over five miles in length, and from 100 to 200 feet in width. But when down to the water level, the workings became almost impracticable, and the cost of labour was well-nigh up to the value of the silver. Should the Sutro tunnel be made, that adit would drain about fourteen miles, and render the mines the most productive in the world. A multitude of small companies there have proved the absurdity of deficient capital to cope with such mining difficulties.

As rulers are now supposed to labour for the real progress of the nations they rule, some of these days the American Government may do for Nevada and Utah mines what German

princes have done for the Hartz mines. Saxon authorities have aided the adventurers by the construction of drainage works over one hundred miles in length. Hanover has been similarly liberal. The consequence of this timely help has been the profitable extraction of ores hitherto beyond reach.

A great benefit of such public works would be not only drainage, but the storing of water for mining purposes, so very necessary in those dry and thirsty lands. Then it will be found, as in some portions of Australia, that localities once desert for want of water, have become blooming gardens, through mining developing the hidden reservoirs below.

It is somewhat curious that the mineral substance, so productive of silver at the Comstock of Washoe ranges, should be the diorite, or porphyritic greenstone, of the gold deposits at Wood's Point, Victoria. In the latter place, however, the veins have rather the horizontal than the vertical direction. Much trachyte has been ejected through long fissures in the Washoe, as at the Sugar Loaf Peak, etc.; though Nevada has not so heavy a proportion of this felspathic volcanic rock as the neighbouring silver land of Arizona. Such volcanic rocks are strong near the silver mountains, over the border into California; in fact, while the



base is of shales, the ranges are of volcanic rocks of all sorts. The Plutonic rocks of west Nevada are a great feature of the country. When there is a change from such a formation to the granitic character, the veins undergo a change of direction.

Mount Davidson, of syenite, is the crowning peak of the Washoe range, having Triassic beds at its foot. Comstock, the *veta-madre* of Washoe, is near it. The granite of Bigler Lake, California side, is represented at Davidson, though almost lost in the crowd of metamorphic forms. The Gold Hill lodes are a little south of the Virginia City of Comstock. The miners are troubled there with porphyritic "horses." A horse is a mass of rock fallen into a vein. On the Gold Hill are such workings as the Kentucky, Yellow Jacket, Uncle Sam, and Belcher, recurring chiefly in the propylite or porphyritic greenstone. Some lodes have a limestone foot-wall, and a hanging wall of porphyry dyke, though some are in the limestone with no contact of igneous rock. These veins yield generally two parts of silver to one of gold. Miners drop into the canyons for most of their drives.

The Reese River mines, nearer Austin, the capital of Nevada, were developed in 1862. They are above a hundred miles east of Virginia City, and eighty miles south of the Humboldt.

Hundreds of veins are known in that quarter. Those of Lauder Hill, in granite, are often filled with white quartz. Buel mine has turned out stone 400 dollars to the ton. The silver there is in quartz, and is associated with lead, copper, iron, zinc, and manganese. One vein continued very rich from the surface to a depth of 350 feet, where it was cut off by a fault, or slide. The rich zone has a north and south course, corresponding with the cross-courses. The faults, or more modern veins, dip usually westward. Owing to the great volcanic disturbances, the Reese River mines have considerable difficulties in working. The faults are very numerous, and erratic in their appearance. The obstacles in the way of tracing veins, therefore, especially with small companies, occasion much litigation. The policy upon which all folks seem to act is to take all that they can get till an adverse claim is proved good. The weak, in most cases, have to go to the wall. The Manhattan mine produced 800,000 dollars in four years. The Reese River veins have chlorides, bromides, and iodides above the water level, and ruby, stephanite, galena, etc., below the level.

The Humboldt valley, three hundred miles long, is the pathway of the railway through Nevada. Argentiferous galena abounds in the

neighbourhood. Gem City is one mining centre. The Cortez district, near the Humboldt, is sixty miles north of Austin. It consists of slate and quartz. Montezuma mine is in the porphyries of Trinity Mountains. Battle Mountain, south of the Humboldt, had the Giant mine in the quartzites.

Most of the mines are on the south side of Austin. Thus the Monmouth district is seventy miles south-west, the San Antonio district is one hundred miles south, the Twin River fifty miles, the Union sixty miles, the Washington forty miles. The Union is the west side of the Shoshone range of syenite. The Twin River lodes, like many others, occur at the junction of slate and quartz. The Monmouth has the advantage of few faults. The Silver Peak, one hundred and forty miles south of Austin, has plenty of water, and a granite and slate country.

The Toyabe range, east of Reese River, runs up 6,000 feet above the valley. Intrusive granite comes at 7,000 feet above the sea-level. Slates, quartzites, and basalts are seen at the mines. Some peaks are very high; Bunker's Hill, of flexible slates and granites, is 11,735 feet, and Mount Poston 12,143. There are glacial polishings on the foot hills, telling their tale of the past when, with even higher elevations than at present, the Sierra Nevada could

boast of ice a thousand feet thick. The Tertiaries around the Toyabe are rich in diorites. Smokey Valley, a few miles south-east of Austin, has prosperous workings. The galena is in the slate. The rich Ophir canyon passes through a curious synclinal fold in the slates between two bodies of granite. Pines and junipers grow on the Toyabe chain.

The White Pine district is a very important one. It is on the Utah side of Nevada, 120 miles from Austin, and 110 miles south-east of the Elko station on the railway. There are there, in that twelve miles square, Devonian limestone, and carboniferous limestone, and sandstone. The township of Hamilton is on both, but Sherman town and Treasure cities stand upon the Devonian. Swansea town is on a slaty limestone producing silver and copper. The chlorides are very valuable. Treasure city is mounted on a hill 9,000 feet high, and Hamilton is 1,000 feet lower. Pogonip hill is the loftiest peak. The peculiarity of these lodes is their possessing so small a proportion of gold with the silver.

The Silver-Star mines are in the dry Reveille range. The very fine ores are in the limestone, but at its junction with the porphyry. The limestone bed has the igneous porphyry on each side of it. The volcanic development is

remarkably strong there, embracing basalts, lavas, tufas, etc. Water is got from a valley twelve miles beyond. One specimen contained a singular amount of nickel. The proportions were one-half silica, one-third nickel, one-twentieth silver, and one thirty-third cobalt. The Egan canyon mine is on the east side of the Humboldt range, through blue limestone. The gold was first found there, and then silver.

The Eureka district is south of the White Pine, and is not far from Utah boundary. This has a good reputation. The ores are mostly of carboniferous galena, and very ferruginous. They are therefore useful to mix with the sulphides of lead, etc. One ton of galena is mixed with three tons of ferruginous carbonates for ease in smelting. It happens often that the worst to smelt is the best to yield. The Eureka limestones, containing trilobites, are said to run from 100 to 1,000 feet in thickness, exhibiting great disturbance. A considerable denudation of the higher foldings have exposed the lower, in which the mines are wrought. Lavas are on the surface. Prospect mountain is very rich in those ore pipes or chimneys, so common in the El Dorado group, running from a few inches to eight feet in thickness. A soft carbonate gave 200 parts silver to 135 gold, while another specimen not far off yielded 165

parts silver and no gold. The Jackson mines, near Ruby Hill, were cut off by a fault. A lode five to eighteen feet has been cut at the Bullwhacker, near Eureka town. The Premium and Elephant are on that lode. The Buckeye, Champion, and Richmond mines belong to Ruby Hill. At the Tacoma the vein is a true fissure. Dunderberge has a good carbonate lode, in vertical shales and limestone. Twenty of these Eureka mines, on about 15,000 running feet, were obtained by the Ruby Consolidated company, at a purchase of nearly three hundred thousand pounds.

The southern mines of Nevada, as the Eureka, and some very valuable southern Utah and northern Arizona ones, will be greatly increased in value when the carrying difficulty is over. They are so very far from the Pacific railways. As soon as the southern line is formed, running about the thirty-fifth parallel, a marvellous extent of mining country will be profitably opened up. The American mining area of one million square miles—nearly twenty times the size of England—can never be effectually wrought until capital brings the iron road to the shaft.

Utah territory is, also, rich in silver ores. The Wahsatch mountains, overlooking the Mormon head-quarters, have yielded a large

quantity ; and so have the Oquirrl hills southward of these. The twin peaks of Wahsatch are 12,000 feet. They must have been much higher formerly, judging by the extensive signs of old glaciers in their neighbourhood. Old moraines are seen there, the lower end of which is over two thousand feet above the level of the Salt Lake—itself 4,300 feet above the sea. Wahsatch has some singular granite. It is said not to be anything else than metamorphosed conglomerates ! When I looked upon the foundations of the Mormon temple of Salt Lake City, I was informed that the granite came from blocks of this Wahsatch rock. The quartz of the granite of this Cottonwood canyon is seen to have a roundish appearance, and the formation to be without the usual crystalline structure.

The ores of Wahsatch are galenite and antimonial galena. The ochraceous character of some gives great facility to mining operations. There is an absence of chlorides in the Cottonwood canyon lodes. The Emma mine has been highly productive. The metallic oxides there were got out with remarkable ease. There has been great oxidizing and desulphurizing agency going on there. Antimonial ochres are common on 6,000 feet lode. A good quantity averaged 156 ounces of silver to the ton. A representative specimen from one lode gave

other mineral constituents in the following proportions: Lead, thirty-four; sulphur, two; copper, one; zinc, three; iron, three and a half. But a small amount of phosphates occur in the Wahsatch and Oquirrl.

In Bingham canyon, Utah, Salt Lake county, a fine lode was traced 1,200 feet along. The iron pyrites has been very troublesome. The Last Chance country is of decomposed granite, with porphyry, and the lode is of argentiferous galena, with grey and yellow carbonates containing gold in oxide of iron. An average assay is recorded of forty-seven per cent. lead, yielding 130 dollars silver and twenty-four dollars gold. The cost of mining is affected by deficiency of wood and water. The lead is considerable, selling generally at 120 dollars a ton. Much Bingham ore has been reduced to about one-third of its bulk by a rude process, and then forwarded to Omaha by rail for further reduction. About two tons and a half of rough ore make a ton of bullion ore, which costs about 120 dollars, but yields a fair profit. The Flagstaff of Utah has been productive.

The State of Colorado, joining Utah on the east side, between Utah and Kansas, has a good mining reputation. Its auriferous and argentiferous mountains are the northern prolongation of the New Mexico ranges; those afterwards



carried forward into the rich territory of Wyoming, which is encompassed by the mineral wealth of Dakota, Idaho, and Montana. No part of the world can in such a space exhibit more metallic treasure.

