

# POLYGAMY

OR THE  
MYSTERIES  
AND CRIMES  
OF  
MORMONISM



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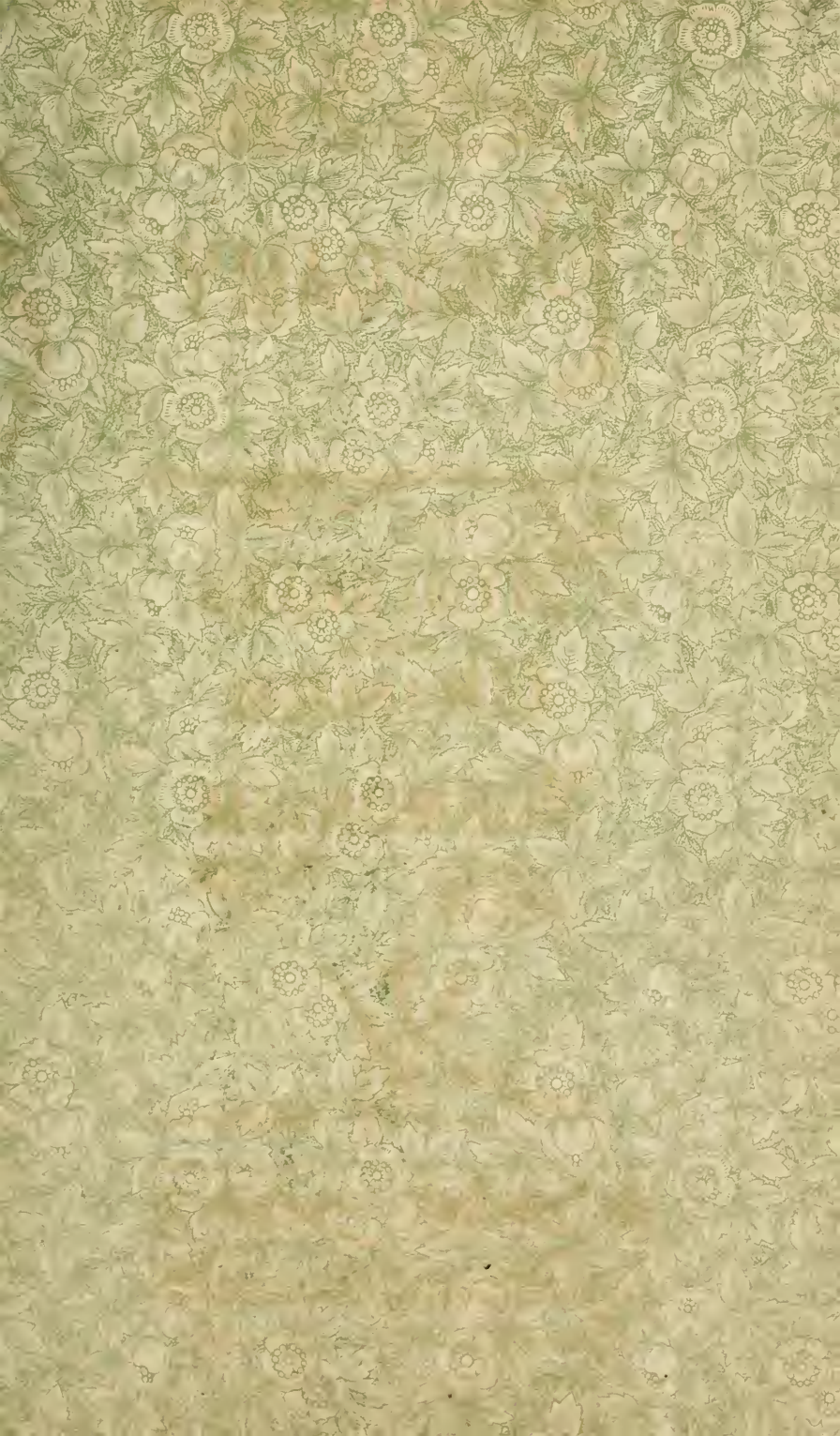


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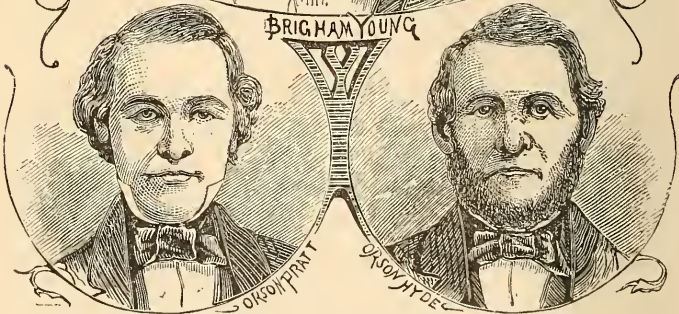
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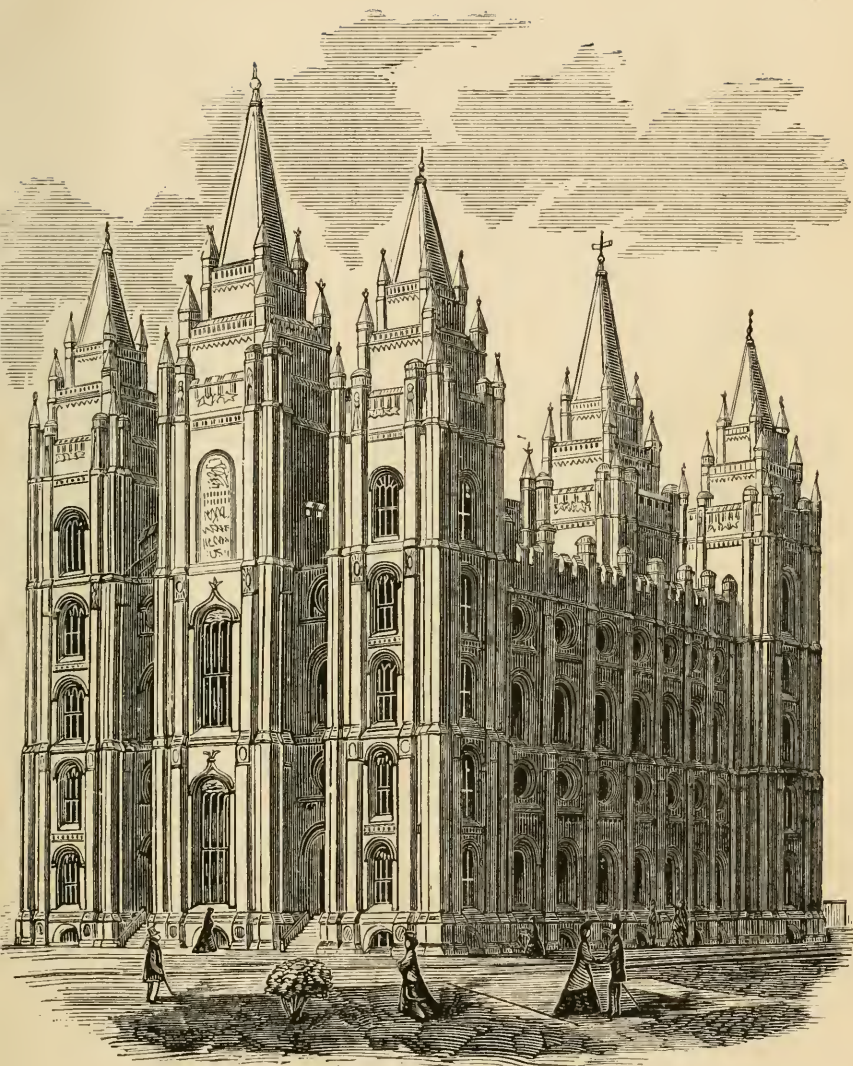
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PORTRAITS OF LEADING MORMONS.





MORMON TEMPLE NOW BEING BUILT IN SALT LAKE CITY.



# POLYGAMY:

OR, THE  
MYSTERIES AND CRIMES  
OF MORMONISM.

BEING A

Full and Authentic History of Polygamy and the Mormon Sect  
FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH

A COMPLETE ANALYSIS

OF

MORMON SOCIETY AND THEOCRACY,

AND AN

**EXPOSÉ**

OF

THE SECRET RITES AND CEREMONIES  
OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

**BY J. H. BEADLE,**

LATE EDITOR OF THE SALT LAKE REPORTER; UTAH CORRESPONDENT OF THE CINCINNATI  
COMMERCIAL; AND CLERK OF THE SUPREME COURT FOR UTAH

ASSISTED BY

**HON. O. J. HOLLISTER,**

UNITED STATES REVENUE COLLECTOR FOR UTAH.

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TO THE  
Ladies of America,

*Whose Sympathies are ever active in behalf of the suffering  
and oppressed,*

**THIS VOLUME IS  
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED**

*In the hope that it will interest them in the condition of their  
Sisters in moral bondage in Utah.*



## PREFACE.

---

ANY man who should consider the matter *a priori* would almost certainly say that the United States more than any other country in the world was destined to be troubled with religious dissensions. If he considered the religious wars of Europe, and the enormous waste of blood and life before an equilibrium was established there, he would be apt to conclude that a democratic republic in which every man is free to advocate any *ism* that strikes his fancy, and in which there is no law for religion, and no tax to support a church, would be the very paradise of heterodoxy—the common hunting-ground of impostors, and fertile field for every *ism* suggested by a heterodox fancy; and such in fact we find to have been the opinion of nearly all European writers before the middle of this century. Almost without exception they decided that religious affairs in America would fall into chaos and moral anarchy.

Even our best friends in England, who warmly approved all our other reforms, were staggered at thought of a Godless government and a state without a church. A government which recognizes no political distinction between Catholic and Protestant, Pagan and infidel, in which a man is perfectly free to erect

an altar to Beelzebub, and advocate the worship of Satan, if he sees fit, struck them as absurd and impious; and among many prophecies of moral ruin therefrom, that of the poet Southey, in special reference to the Mormons, was quite remarkable, and at one time seemed likely to be fulfilled. England proved by unanswerable logic that free in religion America must be a disastrous failure, about the same time that America proved by equally good logic that free trade in England must result in ruin. The one has proved as glorious a success as the other, and theories must yield to facts.

But as far as mere preaching and theorizing go America has indeed proved fertile; all the worn-out theories of the old world, all the schisms in the early Christian Church, and all the vague dreams of distempered fanatics there, find here a congenial clime and a second native country, so to speak, in which new and luxuriant growths spring rapidly from the old stocks of error. But we are not imitators merely. America has produced at least two entirely original faiths, and one great impostor, and no doubt, with that unexplainable shamed-face pride which makes us feel an interest in our worst countrymen, thousands of people are curious about Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, the *American* Prophets, who would hear of them with indifferent contempt if they had been foreigners.

It is a subject for sincere rejoicing that in such a chaos of beliefs as we have in America so few have adopted tenets at all dangerous to the state or society—



especially that so few have departed from the standard doctrine of civilization as regards marriage. If the light of nature and the experience of all civilized nations can prove anything, they have proved that monogamy is the true order of marriage, and that no other system can safely be tolerated in a democratic republic. It is then a gratifying fact that so few have adopted religions which pervert the marriage relation. All the Mormons, Shakers, Harmonists, Free-Lovers and celibate orders combined, do not make one in three hundred of our population. From this stand-point liberty of conscience in America has proved almost a perfect success.

To sum up, then, I consider that there are two reasons for the interest taken in Mormonism: it is purely a native American imposture, and it adopts the Asiatic system of marriage. Aside from these and its theocratic and despotic government, it would, as a religion merely, be beneath contempt. Scattered among other sects it could not hold its own a decade; its perpetuation in the far west was the accident of an accident. Mormonism is now living on its organization - all the vitality died out of it years ago, and if government will but give the organization a thorough shaking up, there is nothing in the church as it now is to resist disintegration.

This writer, without wishing to appear egotistic, claims to have had unusual opportunities to study and understand Mormonism. In 1868 I entered Utah and

lived there one year in the most despotic period of Brigham Young's rule. Thereafter I was active in the work of 1869-70 and '71 which partially revolutionized the Territory. During this time and the succeeding years, as examiner of mines, writer on Indian topics and correspondent for the *Cincinnati Commercial*, I visited every part of the Territory and became familiar with the common life of the people. In 1872 I traversed Southern Utah, interviewed the leading Mountain Meadow murderers, and portrayed the geology and life of that section. In 1875 I was clerk of the Supreme Court of the Territory, and familiar with its judicial details. My history since that date is compiled from a series of able essays by Hon. O. J. Hollister, from the official records, and the report of many reliable witnesses. Since leaving Utah I have visited Jackson, Clay and Ray counties, Missouri, Nauvoo, Ills., Kirtland, Ohio, and other places of Mormon occupation, and compared the local account with that set forth in Mormon publications. These also I have carefully examined. From all these sources I venture to hope that I have obtained the actual facts concerning every event of importance in Mormon history.

J. H. B.

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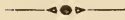
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OR, THE

## MYSTERIES AND CRIMES OF MORMONISM.



### CHAPTER I.

#### THE SEED-BED OF FANATICISM.

The problem stated—Religious movements of 1800-'30—Convulsions, trances, jerks and visions—Sidney Rigdon's "Disciples" at Mentor, Ohio—Hon. James A. Garfield's opinion—Joseph Smith and family—Origin of the fraud.

UTAH is the great American contradiction. The world stands amazed that the great Republic tolerates in its domain a theocratic despotism. Christendom is scandalized that out of its bosom has come a sect which has rejected the lessons of ages, and gone back for a model to the childhood of faith. Economists are puzzled by a commonwealth in which free trade is counted a heresy and communism of goods a mark of religious perfection. Politicians wonder at a government without political parties; philosophy is confounded by a revival of heathenism in the nineteenth century, and social scientists are shocked by the defense of blood-atonement and the open, defiant practice of incest and polygamy. These are the features which make Mormonism interesting; for as a religious sect merely its weight would be beneath contempt. To trace its origin in the seed-bed of American fanaticism, to set forth the gross features imposed on it by the gross passions of a few men, to point out its real weaknesses and relate its erratic history, is the object of this work.

If the geologist, laboriously searching out the beginnings and development of life on this planet, could have brought before him one living representative of the Age of Monsters, what problems would be solved! At best the reconstructed *mylodon*, and the *plesiosaurus* restored, are but plausible guesses at the life as it was—the living creature would furnish an infallible guide to the secrets of that primeval day. What the revived monster *might* be to the comparative anatomist, Mormonism *is* to the comparative theologian. Here is a religion born and developed in our own day; here are prophets and apostles of our own race, revelations in the vulgar tongue reported by telegraph, and printed in daily papers, and withal a list of wonders rivalling the fruitful annals of Israel, and a roll of martyrs equal to that of the primitive church. We have seen *this* religion take shape, and can deduce therefrom some safe rules to judge of the origin of other religions now hoary with age. I shall begin, therefore, with a portrayal of the peculiar condition which made Mormonism possible, and follow its history as it naturally unfolds through the five distinct phases it has exhibited.

The War of 1812-'15 was followed, like most wars, by an era of great enterprise, ending in a terrible financial convulsion; this was succeeded in the natural order by a greatly increased emigration to the then West, and a marvelous religious excitement which swept the sparse settlements of Ohio and Kentucky like a hurricane. Pouring through the Alleghany passes came tens of thousands of men of broken or desperate fortunes, and spreading from Lakes to Gulf they went almost wild amid the prodigality of nature. The outlaw fled here as to a safer field for crime, the bankrupt came to get a fresh start far from his creditors, the young and adventurous came for what might offer. In combats with savage beasts and still more savage men, then with each other, they developed that fierce destructive energy which long distinguished the South and West. Close behind them came the pioneer preachers, men of the James Axel and Peter Cartwright type, unlearned and ardent, narrow but intense; and in log cabin or open grove painted the horrors of

derisively known as Jumpers, Barkers and Mutterers. In the midst of this came the Millenarians, and converted so many that large organizations were formed to wait together for Christ's second coming. Nor did this most unscriptural, unphilosophical folly finally cease till after the grand gathering and ludicrous collapse in Southern Indiana in 1843. Such, in brief, was the condition of the Ohio Valley in the decade from 1820 to 1830: an excitable population, religious instruction very limited, few educated ministers and an interminable mass of delusion. Thus was prepared the seed-bed of fanaticism. Who should plant and gather the increase of a new delusion was but a matter of chance; and the times had produced the fitting men.

Among the thousands of uneasy spirits and wild-eyed visionaries, half impostor and half fanatic, was one Sidney Rigdon, a printer's boy of Southwestern Pennsylvania. There and in the adjacent sections of Ohio and Virginia was the central field of fanaticism and battle-ground of the sects. Into all these discussions young Rigdon entered with keen relish. He was a born controversialist, gifted above his tribe with fluency of tongue, of most insinuating address and yet intensely in earnest in whatever he happened to believe at the time; with all the proof texts of Scripture at command and full of plausible arguments. Even to the last years of his life, whenever he heard of any discussion between ministers, his eye would brighten with its early fire and he would exclaim, "Ah, if I were young again how easily I could upset all the arguing preachers of these days." For a while he roamed from congregation to congregation, disputing with all who would join issue with him; then united himself with the Baptists, apparently because they were just then hard pressed and needed controversialists. But in a little while the severe simplicity of that sect wearied him; his fancy was captivated by the great movement of Stone, Campbell and others, and he eagerly sought an alliance with them. For a while he called himself a follower of Campbell, but his flighty disposition and intriguing temper illy suited with the pure spirit of the Reformers, and

as soon as possible they dispensed with him. He then started on an independent mission, northward through Ohio, preaching that a new dispensation generally was at hand.

The times were religiously out of joint; the country was full of diseased and broken minds, relics of the various dead and dying *isms*, and Rigdon found the loose materials abundant for his purpose. In a little while he had a church of a hundred or more members, near Mentor, Ohio, to whom he gave the name of Disciples. He taught that the last days were at hand, that God had a new and peculiar work for America, and that new truth might be expected at any moment to break out of the Divine mind. His congregation were mostly honest, earnest and industrious people, with good homes and farms for that time; but narrow-minded, intolerant and looking daily for some great event to occur. Such is substantially the description of the Rigdonites given to this writer by the late President Garfield, who knew many of them at a later date. And this congregation constituted the real bone and sinew of the Mormon Church of Kirtland, furnishing the money, faith and industry; the fraud, falsehood and chicanery were supplied by the New York end of the combination, which is now to be described.

Joseph Smith, who has obtained the discredit of founding Mormonism, was born, December 23d, 1805, at Sharon, Windsor county, Vermont—one of a family of six sons and three daughters. The family claimed to be of Scotch extraction, and to have been in New England since about the year 1700. Several near relatives of Joseph had fought in the Revolution, they were devoted Federalists, and a letter is preserved from one of them urging his kinsmen to vote for and support the new government set up under the Federal Constitution—then just adopted. The parents of Joseph, however, were singularly illiterate and superstitious; they could believe in the supernatural as easily as the natural, for they were as ignorant of one as of the other. Lucy Mack Smith, Joseph's mother, lived to have put in writing a most affectionate biography of him after his death, which may



ONE OF THE SIX BRONZE PLATES FOUND IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, IN 1843; SAID BY OLD MORMONS TO CLOSELY RESEMBLE THE ORIGINAL PLATES OF THE "BOOK OF MORMON."

giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent and the source from whence they sprang. He also said that the fulness of the everlasting gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Saviour to the ancient inhabitants. Also that there were two stones in silver bows (and these stones, fastened to a breast-plate, constituted what is called the Urim and Thummim) deposited with the plates, and the possession and use of these stones was what constituted seers in ancient or former times, and that God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book."

Thenceforward he was on very familiar terms with such beings as angels, spirits and devils; but can only relate one interview with Jesus Christ. Being at work among the neighboring farmers meanwhile, and meeting other lads in a social way, he spoke of his peculiar privileges quite often, and became in consequence an object of general ridicule. Finally, on the 22d of September, 1826, the angel conducted him to the Hill Cumorah—known to the citizens of Manchester, Ontario county, New York, as the Big Hill—and there the chest and the plates were uncovered. Later revelations add that there was a marvelous display of celestial machinery, devils struggling with angels to prevent the work; and that the devils were captured and compelled to file in procession before him so he could know them thereafter. To this day, the common explanation among the Mormons of any opposition to the priesthood is, "It's the work of the devil."

The plates were "of the thickness of tin, bound together like a book, fastened at one side by three rings which run through the whole, forming a volume about six inches thick." The record was engraved on the plates in "reformed Egyptian" characters, consisting of "the language of the Jews and the writing of the Egyptians." In the same box with the plates, were found two stones, "transparent and clear as crystal, the Urim and Thummim, used by seers in ancient times, the instruments of revelations of things distant, past and future." When the news of this discovery spread abroad, "the Prophet was the sport of lies, slanders and mobs, and vain attempts to



rob him of his plates." He was ere long supplied with witnesses. Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris make the following solemn certificate:

"We have seen the plates which contain the records; they were translated by the gift and power of God, for His voice hath declared it unto us, wherefore we know of a surety that the work is true; and we declare with words of soberness that an angel of God came down from heaven, and brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates and the engravings thereon."