Colorado has the area of Great Britain. It rises from the vast western plains of Kansas. The eastern portion, up to the capital, Denver, is level; and at that point the hills commence, and at once display their mineral riches. From that spot westward, to the Pacific, the traveller is not long out of sight of mines. This State has the advantage of being nearer than the rest to eastern civilization, but has the common misfortune of these rich mineral quarters, of being poor in soil, and miserably off for wood and water. It is not an earthly paradise.

It got a bad name among miners, and for a curious reason. They were very lucky gold-digging for awhile in Colorado; but when the free gold went, they did not know how to proceed with the chemical compounds. The sulphurets beat them altogether, and they retired in disgust. The very specimens they threw away as useless are the ones now turning out the largest per centage of precious metal. The locality cannot be bad, when it beat all the mineral world in richness of display at the Paris Exhibition of 1867.

The singularity of the Denver mining neighbourhood is this. Drawing a line across the district from north-east to south-west, it would be found that gold veins lay to the left, and silver to the right. Yet, in some parts, the two metals are so closely connected, that an assay of gold has been taken from one corner of a specimen, and an assay of silver from another corner. Again, in a hill, lodes exist from which gold is extracted, and beneath them are workings for silver ore. A large amount of Colorado gold has been recovered from copper deposits.

The present mining centre is a little westward and north-westward of Denver, in the two adjoining counties of Gilpin and South Clear, though metal is got from Boulder county also. A railway connects Denver with Kansas City on the Missouri, eastward, and another with Cheyenne on the Union Pacific Railway. A line of thirty miles is now being run into the heart of the silver mines, which will then be favoured above most of the western workings.

The Colorado silver ores are of stephanite, and the ordinary argentiferous galena. The two mining sites of Central City and George Town are on granite and gneiss; George Town is at an elevation of 8,000 feet, and is sufficiently cold half the year. The Great Clifton

lode is a very extensive and promising one, running through metamorphic granites and slates. Besides silver, there are lead, zinc, iron, and a very little gold. The gangue is a sort of clay-stone with cellular quartz. One assay showed over three hundred ounces to the ton, but from a very moderate depth. Water is unusually plentiful in Gilpin county. The Equator, Ophir, and Terrible lodes are well reported. Argentine district lies five miles, and Snake River twenty, from George Town. Ores with much lead have to be smelted, others to be amalgamated. Wet crushing is the rule. Water, for crushing purposes, costs some companies about tenpence per ton of rock—a serious outlay on quantities. The Bobtail lode, near Central City, is very rich in gold, associated with sulphurets of copper and iron, with a little galena. Zinc blende contains much silver. The mines of Clear Creek alone realized, in 1871, 868,546 dollars; nearly all of this was from silver.

The Western mines have been divided into four systems. The first, N.W. and S.E. strike; second, N. 75° W., S. 75° E., with a dip, 50° to N.; third, N. 25° W., S. 25° E., and dip 70° W., through greenstone and clay; fourth, N. and S., nearly perpendicularly, and with fewer faults than the older systems.

An attempt has been made to show how gold and silver veins run in parallel zones. Commencing with the Pacific coast range, containing tin, iron, and quicksilver, we next come to the Sierra and the Oregon Cascades. There, the foot has copper, and the middle has gold, right on to northern Alaska. The silver line comes next, embracing Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and Central Idaho. Another silver line takes New Mexico, Utah, and West Montana. Further eastward is the gold thread of Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana. The extent of this mineral land may be called eighteen degrees of latitude, or 1,250 miles, with a width of about 1,000 miles.

Australian silver mines have been courting the British public. Messrs. Gideon Lang and Dicker have formed an English company to work the St. Arnaud mine, of south-western Victoria. I happen to know this to be a veritable thing, and no sham. Though worked for years with varying success, the original lessees were beaten, like the American miners have been, by the impracticable ores, plentiful enough, but unyielding. Fortunately, the Stetefeldt process, which is doing so much for Nevada, Utah, and Colorado, will be as serviceable for St. Arnaud.

At present, only 600 acres have been leased

by the Victorian Government for silver workings; though colonial authorities, like Mr. Brough Smythe and Mr. Ulrich, see a promising future for large and well-sustained companies. In St. Arnaud the chlorides prevail above the water level, and the sulphurets below. A large amount of gold is procured, as in the Washoe mines. The owners of the property show their own faith by taking shares for the full amount of the purchase—£50,000.

It is only approximately that the yield of silver can be ascertained. The relative productions of different countries may be perceived from the following table of 1865. Then, Mexico yielded 1,700,000 pounds; the United States, 1,000,000; Peru, 300,000; Chili, 300,000; Bolivia, 136,000; Spain, 110,000; Austria, 92,000; Saxony, 80,000; Prussia, 68,000; Britain, 60,000; Russia, 58,000; Sardinia, 25,000; Sweden and Norway, 15,000.

In 1870, the United States produced in gold and silver the enormous amount of sixty-six million dollars, of which, California yielded twenty-five millions, and Nevada sixteen. Since 1848, the Pacific region alone has yielded fifteen hundred million dollars worth of gold and silver. The exact produce can never be estimated. In 1870, California was believed to have had a larger amount than the twenty-five millions.

Montana was then reckoned at nine, Idaho six, Utah one and a half, Colorado four.

As silver mines are neighbours to gold mines, and as both are mutually helpful to each other, a few words about the more noble metal may be allowed, especially as connected with hints for investing British capitalists.

There seems now little doubt that the first Californian gold was picked up at the American river, on January 19th, 1848, by James W. Marshall. But the first public announcement took place only in the following September, although 1849 had commenced before the rush set in. The first gold quartz was picked up in September, 1850, and the first quartz mill was erected in January, 1851.

For some years it was an individual scramble for nuggets and spangles. Well do I remember how, on the gold diggings of Australia, songs of rejoicing were sung about the emancipation of labour. There was cause for gladness when men could profitably work without a master to control their time. Many a one I have heard declare that the millennium must be right at hand, since poor men could gather wealth without direction, without capital. Poor Sambo thought his millennium came when he was called contraband in the late war.

When, however, the *placers*, or alluvial deposits, were worked out, and the top croppings of auriferous quartz gathered in, the independent miner began to suspect the millennium a little postponed. Like the frozen-out gardeners, he had no work to do. But he scorned to sacrifice his supposed position. Efforts had been made, even in 1853, to get larger areas of land leased, so that companies could get to work. This was resented, most absurdly, as an invasion of the rights of the working man, and as the first intrusion of the cloven foot of capital.

"This is the poor man's trade," they cried; and one and all exclaimed, "Let me have no intruders."

It was for a long time all in vain that the real friends of the working class strove to show them that their interest lay with the interest of the capitalists. They would not see it; and loudly demanded the preservation of the Crown lands from the grasp of "monied men."

Some have supposed that the democratic institutions of Australia prevented justice to capital. But it so happened that our political liberties just then were few indeed. On the contrary, it has been since the popular vote settled everything, and that the Ballot gave

freedom at elections, that the wise mining laws have been passed. A people's representative acted out a people's enlightened views. The working classes were no sooner convinced that it was right and safe to give assurances and advantages to capital, than such were granted liberally and in good faith. It should, however, be borne in mind that the working men of Victoria are not only shrewd enough to perceive their interests, and honest enough to carry out an enlightened policy, but thoughtful enough, energetic enough, and prudent enough to make something for themselves out of such a policy, while advancing the security and prosperity of the capitalists.

As the work became difficult and expensive, companies were organized to carry out the work. The gold-fields' companies in the first place only consisted of the working members, who contributed cash and muscle for the undertaking. Gradually, so-called sleeping partners were admitted, paying for a representative at labour. Then definite shares were arranged, to be taken and enjoyed by any one, while labour was paid at a daily rate, or according to piece-work, the miners often being shareholders and workmen. With gold quartz shafts now descending nine hundred feet, Victorian companies have had to reorganize and extend their



primitive companies. It must be confessed, however, that the Australians have continued to follow, in improvements, the lessons of their first instructors in the art of mining — the Californians. The Americans are, unquestionably, the most ingenious and inventive people that the world has ever seen; and they will deserve the thanks of successive generations for their generous and successful efforts to save human drudgery and degradation, and so elevate and honour labour, by their patent contrivances for kitchen, shop, or field. In mining, they have revolutionized the whole system; and while blessing the labourers, have blessed the capitalist more. If they continue their advance another ten years, as they have done the last ten, the mining wealth of the world will have a revelation equal to the expectations of the most sanguine.

When in California, while travelling over the Sierra Nevada, I was struck with the gigantic undertakings in connection with mining, and deeply interested in the stories of miners respecting these operations. It was in conversation with these workmen that I realized the enormous advantage of educated labour. The class of workmen in Victoria would rank in this respect far above the general run in England. But in Western America I was delighted

with the intelligence of those engaged in labour of any kind. Such men would know how to adapt themselves to altering, ever altering, circumstances; would be interested in improvements, as well as skilful in using them; and not unfrequently have been the originators of better schemes while at work. Public instruction, with all its difficulties and weaknesses, has blessed America with thoughtful, reading, and ingenious labourers.

Frequently did I witness immense collections of water rushing down to mining operations, while flumes four feet wide, or more, were carried aloft over the railway itself. Undoubtedly, the hydraulic system of mining for alluvial deposits of gold is as worthy the consideration of capitalists in England as the investments in gold quartz or silver ores. Their cash would be exposed to less risk, and have a higher probability of good returns. Miners seldom put the hydraulic upon the share market, as it usually involves but moderate outlay, and is simply carried out. Still, as will be seen by a description of the work, it is one that is so increasing in its difficulties, and presenting so vast a field for operations, that it must sooner or later fall into the hands of capitalists, to be both effectually and profitably done.

The Long Tom superseded the cradle, and

the sluice-box the Long Tom ; but the hydraulic ground-sluicing is the most important of all. By a well-known law of hydrostatics, the pressure of water is according to surface and height. A volume of water confined in a well, having a depth of, say, one hundred feet, will not press upon the bottom with a greater force than if a false bottom were placed at less than an inch from the real bottom, so as to give a space for some water, and having a hundred feet pipe, of small diameter, communicating with it.

By leading the water from a height, in a tube, to a strongly-made box, the pressure will be proportioned to the square surface of the box and the elevation of the pipe. Such pipes may be from three to twenty inches in diameter. The box must be of iron, to resist the weight. Nozzles, or mouths, two or three inches diameter, are inserted in the box. They are of very stout canvas, so as to be flexible, and are strengthened by rings. When the taps are turned, workmen direct these nozzles against banks of earth required to be brought down. Such is the force of the stream, that if turned upon a man it would kill him immediately.

As the washing stuff may be many yards from the top surface, the water is supplied so as to undermine the cliff, and bring down the

whole mass to be acted upon with this violent stream. Care is needed to keep at a distance from the avalanche of earth, either when falling or when swept along by the current. Sluice-boxes are fixed at convenient distances along the way of the wash, so as to catch the weightier golden particles. Men are actively moving aside obstructive stones meanwhile.

Professor Blake says that a boy with a pipe of two inches, and a water-fall of ninety feet, can dig and wash as much as a dozen or fifteen men without such aid. It will thus be apparent that stuff which would never pay otherwise, because of its poverty, may produce a good dividend to a hydraulic company. In Victoria it will pay with earth one-twenty-fifth of a grain of gold to a bushel. Old workings could be run through to great advantage.

So enormous is the amount of solid matter brought down into the main streams of the country, as not only to make these profoundly muddy, but considerably affect their depth and direction. Geological changes of no insignificant kind will soon be apparent. Bays will be filled, harbours obstructed, and the face of a country altered.

A Sierra Nevada miner gave me a pleasing account of his two years' sojourn in those elevated valleys, while engaged in hydraulic

sluicing. He spoke of the lower or blue lead of his district as being ten times as rich as the white clay stratum above it. At Cedar Creek this blue deposit is a hundred feet deep. At Birdseye and Sweetland Creeks extensive works are carried on. As different localities may be variously situated as respects water facilities and earth advantages, so is the comparative cost; though Mr. Laur estimated expenses after this descending scale: for pan, seventy-five; rocker, twenty; Long Tom, five; sluice, one and three quarters; hydraulic, one quarter. Another authority insists that the last is at least one hundredth part the cost of the first.

Improvements have been made lately by the employment of a lever with one powerful nozzle to a box. The increase of fall, of course, multiplies the power. A few years ago, at one mine in California, they employed twenty-inch hose power, and a fall of fifty feet. The company then got three thousand inches, and a much higher fall. They intend soon to have five thousand inches at work, with a descent of four hundred feet, when they expect to roll over two hundred thousand tons of earth a day! In twenty days they could remove a mound as lofty as the Great Pyramid.

It is obvious that a large capital must be invested in the conveyance of water. This

may be effected at the instance of the mining associations, or the latter may pay for the consumption at a fixed rate from a water company. It is calculated that, in the Sierra Nevada country, at least a score millions of dollars have been expended in the construction of about eight thousand miles of flumes. The Excelsior Company, it has been declared, can supply four times the water requirements of a city of a million inhabitants! New York consumes thirty-five millions of gallons a day. The Excelsior could furnish one hundred and fifty-eight millions. At such a rate as this, Mr. Catlin's source of subterranean water may be invaded to a serious extent ultimately, and the Gulf Stream be stripped of its glory by the insatiable greed of hydraulic miners.

But to the practical question of cost. The Yackandandah miners, Victoria, pay for their water at the rate of a third of a penny for a thousand gallons. In one place in California they sell by so-called miners' measurement in inches, at the amount of nine cents an inch. Now, eight thousand inches in a day of ten hours will yield sixty million gallons a day. Some say, therefore, that dirt pays at three cents' worth of gold per cubic yard. One company used seventeen millions to wash a million cubic yards of gravel, paying fifteen

cents an inch. At Yuba it cost seven cents for a cubic yard of gravel. Mr. Surveyor Potter, of the Gold River District, speaks of five cents for three tons of earth. At Birdseye Creek the cost is enormously greater. One company pays a hundred dollars a day for water. At Ballarat, in Victoria, the charge is five pounds a day, or four pounds a night, for a party of five men.

A vast field for enterprise will open some day in Nevada, Utah, etc., for hydraulic operations. The water difficulty is the main one there. Formerly, in New Mexico, miners waited for snow falling to give them water. They melted the snow by hot stones, and washed with the pan. There is an abundant supply of water in the caverns below. When this can be utilized, not only will mining be a glorious success, but this American desert will become a harvest-home, and blossom as the rose.

The coal-fields of Western America are of great moment to the British investor in silver mines there. The greater call for machinery in those mountainous districts, already nearly stripped of their sparse belts of timber, the increased demand there is for another source of fuel. Fortunately for the future of that metallic region, the neighbourhood has been recently discovered full of coal.

The Mormons were the first to reveal the treasure. When at Salt Lake City, I was informed that good beds existed forty miles to the south-east, and ninety south. The shale appears eighteen miles off. A rich deposit about 150 miles from the lake is not sulphurous, though not fit for the forge. The Piedmont mine was then on fire. Although the islands in the Great Salt Lake, like the hills around, are of granite, slates, and igneous rocks, yet the country about has a carboniferous limestone, though the formation has suffered much from the violence of volcanic action. The sulphurous coal near Cedar City is used to smelt iron there.

The enormous coal region of the Eastern States, with its oil springs, is well known to Englishmen. But it is now ascertained to be far more extensive than once supposed. The vast prairie States are carboniferous. The coal of Arkansas, in millstone grit, is older than that of Kentucky. The crinoidal Burlington limestone of Kansas, like the limestone of Mormon Nauvoo, lies between the Devonian and coal rocks. The upper coal seams of Omaha, on the Missouri, are under a coarse sandstone. Two-thirds of the area of Illinois contains this useful mineral. The same good fortune follows the settlers of the Platte river. The east of



Kansas, the east of the Indian territory, the south-east of Nebraska, are all favoured with the true coal, and not unlike that of Ohio. The Richmond field is classed as Triassic or Jurassic. The upper coal measures thin out westward, being 3,000 feet in Pennsylvania, 1,500 feet in Illinois, and but 1,000 feet in Iowa. Of the middle group, Pennsylvania has a depth of 3,000 feet, Virginia 3,000, and westward 1,000. Pennsylvania has 2,000 feet thickness of lower carboniferous beds.

I was sometimes amused with the criticisms of my practical travelling companions on the rail, as they exhibited and expatiated upon the qualities of coal specimens. Of the same coal, one man declared that the ash was three-fourths of the amount, while another said it was a tenth. On one side I was informed that such and such a place was no good, for that the mineral choked the engine, and was fearfully sulphurous, while on the other hand I was assured it was incomparably superior to any other.

On the western side of the Sierra Nevada there is plenty of wood, and some parts of the eastern slope possess it. The engine stopped for frequent supplies on the way. I was told of the number of cords consumed in a certain distance, and the comparative cost of wood and

coal. It was a stroke of wonderful luck for the railway companies, that now, along the greater part of the route through the desert and the semi-desert plateau plains of the Rocky Mountains, coal is found in quantities, and of a quality to suit them.

The formation in which this extensive bed is found to the west is the cretaceous. Though not so-called true coal, it is abundant, and very serviceable.

The Green River basin is in the desert east of the Wahsatch ranges. The cretaceous rocks there, as elsewhere, are often in fantastic folds, from the volcanic agency. Over the coal may be seen marine deposits of conglomerates and sands. Coal of a capital quality is dug from Weber River canyon, not very far from the Mormon city. Some of it is highly bituminous. That romantic canyon cut through 500 feet of tertiaries, and exposed the soft upturned coal strata. This Wahsatch material leaves little or no clinker. It is usually turned out of sandstones, as in Californian basins of the same period.

A great deal of this cretaceous coal is soft, and contains much water. Many specimens yield only forty per cent. of carbon. The Denver bed, being fourteen feet thick, has only three per cent. of ash, while the Elcho has ten, and some

as much as fifty. Petrified wood is often found. One such tree in the Nevada range was six feet through. The Mount Diablo coal is by some considered hardly cretaceous, resembling the tertiary bovey of England. I was told that it crumbled in the air with exposure, and it was so liable to spontaneous combustion that it was dangerous to take to sea. It contained as much as twenty per cent. of water, though the amount decreases as the depth goes on. It has exceedingly little ash or sulphur. Having only tolerable qualities, I was much surprised to hear that it sold in San Francisco for seven dollars a ton. The price, nevertheless, explained the mystery why Californians submit to the purchase of Australian coal at a much higher figure, because available for steamers or shore furnaces.

The carboniferous beds near the Colorado River are two thousand feet thick. I was told that true coal is dug near that river, not far from the Mormon town of Parawan, in South Utah. In the carboniferous era an open sea existed where most of the Colorado is now seen.

Elko, a station on the Central Pacific line, being 600 miles east of San Francisco, and yet 300 west of the Mormon town of Ogden, near the Great Salt Lake, is a great coal centre.

Coalville, five miles south-east of Elcho, was

appropriated by the Mormons before the Pacific railroad was formed or contemplated. Brigham Young considered that the Church might honestly benefit by a coal deposit, although for some time he doubted the morality of gold-digging. The United States Government has denied the legal right of the saints to this valuable section of country. When the now debated Pre-emptive Act of Utah is settled, the question of Coalville proprietorship will be arranged. The coal-beds there have marine molluscs in sands and clays, under red tertiary conglomerates. Some cretaceous beds near there are said to be four thousand feet in thickness. Before the last elevation, it is apparent that the district was under fresh water.

An almost inexhaustible supply of good mineral is known along a great deal of the railroad track. For a distance of five hundred miles it can be extracted without difficulty. Chalk Creek exposes the coal for eighteen miles, where it has a thickness of fourteen feet, and a specific gravity of one and a half. It is black, brilliant, and conchoidal. It will not soil the fingers, nor crumble to dust. There is a white ash, but no sulphurous smell. It produces fifty-two per cent. of coke. The heat from one ton of Van Dyk coal, near the line, by Rock Springs, equals that from two cords of wood.

Besides this vast and valuable extent of coal, the mining population can have recourse to the lignite basins.

Lignite is found the whole length of Western California, onward through Oregon, into the Hudson's Bay territories. It runs along the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, especially between the north and south forks of the Platte river. This tertiary deposit is believed to include 5,000 square miles on the Laramie Plains. It occurs along the east base of the Sierra Nevada, and is rich on the eastern rim of the great basin. In fact, it is traced all along from the North Platte to the Salt Lake district. It is all through the coast ranges. The age is reputed to be that of Eocene.

Valuable bituminous shales of this period are known in California, etc., especially the tar springs of Los Angeles. All along the Californian coast, between Monterey and San Diego, are lignite beds, which are said to be the source, under volcanic action or subterranean heat, of the masses of petroleum seen floating out to sea, as on the Lake of Asphaltites, in Palestine. A mineral oil is frequently met with between Santa Barbara and the isles. Even in Victoria, the lignite is known to contain such resin. There is a green oil or tar noticed at Sulphur Creek.

The first export of petroleum from America was in 1861, consisting of 10,000 gallons. The yield from the wells in 1870 was a third more than in the previous year. The total in the United States for 1870 was 141,201,155 gallons.

By the Washington Smithsonian Institute, that glory of the States, so enthusiastically and ably managed by Professor Henry, the mineral wealth of the country is not only displayed, but actively developed. The English visitor could obtain, as I did, valuable information about the western mines, through the intelligence and gentlemanly courtesy of the justly-honoured professor.