The testimony of these three is prefixed to all printed copies of the "Book of Mormon," for such is the name now given to the work. Oliver Cowdery was at that time a sort of wandering schoolmaster, rather noted as an elegant scribe. He assisted in translating the inscriptions, and took high rank in the infant church. He was disciplined, slightly, at Kirtland for living in open adultery with a servant girl, and was expelled from the church in Missouri on a charge of "lying, counterfeiting, and immorality," after which, if Hyrum Smith tells the truth, he and his brother Lyman robbed Hyrum's house while the latter was in jail. Cowdery died in Missouri, many years ago, a miserable drunkard. But no pressure could ever make him admit that his testimony was false.

David Whitmer behaved much better; but when the first whisperings of polygamy and Danitism were heard, in 1835-7, he rebelled and was expelled, settling soon after in Richmond, Ray county, Missouri, where he still resides: the sole survivor of the original church. For many years he maintained strict reticence about the plates; but finally admitted to a neighbor that he *did* see an angel with them, viz.: Mr. John Angell. Within a few years Mr. Whitmer's grandson has taken high rank among the Missouri Mormons, and now the old gentleman swears his original testimony was true in every respect, adding, however, that Joseph himself fell away from the true faith. I visited him in 1878, and heard the whole story over again with new and amusing variations.

Martin Harris also fell away, and Joseph Smith in 1837

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## CHAPTER II.

## ZION IN MISSOURI.

The Mormon church organized—Conversion of the Pratts—Rapid growth—Sidney Rigdon's disciples come in *en masse*—Kirtland headquarters—Foundation of Zion in Missouri—Threats against the Gentiles—Gentile resistance—War—Mormons expelled from Jackson county.






TUESDAY, April 6th, 1830, the "Church of Christ" was organized in Seneca county, New York, in the house of Peter Whitmer, township of Fayette. Such was the first designation of what is now called Mormonism; even the name of Latter-day Saints was not adopted for some time after. The six original members were: Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Hyrum Smith, Peter Whitmer, Jr., Samuel H. Smith, David Whitmer. The profane might have called it the church of Smith and Whitmer, though they varied the sameness a little by alternating names and adding that of Cowdery; but the looks of the list would have been considerably improved by the addition of a few Browns and Joneses. Martin Harris had already lost caste by letting his wife have the manuscript, as aforesaid, and does not appear with the Immortal Six. Of these two were murdered in jail, Samuel H. Smith, their brother, died soon after of excitement and over-exertion, two apostatized and one survives—an anti-Brighamite. Smith and Cowdery laid hands on and ordained each other, and the six entered into a covenant to serve God and convert the world.

The next Sunday Oliver Cowdery preached the first public sermon on the new faith; a few converts came in, active preaching followed, and before the month expired the first miracle was performed—in Colesville, Broome county, New York. Newell Knight, who was under conviction, was seized and possessed by a devil, and in the presence of many witnesses

was lifted from the floor by unseen hands, knocked against the ceiling and otherwise diabolically treated. Joseph commanded the devil to depart, which it did at once; Newell was happily converted, and had a glorious vision of angels. He lived and died a faithful Saint. Newell swears to all this, as do many other Mormons; so it requires some skepticism to doubt it. Of course there was much excitement, and a few conversions. Joseph, in 1827, had married Emma Hale, who was now declared Elect Lady and Daughter of God. In August, the same year, Parley P. Pratt, a young Christian ("Campbellite") preacher, was converted, and soon after his brother Orson; these two have done more than any others to make the new church respectable. Parley at once proceeded to Ohio and converted Sidney Rigdon, who took almost his entire congregation with him; and now the new church had solid materials to build with. In December Rigdon came on a visit to the Smiths, and with his aid the crude doctrines so far announced were licked into shape. The "First Principles of the Gospel," so called, were adopted almost literally from the tenets of Alexander Campbell; to these they added laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, a Millenarian creed, and the revival of the gifts of prophecy and healing. This constituted substantially the creed of the church till polygamy was introduced; Brigham Young has since added the Adam-God theory, Parley and Orson Pratt the god-development and other ideas, and various other tenets have grown on or been added as occasion offered. Early in 1831 Smith and Rigdon proceeded to Ohio, preaching by the way, gathering up the loose materials of dying *isms*, and gaining many converts. And here it is proper to note the curious fact that all, or nearly all, Mormon converts were already members of some Christian church. I have never yet heard of any infidel being converted direct to Mormonism, and very rarely of any believer not already a professor. In short, the Mormon church is made up of apostates.






A good-sized church was soon organized at Kirtland, Ohio, whither all the New York converts gathered; on the 6th of June, the Melchisedek, or Superior Priesthood, was first con-

				
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
				
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MORMON ALPHABET. INVENTED BY ORSON PRATT AND  
W. W. PHELPS TO BE USED IN MORMON LITERATURE.

ferred upon the elders, and soon after Joe Smith had a revelation that the final gathering place of the Saints was to be in Missouri. He set out the same month with a few elders, and in the middle of July, reached Jackson county, Missouri, where another revelation was granted that this was "Zion which should never be moved," and the whole land was solemnly dedicated to the Lord and His Saints. They began at once to build, and laid the first log in Kaw township, twelve miles west of Independence. Another revelation, of August 2d, fixed the site of the Great Temple three hundred yards west of the Court-House in Independence, which spot was accordingly dedicated by religious exercises, which were followed by a great accession of gifts. On the 4th of August another large party arrived from Kirtland, a General Conference was held in the land of Zion, and another revelation vouchsafed to Joseph, that the whole land should be theirs, and should not be obtained "*but by purchase or by blood.*"

In the year 1831 Joseph Smith received thirty-seven full and explicit revelations, besides a vast number of minor directions about buying, selling, planting, building and organizing. He also preached and organized societies in three States, established the ecclesiastical government of the church, had a mill erected for the Saints, opened a store and established a bank.

The last was what Western men then called a wild-cat bank—that is, it had no charter and deposited no bonds for security; but as several wealthy men had joined the church, its credit was good and the notes circulated freely. Early in 1832 Brigham Young was converted, and hastened to Kirtland. For the next few years there was a constant ebb and flow between Kirtland and Missouri, the elders traveling back and forward in pairs preaching by the way; the more solid and reliable business men remaining at Kirtland, the more fanatical, daring and unscrupulous going to Zion. The Missouri Gentiles said that each new lot was apparently poorer and more unpromising than their predecessors; but land was cheap, the country wanted immigration and all went well—for a while. The

Kirtland society now assumed a communistic type, and we must leave it for a time to trace developments in Missouri.

In 1832, April, Smith came again to Independence and established the *Evening and Morning Star*, with W. W. Phelps as editor, who had the express promise from Smith that he should not die before Christ's second coming. Early in 1833 the Mormons numbered 1,500 in Jackson county, Missouri. They had taken virtual possession of all the county west of Independence, and had a majority in the town; and their actions showed that the fanatical fury of 1820-'30 had left a precipitate of its worst materials in the new church. As they gathered in haste and poverty, and were supposed to preach as they went without purse or scrip, Joseph favored them, in September, 1831, with the following remarkable revelation, which is printed by the Mormons in their *Book of Doctrines and Covenants*:

“Behold it is said in my laws or forbidden to get in debt to thine enemies; but behold it is not said at any time that the Lord should not *take when he please and pay as seemeth him good: Wherefore as ye are agents and ye are on the Lord's errand; and whatever ye do according to the will of the Lord is the Lord's business, and he hath set you to provide for his Saints in these last days that they may obtain an inheritance in the Land of Zion, etc.*”—[Doc. and Cov., page 157: 4th European Edition.]

There is an over-abundance of Missouri testimony that this part of the “Lord's business” was diligently attended to. One old citizen there informed me he knew many cases where property was openly taken on this plea; and a Mr. Elliott says the needy Saints in more than one instance would enter an old settler's fields, drive away an ox and when expostulated with cite a New Testament precedent and quote: “The Lord hath need of him.” There were other causes sufficient for trouble. The Mormons loudly proclaimed that the Lord had given them the whole land; that bloody wars would extirpate all other sects from the country; that “it would be one gore of blood from the Mississippi to the border,” and that the few

## CHAPTER III.

## KIRTLAND COMMUNISM AND MISSOURI WAR.

Gathering of the deluded—Thorough organization of the new church—Mill, store and bank established—Communism inaugurated—The great explosion—Smith and Rigdon flee to Missouri—War breaks out—Horrible atrocities on both sides—Governor Boggs' "exterminating order"—Hawn's mill massacre—Mormons driven from the State.

THE fierce warfare of the sects had left in Ohio a class of disturbed and heated minds; the debates of untaught polemics, accustomed to kill the spirit in wresting the letter of Scripture, had prepared them for any delusion which could be supported by an array of isolated texts, and the popular methods in vogue had excited without educating the masses. It is not very strange, therefore, that men of some standing adhered to Kirtland Mormonism and surrendered their judgment to that of the Prophet, alike in business, religion and social tenets. Joseph was accustomed to say at that time that there were three classes of poor: "the Lord's poor, the devil's poor and the poor devils; and they must all be taken care of." So the notes of the bank were paid in wages to the workmen on the temple, the goods from the store sold to the poor on credit, and the cash of such brethren as had any was consecrated to the Lord by revelation. Whether the new convert had one dollar or a thousand, it all went into the same pot, and he who brought much fared in the distribution as he who brought little. The explosion could not be long deferred.

The temple was completed and dedicated March 27th, 1836—its estimated cost, \$40,000. A quorum of twelve apostles was then organized, among them Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball. The former received the "gift of tongues," and was sent on a mission to the Eastern States, and in May, 1835, all the twelve left Kirtland on general missions. The ensuing



family was a young lady visitor whose whole soul was wrapped up in the Prophet; his life was anything but edifying; scandal grew, and a large party of his chief men rebelled and pronounced him a "Fallen Prophet." National events also were working towards a catastrophe. President Jackson had broken down the great bank, and a host of little ones had taken its place—their bills derisively known in the West as "red dog," "steel plow," "sick Indian," "smooth monkey," "blue pup,"



TARRING AND FEATHERING JOE SMITH, AT KIRTLAND, OHIO.

etc., according to the color and engraving. Speculation ran riot for a few months, then came the inevitable crash. A wave of bankruptcy swept over the country, and away went the "red dog" and "blue pup," the "sick Indian" and "smooth monkey," not worth a cent to the dollar! Kirtland Safety Society money failed among the first. Claims from all directions pressed, the institution fell into bankruptcy, and prophets and apostles fled from the wrath of a swindled people.

By the last of September civil war was in full progress. It is not necessary to follow the minor details or do more than note the main events. The governor continued to hurry troops to the disturbed districts, and the Mormons gradually concentrated at and around Far West. Captain Bogart's company defeated a detachment of seventy Mormons; another Mormon detachment was repulsed at Crooked river with the loss of two killed. The Mormons next drove the Gentiles from Gallatin vicinity, burning and plundering several houses. The Gentiles in large force attacked Adam-Ondi-Ahman, burned much of it, ran off the stock, shot several men and outraged some women. The Mormons were successively driven from the outer settlements, the same scenes of brutality being repeated. As always happens in these cases, the men who raised the forces to clear their neighborhoods of what they considered a pest, could not control the storm; all the lawless elements in the vicinity hastened to sack and plunder. Orson Hyde, Thomas B. Marsh and others abandoned the Saints and made affidavits charging them with murder and robbery. Part of the testimony related to the Danite Band, then just organized and under command of Dr. Sampson Avard. Smith afterwards repudiated him, but at this time Avard was in full fellowship in the church. The witness reports the doctor's address to the band thus:

"My brethren, as you have been chosen to be our leading men, our captains to rule over this last Kingdom of Jesus Christ, who have been organized after the ancient order, I have called upon you here to-day to teach you and instruct you in the things that pertain to your duty, and to show you what your privileges are, and what they soon will be. Know ye not, brethren, that it soon will be your privilege to take your respective companies and go out on a scout on the borders of the settlements and take to yourself spoils of the ungodly Gentiles? For it is written, 'The riches of the Gentiles shall be consecrated to my people, the house of Israel;' and thus waste away the Gentiles by robbing and plundering them of their property; and in this way we will build up the Kingdom of God, and roll forth the little stone that Daniel saw cut out of the moun-

tain without hands until it shall fill the whole earth. For this is the very way that God destines to build up his Kingdom in the last days. If any of us should be recognized, who can harm us? For we will stand by each other and defend one another in all things. If our enemies swear against us, we can swear also. [The captains were confounded at this, but Avard continued.] Why do you startle at this, brethren? As 'the Lord' liveth, I would swear a lie to clear any of you; and if this would not do, I would put them or him under the sand as Moses did the Egyptian, and in this way we will consecrate much unto 'the Lord,' and build up his Kingdom; and who can stand against us? And if any of us transgress, we will deal with him amongst ourselves. And if any of this Danite Society reveals any of these things, I will put him *where the dogs cannot bite him.*"

The name was adopted from Genesis xlix. 17: "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path that biteth the horse's heels so that his rider shall fall backward."

On the 27th of October, Governor Boggs received dispatches that the Mormons were murdering on all sides, and immediately wrote to General John B. Clarke to hasten forward with his force, adding these words: "The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must *be exterminated or driven from the State if necessary* for the public good." The information was soon proved to be exaggerated, but the order had gone, and three days after occurred the horrible tragedy of Hawk's Mill. There a body of Mormons, just arrived, were encamped, and on the 30th a large force of Missourians attacked them. The latter insist that they were fired upon before attacking; the best version for the Mormons is given by Joseph Young, brother of Brigham, and one of the survivors. He says:

"It was about four o'clock, while sitting in my cabin, with my babe in my arms, and my wife standing by my side, the door being open, I cast my eyes on the opposite bank of Shoal Creek, and saw a large company of armed men on horses directing their course towards the mills with all possible speed. As they advanced through the scattering trees that stood on the

side of the prairie, they seemed to form themselves into a three-square position, forming a vanguard in front.

“At this moment, David Evans, seeing the superiority of their numbers (there being two hundred and forty of them, according to their own account), swung his hat and cried for peace. This not being heeded, they continued to advance, and their leader, Mr. Nehemiah Comstock, fired a gun, which was followed by a solemn pause of ten or twelve seconds, when all at once they discharged about one hundred rifles, aiming at a blacksmith’s shop into which our friends had fled for safety; and charged up to the shop, the cracks of which between the logs were sufficiently large to enable them to aim directly at the bodies of those who had there fled for refuge from the fire of their murderers. There were several families tented in the rear of the shop, whose lives were exposed, and amidst a shower of bullets fled to the woods in different directions.”

In less time than it takes to relate it, eighteen persons were killed or mortally wounded. Sardius Smith, aged nine years, had hidden beneath the bellows of the blacksmith shop, whence he was dragged by a Missourian. The boy, it is said, never flinched; but his mother fell upon her knees and frantically begged for his life. Slowly the Missourian drew up his rifle to his eye till the boy looked into the very muzzle, as if it were a mere threat to frighten him. Again the mother with the eloquence of maternal love poured forth her piteous appeal. “Kill the young wolves, and there will be no old ones!” With this answer the Missourian fired; the boy fell lifeless on the instant, his blood and brains spattering his mother’s dress. But a minute before his father, Warren Smith, was shot dead, and his younger brother, not over seven years, was knocked down and feigning death, lying perfectly still in the midst of the havoc, escaped. He now lives in Utah, a very respectable citizen. At night the survivors returned and buried the bodies in an old well. No words can add to the horrors of this action, still less palliate it. It only shows that in the heat of civil war the worst elements on both sides come to the front.



MORMON MISSIONARY PREACHING TO THE LOWER CLASSES IN LONDON—PROSELYTING.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE NAUVOO WONDER.

Alliance between the Prophet and the land speculator—Sudden and astonishing growth of Nauvoo—Political trickery—Mormons a power in Illinois—The remarkable charters—Malign influence in the courts—Crime, trickery, and polygamy—Intrigues of Dr. Bennett and the Prophet—Outrageous treatment of Mrs. Orson Pratt—Dark days at hand.

IN the early months of 1839 the residents of West Central Illinois were astonished and shocked by a peculiar invasion. Across the great river at all points from St. Louis to Keokuk came a motley array of forlorn humanity: foreigners, whose broad accent attracted twofold more attention than now; Yankees, whose nasal twang was scarcely more familiar; stalwart men in rags, and women and children pinched with cold and hunger. The largest branch of the invasion struck Quincy and vicinity, where at least 5,000 were soon collected; many went as far east as Springfield, and the rest were scattered in ten counties. The Illinois people only waited to hear that these were New England people and foreigners expelled by violence from a slave-holding State, and lavished sympathy upon them.

They smiled at the idea that the Mormons were persecuted for righteousness sake, and made haste to assume that they were free-state people expelled from Missouri for free-state principles. All classes and parties contributed liberally for their relief: even the Indians then upon an adjacent reservation. All houses were open, and the people of several localities requested the Saints to settle among them. Politicians hastened to make friends of so important a body; men with schemes to build up river towns solicited an alliance, while people of strong sympathies wept at their misfortunes, grasped them by the hand, and swore to stand by them to the bitter end. They had not yet

caught sight of the cloven foot of the monster, or seen its mis-created front.

Among the many negotiators was Dr. Isaac Galland, a man accused of many doubtful transactions in early life, but now a respectable citizen of Hancock county—an enterprising speculator and local politician of some influence. Hancock county had been mostly included in the so-called Military Tract, and in consequence many land titles were very doubtful; and near the Des Moines Rapids a large strip had become the property of Dr. Galland. As early as 1832 Lieut. Robert E. Lee, afterwards the noted Southern general, had surveyed the rapids and predicted that a great city would grow up there. It was before the railroad era, and river navigation, with the water power of the rapids, and the necessity of transferring freight there, would insure a metropolis. Galland saw his chance in the coming of the Mormons, many of whom were from the manufacturing cities, and all at the command of the Prophet. Early in May he contracted with Joseph Smith to deed the latter part of the land on condition that all should be settled; a convenient revelation followed, the Saints came by thousands, and soon the Mormon star was again in the ascendant.

A city rose as if by magic. The first house on the new site was erected June 11, 1839, and in eighteen months thereafter there were two thousand dwellings, besides school-houses and other public buildings. The new city was named NAUVOO, a word which has no signification in any known language, but in the "reformed Egyptian" of Smith's imaginary history, is said to mean "The Beautiful." The site was indeed beautiful, but not the most feasible they could have selected. Instead of locating immediately at the head of the rapids, where there was a convenient landing at all seasons, they chose a spot one mile below, only approachable by steamboats at high water. The temporary structures, in no long time, gave way to more permanent buildings; improvements multiplied on every hand, and Joe Smith had almost daily revelations directing how every work should be carried on. Here, it was foretold, was to be built a great city and temple, which should be the great gath-

cause of action. Hitherto none but judges of the Supreme and Circuit courts could issue such writs, and there were just nine persons in the State empowered to do so; but this act at one fell swoop conferred it upon the five judges of this municipal court, and those the persons above all others most liable to abuse it. It also incorporated the militia of Nauvoo into a body to be called the Nauvoo Legion, independent of all other militia officers in the State, except the governor as commander-in-chief. It established a court-martial for this legion, com-



GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH REVIEWING THE NAUVOO LEGION.

posed of the commissioned officers, entirely independent of all other officers, and in the regulations *not governed by the laws of the State!*

This legion was to be at the disposal of the mayor in executing the ordinances of the city. Another charter incorporated a great tavern to be known as the Nauvoo House. "Thus," says Governor Ford, "it was proposed to establish for the Mormons a government within a government; a legislature



with power to pass ordinances at war with the laws of the State; courts to execute them with but little dependence upon the constitutional judiciary, and a military force at their own command, to be governed by its own laws and ordinances, and subject to no State authority but that of the governor."

Early in 1841 the city government was organized under this charter, and Joseph Smith elected Mayor. He was now Mayor of the city, Lieutenant-General of the legion, *ex officio* Judge, landlord of the Nauvoo House, and rolling in the wealth acquired by sale of the land deeded him by Galland. But he grasped at higher honors, and even more abounded in revelations. January 19th, 1841, came the Long Revelation, forty-six paragraphs, reorganizing the entire church and consecrating the cash of wealthy members to various uses. William Law was promoted to be Counsellor, in place of Hyrum Smith, and Hyrum was made Patriarch, a new office. The Twelve Apostles then chosen are thus characterized by the church historian:

"Brigham Young, *the Lion of the Lord*; Parley P. Pratt, *the Archer of Paradise*; Orson Hyde, *the Olive Branch of Israel*; Willard Richards, *the Keeper of the Rolls*; John Taylor, *the Champion of Right*; William Smith, *the Patriarchal Jacob's Staff*; Wilford Woodruff, *the Banner of the Gospel*; George A. Smith, *the Entablature of Truth*; Orson Pratt, *the Gauge of Philosophy*; John E. Page, *the Sun Dial*; and Lyman Wight, *the Wild Ram of the Mountains*."

These were the palmy days of Joe Smith; this was the golden age of Mormonism. The former was no more the wandering lad, with "peep-stone" and hazel rod, or the fugitive vagabond fleeing from Missouri rifles; he was at the head of a now consolidated and rapidly augmenting sect; he was courted and flattered of politicians; he was absolute ruler and main proprietor of a city already populous, and destined to be rich and powerful. But into the very noon of this halcyon day floated the faint rumbling of a distant earthquake, and afar upon the political and social horizon appeared a little cloud, "no bigger than a man's hand," which stayed not till it darkened the whole heaven of the future, and dashed this proud

fabric to the ground. I must now set forth a change in popular opinion, sudden and violent beyond parallel in American history. The causes may be grouped under three heads:

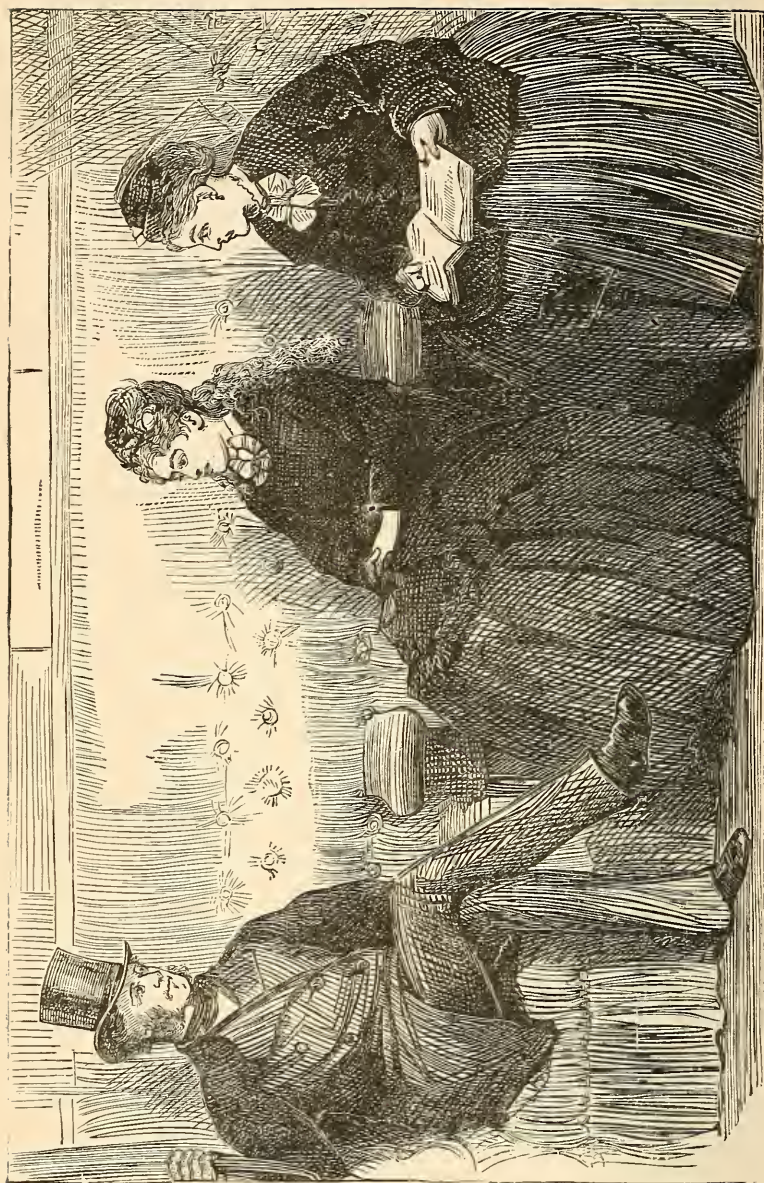
I. Criminal. II. Moral and Social. III. Political.

I. In the first, it may well be said, the Mormons were destined to experience, in all its bitterness, the force of the homely adage in regard to giving a dog a bad name. The Mississippi Valley, from St. Louis to Galena, had been for years unusually infested with reckless and blood-stained men. The whole of southeastern Iowa and much of northeastern Missouri was in a comparatively wild and lawless state; the "half-breed" tract of the former, from unsettled land titles and other causes, was appropriated as a refuge for and overrun by coiners, horse-thieves and robbers; and the latter section, adjacent, was little if any better. The law was enforced with slackness, or the combination of rogues was too great for the ordinary machinery of justice; people had but little confidence in courts and juries, and, in more atrocious cases than common, satisfied themselves with lynch law.

The islands and groves farther up the river, near Davenport and Rock Island, were the hiding places of regularly organized bands of marauders; as also were the bayous and hollows near Nauvoo. Robbers and murderers flocked into the church as a cover for crime; once within the charmed circle, the law was powerless to reach them. The Mormons had their own courts and refused to credit charges against a Saint. "Persecution" was a sufficient explanation. The criminals had assumed the Mormon name, and an angry people could not be expected to go into their city and discriminate between them; they struck blindly at the whole community, and thus while two-thirds of them were probably guiltless of crime, all suffered alike. In the outer settlements there was actual cause to complain of the foreign Saints; thousands of them had gathered in great haste and extreme poverty; they had nothing, and knew not how to rapidly accommodate themselves to their new pursuits, and at the same time very naturally refused to starve in a plentiful

country. Their doctrines virtually invited them to take what they needed, and they did. As to the heads of the church and their newly-acquired allies, enough has been said to show that much of their conduct was on the very border-line of rascality, if it did not altogether step over it.

II. The moral and social causes all centre in polygamy; but no research has settled at what time this system was grafted upon Mormonism. Joseph Smith's sons say it was after Brigham Young obtained control; the Brighamites say it was by revelation given July 12th, 1843, but abundant evidence of *a sort* of polygamy can be found as far back as 1834. Many old Mormons testify that Joseph told them he had preliminary revelations on the subject as early as 1832, and was impressed with the belief that polygamy would some day be the practice of the church, while all the early church records are full of charges and counter charges, with trials and excommunications for adultery. The new spirit was singularly affectionate, and required great exertions to keep it within bounds. All the Mormon regulations of early times also show that they were designed to fit some unusual social system, and hundreds of people still living testify in the most positive manner that polygamy existed among the Mormons in Missouri, though it was then rather a system of what is now called "free love." Elder Howard Coray, who was at that time a confidential clerk of Joe Smith states that he was present at the time Smith and Bennett were constructing the Nauvoo charter; that Bennett objected to certain clauses as being "too strong," to which Smith replied, "We must have that power in our courts, for this work will gather of all mankind; the Turk, *with his ten wives*, will come to Nauvoo, and we must have laws to protect him with these wives." Elder Coray, now a devoted Brighamite at Salt Lake, advanced this to disprove the statement of Joe Smith's sons that their father did not establish polygamy. It merely proves, as will hereafter be shown, that he was in that practice long before the date of his pretended revelation. Many women left their natural protectors and lived in open concubinage with Mormons in Nauvoo, and that many Mormons lost



DR. BENNETT TEACHING THE "SPIRITUAL WIFE" DOCTRINE.

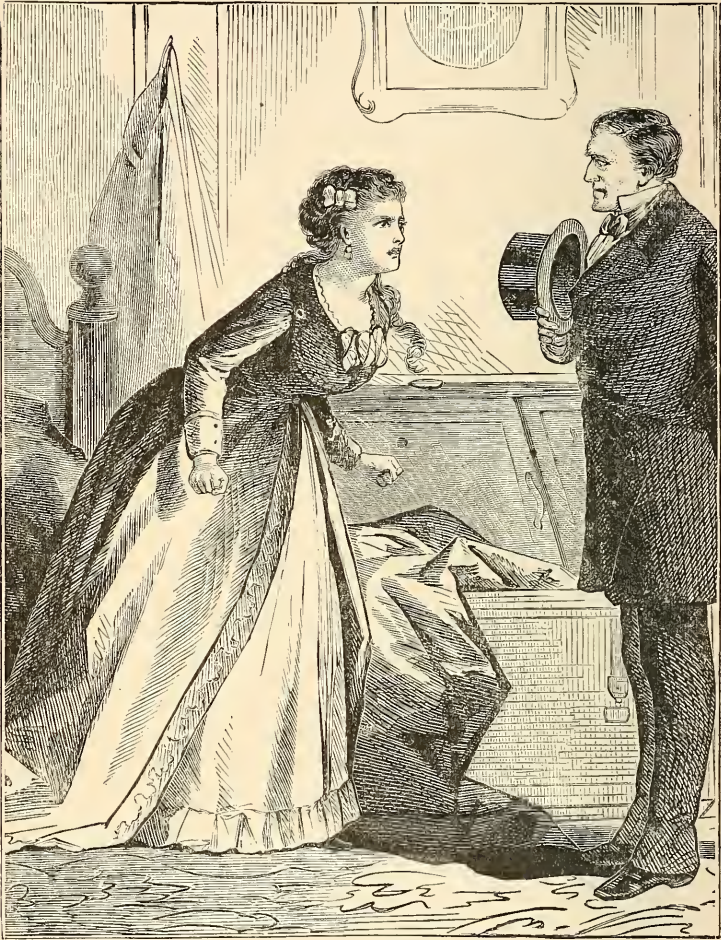
## CHAPTER V.

## THE ANTI-MORMONS' REVENGE.

Hostility aroused—Spiritual wifery exposed—Martha Brotherton's revelations—The "Expositor" destroyed by a Mormon mob—Civil war breaks out—Flight of the Smiths—Recalled by Emma Smith—They surrender and are assassinated in jail.

THE explosion was at hand—the inevitable explosion. It was to come substantially as at Kirtland and in Missouri—an angry pressure from without correlative with schism and apostasy in the church. July 12th, 1843, the Prophet received the "Revelation concerning Celestial Marriage," *i. e.*, polygamy; and William Clayton wrote it down as dictated. It was high time some celestial warrant was had for the Prophet's proceedings, and the revelation produced the desired effect. Hiram Smith was at once convinced and took two extra wives. Brigham Young gave in his adhesion next and soon had two more wives. Parley P. Pratt and Heber C. Kimball were not hard to convince, and in a little while the principal men were initiated. But when the matter was first broached in the High Council, William Law rose and said, "If any man teaches that doctrine in my family, I will have that man's life!" Law had a young and beautiful wife whom Smith was even then scheming for; his failure led to the final catastrophe and Law's prediction was not long unfulfilled. But more than all else the statements of ladies escaping from Nauvoo excited popular wrath. Most noted of these was a beautiful English girl named Martha Brotherton, who was "presented" by the Prophet to an elder whose infatuation for her amounted to insanity. It is related that after repeated repulses he even forced his way to her presence when preparing for departure and implored her to remain, but in vain. During all this time the Mormon

papers and missionaries were spreading the most emphatic denials of polygamy, and public affairs were progressing, according to Governor Ford's account, as follows:



MARTHA BROTHERTON'S DEFIANCE.

“Owners of property stolen in other counties made pursuit into Nauvoo, and were fined by the Mormon courts for daring to seek their property in the holy city. To one such I granted a pardon. Several of the Mormons had been convicted of lar-

observe its provisions. Upon the conclusion of this address, I proposed to take a vote on the question whether they would strictly observe the laws, even in opposition to their Prophet and leaders. The vote was unanimous in favor of this proposition.

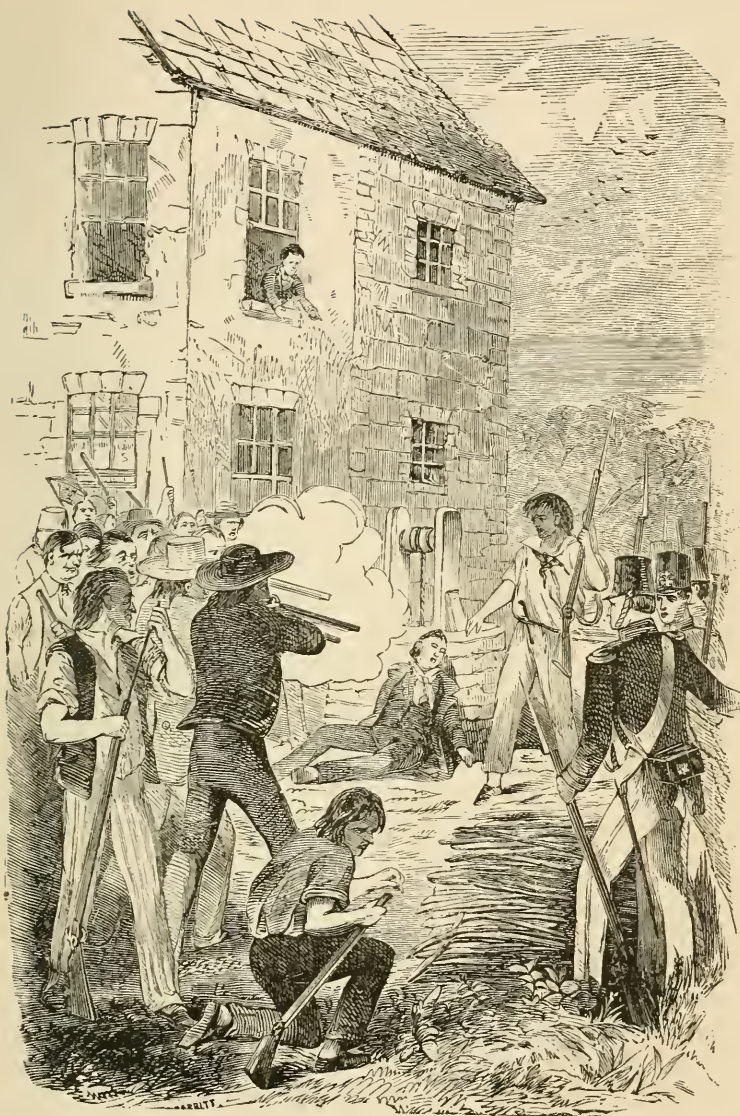
“The anti-Mormons contended that such a vote from the Mormons signified nothing; and truly the subsequent history of that people showed clearly that they were loudest in their professions of attachment to the law, when they were guilty of the greatest extravagances; and in fact, that they were so ignorant and stupid about matters of law, that they had no means of judging of the legality of their conduct, only as they were instructed by their spiritual leaders.”

Thus far the governor at Nauvoo. A far different scene was unfolding at Carthage. The Prophet's strange, erratic course was run and his young and lusty life was soon to sink in the black shadow of doom. The prisoners, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, John Taylor and Willard Richards, felt too plainly the forecast of death. Elder Taylor sang and exerted himself to enliven them, but in vain. One of the departing brethren had slipped a revolver into Joseph's hand; they relied on this as a possible protection, but had little hope. Near sunset, says a citizen of Carthage, an armed force of about one hundred was seen approaching the jail. All the militia were at a distance but a small guard of eight men; these were overpowered, a few shots being fired but no one hurt, and the mob was in possession. They filled the lower room and after brief hesitation rushed up the stairway. From the landing a volley was instantly fired through the door into the prisoners' apartment. One of these random shots passed through the panel with force sufficient to inflict a mortal wound on the person of Hyrum Smith, from which he instantly expired. The Prophet discharged his weapon three times, and it is said, each time with effect. He now turned to an open window, with a view to escape, but the mob was below in the prison yard as well as around him. He hesitated; he clutched the window-sill to which he was suspended, and cast a wild and imploring look below. A volley was fired by the unrelenting mob, and the Prophet fell to the ground, if not lifeless, at least insensible.

But nothing less than certainty would satisfy the mob. One seized the body and lifted it into a sitting posture against the well-curb, when four others advanced till their rifles almost touched the Prophet, and discharged the heavy loads directly into his bosom. Then, adds the Mormon historian, a brawny Missourian, with blackened face, sprang forward knife in hand to cut off the Prophet's head, for which a reward had been offered; but as he kneeled upon his victim a flash of lightning from the clear sky darted between him and the Prophet, blinded him and knocked the knife from his grasp. Of course no Gentile witness saw this.

Thus died Joseph Smith, the most noted impostor of modern times, the *only* great impostor America has produced. In the short space of fifteen years he and his coadjutors had brought forth a new Bible, ordained a new morality, established a new or eclectic theology, and founded a church with missions in half the civilized world. Yet Joseph was but thirty-nine and Hyrum forty-four years of age. Joseph had none of the tricks of assumed sanctity with which common impostors impress their dupes; in a gathering of many thousands he was the very last man whom the knowing would have selected as a probable religious teacher. Six feet high and uncommonly well muscled, with a slight stoop ordinarily, a long but retreating forehead, a singularly unattractive eye and decided nasal twang, he had all the rude humors and gestures which usually belong to the untaught man of that type. In appetite he was noticeably gross, his baser passions were almost ungovernably fierce, and the most devout Mormons never seriously deny that he often fell into carnal sin. With all this he possessed that rude energy, and that magnetic power over ignorant people, especially women, which is often found associated with this temperament. Enough is known to show that his evil influence was great, even over good women, and his fierce lusts would never leave him free to pursue any consistent policy for the good of his church. The strong cravings of his animal nature always swayed the movements of his really able intellect. He never *could* choose the greater but more distant good in preference to the enticing evil near at hand.





DEATH OF JOSEPH SMITH.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE MORMONS EXPELLED FROM ILLINOIS.

Funeral of the Smiths—Remarkable disposition of the bodies—Arrest and trial of those accused of the killing—Reconstruction of the church—The Twelve Apostles take the reins—Murder of Miller and Leiza—"Perfect oneness"—War renewed—Murders of Worrall, Wilcox, McBratney, Durfee and Daubeneuer—Iowa and Western Illinois combine to expel the Mormons—The "Wolf-Hunters"—Closing scenes of war, murder and misery—Gentile Nauvoo.

GOVERNOR FORD and party were well on their return to Carthage when runners met them with information of the Prophet's death. "The news," says the governor, "seemed to strike every one with a kind of dumbness. I anticipated that an exterminating war would ensue, and therefore took the two messengers in custody back to Carthage, in order to gain time. I also dispatched messengers to Warsaw, to advise the citizens of the event. But the people there knew all about it, and, like myself, feared a general attack. The women and children were moved across the river, and a committee dispatched that night to Quincy for assistance. The next morning by daylight, the ringing of the bells in the city of Quincy announced a public meeting. The people assembled in great numbers. The Warsaw committee stated to the meeting that a party of Mormons had attempted to rescue the Smiths out of jail; that a party of Missourians and others had killed the prisoners to prevent their escape; that the governor and his party were at Nauvoo at the time when intelligence of the fact was brought there; that they had been attacked by the Nauvoo Legion, and had retreated to a house where they were then closely besieged. That the governor had sent out word that he could maintain his position for two days, and would be certain to be massacred if assistance did

not arrive by the end of that time. The effect of this was that by ten o'clock on the 28th of June, between two and three hundred men from Quincy, under command of Major Flood, embarked on board a steamboat for Nauvoo, to assist in raising the siege, as they honestly believed."

The panic spread rapidly. Scarcely had the Prophet breathed his last when the mob ran in all directions, spreading the news and warning the people of Mormon vengeance. Carthage was panic-stricken; the Nauvoo Legion, 4,000 strong, was hourly expected; horses, buggies, wagons and carts crowded the highway, going in full speed in the direction from Nauvoo, while many fled on foot to the thickest woods. Stories innumerable, both affecting and ludicrous, are told of this wild flight. The governor had indeed acted wisely in keeping the news from the Mormons till the next day. John Taylor, now president of the Mormon church, had received four serious wounds by the same volley which killed the Smiths; and it was with the utmost difficulty he and Willard Richards could induce one family to remain to care for him and the bodies of the dead. Among the four shots which struck Taylor, one took effect in the back of his watch, a heavy patent lever, stopping the hands exactly at 5 o'clock, 16 minutes, 26 seconds, which is now marked by the Saints as the "Solemn hour of the Prophet's death." The watch is still preserved, and Taylor still carries in his body two balls from the guns of the mob.

Early next morning, June 28th, Taylor, Richards and Samuel H. Smith sent a joint message to the Saints at Nauvoo, with news of the tragedy and advice: "Be still—be patient—wait on the Lord." The legion was at once mustered and addressed by Colonel Buckmaster, the governor's aid, and others; the troops unanimously pledged good order, and prepared to receive the martyrs' bodies. At least 10,000 people turned out that afternoon, received the sad procession with great lamentation, and were addressed and comforted by leading Mormons. Joseph was now canonized; all his errors and tyrannies seemed to be obliterated from their minds; he had "sealed the truth with his blood," and stood henceforth a sainted

martyr. The spiritual wives of the dead Prophet filled the city with their cries, but his lawful wife Emma was quiet and resigned.

The coffins were committed to the ground with imposing ceremonies; but the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum were not in that funeral procession: they were reserved for private interment. It was believed that there were persons capable of rifling the grave in order to obtain the head of the murdered Prophet for the purpose of exhibiting it or placing it in some phrenological museum. This proved true, for the place where the bodies were supposed to be buried was disturbed the night after the interment. The coffins had been filled with stones, etc., to about the weight which the bodies would have been. The remains of the two brothers were then secretly buried the same night by a chosen few in the vaults beneath the temple. The ground was then levelled, and pieces of rock and other *debris* were scattered carelessly over the spot. But even this was not considered a sufficient safeguard against any violation of the dead, and on the following night a still more select number exhumed the remains and buried them under the pathway back of Joseph's residence. The bricks of the walk were carefully replaced and the dirt thrown into the river. Still the bones of the Prophet and Patriarch were not at rest; for after a sufficient time these were taken up by the family, and finally deposited at another spot; though Brigham plead earnestly that they might be laid beneath the temple at Salt Lake. They are destined to occupy a glorious niche in the great temple in the New Jerusalem, or Missouri Zion (Independence); but their present resting place no Brighamite can tell!