No one can tell what mineral revelations may come from further explorations in Utah and Nevada alone, as the greater part of both may be said to be yet unknown to the white man. Indians have made few trails over the heartless region. But as geologists, appointed by a wise government, are extending their observations, we shall continue to receive an accession of facts relative to the wonderful West.

It seems only the other day since some of us read of the romantic adventures of Colonel Fremont, on his journey westward across the rocky plateau, and by the mysterious Great Salt Lake, into the Great Basin. How boldly

he charged the heights of the Sierra Nevada! How terribly he suffered in those lofty gulches, while vainly seeking a way through the rocky fastnesses, down to the smiling plains of California!

Even now it is new to many to know that the Rock Independence is a thousand miles from the Mississippi, and that its granite wall is six hundred and fifty yards long. The Devil's Gate, near it, is a granite passage for the Sweet water, three hundred yards long by thirty-five broad. The Chimney Rock, so interesting to Overlanders, by the Platte, is a nearly perpendicular shaft of clay one hundred feet high. The traditional pipe-stone quarry of the Indians has been found at last. It is on the north side of the Pacific rail, to the north-east of Dakota. First described by Catlin, this Catlinite is seen as a vein a foot broad, in a bed of metamorphosed rock. Smokers may be interested in knowing that its constituents are—silica, forty-eight; aluminum, twenty-eight; carbonate of lime, two and a half; magnesia, six; and water, eight and a half.

But mining explorations have brought to light the wonders of the cathedral spires of Nevada; the obelisk, Mount Clark; the "Kettle" crater-form hollows of granite; the red slate

peaks, 13,500 feet high; the ancient glacial marks of Dana, 12,000 feet; the concentric structure of Dome mountains; the magnificent Tyndall, rising 14,386 feet; and the inaccessible Whitney, over 15,000 feet.

The great basin of Mormondom is a geological curiosity of itself. It is not one basin, but has hundreds of hollows, from which the water has been gradually dried up, though all streams that run down hills into the basin have no retreat from the valley. The Salt Lake itself is getting salter. A vast inland sea was there in the time of the quaternary deposits.

Subterranean heat, once so desolating for the region, has not ceased there. The Bear River, that flows into the Great Lake, still shows the past, in a crater by its bank, nine hundred feet round and sixty deep; and the present, in its beer or soda springs. Similar springs abound about the Wahsatch ranges. I saw a number as I travelled along, throwing up their steam from the valleys. The Steamboat is near the Washoe mountains. Many acres around that spring are covered with the silicious sinter, so well known in Iceland. But the grandest exhibition of this kind is in the mighty geysers of Montana, rising two hundred feet into the air, and throwing about an immense deposit of this silicious substance.



Iceland has nothing approaching that elevation.

When miners explore the mountains along the course of the Colorado, other strange geological facts will be brought forward.

As the Jordan is the blight of the Holy Land, so is the Colorado of the country through which it passes. Both drain the land on either side, without yielding a single equivalent. Both are buried in ravines between precipitous rocks, and add little or nothing to the wealth or comfort of the people on the banks. Thus it is that both are maintaining the countries in a state of desert, more or less. Fortunately for Palestine, and, to some extent, the great Colorado Basin, the limestone formation gives facilities for the retention of water in subterranean reservoirs, which have not everywhere an outlet to the river absorber, but which preserve basins for water for the well-sinker. Were Palestine geologically like much of the Colorado Basin, it would be as dreary a desert, as the Jordan sucks so much of the vitality out of the land. But if the so-called wilderness of Zin, on the sandstone band between Sinai and Judea, be added to Canaan proper, the parallel between the whole, and the great American desert, is remarkably strengthened.

The Colorado River rises in Utah, and flows

out of that territory at its south-western corner, through a portion of Arizona, along Lower Nevada, into South California, for the Pacific Ocean. The fissure may have been primarily caused by earthquakes, but is believed by geologists to have been mainly the work of simple erosion. What the water has had to cut through in the long lapse of ages past, may be apparent in the consideration of a part of the canyon of the river. For three hundred miles of its mighty course, the Colorado runs between walls from three thousand to five thousand feet high. In one part, where it has pierced through 5,500 feet of deposits, and is still 1,300 feet above the sea level, we observe the following formations in descending order: upper carboniferous limestone, sandstone, lower carboniferous limestone, Devonian, Silurian, and granite.

The Colorado Basin is not quite so large as the Great Basin of the Mormons,—the former containing 200,000 square miles, and the latter 280,000. The area of depression has been termed by some a synclinal trough. The dreary mesa, or table-land, is varied in character. It is, in fact, a succession of terraces, the highest or upper one being post-Tertiary. Part is conglomerate, and the Miocene beds are of granite gravels. The central desert is of

fine clay and sand, as if deposited by still and deep water. A bluish clay shows a lacustrine origin. Indeed, there is proof of fresh water having flooded most of the area at times, and fresh water shells are seen strewn on the surface.

The Painted Desert, the west side of Little Colorado River, is so called from the variegated clays, the red sandstone, and the light-coloured limestone. The sand does not cover a very large extent of the Colorado Basin. But it is singularly free from dust, and very dry. In many places the granite rocks have been ground and grooved by the mechanical attrition of the driving sand; this is strikingly illustrated at the Pass of Bernardino. The ranges through the country are of granite and slates, much metamorphosed, with a great extension of plutonic rocks. Lenticular or lens-shaped limestone is noticed in the metamorphic beds. Mud volcanoes skirt the river, and a solfatara, as well as a large rock-salt deposit, are on the western side of its mouth. A great basaltic eruption is conspicuous in several places.

In one part of its course, the Colorado flows through a country below the level of the sea; the banks of the stream prevent an overflow. Possibly, a great delta formerly existed, and

the sands of the ocean closed up all but one of the channels. The Death Valley, previously mentioned as from one hundred to two hundred feet below the level of the Pacific, drains into its dry basin about 30,000 square miles.

It has been calculated that, to form this desert plateau of Colorado, there must have been a destruction of rock in its neighbourhood to the extent of 1,800 miles long by 1,800 broad, and a thousand feet in thickness !

On the banks of the Colorado, and especially of the Gila, its affluent, there are extensive remains of ancient Indian civilization. A large and thriving population must have existed there, before the desert character so increased as to diminish the water supply. By the side of the Gila is an area of 300,000 acres of good arable land, now useless through the drought, once cultivated by the civilized tribes of the past, and yet to be utilized when science visits the locality, and American farmers produce food for the miners of the richly metallic ranges around.

Space forbids one to speak of the charming Yosemite Valley, California, and other natural curiosities. The Americans may surely be excused the indulgence of national vanity when they have a country so productive in wealth, and so abounding in wonders and beauties.

## THE LABOUR QUESTION AT THE MINES.

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**I**N my journey I got much information from the miners as to the character and payment of workmen. One intelligent Cornishman, then taking advantage of being blocked out by the snow, was going to spend a few weeks at his old mining home near Truro. With him I had considerable discussion about silver mines and their workers.

All admit the labour difficulty, though conscious of its gradual relief. The railway system is a gracious boon to labour and capital. It brings increased comforts, and so lightens the necessity for higher wages. The intelligent American or Britisher, going thither in a so-called menial capacity, rapidly rises above the supposed degradation. He takes a position where more brains and less muscle may be in demand. If a saving man, he finds abundant opportunity for favourable investment, and grows rich.

Mormons are near at hand, and are steady workers. But they, too, soon cease to work for others, and have a farm, a store, a waggon, or become mine proprietors. The capitalist cannot hope to retain their services. But as the silver mines get known, emigrants will find their way up to them. The Irish form the mainstay of rude labour, though the Chinese are rapidly extending in the west. The Irish are not preferred at the mines, owing to their combinations for the oppression of other nationalities, their readiness to quarrel, from intemperate habits, and their general insubordination to authority.

The labour at the mines is ever shifting, owing to the rapid changes in the country, the opening of fresh opportunities, and the migratory nature of the population. Even the Irish, who in Australia are so settled in their habits, especially in their attachment to the soil, are the most restless of all races in America. At the mines they are far from being so constant and reliable in labour as Englishmen, though these are much fewer in number. The coming force for employment, if no political movement arrest the immigration, will reach Western America from China.

Five hundred years ago Christian Europe

was so troubled with the Mongolian irruptions, that an addition was made to the Litany of—"From the Tartars, good Lord, deliver us."

In our own day a similar supplication may need be offered in some places. Having a population of over four hundred millions, China is a fine hive for swarming. But the Mongolians are not travelling westward, as formerly, nor with hostile intent, as in olden times. They move easterly and southwardly, and in the more peaceful path of labour. They pass over the sea to make their fortunes, and not over the land to ravage and kill. But there are regions where their numbers are so rapidly increasing, that they are felt to be elbowing the natives or residents out of the domain of labour, and almost monopolising the sweets of toil.

In Singapore, Borneo, Sumatra, the Philippines, and other Asiatic isles, they are swarming in with a remarkable pertinacity characteristic of the people. They have given the British authorities trouble in Borneo, and the Dutch elsewhere. The Dyaks and Malays oppose them from a dread of their interference with their own labour market.

I have seen the gradual movement in Australia. In Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales, and Queensland I have observed this migration. They came in so stealthily as to

attract little notice for some years. We knew them as cooks and station servants only. But when the gold burst out in Australia, the Mongolians poured in upon us. The legislature attempted to stay them by a polltax of ten pounds upon their entrance. John then cleverly went a little further in his ship, landed at Adelaide, and actually walked some five or six hundred miles to avoid the tax.

In Victoria the miners' prejudice against them arose from the uncleanness of their persons, their thievish propensities, their sneaking appearance, and their rivalry in labour. It was thought a hard thing that those who would not permit our people to wander at large in the flowery land, should not only come to the colony, but be at equal liberty to dig what gold they could, and carry it home to China. Violent collisions took place, and in several places even murders were committed.

Yet when storekeepers found Chinamen good customers, merchants in town pleaded the cause of humanity. The poll-tax was removed, and no bar existed to the approach and exit of these strange diggers. The storekeepers and merchants experienced some diminution of humane feelings when they beheld Chinese storekeepers set up establishments on the diggings, and Chinese merchants in Melbourne and Sydney.



Since that period they have still advanced. Many have, apparently, settled in the colonies, and have contracted marriages with those of the Caucasian race—especially Irish girls. These set up respectable households, and some live in thorough good style.

Meanwhile, other individuals enter beside the miner. Our city artisans in the colonies are complaining of Chinese working at lower rates, and so stealing trade from themselves. At all the leading townships colonies of yellow faces exist. While some return with their wealth, others come out in their place.

A wholesome dread was entertained in Australia that we might be overrun by the pagans; although, it must be even admitted, far fewer police are required to look after the yellow tribes than after the same amount of our white population. But now the Mongolian stream flows more towards America.

Naturally, the half-way house, the Sandwich Island port of Honolulu, has been favoured with a call. I saw one large portion of that town specially taken up as the Chinese quarter. There the houses, the sign-boards, the dress, the customs, the avocations, the language, are Chinese. They rapidly pick up Hawaiian on the one side, and English on the other, for the purposes of trade.

They are very industrious, orderly, gentle, and of citizen-like propriety. They take their tea, their opium, their country alcohol. They indulge in few quarrels, and evince a good-humour which makes them popular. They are ingenious tradesmen, and careful gardeners; though I always welcomed them as cooks and waiters.

The natives and they fraternize cordially. The Chinese are superior to themselves, but do not assume that sense of superiority so painfully experienced from the American and English whites. Hawaiian women have no objection to a union with the strangers. They obtain kind and indulgent husbands, a good table, and a comfortable home. The produce of this connexion has been of a more fertile character than between white and brown, or brown with brown.

As early as 1866, there were in the Hawaiian Isles twelve hundred men and eighty women of this race. The numbers have advanced since that period, and the settlement has become more decided. One of the best houses I saw, among the villas of foreigners in the lovely Nuuanu valley, was tenanted by a Chinese gentleman, married to a native lady. The children were remarkably intelligent and good-looking.

But when I got within the Golden Gates of California, I found myself in the midst of even a larger colony of Chinese. An American thus writes of it: "California is so overrun with this sort of cattle, that 'tis a wonder she hasn't lost her census (senses)."

Although there are fourteen States still unblest with this order of creation, the invaders are moving eastward with the steady force of a regular tide, but that knows no ebb. In California there are 45,000, and in San Francisco alone, 15,000. A tax of four dollars is levied upon their entrance into the country.

They follow trades, as in their own country. Unlike their habit in Australia, they have introduced their countrywomen into the Pacific State, intending to resign the flowery land for the fortunes of the golden one. I did see a Chinese lady in Melbourne not very long ago, imported, doubtless, for commercial purposes and curiosity. But I was informed by an official of the immigrants in California, that they have nearly sufficient women of their own race there now. There is as firmly rooted a Chinese quarter in San Francisco, as a Jewish quarter in the Ghetto of Rome. They have their joss-houses, theatres, and opium retreats.

Interested at all times in coloured races, I made inquiries where I could to learn some-

thing of the polity of this singular community, being aware that such internal government existed among them in Australia.

The Chinese are allowed to be the most ancient race occupying a consolidated position in the world. Long before Abraham dwelt in Charran, the Mongolians had a nation, a civilization, and a literature. However fossilized they have since become, they still recognize the claims of social order, refinement in society, and educational tests. When, therefore, they migrate, these children of habit are likely to carry with them the organizing faculty that distinguishes them. How was this exhibited in America?

I was so fortunate as to travel some hundreds of miles with one of the Chinese interpreters and agents. From him I heard that six persons had been formally elected by their countrymen, though not by universal suffrage, to represent them, and be the medium through whom their national customs could be enforced. Doubtless, as in Australia, such heads of tribes have the right of inflicting pains and penalties for infractions of public duty, and which are solely and privately enforced by virtue of public sentiment alone. By touching John Chinaman's pocket a wholesome obedience may be secured.

There being six dialects of Chinese in the

Pacific States, a representative has thus been chosen from each. The Japanese, already spreading also through Hawaii and Western America, voluntarily, at present, submit to this government of fellow Mongols.

The six meet in San Francisco. They nominate their own district officers, and select suitable Caucasians for their interpreters and agents outside of the camp. A rate is levied for the payment of these and other charges.

The Chinese have no difficulty in finding any employment. They are more intelligent and reliable, in some respects, than our own labouring classes, and are careful workers in woollen mills, etc. In whatever branch of industry they engage, they gain the credit of being both ingenious and painstaking. They are certainly accomplished laundresses. I saw quite a colony of them beating the clothes alongside the banks of the Sacramento River.

But the work with which they are most prominently connected is that of the Central Pacific Railway. This runs for nearly a thousand miles to meet the eastern line, and was wholly constructed by the Chinese, who are alone the labourers upon the road now. They did their work well, and gave no trouble. An official told me that the men are more to be relied upon than some others in an emergency. They are

faithful labourers, needing little watching, and but little direction.

The *San Francisco Bulletin* has the following record of their ability:—

“During the progress of the ‘Summit’ tunnel there was a strike in some of the Nevada mines, and a number of Cornishmen came up to work for the Company. But it was found that the Chinamen could do considerably more work, and stand the fatigue and foul air of underground work much better. The Cornishmen tried it awhile, but concluded to leave the work of boring through granite mountains to the more adaptable Celestial, and went away in disgust.”

An instance of their adaptable qualities was given to me. The week before I crossed the Sierra Nevada there was a serious wreck on the line. The Chinese hurried to the spot, and were three days and two nights constantly employed. They were ill-provided in their haste, but manfully kept to their posts, though the thermometer stood at twenty-five degrees below zero! My informant added: “I don’t believe any other race could have done it, or done it so well, and so ungrudgingly.”

Again and again did we pass the snug-looking Chinese huts, planted in the snow of the mountains, alongside of the railway. These wooden

shanties had a comfortable look, in spite of snow-drift up to the roof. Whenever we met a party going to and fro upon the line, there was always a merriment in the group. It was very pleasant to observe the kind recognition between them and my companion, the interpreter, as the latter stepped out upon the platform of the railway car, to give a greeting, or throw down a letter.

The rate of payment is thirty-one dollars a month. And yet one half of this amount is saved.

When some Irishmen were once complaining loudly that these *wretches*, as they called them, were able to work at lower wages because they lived on rice, Mr. Interpreter quietly assured them that he had ascertained from inquiry that the food of the Chinese labourer cost him more than that of the Irish one. To me this was not astonishing, as I had heard our colonial storekeepers remark that the Chinese were their best customers for good things—always excepting beer and brandy.

As toilers in the mines, they are sought after. If possessed of less muscle than Irishmen—the other hewers and drawers of America—they are continuous in labour, patient under difficulties, obedient to orders, and employ more intelligence at their work. But that which especially recom-

mends them to masters is that they give less trouble. They neither get drunk and create disturbances, nor annoy by evading tasks, shuffling from agreements, or indulging in abuse of their employers.

The two nations are thus on no friendly relations. The superior strength and daring of the Irishman, particularly under the inspiration of whisky, usually thrust him forward into a scrimmage, to the fracture of many a Mongolian head. Now and then advantage is taken of favourable circumstances to have a more formidable onslaught upon the community. Just before I landed inside of the Golden Gate, eighteen Chinese were hung by King Lynch at Los Angeles, in South California.

The Chinese and Indians agree very well, and have constant friendly intercourse with each other.

As men, they are far from being liked by our people, ever suspicious of a skin of another shade from their own. Still, when work is to be done,—done well, and done cheaply,—they are welcomed by employers.

To English capitalists, who have invested so largely in the Nevada silver mines, the question of labour is most important, as bearing upon the question of dividends. One mining gentleman of Utah thus expressed his opinion to me :



"We don't like the fellows on national grounds. They are foreigners, with no fixed ideas of settlement. They come and go, carrying off wealth, instead of investing it here. But the rascals are excellent mining hands, and greatly to be preferred to the Irish."

He told me an illustrative story. Having men of both colours in his establishment in Nevada, his Irish workmen came forward one day, declaring they would strike if he did not get rid of the Mongolians. He heard what they had to say, and calmly replied that he guessed they must strike. "But," said he to me, "I knew what it would cost me. I had to protect my Chinamen from attack, and I had to protect my premises from fire. I had to pay for a lot of watchmen night and day, and well armed, to keep the Irish labourers from playing tricks upon my property."

There are now about thirty thousand Chinese engaged in Nevada mines and stores.

It was such a treat, when once stopping for a meal at an hotel in the desert, to find ourselves waited upon by Chinese. They were nice-looking young fellows, got up so respectably in silk and clean linen, with smiling faces, civil words, and nimble motions.

Politicians in America are puzzled about the Chinese. Some are for thrashing them back to

the tea land, and others for admitting them to the cotton and rice fields of the south. The Irishmen oppose them on the Pacific side, and the Negro will oppose them, should they come, on the Atlantic side. Of course the word of a Chinaman is not valid in a court of justice against a white.

There are moral reasons of a sound and serious character for objecting to a Mongolian invasion. Young girls are corrupted to an alarming extent by the cunning stranger. Enormities are committed in secret, which rightly shock the moral sense, and call for repression.

Others are ready to affirm that their vices are not worse than the Caucasians', and certainly not so obtrusive and violent. It is fancied that a mixed race would become of future service, and be less objectionable. My interpreter friend, a prejudiced authority, said to me: "As to morals and social order, give me the heathen. The Chinese are greatly superior in virtue to the so-called Christian labourers."

Anyhow, as King Cash is the monarch of this world, the Chinese will be employed, in spite of their vices, because they are effective, cheap, and manageable labourers. Public prejudice, and occasional violence, keep down their numbers at present; but when the capitalist, for his pocket sake, adopts strong measures for

their social comfort and protection, there will be no want of Chinese for the American labour market.

The following extract from the *London and China Telegraph* contains some important remarks upon this subject :—

“ The subject of Chinese labour still engages the attention of the southern planters in the United States. It appears that a company has been formed, with a capital of 200,000 dollars, for the purpose of carrying out this project. The emigrants are to be engaged at wages of eight dollars per week (query, per month) with all found. They are to be sent round by the steamers of the Pacific Mail Company to San Francisco, and transferred to the company's steamers for Panama, thence to New Orleans and other ports of the Southern States. They are to be engaged in China as voluntary emigrants, and after arrival be put under contract for four years, at the expiration of which they may return or enter on a new engagement. This is all very pretty, but the company will find it more difficult than they imagine to induce the Chinese to engage on these terms. The cruel experiences of their countrymen in Peru and Cuba have destroyed their confidence in promises to be carried out in the far-off Western world. If the company could once

get a batch to write well of their treatment, tens of thousands would follow."

Although the Negroes are not given to mining, because it is hard work, and therefore not to their mind, I was not a little curious to ascertain the present position of Sambo in America, and regretted my want of time to conduct a thorough investigation. A few illustrations were brought before me on the way.

I had the honour of having my boots blacked by the Champion Shoeblack of the universe. The gentleman in dark courteously received me into his saloon, seated me in a luxuriously-cushioned arm-chair, and politely handed me that morning's *San Francisco News*. He performed his task with speed and grace, giving my boots a polish they had never known before, and are little likely to know again. The charge was the half of a quarter, about fivepence. This is an advance upon the prices of our London brigade.