Governor Ford at once exerted all his power to bring the slayers of the Smiths to justice. Soon an important witness appeared. One Daniels, a private in Colonel Levi Williams' regiment, stated that when the editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, Thomas C. Sharpe, brought dispatches from the governor, ordering the disbandment of the troops, on the morning of the 27th, the intelligence created great excitement. They were clamorous to march upon Nauvoo, and were already a few

Mormons showed that the latter had evaded all responsibility for debts by what they called the "Perfect Oneness in Christ." In this order a few persons joined in deeding all their property to one who held it as steward for the Church: the same system which in Utah has grown into the "Order of Enoch" or "Perfect Consecration." After some suits with futile results, the people of Adams county, especially in the vicinity of Lima and Green Plains, began to discuss measures to drive out all Mormons living there. They were mostly of a very poor class, and the older citizens were greatly annoyed by their little larcenies of fruit, poultry, and grain. A majority of the Gentiles there refused to try violence, so the more aggressive minority concerted a trick to bring others up to the proper heat.

A meeting of Gentiles was called for one evening at a log school-house, and while the principal speaker was holding forth on the horrors and dangers of their situation, there was a sudden and stunning report, and the large window, running the whole length of the school-house, was dashed inward and in fragments on the floor. Simultaneously came a sharp fire of musketry, the whistling of balls was heard, and the frantic cry of an outside sentinel: "The Mormons! The Mormons! My God, men, save yourselves!"

As the squalling chickens fly when the fox lands in the coop, so those not in the secret bounded out of doors and windows, and with—"O Lord, save us!" betook themselves to flight. Some jumped into their saddles without loosing their horses, and on applying the spurs, were hurled to the ground; but the most took to the brush without care for their animals. One man, it is averred, seized a horse by the tail and climbed up over the rump to the saddle before the frightened owner could mount by way of the stirrup; and a relative of this writer, then and now a resident of Adams county, tells a story of an old semi-paralytic, who had not walked without a crutch for years, but who that night ran three miles, ahead of the swiftest youths in the rout. Of course the attack was a concerted affair, but the effect was as intended; the fugitives spread the report that the Mormons had commenced a general massacre,

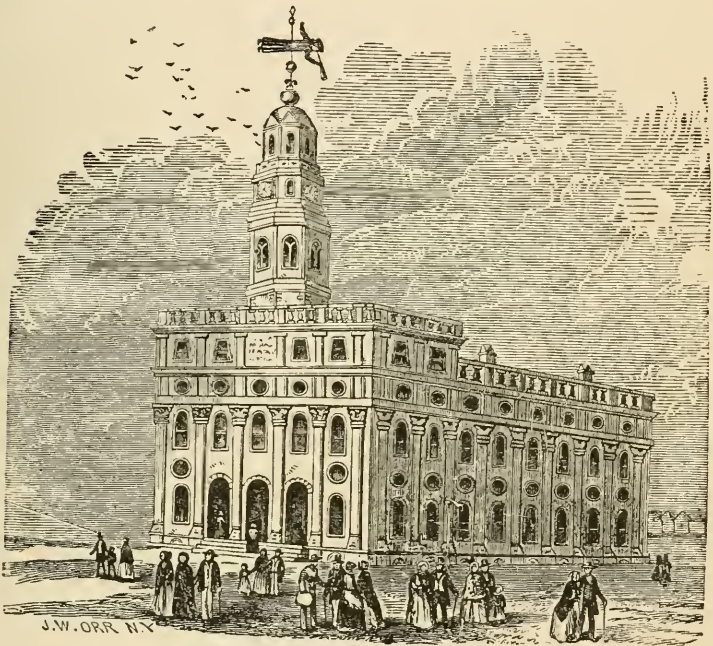
green timber was dressed and boiled in brine to season it for wagons, while all the spare houses and even the temple were used as workshops. By these means 12,000 wagons were got ready for the exodus. People from all sections flocked to Nauvoo to buy, as the Saints were selling at panic prices, or trading for things they needed for the trip. But in the midst of this heroism, which seems really sublime, a few of the baser sort were again busy in crime. Counterfeit money in large amounts



MORMONS FLEEING FROM NAUVOO.

was made and circulated, and with what seemed to them sufficient evidence, the Grand Jury of the United States Circuit Court for that district found indictments against nine of the Twelve Apostles. The Marshal went to serve the writs, and was driven out of Nauvoo. He applied to Governor Ford for a militia force, but the latter refused it on the ground of his agreement with the Saints. He sent them word, however, that

carefully, examining the way from fear of the explosion of a mine, many of which had been made by the Mormons, by burying kegs of powder in the ground with a man stationed at a distance to pull a string communicating with the trigger of a percussion lock affixed to the keg. This kind of contrivance was called by the Mormons a "hell's half-acre." When the *posse* arrived in the city, the leaders of it erected themselves



MORMON TEMPLE AT NAUVOO, ILLINOIS

into a tribunal to decide who should be forced away and who remain. Parties were dispatched to hunt for Mormon arms and for Mormons, and to bring them to the judgment, where they received their doom from the mouth of Brockman, who then sat a grim and unawed tyrant for the time. As a general rule, the Mormons were ordered to leave within an hour or two hours; and by rare grace some of them were allowed until next day, and in a few cases longer.

## CHAPTER VII.

## SETTLEMENT IN UTAH.

The *Via Dolorosa*—Orson Hyde and Bill Hickman “regulate” bad characters—Mormon battalion enlisted for Mexican war—Colonel Kane’s life among the Mormons—Pioneer band goes to Utah—State of Deseret—Utah organized—Governor Brigham Young—Trouble with officials—Gentiles fly the Territory—Official account of Utah affairs—Mormons in open rebellion.

THE last of the Mormons was exiled from the State which had gladly received them seven years before, and we turn to their march through Iowa—the *Via Dolorosa* of Mormon history. They were divided into companies of ten wagons each, under control of captains, and this semi-military order was maintained throughout. As the spring advanced, many of the able-bodied men scattered to various places in Missouri and Iowa, seeking employment of every kind, and the remaining men, with a great band of women and children, pursued their way. In that climate and at that season their sufferings were necessarily great. The high waters, wet prairie, damp winds and muddy roads of spring troubled them worse than the frosts of winter, and sickness and death increased. “All night,” says a woman who made the journey, “the wagons came trundling into camp with half-frozen children screaming with cold, or crying for bread, and the same the next day, and the next, the whole line of march. The open sky and bare ground for women and children in February is a thing only to be endured when human nature is put to the rack of necessity, and many a mother hastily buried her dead child by the wayside, only regretting she could not lie down with it herself and be at peace.”

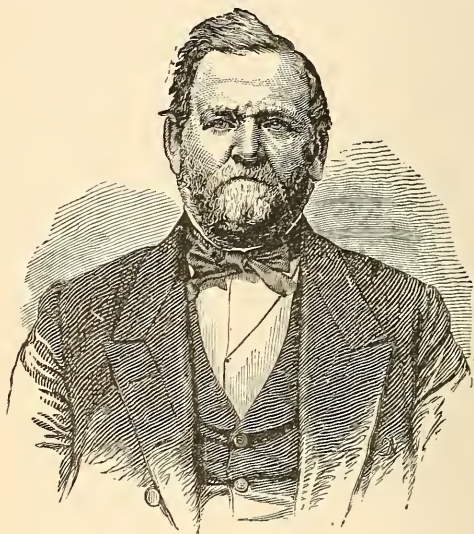
On their way they established “stakes,” and, when the weather had sufficiently advanced, enclosed large fields and planted them with grain for those who were to follow after.



The most noted of these "stakes" were Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah. But disease increased; hundreds who had been frost-bitten and chilled during the winter died along the way, and the route was lined with graves. Still the zeal of the survivors sustained them, and the cruel ambition of their leader forced them on; and though many deserted and turned away to various Gentile settlements, a majority remained. As successive parties left Nauvoo, the trains were spread over a line of a hundred miles; but during the latter part of the season they concentrated in the Pottawattomie country, extending up and down the Missouri from Council Bluffs. Here they built ferry boats, and a part crossed the river. Preparations for the winter were made on both sides; cabins were built, rude tents erected, and "dugouts," dwellings half underground, constructed. Many young men went back to the States and hired out to work for provisions, which were forwarded to the camp. According to other witnesses, a band of horse and cattle thieves was organized under the control of Orson Hyde, and a gang of counterfeitters sent into Missouri; but this is the testimony of fugitives from the Mormon camps, and is of course denied by Mormons.

The notorious Bill Hickman now became a trusted man in the church, and, according to his so-called confession, he acted as chief Danite at this period, killing two white men and one Indian near Council Bluffs, by order of Orson Hyde. He says the men he killed were horse thieves and desperadoes, convicted at secret trials; and the Mormons do not deny that a few parties of that character "slipped their wind" by priestly order, but claim that the victims were men of whom the earth was well rid. In the July previous the Mormons had been visited by Captain James G. Allen, of the United States Dragoons, with whom Brigham Young entered into negotiations to furnish a battalion for the Mexican war. The Mormons were the more ready to enter this service, as they expected to be discharged in California, where the church then intended to settle. Five hundred men were enrolled in a few days, and proceeded to Leavenworth, where they were mustered into the service of the

United States. An agent of Brigham Young accompanied them thus far, and received twenty thousand dollars of their advanced bounty, which was understood to be for the support of their families during their absence; and the since noted John D. Lee and Major Howard Egan accompanied the battalion to Santa Fe, and took back to Brigham the amount of their first payment. This is supposed to have been used in taking their families to Utah, but grave charges are made concerning it. Several testify that Brigham tithed it heavily and



ORSON HYDE, APOSTLE AND DANITE.

allowed their families to suffer; but in the criminations and recriminations of fanatics and apostates the truth is hard to come at.

The battalion was put in the command of Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, in the noted overland expedition under General Kearney. They marched two thousand and fifty miles to San Diego, California, passing through the mountains of southern Arizona and New Mexico, and across the "desert of death." One company of them re-enlisted for a short time in California, many apostatized and the rest made their way to Salt Lake

sentative of the United States, and practically in open rebellion.

Thus, at the end of nine years' toleration and temporizing affairs in Utah had reached substantially the same condition as they reached in six years in Missouri, and in less time in Illinois. But the situation was different. There was no surrounding population to appeal to, and Brigham was absolute. And in this condition there occurred two series of tragedies without parallel in American history, a chain of events which would be utterly incredible if the evidence were any less than positive and unassailable. These events, known in Utah as the "Reformation" and the "Hand-cart Immigration," together cost some 400 lives, and as they constitute the central events of Utah history and illustrate in a marked degree the essentials of religious fanaticism, their narration requires a separate chapter.



BURNING OF MORMON TEMPLE AT NAUVOO.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE REIGN OF TERROR.

Epidemic madness—All Utah goes crazy—The Mormon empire projected: 1,200 by 800 miles in area—Outposts from British America to Mexico—The hand-cart scheme—Horrible suffering—The “Reformation”—Jeddy Grant—Blood-atonement—Mutilation and murder—“Shed his blood and save his soul”—Murder of the Parrishes, Potter, Henry Jones and mother, the bishop’s wife, and many others—Recovery from the madness—Startling news from Washington—War at hand and a fresh impulse of madness.

WE enter now upon the black chapter in the annals of Utah. Within the short space of three years the record tells of murders and maimings almost innumerable, of rebellion, war, flight and massacre, of wild sacrifice of human life by disregard of nature’s law, and a reign of lust and fanatical fury unequalled since the dark ages. In no other part of America could such events have happened; nor could they in Utah had not an extraordinary series of crimes and misfortunes prepared the people to enact them. It is said that Bishop Butler once turned upon his secretary with this question:

“Why may not whole communities go mad as well as individuals?”

The startled secretary could only suggest a reliance on providence to prevent such a wholesale calamity. But history shows that providence occasionally gives up a people to the full consequences of their folly, and that whole communities *do* go mad. Were I legal counsel for a Mormon, on trial for crime committed at the time under consideration, I should plead wholesale insanity; for there is evidence sufficient to convince an impartial jury that the whole Mormon community went insane in 1856. Perhaps this can be partly understood by a review of the exciting causes.

along Green river, where the Mormons bought out a few frontiersmen, and took possession of the ferries. Missionaries, single and in pairs, and companies, went among all the Indian tribes of the mountain region, and even now a few of the survivors remain at various points. Misfortune soon overtook nearly all these outposts, but at first their prospects were quite flattering.

Meanwhile the immigration from Europe was entirely too slow for the ambitious mind of Brigham Young. The cost of the trip from Liverpool to Salt Lake was not less than \$60 for each person; and thirty thousand Saints were waiting till they could raise the amount. So in the winter of 1855-6 Brigham and his chief men devised a new scheme—the faithful were to cross the plains with hand-carts, each hauling his own baggage and provision. As soon as the order could reach England it was obeyed; and in a little while about 2,000 of the middle and poorer class of converts had reached Iowa City—then their outfitting point. Much time was consumed in constructing the carts. They were made in a hurry, some of them of very insufficiently seasoned timber, and strength was sacrificed to lightness until the production was a fragile structure. They were generally made of two parallel hickory or oak sticks, about five feet long, and two by one and a half inches thick. These were connected by one cross-piece at one end to serve as a handle, and three or four similar pieces nearly a foot apart, commencing at the other end, to serve as the bed of the cart, under the centre of which was fastened a wooden axle-tree, without iron skeins. A pair of light wheels, devoid of iron, except a very light iron tire, completed the “divine” hand-cart. Its weight was somewhere near sixty pounds.

The first detachment of five hundred got an early start, and being composed largely of young men, entered Salt Lake valley just as the first snow of autumn was falling. But the second detachment were not ready to leave the Missouri till the second week in August. To each hundred there were five round tents, and one heavy wagon drawn by three yoke of oxen; each person

was limited to seventeen pounds of baggage, to be put in the hand-carts, while the provisions and tents were hauled in the wagons. This division of five hundred was thus made up: one hundred and twenty stout men, three hundred women, and children old enough to walk, a few older men and seventy babies, to be carried by their parents or hauled upon the carts—this feeble party *starting to traverse eleven hundred miles of mountain and desert in the closing weeks of the season.* In the whole division were but four, returning missionaries, who had been to the valley. Incredible as it may appear, all these urged them on but one: Levi Savage said that, prophecy or no prophecy, the risk was too great, and urged a halt till the next season. The elders rebuked him, and prophesied in the name of Israel's God that not a flake should fall on them. "You will hear of storms to the right and the left, but a way will be opened." Thus equipped and encouraged by prophecy, they set out August 18th, singing in cheerful concert:

"A church without a prophet is not the church for me;  
It has no head to lead it, in it I would not be;  
But I've a church not built by man,  
Cut from the mountain without hand,  
A church with gifts and blessings, oh, that's the church for me,  
Oh, that's the church for me, oh, that's the church for me.

"The God that others worship is not the God for me;  
He has no parts nor body, and cannot hear nor see;  
But I've a God that lives above,  
A God of Power and of Love,  
A God of Revelation, oh, that's the God for me.

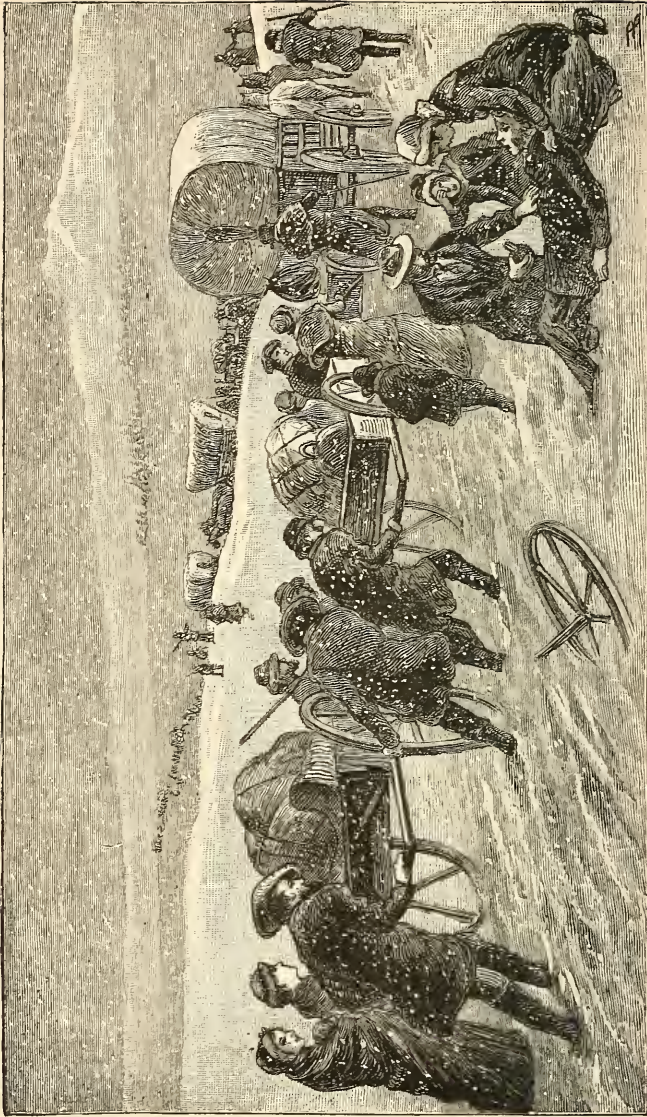
"A church without apostles is not the church for me;  
It's like a ship dismasted afloat upon the sea;  
But I've a church that's always led  
By the twelve stars around its head,  
A church with good foundations, oh, that's the church for me.

"The hope that Gentiles cherish is not the hope for me,  
It has no hope for knowledge, far from it I would be;  
But I've a hope that will not fail,  
That reaches safe within the veil,  
Which hope is like an anchor, oh, that's the hope for me."

But neither hope nor faith changed the harsh climate of the high plains, and seven weeks of travel left them still four hundred miles from Zion, in the heart of the high Rockies, almost out of provisions, worn down, sick, apparently forgotten of God and abandoned by man. It was then the inborn nobleness of the English race shone out. Men toiled on day after day, hauling and even carrying women and children, wading ice-cold streams with the feeble in their arms, in many cases carrying their little children in the morning and themselves dying before night. Fainting fathers took the scant rations from their lips and fed their crying children; mothers carried their babes till they sank exhausted in the snow, and young men nerved themselves to suffer everything for those they loved. Day after day the train struggled on in silence and sorrow, and every morning saw from one to ten of their number cold in death. Daily the survivors grew weaker from exposure and insufficient food: old men died as easily as a lamp goes out when the oil is exhausted; women died as a child goes to sleep; young men died sitting by the camp-fire, with their scant rations in their mouths.

A relief party reached this company and brought it in when one-fifth of its force had died. They reached the city November 9th, but a third division of five or six hundred was still on the way. In spite of repeated warnings from returning plainsmen, they had left the Missouri the very last of August; but all heart and hope was gone out of them before they reached the summit of the Rocky mountains, and, finding a little sheltered valley on the North Platte, they sat down to await help or die. They ate all their provisions, all the grease provided for their carts, all their cattle, even to the hides and hoofs, and were gnawing away upon bark and roots when the relief party reached them. Of this company one-fourth died. And yet this had been the song of the emigrants on starting:

“ Hurrah for the Camp of Israel!  
Hurrah for the hand-cart scheme!  
Hurrah! hurrah! 'tis better far  
Than the wagon and ox-team.



THE MORMON HAND-CART COMPANY CROSSING THE PLAINS.



bitter I felt when I thought of the home we had left in sweet Herefordshire. Every time I see *that man* I feel the cold tire of that hand-cart pressing heavy on my heart."

The second stage of madness had begun before the sufferers reached the city; their arrival only increased it. The originator of this remarkable movement was Jedediah M. Grant, first councillor to Brigham Young, and a frothing fanatic, whom it is only charity to judge as of diseased mind. All the younger Mormons say he was the first they ever heard preach the *blood-atonement* doctrine; and, if not its author, he must be credited with its first distinct public avowal, though Brigham at once endorsed it. If there were any doubt whatever on this subject, we ought at once to reject the idea that a religious society in America adopted the doctrine of "killing men to save their souls." It is such a horrible burlesque on all we know as Christianity, that one is without any sure guide in analyzing it. But it was distinctly and emphatically taught for years; it is laid down in Mormon publications just as specifically as any other doctrine, and the sermons in defense of it are published by the Mormons themselves in their *Journal of Discourses*. That work contains at least forty endorsements of blood-atonement, and all who heard the sermons say they were much stronger than the printed report. Here is part of Jedediah M. Grant's sermon of March 12th, 1854:

"Then what ought this meek people who keep the commandments of God to do unto them? 'Why,' says one, 'they ought to pray to the Lord to kill them.' I want to know if you would wish the LORD to come down and do all your dirty work? Many of the Latter-day Saints will pray, and petition, and supplicate the Lord to do a thousand things they themselves would be ashamed to do.

"When a man prays for a thing, he ought to be willing to perform it himself. But if the Latter-day Saints should put to death the covenant-breakers, it would try the faith of the very meek, just, and pious ones among them, and it would cause a great deal of whining in Israel.