Outside of his establishment is a public challenge. He therein boldly throws down the brush before the polishers of society throughout the whole world. He is ready to maintain his assumption of championship, the noble belt of which is duly paraded upon his person, by laying down the stakes of one thousand dollars.

Furthermore, as a competitor may present himself from the wilds of Tartary, the bush of Australia, or the desert of Africa, he graciously intimates in this circular, his generous willingness to meet the reasonable travelling expenses of any gentleman from a distance.

When polished up in Virginia, the operation was conducted by a juvenile Darkie with a most dilapidated brush, who contrived, after a deal of pains, and the application of saliva, to make his low stock of blacking cover the leather space. For this the grinning lad charged me half the rate of his accomplished Californian brother.

Blacks do not seem to have an innate love and respect for hard work. This is seen in the traditional story of Jake doing nothing, and Cæsar helping Jake. They prefer light employments, though big enough and strong enough for the coarsest and roughest work. As waiters, shoeblacks, messengers, touters, and porters, they reign almost supreme. They are remarkably particular in their personal appearance, and are exuberant in shirt fronts.

Long oppressed, and now relieved from pressure, they are not sufficiently modest with their privileges. Cringing where a dollar is to be gained, or a kick to be feared, they are apt to bluster where they can, and play the tyrant

when occasion offers. These propensities have not commended Sambo to favour.

They are hated enough for reasons of race, but they are hated for inherited qualities. American women, although seeking so long to procure emancipation for them, seem to have a peculiar shrinking from contact with them. The recognized inordinate development of passions among the dark men may well shock the delicacy of feeling in American ladies. Southern women, as is well known, have not this marked antipathy to them, and uniformly speak more frankly and kindly of them and to them.

Repeatedly I noticed the outbreak of this prejudice. The story of a Jamaica Negress who recently confessed to having murdered and eaten twenty-eight young children, was read with gusto all over the Union.

When I was in Indiana, a black attempted to get a licence to marry a white woman. He was roughly told it would not be granted. Persisting in the application, public sentiment made itself heard in the usual unmistakable manner, and the fellow beat a hasty retreat. The local paper has this comment: "If the Negro makes any further demonstrations, he will come to such grief as will put all idea of returning out of his head for some time to come."

One having been sent to gaol fourteen years

for an attempt at assault upon a white woman, the press, in a narrative, added, "Hanging is not too good for the wretch."

Taking up the *Herald* one morning in New York, I read the following:—

"Among the numerous vices which the Negro men have acquired since their emancipation from slavery, and one that invariably leads to the commission of crime, is the carrying and use of dangerous and death-dealing weapons. They are imitators in this, as in all other respects, of the worst characteristics, manners, habits, and customs of the white race; and like the rowdies and ruffians of the South, nearly every Negro now carries a revolver, knife, dirk, or often a still more effective weapon—a razor."

But some apology may surely be offered for this, since the horrors of the Ku Klux Klan.

Friends of the Negro are not few, however, in the States. These point triumphantly to the fact that instances of revenge for slavery cruelties have been rare indeed. They have plenty of cases to narrate where a contrary spirit has been shown, and where kindness has been the return for blows. They vehemently denounce the present persecution of the dark-skinned race. While many are contending for universal amnesty in the South, others declare,

with Isaac Hunter, at a meeting where Horace Greeley presided, that, "when universal amnesty is proclaimed, white men must proclaim universal amnesty to coloured people."

President Grant, in his December message, said: "Social ostracism for opinion's sake, and personal violence towards persons entertaining political views opposed to those entertained by the majority of the old citizens, prevent immigration, and the flow of much-needed capital, into States lately in rebellion." But this is intended to refer to the black as much as to the Republican white.

Unlike the Chinese, the blacks are real settlers in the country. They marry, and increase far beyond what we observe among Caucasians. They are now possessed of franchise rights, and have become a political power. They are not only aware of their future destiny, but are preparing for it by zealous attention to instruction. I was introduced, on the floor of the House, to a prominent member of Congress, a full-blooded Negro. Not until that moment had I realized the force of the late emancipation. The man had been a slave, and was now on an equality with the most distinguished legislators of the Continent. There was a singular propriety, as it struck me, in the presentation being effected by the representative of Wash-



ington learning, the accomplished Professor of the Smithsonian Institution.

In a recent speech by the eloquent Congress black, the Hon. H. B. Elliott, we read as follows:—

“ Four millions of the coloured race, harmless, landless, worn out by the work of hard taskmasters, without money, without resources, were asked in a moment to think and act for themselves. Four millions, with liberty of locomotion of which they could not avail themselves for want of means, were met on every side by the bitter hate of the white man, maddened by the loss of this hitherto valuable property, while the poor whites were incensed because they were told that the blacks would in time become their equals. They said to the coloured race that they should work for them, and enacted laws that all black men unemployed should be treated as vagrants, at the same time that they would not give them work, though they made it a crime to be idle. Here was an attempt to perpetuate the hard rule of superiority, and to eradicate all sense of manliness from the mind of the coloured race.”

Not being a believer in the mental equality of races, I do not for a moment consider that the Negro will come to the front as a politician and a philosopher ; but, as a man, and especially

if an educated man, he cannot fail to become a power in the State.

The colourphobia is far from being dead in America, though the prudence which the Negroes have certainly exhibited since their emancipation will tend to disarm it of its most objectionable features.

It is well known that, while society is horrified at a mixture of dark blood with the lighter Caucasian, it is quite indulgent, or was so, when the union was between red and white. Even then, propriety demanded that the inferior sex, woman, must be of the inferior race. It is some years ago since an Indian Christian chief came to England, and was the lion of religious meetings. A young lady was so smitten by his copper hue, that she asked, or suggested she might be asked, to be his wife. Great fun was made over the affair in America; and the scandal of a white woman going to live in the dirty camp of the dirty Indians, was freely talked about.

Indians in the West decline engagements at the mines. They have not many of the romantic traits which are so displayed in Cooper's novels. They evidence less intelligence, and are a less advanced people, than their red brethren who made a treaty with Penn, or who were employed by the British Government to hunt down and

destroy British colonists. The Virginian beauty of the forest, Pocahontas, was certainly the equal of her husband, Captain Smith, in physical appearance, and decidedly his superior in the virtues. But it is to be feared that the quality of the Indian squaw has changed since her time, especially over in the Pacific quarter. The specimens I observed were not exceptionally fine.

When stopping on the Humboldt, I fell in with a large number. They had already assumed the garments of our civilization, though I was pleased to find that they refrained from begging. The gentlemen wore thin jet-black hair with the usual pendent straightness. The ladies could not possibly coax a curl, and the hair was both coarse and dirty. They adorned their flat faces with red or yellow ochre, in streaks, bands, or daubs, of various figures as fashion dictated. The youngsters were not so grave as their parents, and the babies, in spite of uncleanness, had all the senseless, dear attractiveness which universal babydom enjoys.

For a couple of hundred miles two Indian half-breeds, from the Mexican side of the States, rode in the same carriage with me. They were very gaily decked out in reds and yellows, with valuable rings on fingers and in ears. One of them was so far civilized as to supplement the

softness of the carriage seat by an inflated indiarubber cushion. They chatted incessantly, and were agreeable with any who sought their company. Whenever a party of Indians, rude and rough, came near the stopping-places, our two passengers looked at them with much interest, and ventured to speak with the squaws. As they wore the cross of the white man's faith, they deemed themselves a much higher development than the ragged mothers before them.

Both Pintes and Shoshones have submitted with a good grace to the superior power of civilized weapons. They are content now to do a little trade, and sell Utah agates to the pilgrim travellers. Some of the men had even taken to wide-awakes. They are paying the usual penalty of association with civilization. They swear in English, get drunk, contract the dire disease, and die off like scabby sheep.

Yet once the Shoshones numbered thirty thousand warriors. When they threw themselves on the war-path of the whites, they found a foe more terrible than the bison. I heard stories in the West of men shooting at Indians for mere sport, or by way of testing the range of their rifles. These early overlanders, by their reckless brutality, and by their unrighteous and inhuman treatment of Indian women, stirred up the implacable hate of the ever-revengeful red

man. Consequently, when settlers went westward over the Missouri, seeking homes by the Platte and other western waters, the Indians invaded the little villages, murdered the men, and committed horrible outrages upon their wives and daughters. Throughout 1868 and 1869 these desperate doings continued, though for one white that fell, at least a score of reds paid the penalty.

One illustrative story will suffice. Maggie's Valley is so called from one of two sisters, living in an outpost of farms, who aided their fellow-countrymen in a bold stand against some marauding Indians. They alone survived that day's terrors. For two days the poor girls were subjected to the grossest humiliation and cruelty. They were then dreadfully mutilated by the fiends, and thrown into a fire to be consumed.

General Sherman's march through Georgia, when he destroyed everything for twenty miles each side of his track, showed the man of iron, fitted for Indian warfare. When he marched through the Indian camps, he spared not. He knew that philanthropists would intercede for the wronged wrong-doers, and he concluded to execute summary justice, or vengeance, first, and then listen patiently to complaints to be raised afterwards.

The Apaches are now more troublesome to the southern territories than any others were in the west. They are well mounted, and display an extraordinary activity and fierceness. A Spanish gentleman, with whom I travelled for several days, gave me the following story of his own experience.

He had been long engaged in mining pursuits, and he described the people of the south-west, who are still chiefly of Mexican blood, as a cowardly, lazy race, afraid of following the trail of the Apache.

One time, intending to go across a dangerous country in the hunt for a silver lode, he and seven others travelled together for safety. They had good horses, and plenty of arms. As they were riding down a deep canyon, whose tortuous route prevented a look-out, the party were suddenly confronted by about sixty Apaches. It was a short but bloody engagement. When my informant saw his seven friends dead or dying beside him, his own horse shot, and himself wounded in three places, he made a run for his life, and gained the tall reeds that grew in the stream. But he had been seen, and an active chase followed. The reeds were searched for him in vain. The fellows then proceeded to fire the dry tops, so that they might discover their concealed enemy. Just as

the men of blood were closing in upon the spot where he lay, some shots were fired. A large party of travellers had fallen in with the Indians, and began the battle. As the Apaches saw themselves unfit to cope with the new comers, they beat a retreat, and the happy man came forth from the reeds to welcome friends.

A Nevada writer has an apology for that fearful foe, the Apache chief, Conchise. It is declared that this bold fellow was a true friend to the whites, until the treachery of a lieutenant, commander of an outpost, changed him into so hostile a hater of the white race. A Mexican woman, favoured by the officer, had lost her child. The blame was undeservedly laid upon this sub-tribe of the Apache family. The chief went to expostulate with the American, and assured him that he had made every inquiry, and was certain that his red men were guiltless of the charge of stealing the little one. The other meanly called upon his troops, surrounded Conchise, and attempted to seize him. The chief, excited and enraged by this treachery, courageously dashed at the troops, cut his way out, and immediately joined those in arms against the Republic.

The Nevada narrator observes: "Although, in the interest of humanity in general, we would like to hear of Conchise being shot down, yet

we must admire the brave defiance with which he anathematizes our race, and feel some pity that the pale-faced Pharisees have not the poor Indian's candour."

President Grant, a man of courage and honesty, has resolved upon a most unusual course. He has consented to take the management of Indian affairs out of the hands of officials, whose bad policy, if not injustice, occasioned so much trouble and bloodshed, and give the control altogether to a number of well-known philanthropists, who had freely offered their services for this work of mercy. The best results have already appeared from this exercise of Presidential power and benevolence.

Extensive reserves, known as the Indian territory, have been for some time appropriated to tribes willing to accept a home absolutely free from white settlement. But as the land is good and the timber valuable, aggressions are being made by the whites on all sides. Altogether, the Indians were estimated some years ago to be a quarter of a million throughout the Union. It does seem absurd, then, to grant this small, dying population a reservation of 230,000 square miles. Since then, Alaska has brought an accession of 70,000 Indians.

It has been suggested that the reserves should be amalgamated, and a smaller territory appro-



priated to the Indians. This, to be named the Oklahoma Territory, would give about a couple of hundred acres per head. As railways are required to pierce the reserve, *en route* for other places, a demand has been made by companies for large grants of land; but only the concession of two hundred feet on each side of the line has been made by Government.

Many of the Indians located there have greatly advanced. They have their schools, and even a medical college. Last year they raised agricultural produce valued at many thousands of dollars.

The missions, once so flourishing in Mexican California, have nearly all disappeared. There were, however, just before the transfer of that golden land to America, about 4,500 Indians under the teaching of *padres* in a score of mission establishments. At present there are but few Indians left in California, for the early diggers made sad havoc among them. But there are 6,000 at large in Nebraska, 7,000 in Colorado, 6,000 in Nevada, and 13,000 in Utah. I noticed a considerable number hanging around Salt Lake City, and near Ogden. The Mormons have shown them much kindness, although the wild men at first resented the seizure of their hunting-grounds. Such was the feeling of insecurity, that a ditch was dug

around the Mormon camp, and a rough wall of sunburnt bricks was built around the primitive town of the saints. By persistent good offices they have at length gained the confidence and goodwill of the *Ute* (*Utah*) tribes.

The Book of Mormon, being a history of the supposed forefathers of the Indians, has been a shield of protection to the hunted hunters. A gentleman at the Salt Lake mentioned to me a proof, as he imagined it, that these races were those formerly mentioned by Mormon. The southern Mormon settlement, called Cedar City, is built on the site of an ancient Aztec one. Fine pottery, and some interesting glyphic monuments, have been discovered. Similar writings have been observed on rocks in other parts of southern Utah. This is felt to be an unanswerable argument in favour of the Indians having been a highly progressive people at one time, and assuredly belonging to a race which brought the civilization with them. Hopes are entertained by devout Mormons that the remnant of this Hebrew migration will be gathered in with the saints at the New Jerusalem.

Jones's "Ancient America" assumes that the Indians came from Tyre about three hundred years before Christ, and landed in Mexico. He identifies the Phœnician arts and religion in the

Aztec architecture, paintings, hieroglyphics, gem engraving, mummies, sacred fire, virgins of the sun, holy communion, crosses, and sacrifices of human beings.

The romance of the Indians has long since departed; and it is to be feared, with all due deference to the Mormons, that unless the millennium come pretty soon there will be no red men to welcome it. At any rate, while the capitalist may calculate upon the muscular aid of Negroes and Chinese, he has no expectation of utilizing the strength or the intelligence of the wild men of the forest.

Mining regions are not celebrated for their agricultural capabilities. The rich coal districts of Iowa and Pennsylvania, however, have some fine land. The great western carboniferous country has comparatively few spots available for culture. The flats beside the rivers are of course open to the agriculturalist. So large is the yield of maize on the treeless prairies, that grain is sometimes cheaper than wood for fuel, being but sevenpence a bushel. But the grain is utilized in the raising of hogs for market. I was told, in this Platte district of the far West, that carcase pigs were sold for less than twopence a pound.

Meeting a German bringing in a waggon of Indian corn to one of the furthest western towns, I asked some questions of his farming life. He was only a new comer, unable to purchase land. He had, therefore, rented a piece upon the fair system of thirds. Whatever the season, the landlord was to receive one-third of his crops for rent. In three years the German intended, through his savings, to buy a section.

The President, in his last address, echoes the public sentiment about putting people upon the lands; saying, "I renew my recommendation that the public land be regarded as a heritage to our children, to be disposed of only as required for occupation, and to actual settlers."

What other country in the world has such a wise, humane, and progressive policy? There is no absurdity in the American boast that at the end of another hundred years the States will contain a population of six hundred millions. There is no want of land; for while the Atlantic States have 420,000 square miles, and the Pacific slope has 627,000, the new territory of Alaska, to the north, contains 577,000 more. The valley of the Mississippi would easily afford subsistence to one hundred millions. But the mining portions of the

Union have more than patches of fair land. California is now exporting corn to the several continents of the globe. Her vineyards are a long way the most paying in all the States. A grower told me if he always got three shillings a gallon for his wine he should be satisfied in California.

American settlers are now farming in the poor soil of Nevada. Chinese are, also, gardening in the mining country wherever there is a chance of a little water. The Mormons of Utah, however, who have many thousands of acres under regular irrigation, have a great advantage over others in the supply of food to the miners. Cattle ramble over the silver mountains, subject to the payment of seven cents only per head a year. I was informed that at least one hundred thousand sheep find subsistence in the desert of Utah. These, however, feed upon the *artemesia*, or sage brush, and upon the grassy flats beside the Humboldt river.

The soil of the desert near the mines is not so very bad; it is unproductive, because of the want of rain in the country. I was much struck with what could be done by the power of man over nature, when stopping in the very heart of the desert in the Great Basin. Dinner-time found the train near the hotel in

this oasis. It was quite a transformation scene. Around was the sand, or wretched low sage scrub, with an horizon bounded by heartless-looking hills. Here we were greeted with a pretty and even luxuriant garden, with a fountain gaily sparkling in the sun.

And what made the difference? The enterprising American had led water thither by a pipe from the mountains. What he has done there could be done, and will be, on a larger scale eventually, until this desert, so rich in mineral charms, may allow of a farming population settling near the mining claims. Already wells have been sunk in many places; and a windmill arrangement at the mouth is an ingenious contrivance for filling a trough or reservoir on the surface.

Stamping mills require water as well as men. When the river is at all handy for carriage, the mill is planted on its banks; otherwise the windmill well has to serve. I noticed several small encampments of nomadic whites in this terrible waste, depending, as in the Abrahamic times, upon the wells. Though young Ishmaels were there being raised, I failed to observe the grace and beauty which our poets and painters confer upon the Rebeccas of the wilderness.

Lonely as the squatting home is, and deso-

late as is the country, there are persons to be found in the world who would esteem it all as Paradise.

There is not much sport to be had, as buffaloes and deer have no fancy for the part. As to birds, they seem to fly from it as men from a pestilence. Perhaps some of their kindred had been poisoned at the water pools, saturated with alkaline salts, and others may fear a like fate. The lively, gregarious prairie dogs are there. These burrow like rabbits, and are even quicker in movement. They are not much larger than a guineapig, and make famous pets. Their cry is more like that of a bird than a dog. Dark brown in colour, they show white beneath. Restless, they are perpetually wagging their tails, and uttering a low cry. Their food is either grass or insects. Villages of them are beheld in the brows of rises. As many as seven dozen kettles of water have been poured into one of their holes, without inducing a fellow to make his appearance. The creature is not without a companion, having a fellow-tenant in the strix, a little burrowing owl, and sometimes a mate in a snake, as well. When winter comes, the busy ones stop up the entrance of the hole, and compose themselves for a few months' comfortable nap in their nest of dry sage stems,

or the branches of the grease wood, the dwarf *linosyris* of the desert.

The railways must develop farming in localities hitherto unsuitable for that purpose. The difficulties of carrying heavy bags of flour, and sacks of potatoes, over such mountainous districts, have created a demand for local growth. Miners used to depend upon the two elements of bacon and beans, no bad stuff to work upon. I was informed that, especially when travelling, it was the fashion to dress food at intervals of two or three days. The pretty white hard beans, previously and mysteriously softened, were baked with a lump of fat pork in the centre of the dish. Having freely partaken of the compound, I can pronounce it more delicious than most of the really nice productions of American cookery.

Still, the miner sighed for more variety than pork and beans. The plodding German, and the industrious northern Italian, came to the rescue. They brought spade and seed, and soon improved the table of the mountaineers. The German is well called the second language of the United States; but the soft tongue of Italia is frequently heard in the songs of the West. Both races have farms in the hills to the north and the south of the Humboldt valley, and they have penetrated into



the waste places of Nevada. They ascertained that horses and cattle can fatten on the scrubby sage plant of the desert; while, if any water can be got, crops could be raised where good prices are realized. The farmers up there, however troubled with drought, are spared many insect plagues troubling the prairie settlers.

I heard one man express a wish that some of the pines of Michigan could be got up in Nevada. This was in allusion to an advertisement then out, offering nine hundred thousand acres of land in that State, and giving one thousand millions as the probable number of pines thereon. The farmer up among the silver mines has to warm himself with the least possible expenditure of fuel. When I saw, with the thermometer 25° below zero, how Chinamen could stand the cold, with the advantage of better clothing and less rum than the whites, I imagined my countrymen might keep themselves tolerably safe there in the long winter.

After all, I would rather be a farmer in Utah, in a healthy country, with capital prices for my produce, than dwell on the inclement, treeless prairies of Iowa.

## MY AMERICAN TRAVELLING COMPANIONS.

**I**T was said in the olden times, "Travellers see strange bedfellows." The saying is true enough now in bush and forest travelling. On the railway, anywhere, in the most prosaic of places, romantic incidents now and then occur, and queer folks cross one's path. The tendency of civilization is to obliterate marks of distinction between races. It operates in the same way to get rid of oddities in individual life. We are so thrown together, so jerked into the same groove, so moulded by the same circumstances, that, if not in features, at least in dress and manners, there is a wonderful family likeness among us.

A change takes place when we overleap the boundary, and get into wild country existence. Solitude develops individual singularities; and the freedom from restraint, in western or border being, not only perpetuates these singularities, but brings them out before the observer in all

their angularities. A Dickens has shown us what eccentricities abound in our cities. In the wilds of nature, however, the real genius of oddity may be counted upon.