"Then there was another odd commandment. The Lord

God commanded them *not to pity the person whom they killed*, but to execute the law of God upon persons worthy of death. *This should be done by the entire congregation, SHOWING NO PITY.* I have thought there would have to be quite a revolution among the Mormons before such a commandment could be obeyed completely by them. For instance, if they can get a man before the tribunal administering the law of the land, and succeed<sup>e</sup> in getting a rope around his neck, and having him hung up like a dead dog, it is all right. *But if the Church and Kingdom of God should step forth and execute the law of God, O, what a burst of Mormon sympathy it would cause! I wish we were in a situation favorable to our doing that which is justifiable before God, without any contaminating influence of Gentile amalgamation, laws, and traditions; that the People of God might lay the ax to the root of the tree, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit might be hewn down.*

“What! do you believe that people would do right and keep the law of God by *actually putting to death the transgressors?* Putting to death the transgressors *would exhibit the law of God, no matter BY WHOM it was done.* That is my opinion.”

Brigham endorsed all this very warmly, and added:

“There is not a man or woman who violates the covenants made with their God, that will not be required to pay the debt. The blood of Christ will never wipe that out, your own blood must atone for it; and the judgments of the Almighty will come sooner or later, and every man and woman will have to atone for breaking their covenants.”

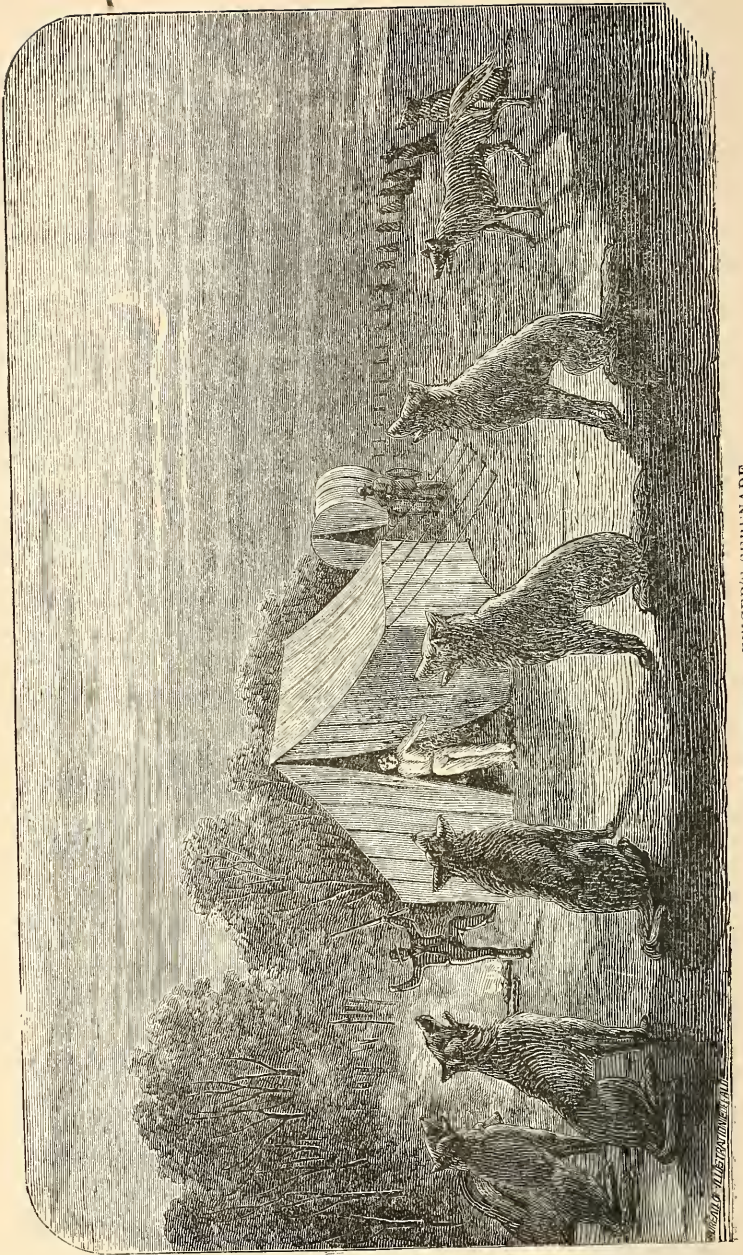
These sermons were aimed at the Gladdenites and other dissenting sects, and most of them soon fled the Territory; but as to the number actually killed pursuant to the blood-atonement doctrine, we have no positive proof. By 1856 Grant had reached that stage of fanatical fury in which he declared that the time was at hand when they would “go up and down the street with the old broadsword and say, ‘Are you for Christ?’ and whoever is not will be cut down.” With this spirit he commenced preaching a reformation, and soon had the active spirits as wild as himself. Elders were sent to the various set-

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE MORMON WAR OF 1857.

“Anniversary Day” in Big Cottonwood—A. O. Smoot’s startling news—“I am ready for the devils”—Approach of the United States army—Captain Van Vliet’s mission—Brigham forbids the United States to trespass—“Up, awake, ye defenders of Zion”—“Du dah, du dah, day!”—Colonel Kane saves the Mormons—Governor Cumming—Commissioners Powell and McCulloch—Entrance of the army—Flight of the Saints—Their misery and poverty—End of the War.

JULY 24, 1857, all the Saints who were able were assembled at Big Cottonwood Lake, twenty-four miles from Salt Lake City, and 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. There the Saints who were well supplied with vehicles and camp equipage have long been accustomed to celebrate Pioneers’ Day: anniversary of the first arrival of Brigham and party in the valley. One day is usually consumed in going up and fixing the ground, the next in unrestrained but innocent merriment, and a third in the return. It is the great day to which Mormon patriots look forward, and in their eyes is bigger than Christmas, New Year’s, and the Fourth of July in one. The day had nearly passed and dancing was lively in the booths, when Elder A. O. Smoot rode into the assemblage, just from the East and almost exhausted with his hurried trip, and announced to the Prophet that President Buchanan had sent an entirely new set of officials for Utah and an army with them: the force even now on the plains and marching rapidly towards Utah. Brigham’s brow grew black as he listened, and with all the fury of his nature he broke forth: “God has granted my wish and the devil has taken me at my word. I said the day we reached Utah that if the minions of hell would leave me ten years, I’d ask no odds of the United States or the devil! They’ve taken me at my word and shall see that I am ready.”



THE GENTLE OFFICER'S SERENADE.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE MORMON MURDERERS.

Causes of the Mountain Meadows massacre—Death of Apostle Pratt—Vengeance sworn against Arkansas—The wealthy emigrants—Their destruction decreed—"Let the Almighty's arrows drink the blood of the accursed Gentiles"—John D. Lee's council—The emigrants treacherously captured—The awful massacre—The long delay of justice—The author visits Lee and hears his confession—Lee arrested—National interest—Lee's trial and execution.

THE moving causes of the Mountain Meadows massacre were greed, revenge and fanaticism. The first is explained by the richness of the captured train; the last can never be quite fully explained by human wisdom. That mysterious power of self-deception by which men persuade themselves that they can shed blood for the love of God and carry on wars of extermination to extend the kingdom of the Prince of Peace; that they can steal all the rewards of a man's labor because the Hebrews held slaves, or make woman a prostitute for the kingdom of heaven's sake—this, I say, is beyond the analysis of a mere human philosophy. It bears no well-known relation to the feelings and thoughts which influence ordinary men in ordinary affairs. The element of revenge, however, we can trace directly to its source.

The reader is sufficiently familiar with the trials of the Saints in Missouri, and can appreciate their bitter feelings against all Missourians. In 1856 another tragedy had caused them to include Arkansas in their anathemas. Parley P. Pratt was the Isaiah of Mormonism. After long research in the publications of the church, I am prepared to say that his are the only apostolic productions which can claim even a moderate amount of literary excellence. Those of Orson Spencer are clear and explicit enough, but devoid of all pretense to style; those of Orson

council where the massacre was decided on, and of those members of the militia who confessed their own share in it. The principal conflict of testimony is as to the assembling of the Mormon forces, and the persons who urged on the massacre.

The day after the emigrants passed Harmony, John D. Lee, Bishop and President, called a council and stated that he had received command "to follow and attack the accursed Gentiles, and let the arrows of the Almighty drink their blood." He



FIVE WIVES: "LET US HAVE PEACE."

stated that they were from Missouri, which had expelled God's people, and from Arkansas, which had sanctioned the murder of the apostle; he recited the Hawn's Mill massacre of Mormons, the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and others, and called for an affirmative vote. All hands were held up, and the expedition was at once fitted out. Lee turned out the Indians under his charge (he was agent and farmer for the Indian allies of the church in that section), and a regular call for the militia of Iron county was issued by Colonel W. H. Dame, Major John

D. Lee and Captains Haight and Higby. Two men testify that, after being ordered out, they sat all night talking and praying while the supply wagons ran backward and forward ; that they asked God's forgiveness if about to do wrong, but finally had to go with their company.

The Indians had meanwhile opened the attack. A portion crept down a ravine near the camp, and fired upon the emigrants while at breakfast, killing ten or twelve.

The latter were completely taken by surprise, but seized their arms, shoved the wagons together, sunk the wheels in the earth, and got in condition for defence. The idea that enough of the Utes of that district could be got together to attack a train with sixty armed men, is too absurd to be entertained for a moment, and the emigrants had rested in the ease of fancied security. But their resistance was far greater than the Mormons had expected ; and there for nearly a week, with their women and children lying in the trenches they had dug, they maintained the siege and kept the savages, as they supposed, at bay. And all of this time, as testified by Mrs. Hamlin, wife of the agent, the shots were constantly heard at Hamlin's ranche, and parties of Mormons, bishops, elders and laymen, were coming and going to and from the ranche, eating and drinking there, and "*pitching quoits and amusing themselves in various ways.*" They had the emigrants effectually secured, and could afford to divide time and slaughter the Gentiles at their leisure. But at the end of a week they grew tired and resolved upon strategy. The firing ceased, and while the weary and heart-sick emigrants looked for relief, and hoped that their savage foes had given up the attack, they saw, at the upper end of the little hollow in which they were, a wagon full of men. The latter raised a white flag, and it was perceived they were white men. A glad shout of joy rang through the *corral* at sight of men of their own color, and the emigrants held up a little girl dressed in white to answer the signal.

Their captains came out, met Lee and party, and arranged for their surrender. They were to give up everything, including their arms, be taken back to the settlement and taken

care of, but held till the war was over. On this agreement they started on their return. There were sixty fighting men, forty women, and forty-eight children. In front were two wagons, driven by Mormons and containing the men wounded in the siege; behind them were the women and children, and lastly the men. Beside the men marched the Mormon militia in single file. Off on either side were mounted men to intercept any who might break through the lines. A hollow crosses the road there; on each side of the way as it enters the hollow are rocks and bushes where the Indians lay in ambush. As testified to by one witness, the women talked joyfully of their rescue from the Indians, and thanked God that they were under the protection of white men.

All was in readiness. As the wagons passed the gully and the women and children were just entering it, Ike Higbee, standing on the bluff above, waved his hand as a signal. Haight gave command: Halt! fire!! On the instant the Mormon militia turned, and with their guns almost touching their victims, discharged one volley, and almost every man of the emigrants fell dead. With loud screams the women and children turned and ran back toward the men. The Indians and Mormons rushed upon them, shooting, stabbing, braining, and in twenty minutes six score of Americans lay dead upon the ground, the hapless victims of Mormonism. No circumstance of horror was lacking. Indians and Mormons bit and tore the rings from the fingers and ears of the women, and with insulting yells trampled in the faces of the dying.

One girl knelt and begged a son of John D. Lee for life. He hesitated, but the father pushed him aside, and shot her through the head. Several broke through the line, but were killed by the mounted men. Two girls ran down the gully and over the ridge, to the slope where the Indian boy Albert was hid, to watch the massacre. He says that they begged him to save them, and he directed them where to hide in a thicket. The next minute John D. Lee and Bill Stewart came galloping across the hollow, and, with savage curses, ordered him to point out the runaways. He dared not disobey, and soon the girls



were dragged out. Kneeling to Lee, they poured out the most passionate prayers for mercy—they would be his slaves, would never betray him, would work for him forever. While one clung to his knees he jerked her suddenly upon her back, and, placing his knee upon her breast, cut her throat from ear to ear! The other had, meanwhile, run away. He overtook her, and, by a savage blow on the back of the head with a ragged stone, crushed in her skull. Both these bodies were missed by the burying party, and, strange to say, lay there ten days untouched by the wolves. When Hamlin returned from Salt Lake City, Albert pointed them out, and they were buried. Hamlin adds that there was not the mark of a tooth on either body, and no sign of decay, so pure was the air. Their fair countenances were like those of persons just dead, and their handsome forms untouched by the beasts and birds of prey. Nature and the wild beasts of the mountain were kinder to them than men of their own race and color.

One witness, a mere lad at the time, relates that Bill Stewart walked carefully over the array of bodies, and finished with his bowie-knife those who showed any signs of life. Judge Wendell, then a Mormon, now a resident of Nevada, says he has it from unquestioned authority that all the corpses were stripped almost before they were cold, and that it was done with coarse and obscene jests. Three men had escaped the principal massacre. The night before the fatal day the emigrants drew up a paper in which they described their condition, addressed to "Masons, Odd-Fellows, Baptists, Methodists and all good people in the States;" they signed this according to classes, so many members of each church, lodge or chapter, and with it the three young men, specially chosen for fleetness of foot, crawled down the ravine and escaped. The Indians killed two the next night. The third got to the last point on the Santa Clara, where he was overtaken by Ira Hatch and a band of Indians, sent in pursuit, and murdered. Jacob Hamlin obtained the paper and kept it many years; but Lee learned of its existence, took it from him and destroyed it after administering a sharp reproof. It is also related that an old man, in the



MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE—132 EMIGRANTS KILLED BY MORMONS AND INDIANS.

it a lie. Next it admitted that there had been a massacre, but claimed it was all the work of Indians ; and this continued the Mormon plea till concealment was no longer possible. In 1858 Judge Cradlebaugh investigated it, the witnesses coming to him secretly by night ; in 1859 General W. H. Carleton made a more thorough investigation, and a full report. He also collected and buried the remains, erecting over them a rude monument and a cross. Eleven years after the Federal officials made a more searching inquiry ; then the Mormons admitted that John D. Lee was implicated, and nominally expelled him from the church. Still he continued church Indian agent, but his retreat was now in the wild and rocky fastnesses of Pahreah Cañon, on the Colorado, in Arizona, and far from the settlements. From that locality strange rumors from time to time reached us at Salt Lake ; at one time that Lee had been killed by the Danites ; at another that he was hopelessly insane, and yet again that he had turned Indian out and out, and was living among them.

In the summer of 1872 the author of this book made a long journey through northern Arizona on horseback, with some Navajo Indians ; and early in July they left me at the house of John D. Lee, where I remained three days ; I also visited Jacob's Pool, where Lee's older wife lived in a bough cabin with her son and daughter. Of the hospitality of his wife and his own rude friendliness I need not speak ; but the night before my departure he and I slept together upon a straw bed on the ground near his house. He grew confidential, and we talked till midnight of the massacre, and related incidents. Of that conversation I record here only these brief extracts :

“The company had quarreled and separated east of the mountains, but it was the biggest half that come first. They come south of Salt Lake City just as all the men was going out to the war, and lots of women and children lonely. Their conduct was scandalous. They swore and boasted openly that they helped shoot the guts out of Joe Smith and Hyrum Smith, at Carthage, and that Buchanan's whole army was coming right

ing men that was killed. I don't know how many women, though not many. All the children was saved. The little boy that lived with us cried all night when he left us, and said he'd come back to us as soon as he got old enough.

“It is told around for a fact that I could tell great confessions, and bring in Brigham Young and the Heads of the Church. But if I was to make forty confessions, I could not bring in Brigham Young. His counsel was: ‘Spare them, by all means.’ But I am made to bear the blame. Here I am, old, poor, and lonely, away down in this place—carrying the sins of my brethren. But if I endure, great is my reward. Bad as that thing was, I will not be the means of bringing troubles on my people; for, you know yourself, that this people is a misrepresented and cried-down community. Yes, a people scattered and peeled, whose blood was shed in great streams in Missouri, only for worshipping God as he was revealed to them; and if at the last they did rise up and shed blood of their enemies, I won't consent to give 'em up.”

In the late autumn of 1874 John D. Lee was arrested, pursuant to indictment and writ from the District Court at Provo, Hon. Jacob S. Boreman, Judge. Changes in the law, to be hereafter detailed, had made it possible to occasionally secure a fair-minded jury in Utah; such a one had indicted Lee, and by strategy of U. S. Marshal Owens, he was captured while on a visit to his four wives at Panguitch on the Sevier river. Great was the interest felt throughout Utah, and indeed all over the country; and when his trial came on at Beaver, in the summer of 1875, there was a large attendance. It was indeed a strange drama. Correspondents from the East and West flocked thither, and for the first time a little of the inner life of Mormondom was brought to light in open court, and reported to all the world. The most incredulous were compelled to acknowledge Mormon guilt, and there began the series of trials which will eventually make the world acquainted with Brigham Young as he really was.

It required the most persevering exertions to get the witnesses together. When Lee was cut off from the Church, in

“When I was through he said it was awful; that he cared nothing about the men, but the women and children was what troubled him. I said: ‘President Young, you should either release men from their obligation, or sustain them when they do what they have entered into the most sacred obligations to do.’ He replied: ‘I will think over the matter, and make it a subject of prayer, and you may come back in the morning and see me.’ I did so. He said: ‘John, I feel first-rate. I asked the Lord, if it was all right for the deed to be done, to take away the vision of the deed from my mind, and the Lord did so, and I feel first-rate. It is all right. The only fear I have is of traitors.’ He told me never to lisp it to any mortal being, not even to Brother Heber. President Young has always treated me with the friendship of a father since, and has sealed several women to me since, and has made my house his home when in that part of the Territory—until danger has threatened him.”

United States Marshal William Nelson selected Mountain Meadows as the place of execution—an act which Judge Boreman disapproved, as he thought it savored of revenge and spectacular display. The spot selected was about a hundred yards east of the monument. Lee was singularly cheerful, and at the last minute confessed to Rev. Mr. Stokes, a Methodist minister in attendance, that he killed five of the emigrants with his own hand—a fact he had always denied before. A photograph of the scene, with Lee seated on his coffin, was then taken; he requested that copies might be sent to his three wives, Rachel, Sarah and Emma, who had remained faithful to the last. He then made a brief address and seated himself with calmness on his coffin. The five soldiers detailed for the purpose took their stand, and Marshal Nelson gave command:

“Make ready! Aim! Fire!”

The five rifles cracked simultaneously and Lee sank back dead without a struggle, his lips parting with a faint smile. Five balls had passed through him in the immediate vicinity of the heart.

Thus died John Doyle Lee, a man of great natural abilities

corrupted by lust and fanaticism. In my intercourse with him I found him well informed on many topics, a great observer of nature, apt in acquiring knowledge, especially in matters of language. He was born September 6th, 1812, at Kaskaskia, Illinois, soon after his parents arrived from Ireland, and was reared a Catholic, turning Mormon in 1836. His features were of a marked Irish cast, and his temperament sanguine. He was master of several Indian tongues and seemed to know the whole gamut of Indian nature by instinct. He was a kind father, a rather agreeable husband, a hospitable gentleman and a remorseless bigot. In conclusion I cannot sum up his character better than in the words of an old apostate who had known him long and well: "John D. Lee was a man who would share his last biscuit with the traveller on the desert, and cut that traveller's throat the same hour if Brigham Young gave the word!"



EXECUTION OF JOHN D. LEE.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE GOVERNMENT TAKES A HAND IN UTAH.

The Judges make inquiry into "blood-atonement"—Investigation of the crimes of 1856-57—A fresh outbreak—Murders of Drown, Arnold, Sergeant Pike, Franklin McNeil and others—Civil war in the States and Mormon glee—Departure of Johnston's army—Profits to the Prophets—Brigham's despotism restored—Governors Dawson, Harding, Doty and Durkee—Secretaries Wooton, Fuller, Reed and Higgins—Murders of Potter, Wilson, Walker and Black Tom—Of Brassfield and Robinson—Panic of the Gentiles—Peace restored—The author arrives in Utah.

I RESUME the regular history, after the entrance of the army, in 1858. In November Judge Sinclair opened his court in Salt Lake City, and charged the grand jury to make inquiry into all questions of treason, intimidation and polygamy. The jury laughed at the last and quietly refused the first, but did present James Ferguson and others for the interference with Judge Stiles before related. No action was taken beyond the mere presentment. The following cases are of unusual interest: Ralph Pike, Sergeant in Company I, Tenth infantry, had knocked down Howard Spencer at the military reserve in Rush Valley. The grand jury found an indictment, and Pike was arrested and brought to Great Salt Lake City. The day following, about 12 o'clock, as Pike was entering the Salt Lake House, on Main street, Spencer stepped up to him from behind, saying, "Are you the man that struck me in Rush Valley?" at the same time drawing his pistol, and shot him through the side, inflicting a mortal wound. Spencer ran across the street, mounted his horse and rode off, accompanied by several noted Danites. Pike lingered in dreadful agony two days before he died. The *Deseret News*, in its next issue, lauded young Spencer for his courage and bravery.