I was much struck with this fact. No end of queer bodies ran against me on the road between San Francisco and Chicago, for example; but beyond that point, eastward, all were squared according to pattern.

The bold Hoosier class, of course, reigned to the westward. They amused me often, though occasionally annoying me. They dwell so much alone, and have so few calls upon their sympathetic sensibilities, that they present more of the hedgehog to view than really belongs to their nature. They are not a morose, churlish community, but make themselves perfectly at home wherever they go, and do their part to add to the amusement of the company. In their inner life there is a depth of genuine good feeling for which they do not generally get credit. Kindness and generosity are readily called forth, while finer and more chastened sentiments fail to be discovered. They are at hand to strangers calling for relief, and can, in the roughest style, show a world of self-denying goodwill.

Their faults, and not their virtues, are carried on the outside. In their horror of being thought

better than others, they are ever solicitous to exhibit pretentiously the worst of their paces. They trot themselves out to the very worst advantage. Swaggering, and even bullying, they are sensible of displaying the rough, and concealing the gentleman. They elbow their way rudely, talk loudly, expectorate furiously, chew disgustingly, and swear profanely. Their conversation is one round of strange expletives. Oaths are uttered of so singular a construction, and suggestive of such odd ideas, that, while the ear is offended, the very fastidious can hardly at times restrain a smile. The association of opposites, the commingling of heaven and earth, the concatenation of absurdities, combine to make their very bad language provokingly amusing, and ridiculously shocking.

In the free-and-easy manners of the period and place, these gents would occasionally stray into the first-class car from their second home, and retail adventures for the especial entertainment of another set of auditors. Like the savage races, they were not insensible to applause, and strove to appear diverting to extort a laugh. It was as if they meant to say, "Look here, you pale-faced dwellers of cities! look this road, and see a real live mountain cat."

One fellow set himself most diligently to

exhibit the greatest possible amount of tomfoolery and blasphemy in the shortest possible time, and succeeded to an extent that satisfied himself, at any rate. The yarns he spirted out were equally offensive with his tobacco juice; the one came distressingly upon the ear, and the latter was, regardless of caution, very liberally distributed among the group. He was free enough with sundry bottles carried in his scanty swag, and was ready to indulge all round not only with a drink, but an opportunity to make their fortunes at his expense. He would bet from one dime to one hundred dollars, any of us, upon anything we chose to name. It mattered not to him, he told us; he was there with the stuff. So saying, he would draw out a goodly roll of paper, value not described. From the number of such bits observable, one would fancy there was a preponderance of greenbacks representing coppers, rather than silver or gold. However, he assured us that he had plenty more at home, stowed away up an old mud chimney.

The miners, as a rule, are not a set of loafing, good-for-nothing, seedy, reckless scoundrels, picked up from the surface of vagabond society elsewhere, and thrown into the mountains. They are far from being of that description. Individual digging is rather the exception now.

Every enterprise is the work of capital. Large companies exist, and magnificent appliances are brought for the effectual gathering of the precious spoil. It is no blind plunging in these days, but more careful examination after the right spot. Men do not go there upon a guess, but bring the soundest principles of science to bear upon their pursuit. Mines exchange hands at the figure of a million dollars.

All this has tended to raise the miner himself. He may be a worker on wages, it is true ; but, seeing what is being done around him, and calculating upon what a dollar judiciously laid out may bring him there, he has every inducement to save from his weekly pay, and invest in some promising Stock with which he may happen to be acquainted. The miners, therefore, who came into our train were far from being a stupid class. I got many interesting chats with them.

There is another thing which strikes the stranger. In those out of the way regions where, until the last two or three years, the buffalo and Indian reigned alone, such has been the progression of affairs, and such are the highly to be lauded advantages of railway traffic, that women have ventured up to those wild places, and schools and places of worship have attended or followed their introduction.

In fact, if matters go on thus, and new lines be so rapidly constructed, the Hoosier will soon only exist in the fun-books on the shelves. In spite of the inroad of barbarians, as they are pleased to term our shipment of ignorant country-folk, the Americans guess that in a few years they will mature arrangements for civilizing everybody who lands on their shores, with the rapidity, nearly, of telegraphic flashes.

The hunters and cattle drivers supply most of the oddities of the West; but the hunter is driven northward or southward of the line of traffic, as the wild animals have no delight in the voice of the engine, musical as it is. Wild herds of cattle roam over the dry and thirsty prairies in winter, finding sweeter grass and more certain springs among the mountains in summer. As Texas was formerly Spanish, and as it is still the first of the pasture lands, I was not at all surprised to see passengers dressed after the approved fashion of buckskin trousers, adorned with fringes down the sides of the legs. From one of these men I got some fine tales, that would vastly amuse the juvenile lovers of Captain Mayne Reid's thrilling novels.

I looked in vain for the presence of the gentle shepherd of the plain. Few sheep greet the eye on the line of route. The country generally is too dry, and too poorly grassed. The verdure

is splendid enough in some months of the year, but the herbage is far more suitable, in its coarseness, for cattle than sheep. It is because of this that America is so large a purchaser of Australian wool, though with so far greater an extent of open country than the Kangaroo land enjoys. The singular deficiency of rain in the interior of North America is a serious drawback to the keeping of stock and the raising of farms. When we did, therefore, catch sight of a flock, it was near the banks of a river.

The behaviour of the car company improved as we approached the settlements. Though we never lost the sounds of strange oaths, pretty freely delivered, they were not so demonstrative as we neared civilized eastern parts, and had lost much of the peculiarities of the higher plateaus. Then we came in contact with men of a more refined stamp, of noble sentiments, enlarged ideas, and warm impulses. I observed, on the whole, far more public feeling than I should have done on English railways. There was a broader sense of individual duty, a conviction not only that man was not born to live by bread alone, but that one's country expected every man to do his duty. Politics, of course, was the one ever-ready subject of talk; and although there was a strong element of the personal in notions of government, there



was a decided opinion that the interests of the country should be paramount in the thoughts of the true citizen.

It will not be out of place here for me to mention what I found at that time to be the prevailing sentiment in the States about England. As everybody knows now, there are two distinct classes in the States,—the Americans proper and the Irish-Americans. Many of the latter are bitter, very bitter, against this country, and only anxious that some terrible calamity should happen to it, with the sincere hope that they will bear a part in producing that misfortune, or of adding to its intensity and bitterness. I had no conception, till I went into America, of the extent of this horrible, senseless, and cruel feeling of hatred against us. Had we of Great Britain combined the bloodiness of Nero, the malignity of Louis XI., the cruelty of Borgia, with the tyranny of a typical Russian Czar, and the craft of an ideal Jesuit, in our treatment of Ireland and the Irish, we could not have raised against us a deeper detestation among the Irish-Americans. Even had we, instead of honestly trying of late to do some justice to Ireland, been practising even till now the enormities which their absurd imaginations believed to have characterized our rule of old, we could not be less loved.

No South Sea Islander ever made a more ugly deity with which to frighten himself, than have some Irish-Americans reared to represent us.

I did try once to argue the matter with one of the species. In the softest tones, and amidst abundant vociferous interruption, I humbly submitted that he, at least, a young man only a year from home, had not such extraordinary ground of complaint. I tried to show him that, at any rate, he had got an education superior to what those of his condition can yet hope to obtain in England; that his religious system enjoyed a freedom under so-called Protestant dominancy, that I as a Protestant could not expect to receive in Catholic countries; that his land tenure was far more liberal than that possessed by the English farmer; that he paid less taxes than the Englishman, etc. I might just as well have spoken to the engine.

Beaten, but not yielding, I endeavoured to prove that there was no innate animosity of our Government toward his people. I declared that in the colonies Englishmen had abundant cause to complain that, though they were the majority in numbers, the loaves and fishes of Government offices were wellnigh monopolized by the Irish. I tried the plaintive argument: admitting that Ireland had been badly ruled in olden times, I showed that the governing

powers that had then tyrannized over the Irish had done so over the English. He would accept no argument, but swore that he hoped yet to see England the slave of other nations.

As to the Americans proper, I was impressed with one fact—their determination no longer to be under the political thralldom of a foreign priesthood. I was again and again assured that Americans had now become sensible that that power was more to be dreaded than any other, and that a religious war was imminent. They have felt their throat most uncomfortably clasped by this Old Man of the Mountain, and they meant to shake him off *right away*.

The large German population are awakening from political torpor. The excitement of the late war in France has quickened their national impulses. Their sympathies are drawn toward the policy of Bismark, and they recognize in the circumstances of America the danger that statesman foresaw in Germany. It is not from any Protestant fervour, for a very large proportion of the German settlers are Roman Catholics, but from a political principle, that they are now quietly but resolutely combining, shoulder to shoulder, to contend with Jesuitism in the new world, and save the Republic from its insidious approach, and deadly grasp.

The politics of Europe are being reproduced

in the United States. There is now, nevertheless a steady and constantly progressive movement of Americans toward Englishmen. The revolutionary struggle is wellnigh forgotten, the Alabama misfortune is being forgotten, and the necessity of a closer alliance between the two peoples is seen to be more and more imperative. There is work yet to be done by both, and together. The enemies of progress are still strong, and are ever ready to detect an opening in the armour of adversaries. However egotistically patriotic Americans may seem, there are, doubtless, a larger number across the Atlantic whose broad sympathies lead them to hope and work for the elevation of universal humanity, than even in our own island.

Much has been made of the intimacy of Russia and the States. After a recent visit to the land of the Czar, I am not surprised at the interest Americans feel in it. In no country is there such growth as there. It is a place whose civilization is no older than that of the slopes of the Atlantic ; and yet, in the two centuries, it has so advanced in commerce, in education, in freedom, though led forward by despots, that the countrymen of Washington cannot avoid cheering it onward. Russia, like America, is growing from within. It is peopling the wastes,

reclaiming the deserts, and raising itself, as a new race, with the vigour of youth, and the well-directed energy of cultured power. The emancipation of the serfs, the marvellous spread of education, the rapid decrease of intemperance, the harmonious working of classes, and the march of that true spirit of freedom which respects the rights of others, will ere long make Russia one of the foremost powers to do justice to man. It is, not less than America, a standing protest against the feudalism which yet governs old Europe; and the republicans of Washington believe that Russians, under the Czar, will enjoy sound democratic institutions, and realize the proper relations of capital and labour, while English, French, and Germans are blundering in vain to obtain them.

Personally, I met with nothing but cordiality and kindness from Americans in my journey, and heard little else than words of fraternity toward my countrymen. If Englishmen will only meet them frankly and generously, and allow for national peculiarities, the friendship of the two powers will be established, and that to the good of the world.

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