A much more mysterious murder was that of Drown and

## CHAPTER XII.

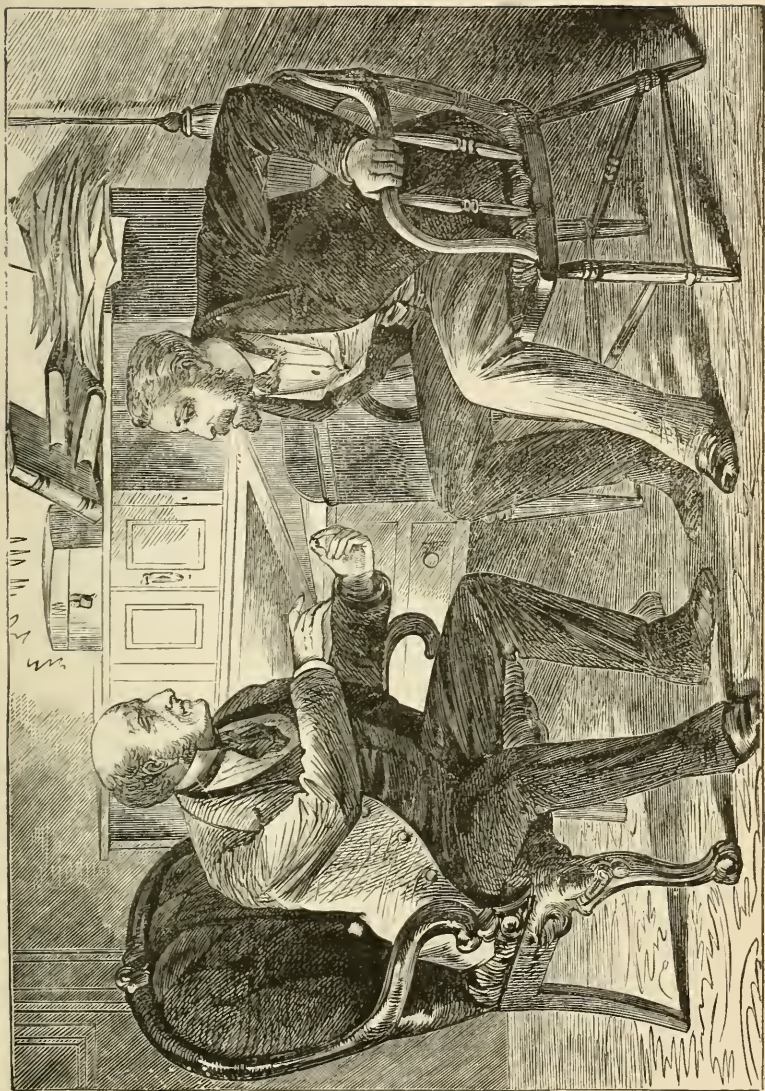
## MY FIRST YEAR IN UTAH.

First impressions—The Holy City—Topography—Mormon leaders—Travels in Utah—"Pulling hair"—Beastly cases of polygamy—Mormon conference—Votes non-intercourse with Gentiles—A dreary winter—Corinne—The Sevier mines—The author mobbed—Sent to Washington—Signs of a better day.

THE first storm of autumn had just dressed the summits of the Wasatch in dazzling white when, on the 10th of September, 1868, the train in which I was a driver entered the city. My first impression was: a marvellously beautiful location, an average city and a singularly uninteresting people. The city is at the northeast corner of a grand amphitheater—a valley shaped like a horse-shoe, with the open end to the northwest, and the city at the point of the heel on the east side. From this heel, really a spur of the Wasatch, City Creek runs out and irrigates nearly all the city plat; eastward the mountain recedes to a distance of six or seven miles, then bears southward, then westward to the cañon of the Jordan, and west of that the detached Oquirrh comes north again to the south end of the lake. Down the centre of the oval valley runs the Jordan, its course a little west of north; along it is a narrow strip of fertility, and little oases border the streams which flow into it. All the rest is comparatively barren bench or sage-brush plat, only valuable here and there for a little grass.

At least nine-tenths of the houses in the city then were *adobe*, and not one in five of these plastered or stuccoed; the whole city contained but one dozen solid, impressive-looking structures of stone and brick, and not one of any architectural beauty. And the people at first view seemed wonderfully plain, especially the women—not ugly-looking, or degraded, or deformed, but sim-



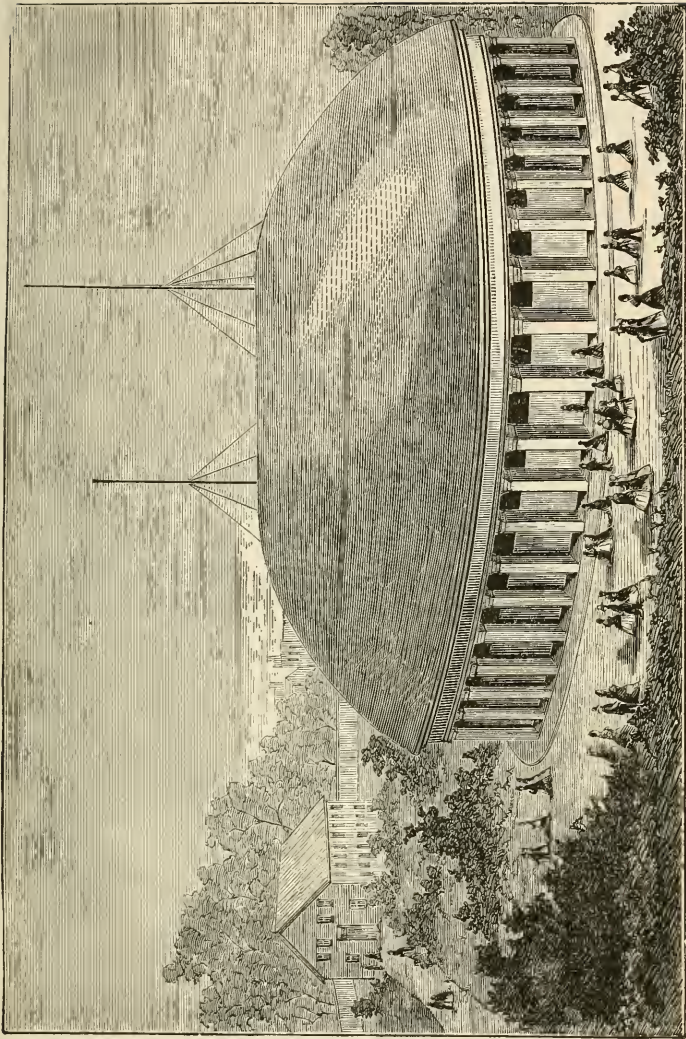


GOVERNOR DURKEE EXPLAINS HIS "POLICY" TO THE AUTHOR.

ply and hopelessly homely. I had heard that they were fanatics, and I laughed at the thought ; for of all people I ever saw they seemed the least emotional, the least excitable. There were not over five hundred Gentiles in the city, and perhaps as many more scattered through the Territory ; and I soon learned to recognize them at sight. The Mormons had that sameness of look which seems to characterize the people of all exclusive religious societies ; even the children tended to one type—long, slender, with towy hair and watery blue eyes. They were thoroughly homogeneous. But the Gentiles were doubtless the most heterogeneous class in America : representing all States and nearly all nations, they presented every variety of form and complexion. They consisted of United States officials and their employés, attaches of the Overland Stage Company and the railroad then in construction, some Jewish merchants, a few artisans, and a miscellaneous mass of traders, mining prospectors and adventurers. They were absolutely without any common purpose, had no organization except as one church and a few lodges and chapters threw some of them into groups, had no common interest, and certainly no missionizing tendencies, and were tolerated by the Mormons with a sort of quiet contempt. But a change in this respect was not far distant.

But the novel situation and the charms of the autumnal climate made me forget all else for a while : the rows of trees lining all the streets, and the crystal streams of water which seem in the distance like threads of silver, combining to give a strange and fanciful beauty to the scene. Salt Lake City is situated in latitude  $40^{\circ} 46'$  north, and longitude  $111^{\circ} 53'$  west of Greenwich, nearly 4,300 feet above sea level. The streets are at exact right angles, running with the cardinal points and numbered every way from Temple Block, which is in Utah the starting point of all measurements, calculations and principles, whether of ecclesiastical, civil, political or engineering.

The street bounding it on the east is called East Temple street, the next one First East Temple, or merely First East, the next Second East, and thus on ; the same nomenclature is maintained in all the streets, north, south and west. Each



MORMON TABERNACLE—ENDOWMENT HOUSE IN THE DISTANCE.

artist out of native wood—another perversion of a sacred emblem, the royal bird being, like his brute compeer, a *strict monogamist*.

Just north of Brigham's grounds, on the first "bench," is the block owned by the late Heber C. Kimball, containing one superior mansion and a number of smaller dwellings, in which eleven of the Widows Kimball then resided. The other seven lived in various parts of the city, with the families to which they belonged. Some dozen or more of Brigham's wives resided in the Lion House and Bee-Hive House; the others in different parts of the city, or on his farms in the country.

From the cañon back of Brigham's grounds issues City Creek, which is there, by dams, diverted from its channel and carried along the upper part of the city in a main canal, from which side ditches convey the streams down both sides of every street, furnishing irrigation to the gardens, and pure water, in the upper part of the city, for all other purposes. Lower down, the loose black soil and the wash of the streets render the water rather impure, though it is used, and during the season when irrigation is not in progress, is still tolerably clear. Next to Temple Block and Brigham's, the Theatre is the institution of Salt Lake City. It stands one square south of Brigham's grounds, at the corner of First South and First East streets; is built of brick and rough stone, covered with stucco in front, and its cost is variously estimated from seventy to two hundred thousand dollars. It was built while railroads were yet a thousand miles distant, probably doubling its cost. It will comfortably seat two thousand persons, and can be packed with a few hundred more; the proscenium is sixty feet deep, and the furnishings all of the best class.

Formerly the playing was done entirely by amateurs, under the training of old London professionals turned Mormons; then they played only on alternate nights, rehearsing one night and playing the next, pursuing their ordinary calling by day. But after 1864 there were professional players among the Mormons, receiving a regular salary and assisted by "stars" from abroad. The parquet was, when I reached Utah, occupied only

non-Mormon women have confessed a mild admiration for this mass of power, and at least two Gentile ladies have so far forgotten themselves as to write in fulsome praise of a man whose very existence was a standing insult to womanhood. Such respect hath great native power and virile force.

The latter part of September I devoted to a tramp afoot through the northern part of the Territory. My journey for the first two or three days lay along the base of the Wasatch, where a strip, a few miles wide, intervenes between the mountain and lake; and wherever a good stream issues from the mountain, along it is a narrow tract of farming land. The second day out a larger and finer orchard than ordinary attracted my attention, and, as the gate stood invitingly open, I walked forward to where two women sat beneath a tree preparing fruit for drying, and proposed to purchase a dozen or two of peaches. Fruit in plenty was offered and all pay refused, and while I took a proffered seat, the younger lady, a bright, lively, voluble woman, entered at once into conversation by asking what State I had come from.

“How do you know I am not a Utah man?” I asked.

“Oh, I knowed you was a Gentile the minute you stepped in at the gate, and you bet everybody knows it the minute they see you,” was the reply.

Further conversation showed that the lady had quite a history. She told me her father came to Salt Lake City twenty-one years ago, and she was the third white child born in the place.

“But I couldn’t see it in my way to marry a Saint, not much; though I was raised to believe in it, and do believe in the religion all but that.”

“Is your father a Mormon?” I ventured to ask.

“Oh, yes, and got four women; only one wife, mind you, that’s my mother; but four women who call themselves his wives. I never was raised to know anything else, but when I was nineteen father married me to a Gentile, ’cause he couldn’t help himself, I reckon. My husband was raised next door to me, and went to California and stayed five years, and soon as he

come back we was married. I'd a stayed an old maid a thousand years before I'd take a pluralist. Plurality's all well enough for the men, but common sense shows that it don't suit women."

"Why, then, do some of them hold up for it?"

"Well, they think they must to get exaltation; it's a part of their religion, and sometimes they get along pretty well. We never had any trouble in father's family. The children all growed up just like brothers and sisters, and treated each other so. Father always taught me to respect his other women, and I always did so.

"But, law, I've seen such sights in other families. Why, I've seen our neighbor's women just pull the hair right out of each other's heads. There's so many men, when they get a young wife, will let her abuse the old one, and encourage her to do it.

"I've seen the man stand by, and say, 'Go in, kill her, if you can.' Now, there is Ephe. Roberts, right over there,"—pointing to a stone house near the mountain,—“he brought a real young delicate wife from New York, now goin' on sixteen years ago, and she worked awful hard, I tell you; why, I've known her to do all her own work when Ephe. had three hands and the threshin' machine at his house, and sometimes she worked out in the field, bound wheat and raked hay, which, you know, is awful hard on a delicate New York woman—'taint as if she'd been raised to it, like we folks, and after all, just last year, Ephe. went and married another woman, a real young one, not over twenty, and, don't you think, this spring she knocked Maria—that's his first wife—down with the churn-dasher, and scalded her. Ephe. stood by, and just said, 'Go in, Luce; kill her, if you can!' It all started about a churn, too. Both wanted to use it at once. Maria had it, and her butter was a little slow a comin', and they got mad, and Luce struck her, and then snatched the kettle right off the stove and poured hot water on her feet, so she fell down when she tried to run out. And what was the result, finally? Well, Maria left him; of course, she had to, or be killed. It's

very nice, though, for the men. I had a dozen chances to marry old Mormons, but law! I wouldn't give that for all of 'em. Why, just turn things round, and let a woman have two or three men, and see how they'd like that! There wouldn't be no murderin' done in these parts, oh, no! And, I reckon, a woman has as fine feelin's as a man. I tell you, if my husband ever joins 'em, or tries to get another wife, that day I'll hunt another Gentile; you bet!" The testimony of this witness, professionally speaking, was certainly plain; nor did she trouble me to cross-examine, but gave her views freely. I note one singular fact in all similar cases: During a long residence in Utah I have never in a single instance talked ten minutes with a young lady of polygamous family, that did not manage in some way to tell me, *she was the daughter of the first, or legal wife*, if such was the case. If silent on that point, it may safely be presumed they are of polygamous mothers. And in more than one instance I have known them to falsely claim legitimate birth.

I stopped next night with a well-to-do Mormon who occupied a long, one-story stone house, divided into three large rooms, with a kitchen in the rear of each: each room was occupied by one of his three wives and her children. He seemed to be living at the time with the middle one, where we took supper. The partition walls must have been two feet thick, without any communication, each wife with her progeny keeping strictly to her own department. His motto seemed to be, "Let us have peace."

The Deseret Telegraph line follows this road to the northern boundary of the Territory, and south of the city extends nearly to Arizona, with side branches connecting all the detached settlements; the wires centre in the Mormon President's office, and thus at a moment's notice he can send a warning of danger to five-sixths of his people, and in twenty-four hours' time the most isolated settlers could be ready to move. Whether for good or bad purposes, it is a remarkable monument of Mormon enterprise.

In this trip I journeyed nearly two hundred miles among the



WIVES OF A SALT LAKE CITY MERCHANT.

CHIPPED-Y-C



I was fixed as Gentile editor in Salt Lake, but the Gentiles were in cruel straits. The decree of the Mormon Church had been carried out strictly, and Gentile stores were empty. It was amusing and provoking to take a walk along Main street that winter, and see the melancholy Jews standing in the doors of their stores looking in vain for customers. For six months the ten Gentile firms did not sell one-twentieth the usual amount of goods; their disgust was beyond expression, and their curses against Brigham not loud but deep. It is indeed a singular fact, to the Eastern reader quite incomprehensible, that one man should be able by his simple will to *corral* the commerce of



BRIGHAM'S BLOCK, SALT LAKE CITY.

ninety thousand people, nullify the laws of trade, reverse the popular current in favor of certain dealers, and completely ruin the business of a score of merchants; and yet that is precisely what was done in Utah. There was no great violence, nothing that the law could take cognizance of, nothing that would make much of a showing before a Congressional Committee; and yet to the sufferers it was actual persecution, fully as hard as most of what the Mormons complain of.

One by one the Gentile merchants lost heart and emigrated. The leading firm was that of Walker Brothers: four gentlemen,

and only half a dozen Gentiles with me. About sundown I started with the crowd to pass out of the Court House, and was just stepping off the portico when I heard the words, "You're the man that wrote that lie about my father," and at the same instant received a violent blow on the back of the neck and head, which sent me upon my face on the gravel walk. I remember nothing more than a succession of blows followed by



THE AUTHOR RECEIVES MORMON HOSPITALITY.

the trampling of heavy boots, and next I was being raised by my friends, covered with blood, and only not quite senseless. I was hauled seven miles to Corinne, where a medical examination showed that my collar-bone was broken in two places, my temple badly cut, and right eye injured, a section of my scalp torn off, and a few internal injuries received. I learned that the principal assailant was Hyrum Smith, son of Judge Smith, and

## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE DEBATE ON POLYGAMY.

Dr. J. P. Newman—Debate at long range—Debate in Salt Lake City—Example of the Israelites—The author's observations—Hypocrisy on the subject—A broken heart—Nameless horrors—Marries his nieces—Marriage of half-brother and sister—Brigham justifies incest—Hepworth Dixon's testimony—Misery of women—Infant mortality—Degradation of all—General effects.

IN Washington City I made the acquaintance of Dr. J. P. Newman, Chaplain of the United States Senate at that time, who manifested much interest in Utah affairs, and finally preached a strong sermon against polygamy, giving a sort of semi-official assurance that the government would soon abolish it. The Cullom Bill, hereinafter described, had passed the House and was pending in the Senate with chances for passing that body; it was morally certain that President Grant would sign it and support the officials, and his intimacy with Chaplain Newman made the latter's views of still more importance. So the Salt Lake papers criticized the sermon sharply, and the *Herald* of that city challenged the doctor to come to Salt Lake and discuss the question: "Does the Bible sanction a plurality of wives?"

Assuming that the challenge was from Brigham Young, the doctor promptly published his acceptance, and in July went with a considerable party to Salt Lake. Brigham emphatically disclaimed the challenge for himself, but put up Orson Pratt as his champion, and after a good deal of haggling the terms were arranged, and the debate came off. It was a three-days affair, one hour to each disputant daily, give and take, go as you please; and, as might have been expected, resulted in a good deal of sparring, and some ill-feeling. It always appeared to me like a huge burlesque. Why not argue the morality and

expediency of circumcision, slaughtering the heathen, or any other of the forty things done by the ancient Jews? If a man once admits that that people were for our example, he involves himself in a tangle from which no logic can extricate him.

There are some things that a civilized man ought to know by nature; if he does not know them, no argument you can use will ever reach down to him. He ought to know that the free, honestly sought love of *one* good woman is a thousand times more valuable than the constrained embraces of fifty; and if he does not know it, why waste time in arguments which he cannot understand? Solomon, after possessing for many years a thousand women, thus gives in his experience: "One man among a thousand have I found, but a woman among all these have I not found. . . . And I find more bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets. . . . Live joyfully with the *wife* whom thou lovest, all the days of thy life, of thy vanity given thee under the sun."—*Ecclesiastes*.

And Brigham Young, with two houses full of women, says in one of his sermons, "If polygamy is any harder on them (the women) than it is on the men, God help them."

The general summary to my mind is, that the polygamist is truly to be pitied, having robbed himself of a pure pleasure to add a little (perhaps?) to his pleasures of sense. The doctor, as I thought and urged upon him beforehand, gave away his case when he consented to consider the ancient Jews as our example. The Jews began as a nation of slaves to a nation of idolaters; as the slave is inferior to the master, so were they inferior to a nation which worshipped *gods* of toads, flies, and all the hideous monsters of the Nile. From this abject position the Jews were brought out for a special purpose and an exceptional career. They borrowed without intent to pay; they robbed and plundered all with whom they came in contact, and satisfied their consciences by keeping the dead letter of a treaty, when grossly violating its spirit. They inveigled Canaanites into their camp and massacred them; they turned cities and valleys into reeking slaughter-pens; they cut off the fingers and toes of captive kings, and drove harrows over the common peo-



A MORMON'S DAUGHTER PLEADING TO BE SAVED FROM POLYGAMY.

had occupied their pulpit and had not proved to their satisfaction that they were wrong. The outcome was nothing to brag of. And now, having given the clergy their due notice, the reader is requested to allow the author to state the case as he views it from a purely secular, historical and social standpoint.

Polygamy, as it exists in Utah, is a bloody comedy. To the victim it is often most abject misery; to the on-looking Gentile it presents so many ludicrous features that he often laughs when conscience tells him he would better cry. As for instance, when one hears women, *apparently* sane, talking about going into polygamy to be "exalted in heaven;" or of a mother urging her daughter to marry some portly old frog of an elder,



THE NEGLECTED WIFE. | THE NEW WIFE.

while the daughter begs with streaming eyes to be saved from polygamy—*then consents!* All our ideas about home, society and provision for a wife are so thoroughly interwoven with the monogamic idea that our fancy presents a thousand curious details as to how all this would work when applied to two or more instead of *one*. All our poetry, sentimental writing, dramatic composition, even our little parlor games, all have for their key-note the idea of *one* man loving *one* woman. So

These pretended forebodings were fully justified by the event, for, in spite of the secrecy maintained, the matter was soon bruited abroad, and there was fearful commotion in Zion. Old Mormons have told me that when they first heard it they were horror-stricken at the thought, and for years after could not believe the report.

Eliza Rigdon, daughter of Sidney, was one of the many women who denounced Joseph Smith for attempted seduction. Another young lady of Nauvoo, of good family, with great beauty and many accomplishments, informed her parents that the Prophet had approached her in the same way; yet such was their fanaticism that it is said they denounced their own daughter as "possessed of a lying devil." Polygamy and parental cruelty together crushed her, and it is said she literally died of a broken heart. Sidney Rigdon also brought forward his own doctrine of spiritual marriage, which is reported by old Mormons to have been substantially as follows: In the pre-existent state souls are mated, male and female, as it is divinely intended they shall fill the marriage relation in this life; or, in more poetic phrase, "marriages are made in heaven." But in the general jumble of contradictions and cross-purposes attending man in this state, many mistakes have been made in this matter; A has got the woman first intended for B, the latter has got C's true mate, and thus on, utterly defeating the counsel of the *gods* in the pre-marriage of the spirits. But the time had come for all this to be set right, and though they might not put aside their present wives, which would throw society somewhat out of gear, yet Smith might in addition exercise the privileges of husband toward Brown's wife and *vice versa*. This seems to have been merely the Mormon version of modern "free loveism," and from recent evidence it is quite probable it also was practised to some extent in Nauvoo, thus making polygamy equally free to men and women; but it is quite different, in theory at least, from the present "spiritual wifeism" of the Mormons, as will presently appear.

As the first open hints of the new doctrine, in the autumn of 1843, excited so much contention, and as the indignation of the



"POLYGAMY CRUSHED HER YOUNG HEART."



At the time these documents were written Joseph and Hyrum were both living in polygamy. After their death the Church was more zealous than ever in denying the existence of polygamy, or any other system of marriage except that common to all Christians. Every Mormon paper denounced the charge; every Mormon Missionary swore vehemently that no such practice was permitted in the church. In July, 1845, Parley P. Pratt published a card in which he denounced it as a "doctrine of devils and seducing spirits; but another name for whoredom, wicked and unlawful connection, and every kind of corruption, confusion and abomination;" and in the following year the General Conference of Europe denounced both the doctrine and practice in the strongest terms. In May, 1848, the *Millennial Star* called for the vengeance of heaven on all the liars who charged "such odious practices as spiritual wifeism and polygism" upon the Church; ending with the following:

"In all ages of the Church truth has been turned into a lie, and the grace of God converted into lasciviousness, by men who have sought to make 'a gain of godliness,' and feed their lusts on the credulity of the righteous and unsuspecting. . . . Next to the long-hackneyed and bug-a-boo whisperings of polygism is another abomination that sometimes shows its serpentine crests, which we shall call sexual resurrectionism. . . . The doctrines of corrupt spirits are always in close affinity with each other, whether they consist in spiritual wifeism, sexual resurrection, gross lasciviousness, or the unavoidable separation of husbands and wives, or the communism of property."

In July, 1850, Elder John Taylor held a discussion at Boulogne, France, with three English clergymen. They quoted from the anti-Mormon works published by J. C. Bennett and J. B. Bowes, which charged polygamy as a practice of the Church; to which Taylor made the following reply: "We are accused here of polygamy, and actions the most indelicate, obscene and disgusting, such that none but a corrupt heart could have contrived. These things are too outrageous to admit of belief. Therefore, leaving the sisters of the 'white

veil' and the 'black veil,' and all the other veils with those gentlemen to dispose of, together with their authors, as they think best, I shall content myself by reading our views of chastity and marriage from a work published by us, containing some of the articles of our faith." He then read from the "*Doctrines and Covenants*," which was adopted in full conference *the year after Smith's death*, the following :

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

The italics are my own. As a specimen of Mormon reasoning, it may here be added, they now insist that in the above clause "one wife" really meant of course "one or more;" that the adversative "but" was added in case of the woman to cut off any such free rendering in her case, and that the clause was so worded "to specially deceive the Gentiles and yet tell the exact truth." They further add that, "under certain circumstances the Lord allows His priesthood to lie in order to save His people; it would not do to give strong meat to little children; they must first be fed with milk, and when they get stronger they can have meat: so with the truth, they must be taught it little at a time."

The foreign Mormons were thus kept in perfect ignorance of the matter, and were highly indignant when the charge was made; still, as it was practiced, reports of it were constantly made and generally believed throughout the United States. Brigham Young soon became head of the Church, and took for his second wife Lucy Decker Seely, who had previously been divorced from Doctor Seely. Not long after, at their winter quarters near Council Bluffs, Iowa, he married Harriet Cook, whose son, Oscar Young, is the first child in polygamy. Soon after the Saints were safe in Utah, where it seemed that "Gentiles, their laws and mobs would annoy no more;" and the necessity for concealment no longer existed. So the doctrine was more and more openly discussed, and finally, on the

29th of August, 1852, it was publicly announced by Brigham Young\* in a meeting at Salt Lake City, where the revelation was for the first time publicly read and pronounced valid. The sermons in its favor, by Orson Pratt and Brigham Young, were first published, together with the revelation, in the *Deseret News, Extra*, of September 14th, 1852. From Young's address I extract the following :

“You heard Brother Pratt state, this morning, that a revelation would be read this afternoon, which was given previous to Joseph's death. It contains a doctrine a small portion of the world is opposed to; but I can deliver a prophecy upon it. Though that doctrine has not been preached by the Elders, this people have believed in it for years. The original copy of this revelation was burnt up. William Clayton was the man who wrote it from the mouth of the Prophet. In the meantime it was in Bishop Whitney's possession. He wished the privilege to copy it, which brother Joseph granted. Sister Emma (wife of Joseph Smith) burnt the original. The reason I mention this is, because that the people who did know of the revelation, supposed it was not now in existence.

“The revelation will be read to you. The principle spoken upon by Brother Pratt this morning, we believe in. Many others are of the same mind. They are not ignorant of what we are doing in our social capacity. They have cried out proclaim it; but it would not do a few years ago; everything must come in its time; as there is a time for all things, I am now ready to proclaim it. This revelation has been in my possession for many years; and who has known it? None but those who should know it. I keep a patent lock on my desk, and there does not anything leak out that should not.”

The people of Utah were prepared for the announcement, but polygamy was too “strong doctrine” for Europe, and when first published there, in April, 1853, it seemed that even then it would destroy the foreign Church. In England, especially, the demoralization was fearful; hundreds after hundreds apostatized, whole churches and conferences dissolved; talented knaves in many instances, finding in this the excuse for going

thousand combinations and inter-relations upon the plurality system. A man's or woman's glory in eternity is to depend upon the size of the family; for a woman to remain childless is a sin and calamity, and she cannot secure "exaltation," as the wife of a Gentile or an apostate; her husband's rank in eternity must greatly depend upon the number of his wives, and she will share in that glory whatever it is. All this points unerringly to polygamy. Hence, also, the last feature of this complex and unnatural relationship, known as "spiritual wives," which is to be understood as follows: Any woman, having an earthly husband of whose final exaltation she is in doubt, may be sealed for eternity to some prominent Mormon, who will raise her and make her part of his final kingdom. In theory this gives the spiritual husband no marital rights, but, as stated by Elder John Hyde, the noted apostate, "it may well be doubted whether the woman who can prefer another man for her pseudo-eternal husband, has not fallen low enough to sin in deed as well as thought against her earthly husband."

By "marriage for the dead," living women are sealed to dead men, and *vice versa*, some one "standing proxy" for the deceased. Thus, a widow and widower may each prefer their first partners "for eternity," but like each other well enough "for time;" in which case they are first sealed to each other "for time," then each, by proxy for the departed, "for eternity," thus requiring three separate ceremonies to settle the temporal and eternal relations of all parties, who may in turn be divorced from either by Brigham Young and the probate courts. So a man may have a wife "for time," who belongs to some man already dead "for eternity," in which case all the children will belong to the latter in eternity, the living man merely "raising up seed unto his dead brother." To such lengths of vain imaginings may a credulous people be led by artful impostors.

The worst period of polygamy has passed, but its evil effects continue in full force to the present. At the outset I meet with a difficulty in describing its greatest evils. The virtues of Mormonism are all easily seen, while its vices are, as much as possible, hidden, and this is peculiarly the case with poly-

gamy. We can see its evils in a political point of view, in their laws, to some extent in their society, in the mixture of population and the blood of near kindred ; but who can enter into the *penetralia* of the affections, weigh and estimate woman's anguish, count the heart-drops of sorrow, and say, here is so much misery, or there is so much resignation !

Miss Sarah E. Carmichael, now Mrs. Williamson, who was reared at Salt Lake, says : " If I were a man, as I am a woman, I would stand in the halls of Congress and cry aloud for the miserable women of Utah, till the world should hear and know the wrongs and miseries of polygamy." The Mormons argue that the laws of nature, physical nature, point out polygamy as the natural condition. There may be some argument for it in man's physical organization, but when we come to the soul and mind, the mentality of woman points unerringly to monogamy as her only possible state for domestic happiness ; and any system which attempts to establish unity in the household by dividing one man's care and affection among two or three women, is founded upon a total misconception of the sexual principle. Sound philosophy shows us three great objects of marriage : the production and rearing of children ; the formation of a close partnership, common interest and confidential intimacy between husband and wife, and, above all, the enjoyment of a pure affection.

This last is the real happiness of marriage, and its very essence is duality ; a divided affection is utterly at war with " that sweet egotism of the heart called love," that divine selfishness of choosing *one* being apart from all the world, perhaps the *only* form in which selfishness is approved of God. And the object of this principle is a higher development of the whole man, male and female ; this is the most noble object of the marriage relation, and by this alone is it sanctified. Can the wildest fanaticism or most earnest sophistry claim that aught of this can be found in the polygamic order ? The Mormon is but *one-third* married ; he has in such unions provided for but one-third, and that the lowest, basest part of his nature. But, it may be said, this last is only a theory. Let us then briefly ex-

thousand combinations and inter-relations upon the plurality system. A man's or woman's glory in eternity is to depend upon the size of the family; for a woman to remain childless is a sin and calamity, and she cannot secure "exaltation," as the wife of a Gentile or an apostate; her husband's rank in eternity must greatly depend upon the number of his wives, and she will share in that glory whatever it is. All this points unerringly to polygamy. Hence, also, the last feature of this complex and unnatural relationship, known as "spiritual wives," which is to be understood as follows: Any woman, having an earthly husband of whose final exaltation she is in doubt, may be sealed for eternity to some prominent Mormon, who will raise her and make her part of his final kingdom. In theory this gives the spiritual husband no marital rights, but, as stated by Elder John Hyde, the noted apostate, "it may well be doubted whether the woman who can prefer another man for her pseudo-eternal husband, has not fallen low enough to sin in deed as well as thought against her earthly husband."

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“I PROMISED TO SPEND THE EVENING WITH MY OTHER WIFE.”



It was long claimed that the large infant mortality in Utah was due entirely to polygamy, and that children were born with weaker constitutions; but I am satisfied that polygamy is only one cause, and that the waste of life is not because the children are weaker but largely because polygamy leaves too many without proper care. This will be considered more at length when I treat of the political economy of Utah. Suffice it to say here that the death-rate is abnormally large. The mortality among children was long greater in Salt Lake City than any other in America, and the death-rate of Utah only exceeded by that of Louisiana. The Mormons explain this by saying that their people are generally poor and exposed to hardships, but much of that poverty is directly traceable to their religion. Another sad fact is the general neglect of medical care, or rather a general tendency to run to wild and absurd schemes of doctoring. They claim that "laying on of hands and the prayer of faith" will heal the sick, and, yet, no people within my knowledge are so given to "Thomsonianism," "steam doctoring," "yarb medicine," and every other irregular mode of treating disease.

One day, during my residence there, three young children



A MORMON'S WIVES WELCOMING HIM HOME.

died in the seventeenth ward of scarlet fever. In neither case was a physician called; the Bishop came and "laid on hands with the holy anointing," and an old woman treated two of them with a mild palliative, such as is used for sore throat. If the patients live after such treatment, it is a "miracle;" if they die "it is the will of the Lord." Two-thirds of the polygamists do not and cannot attend properly to their children. The Bishop of one ward had thirty children living, and nearly twenty dead. Joseph Smith had a dozen spiritual wives; but three sons survived him—all of his legal wife.

When Heber Kimball was alive there were five men in the city who had together seventy wives; they had, all told, less than a hundred and fifty children. A polygamist's grave-yard is a melancholy sight. One bishop had seventeen children buried in one row, and the longest grave not over four feet. If these men had but the common feelings of humanity, how fearfully were they punished for the crime of polygamy! Even in my limited acquaintance with polygamists I could mention a dozen men whose houses are full of women, but their children are in the grave. The Asiatic institution was never meant to flourish on American soil, and has resulted here in a slaughter of the innocents which is saddening to contemplate. As only the most hardy survive, they generally grow up robust and active; but the effects of their social bias are seen in a strange dullness of moral perception. If the testimony of numerous young Mormons can be relied on, youthful demoralization certainly begins at an earlier age in Salt Lake than in other places. In many cases of poor men in polygamy, the husband, two wives and their children occupy the same room; and when we consider the scenes and conversation to which these children are witnesses, it would seem that no exalted ideas of purity could ever enter their minds. And this is but a natural result; for polygamy is tenfold more unnatural with such a climate and race than in Southern Asia or Africa.

Strange and paradoxical it is that in a barren land and temperate or harsh climate, they have succeeded in setting up a prac-

tice which social philosophy had decided to belong only in regions of abundance, in voluptuous climes where soft airs incline to sensual indulgence. Stranger still, in the attempt to found a purely religious community, they have begun by utterly reversing every idea which the experience of three thousand years had proved to be valuable; and in the very inception of a young society, which was to be fresh, vigorous and pure, have adopted the worst vices of an old and worn out civilization. But to them these arguments are idle; "the mouth of the Lord hath commanded it;" and it is theirs not to study results but to leave it with the Lord: so, beholding all around them the furious revenges of nature on those who violate her most important law, they shut their eyes to these facts and pronounce them false; and even the women, bearing in their own bodies the effects of physiological sin, impiously claim a divine sanction to violate the laws of nature.

When, leaving the mere youth, we come to young men and women, we observe two curious effects of polygamy. The first is a growing tendency to single life; polygamy to some extent necessitates celibacy, for the number of the sexes being about equal, even in Utah, if one man marries two wives, some other man must do without his one. Polygamy is in fact the worst kind of robbery, and for the twelve young women whom Heber C. Kimball married after reaching Utah, some of them not over eighteen, twelve young men must remain single. This tendency was a matter of constant reproach by the priesthood when I was in Utah, particularly among the girls, and it was a common remark by the latter that they would never marry till they could leave the Territory. And this accounts in part for a general desire among the unmarried to get away and settle out of Utah. The world would be surprised at the constant losses to their population from this source; there has been for twenty-five years a constant leak from the Territory in every direction, and in one sermon I heard Brigham Young enumerate a score of places in California, Nevada, Washington and Oregon, settled entirely by recusant Mormons. In spite of a steady immigration from Europe of from one to four thousand

## CHAPTER XIV.

## MORMON DOCTRINES.

A theologic conglomerate—Sidney Rigdon's part—Joseph Smith's—Orson and Parley Pratt's—Brigham Young's—Wonderful growth of Mormonism in England—Analysis of the faith—Gods, angels, spirits, and men—Birth of spirits—Adam falls uphill—"The Holy Oil"—Prayer cures—Josephites on polygamy—Their able arguments—Gross perversions of Scripture by Brighamites—Eclectic theology.

MORMON theology is purely eclectic. Sidney Rigdon laid the foundation; Joseph Smith supplied the prophecy, fraud, and fervor; Parley P. Pratt the fanciful and poetic elements; Orson Pratt the mysticism, and Brigham Young the grossest points of vulgar materialism: the ecclesiastical form of government grew into shape from a succession of exigencies, and polygamy developed naturally from the unrestrained lusts of Cowdery, Smith, Bennet, and others. Many doctrines have been broached, preached a while, and then dropped; others, once stoutly maintained, have been quietly ignored; and still others, which almost had a foothold in the church, have been overruled in full council. The result is a vast and cumbrous system which is the standard Mormon theology, but of which each individual Mormon believes so much or so little as he can comprehend. It were an endless task to pursue these doctrines through all the variations, necessary to force some sort of agreement, and the lifeless application of perverted texts of Scripture. But the distinctive points may be stated historically and then grouped.

Sidney Rigdon was expelled from the Baptist church in Pennsylvania for preaching communism of goods, and after a brief connection with the adherents of Stone and Campbell, they also found it convenient to dispense with him. But he persisted in



PLEADING WITH A YOUNG HUSBAND NOT TO TAKE ANOTHER WIFE.

feet as a testimony against the city which would not help the Saints in Missouri, and sang a great "Lamentation," calling on the New Yorkers, "When the union is severed, when this mighty city shall crumble to ruin, and sink as a mill-stone, the merchants undoing, O, sing this lamentation and think upon me!" Very rash for prophets to name time and place in their utterances—very rash, indeed—but it does show that for the time they believe the stuff themselves.

Among the doctrines preached at various times and abandoned or condemned, are: The "spiritual wifery," taught and somewhat practiced at Nauvoo; the "baby resurrection," put forward by Orson Hyde, who claimed that the ancient Hebrews and others were born again in Mormon babies, and that mothers by observing the movings of the spirit could tell which tribe of Israel their unborn children belonged to; the Adam-God theory of Brigham Young, that Adam is now the *god* ruling this world, and that Brigham himself will in due time succeed to that place, as soon as Joseph Smith goes higher, and perhaps I should add, the blood-atonement theory, as the Mormons now deny it, or, at any rate, no longer preach it. Excluding these the general Mormon theology may be classed under five heads:

I. Pure materialism.

II. The eternity of matter.

III. Pre-existence of the soul, and transmission of spirits.

IV. A plurality of *gods*.

V. A plurality of wives, or "celestial marriage."

All these are blended in various ways, and depend upon each other in a score of combinations and confused inter-relations; but as far as possible they are treated separately.

I. The Mormons hold that there is no such thing as spirit distinct from matter; that spirit is only matter refined, and that spirits themselves are composed of purely material atoms, only finer than the tangible things of earth, as air is finer and more subtle than water, while both are equally material. "The purest, most refined and subtle of all is that substance called the Holy Spirit. This substance, like all others, is one of the elements of material or physical existence, and, therefore, sub-



"LAYING ON OF HANDS—WITH THE PRAYER OF FAITH."

age. George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson are thus vicariously members of the Mormon Church.

The celestial heaven is theirs only who have both heard and obeyed the Gospel. In that happy state they enjoy all that made this life desirable; they eat, drink, and are merry; they are solaced by the embraces of their earthly wives, and many more will be given them; all material enjoyments will be free from the defects of earth, and pleasures will never pall. In time the most faithful will become *gods*.

"They will ever look upon the elements as their home; hence the elements will ever keep pace with them in all the degrees of progressive refinement, while room is found in infinite space:

"While there are particles of unorganized element in nature's store-house:

"While the trees of paradise yield their fruits, or the fountain of life its river:

"While the bosoms of the gods glow with affection. While eternal charity endures, or eternity itself rolls its successive ages, the heavens will multiply, and new worlds and more people be added to the kingdom of the Fathers."

But there is still another class of persons who do not quite live up to their privileges, and yet deserve a salvation. Unmarried men and women, and those guilty of various derelictions make up this class. They will never progress, but be *angels* merely; messengers and servants to those worthy of greater glory; and "bachelor angels" only, with no families, and compelled to go through eternity without a mate. And this brings me to the last of the five heads of my text:

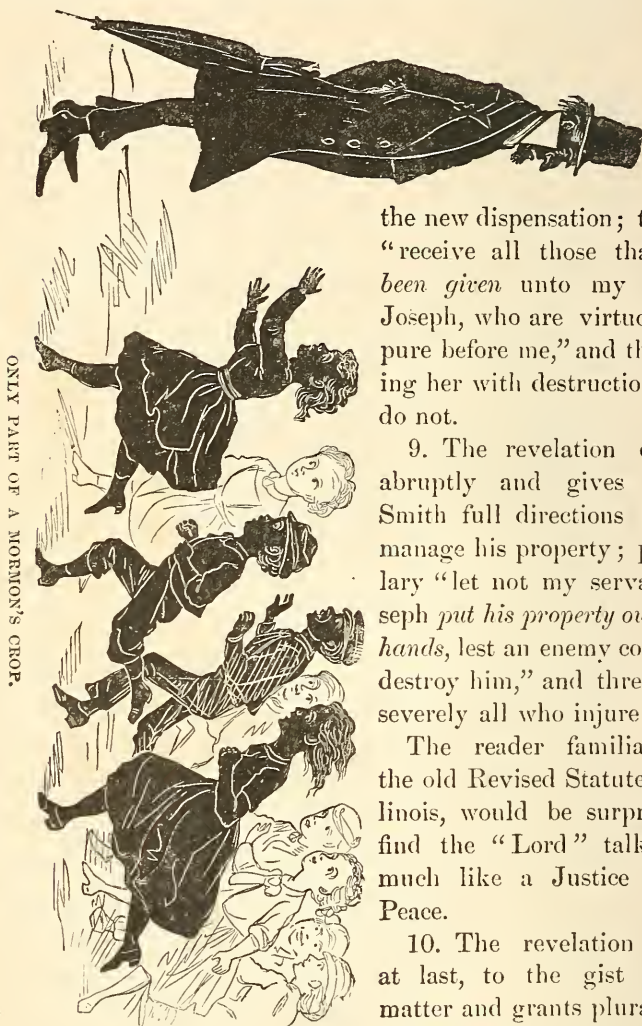
V. A plurality of wives, on which I need add but little, and that as to theory merely; I have given an account of it practically, and the history of Mormonism is largely a history of polygamy. The crude doctrines of "sexual resurrection," "progress in eternity," "generation of spirits," and marriage of the *gods* all interlock with the doctrine of polygamy; and it is curious how captivating a veil of religious fancy may be thrown over an institution naturally and inherently vile. Gross forms





"YOU CAN BE EXALTED IN ETERNITY ONLY BY POLYGAMY."—MORMON  
DOCTRINE.

8. This section gives very full and explicit instructions to Emma Smith, wife of Joseph, how to conduct herself under



ONLY PART OF A MORMON'S CROP.

the new dispensation; that she "receive all those that *have been given* unto my servant Joseph, who are virtuous and pure before me," and threatening her with destruction if she do not.

9. The revelation changes abruptly and gives Joseph Smith full directions how to manage his property; particularly "let not my servant Joseph *put his property out of his hands*, lest an enemy come and destroy him," and threatening severely all who injure him.

The reader familiar with the old Revised Statutes of Illinois, would be surprised to find the "Lord" talking so much like a Justice of the Peace.

10. The revelation comes, at last, to the gist of the matter and grants plurality of wives, in these words:

"And again, as pertaining to the law of the priesthood: If any man espouse a virgin and desires to espouse another, and the first give her consent; and if he espouse the second, and

At a later date, he repudiated the Bible narrative of Creation :

“You believe Adam was made of the dust of this earth. This I do not believe. . . You can write that information to the States if you please—that I have publicly declared that I do not believe that portion of the Bible as the Christian world do. I never did, and I never want to. Because I have come to understanding, and banished from my mind all the baby-stories my mother taught me when I was a child.”

One step more was wanted, and the apostle Heber C. Kimball took it when he announced that Brigham himself was “God to this people.” For a while this claim was allowed by some; but at last the people kicked against it. And thereafter no new doctrine was added—the Mormon canon was full.

Amusement and disgust possess us by turns as we pursue these blasphemous speculations in regard to the employment of the *gods*, or the vain attempt to supply those points of knowledge which Infinite Wisdom has left unrevealed. The Mormons are Christians in their belief in the New Testament, and the mission of Christ; Jews in their temporal theocracy, tithing and belief in prophecy; Mohammedans in regard to the relations of the sexes, and Voudoos or Fetichists, in their witchcraft, good and evil spirits, faith doctoring and superstition. From the Boodhists they have stolen their doctrines of apotheosis and development of *gods*; from the Greek mythology their loves of the immortals and spirits; they have blended the ideas of many nations of polytheists, and made the whole consistent by outdoing the materialists. In the labor of harmonizing all this with Christianity, there is scarcely a schism that has ever rent the Christian world, but has furnished some scraps of doctrine. They are Arians in making Christ a secondary being in the Godhead—“the greatest of created things and yet a creature;” they are Manicheans in their division of the universe between good and evil spirits, and something worse in their gross ascription of all human indulgences and enjoyments to the Saviour. Of the modern sects, they have the order of service, “experience meetings” and “witness of the spirit” of the

## CHAPTER XV.

## MORMON SOCIETY.

A supposition—Collection of the queer ones—A few sharp managers—The unfortunate and criminal—“Sydney Coves”—“Hickory Mormons”—Broad humor—Poetesses, as it were—A rich field for satire—The badly tithed victim—Lying for one’s religion.

Do you know, thoughtful reader, a man in your neighborhood whose intellect is wholly given up to prying and supposition as to unseen things: a good carpenter or skillful farmer, perhaps, not a bad neighbor in a general way, but prone to the *outré* alike in art, science, mechanics, medicine and religion? He is a man who progresses with wonderful rapidity just so far, then stops for good and all; the superficial he acquires with ease, and reasons on it with astonishing vigor and plausibility; but never even by accident gets down to broad general principles. If a mechanic, he is morally certain to spend much time trying to invent a perpetual motion; if a farmer, no experience will cure him of certain unscientific notions as to stock, crops and weather; if he reads medicine, he is apt to fancy that there is some wonderful elixir that will “restore lost manhood,” and that away off in the wilderness, back of a rock or in the woods in a wigwam, there is an “Injin doctor” who has compounded out of roots and herbs an infallible cure for consumption. He plants according to the moon, digs when the “sign” is right, slaughters his stock in the light of the moon, and is positive government could create cheap capital by some financial sleight-of-hand. If somewhat spiritually inclined, he reads Daniel, Ezekiel and Revelation; the “wheels within wheels” whirl before his dazed fancy, and the beast with seven heads and ten horns gallops recklessly through his riotous imagination. He

Another and a rather hopeless class in Utah consists of those who became Mormons sincerely, but from slight or insufficient motives. They united with the sect, with as much sincerity as they were capable of, but with no clear understanding of what was before them. Before embracing Mormonism, they were generally afloat on religious subjects, or dissatisfied with what they saw in their own churches, and had fallen into the dangerous habit of suspecting all men of hypocrisy. I have met dozens of this class who have been "lobby members" of the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and "Campbellite" Churches; that weak, feeble class of Christians who expect the Church to pick them up and carry them to heaven, carefully lifting them over the rough places in the road, and removing every annoying doubt which will rise in an idle or vapid brain. I have heard them speak of their churches as "stationary," or "sleepy," never dreaming that the fault was in themselves. They were the weak, discontented disciples, without the fierce vigor and aggressive spirit of the true Church; not having learned the first principle of Christianity to be zealous, unselfish labor. In this state of mind their attention is caught and fancy captivated by the claim of a new revelation, of holding direct communion with heaven, of walking every day in new light received from without; and also at thought of a distinctively American religion, with saints, apostles, prophets and martyrs, all of our own race and time. This class are very enthusiastic on first reaching the new Zion, but often grow discontented, and fall again into their doubting and querulous habits. But as they did not think their way into Mormonism, they cannot think themselves out, and so they simply float. Sometimes they apostatize, but are no loss to the Church and no gain to the Gentiles, from pure lack of intellectual vigor.

But there are enough, after deducting all the hypocrites, who really believe in Mormonism with all its absurdities and contradictions. They never doubt for a moment, that Joseph Smith was sent direct from God, and that Brigham Young was his successor. This class comprises about half of the whole community, and they are the really dangerous element. No



THE OLD WIFE GETS THE JEWELRY INTENDED FOR THE YOUNG ONE.

a record of wonder and miracle. She says that she and her husband, in England, were converted to Mormonism by reading a book written in opposition to it. She affirms that no principle of the faith was received by them with so much joy as the "heaven-born revelation" of polygamy. Her husband does not appear to have felt called upon to put the doctrine in practice, however. If he had, her buoyant muse might have sung in jeremiads.

There is a certain rude humor among the Mormons which occasionally develops into real wit in the younger ones; and a young Mormon has one great advantage over a young American: he has absolutely no reverence for anybody. He can make game of Prophet or President, governor or elder; and polygamy certainly presents more salient points for wit and ridicule to fasten on than any other institution in America. I had an intimate friend among the "hickory" Mormons whose details of life in the manifold families often convulsed me, especially his spirited narration of a scene in the home of a certain Salt Lake merchant whose young wife was a plump and pretty, piquant and black-eyed English girl, while his older one was so hopelessly homely that really her face must have ached. But my friend insisted that she was not jealous, and loved the old boy with singleness of heart. On a trip for new goods he selected some jewelry for his fair young "cone," and sent it in advance; but by some blunder in directing, the old lady captured it, and on his arrival literally smothered him with glad caresses. Her transports, her thanks, her kisses, and above all his horror and the favorite's grief, as portrayed by my witty friend, were irresistibly funny. There is so much of this sort of thing that I have often wondered some American humorist did not locate at Salt Lake and "do" the whole community. There is an inexhaustible mine of humor, and unworked as yet.

There is something ludicrous in the mere suggestion of woman suffrage in a system which does not recognize even the moral development of woman apart from her husband; in the idea of exaltation in eternity dependent on the production of children on earth; in the claim of liberty and fraternity under

## CHAPTER XVI.

## MORMON GOVERNMENT.

**Absolutism**—An ancient model—Three governments in Utah—Church officials—First President—First Presidency—"The worst man in Utah"—Quorum of Apostles—"The Twelve"—A dozen men with fifty-two wives—President of Seventies—Patriarch—"A blessing for a dollar"—Bishops—High Council—Judge and jury—Ward teachers—The confessional—Evangelists—Secret police or "Danites"—Civil government only an appendage—Excessive power of the Mormon Courts—Perversions of law and justice—Organic Act defective—Federal Judges—Their weakness and disgrace—Verdicts dictated from the pulpit—Probate Judges really appointed by Brigham Young—Voting system—"Protecting the ballot"—The Hooper-McGroarty race—Plurality of offices as well as wives—Tyranny of the Church—The Mormon *vs.* the American idea—The evils of which Gentiles complain.

IN government as in doctrine and practice, the Mormons have adopted the most ancient model. But it was not quite possible even for them to entirely ignore the popular element, hence they have pieced out their theocracy with a shred of universal suffrage, proving themselves eclectic in politics as well as theology. There are in Utah three distinct governments:

I. The recognized and openly acknowledged ecclesiastical government of the Mormon Church.

II. The secret and irresponsible government operated by a few of the leading men.

III. The Territorial government, which was for years but the mere convenient machine of the church, and has but lately stood forth in anything like its intended character.



For the success of such an institution as Mormonism, it was absolutely necessary there should be a recognized priesthood, through which channel alone, all commands from heaven should come. If any man who "felt the moving of the Spirit" was at liberty to prophesy, prophets would soon cease to have any honor. It was necessary, too, that this priesthood should bear complete rule, and to this end an ignorant laity was necessary. These conditions have all been filled, and the Mormon Church stands forth complete as a theocratic absolutism. I present in the order of their rank, the various officers of the church, and the duties connected with them.

#### THE FIRST PRESIDENT.

This officer stands at the head of all the affairs of the church, temporal and spiritual, financial and priestly; he alone has the power of "sealing," though in some cases he may delegate it, and he only is acknowledged revelator. This office, first filled by Joseph Smith, was held for thirty years by Brigham Young, who was "Prophet, Priest, Seer, Revelator in all the world, First President and Trustee-in-trust of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," and *ex-officio* the repository of any other needed office or power. John Taylor is the present incumbent.

To consider him in all these *roles* would exceed my space; his various powers appear more fully in the course of this history. Suffice it to say, that as Prophet, he holds the "keys of the kingdom," and without his permission *none can enter the church or be saved*; as Revelator, he unfolds to the people the will of God concerning them; as Seer, he is warned to avoid any danger which may be in the future for him or his people, and, as Priest, he "seals" men and women for eternity. In temporal matters he is equally absolute. As President, he



CADET YOUNG AT WEST POINT.

orders all the concerns of the church, appoints new bishops and elders, and determines the political bearings of the community; as Trustee-in-trust, all the title to the church property is in his name, he buys, sells, and conveys it, and, in Brigham's reign, *with no fixed system of rendering account*, and as Treasurer of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, his draft alone can be honored where the funds are on deposit. He claims and is acknowledged by his followers, to be the Supreme Pontiff of the world in all spiritual matters, and entitled to the obedience of all Mormons. They also claimed for Brigham that all the wise men had recognized his position by calling to pay their respects as they passed through the city, and that the government had officially recognized his presidency by appointing his polygamous son to West Point. They do not fail to add that Cadet Young took the lead there in everything, and that the Gentile ladies literally bowed down and worshipped him in a social way. And it must be confessed that a few of our fair countrywomen did succeed in making fools of themselves that way.

True, there are various parties among the Mormons, who claim that the President is entitled to their obedience only within certain limits; but they are generally held as heretics, "governed by an apostate spirit," and all "good Mormons" claim that they are bound by the orders of the Prophet, even to matters of life and death. The doctrine was still more authoritatively declared by the First President, Brigham Young, and his Councillor, Daniel H. Wells, who said: "It is apostasy to differ from the Priesthood—though ever so honestly—a man may honestly differ, and go to hell for it." If there is any limit to his power, it is not apparent to the Gentile mind.

## THE FIRST PRESIDENCY.

This consists of the First President and his First and Second Councilors, in 1868-75, George A. Smith and Daniel H. Wells. The first place was formerly filled by Heber C. Kimball, who died a short time before I entered the Territory, and at the ensuing Conference, Smith was chosen to the place. These last also have the title of President, they are the Lieutenants and Prime Ministers of the President to do all his commands, and are authorized to act in various capacities in his absence. In addition George A. Smith was Church Historian, and Daniel H. Wells, Mayor, Justice of the Peace and Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo-Legion. He seems to bear about him less of the ecclesiastical character than his colleague, and is generally denominated 'Squire Wells; but he is probably the worst man in the Hierarchy, being both a half-crazy fanatic and a blood-thirsty bigot. The organization has been changed since the death of Smith and Brigham.

## QUORUM OF APOSTLES.

The body third in importance in the church is the College or Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. They come much nearer to the people than the First Presidency, as the whole Mormon territory is nominally divided between them, and it is their duty to inspect their various districts and see "that each stake is set in order." Individual Apostles are often put in charge of foreign missions, sent away to edit newspapers or magazines, or to preside over some newly selected "stake" of the extending settlements, in either of which cases, another Apostle is chosen in place of the absent. Thus there are sometimes as many as fifteen acting Apostles, but only the Twelve are entitled to seats in the Quorum at one time.

I present the list as it stood on my arrival in Utah, and as an Apostle's dignity, like that of most other officers, depends largely upon the number of his wives, I give their number also as it then was :

ORSON HYDE,	<i>First Apostle,</i>	Five Wives.
ORSON PRATT,	<i>Second</i> “	Four “
JOHN TAYLOR,	<i>Third</i> “	Seven “
WILFORD WOODRUFF,	<i>Fourth</i> “	Three “
JOSEPH F. SMITH,	<i>Fifth</i> “	Three “
AMASA LYMAN,	<i>Sixth</i> “	Five “
EZRA BENSON,	<i>Seventh</i> “	Four “
CHARLES RICH,	<i>Eighth</i> “	Seven “
LORENZO SNOW,	<i>Ninth</i> “	Four “
ERASTUS SNOW,	<i>Tenth</i> “	Three “
FRANKLIN RICHARDS,	<i>Eleventh</i> “	Four “
GEORGE Q. CANNON,	<i>Twelfth</i> “	Three “

Ezra Benson died in 1869, Orson Pratt in 1881; John Taylor has been promoted, and Amasa Lyman has apostatized. With the exception of John Taylor the Apostles are reported to be poor men; Orson Pratt particularly was in very moderate circumstances, and Orson Hyde has the reputation of being “an inveterate beggar,” in an ecclesiastical way, of course. The present quorum will be given at the close of this work.

#### PRESIDENT OF SEVENTIES.

This office appears to rank next to that of an Apostle, and arises as follows: The great working body of male Mormons is divided into seventy Quorums, each having nominally seventy members, though, in reality, they range everywhere from ten to seventy. Each has a President and these, collectively known as the Seventy, constitute a grand missionary board, which has



AN APOSTLE'S YOUNG WIFE HEARING HER HUSBAND IS TAKING ANOTHER.

and in other Territories this matter has been settled by appeal to the Supreme Court, and by its decision the Probate courts limited to probate matters and a very limited civil jurisdiction. But the organic act provides that the Probate or county courts shall have "such jurisdiction as shall be prescribed by law," and from this loose wording the Legislature claimed the right to give them jurisdiction over all subjects whatever. This anomaly in the judicial system was not without good cause. The District judges are United States officials, and are supposed to be supporting the national authority; the Probate judges are simply the bishops or elders in the different counties, over whom Brigham's power was absolute.

In former days Brigham divorced whomsoever he saw fit, on his own motion, and on payment of a fee of ten dollars. He boasted once in a sermon that he made enough this way, "by their d—d foolishness, to keep him in spending money." But afterwards it was thought best to give some attention to forms of law; and then, though parties must first be divorced by Brigham, or a special deputy within the church law, yet, after that, they must have a legal divorce in the Probate courts. Of course it never happened that Brigham's wishes were disregarded in the Probate. But this was their own affair; it is with their criminal jurisdiction that Gentiles had to do. A case which occurred in a southern settlement, in 1868, illustrates in so forcible a manner their style of getting rid of obnoxious citizens, that I set it forth entire.

In 1860 a lad of that district, of more than ordinary intelligence, left for California, where he remained for eight years, when he returned home with a considerable amount of money, and of course with no disposition to submit to the exactions of Mormonism. His parents being Mormons, and that his native place, he properly belonged to the class known as "hickory

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE MORMON TERRITORY.

Territorial limits—"Basins"—"Sinks"—"Flats"—Rain and evaporation—Elemental action and reaction—Potamology—Jordan—Kay's Creek—Weber—Bear River—Cache Valley—Timber—Blue Creek—Promontory—Great Desert—Utah Lake—Spanish Fork—Salt Creek—Timpanogos—Sevier River—Colorado System—Fish—Thermal and Chemical Springs—Healing Waters—Hotwater plants—Analysis by Dr. Gale—Mineral Springs—Salt beds—Alkali flats—Native Salts—GREAT SALT LAKE—First accounts—FREMONT—STANSBURY—Amount of salt—Valleys—Rise of the Lake—Islands—Bear Lake—"Ginasticutis"—Utah Lake—Climate—Increase of rain—Singular phenomena—Fine air—Relief for pulmonary complaints—Natural wealth of Utah—Game—Indians and Mormons.

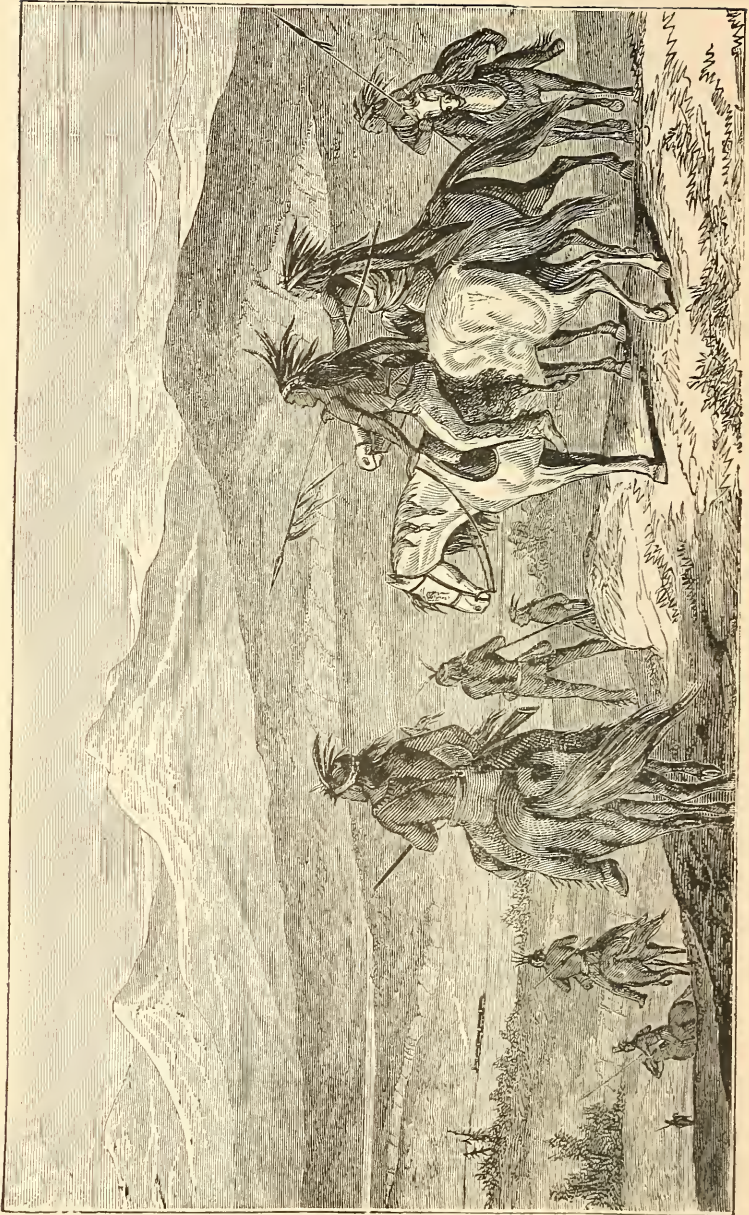
UTAH is included between the 37th and 42d parallels of North latitude, and meridians 109 and 114 west from Greenwich; deducting, however, from the northeast corner a section of one degree of latitude by two of longitude, lately attached to Wyoming. Its greatest length is thus, from north to south, five full degrees, and its width from east to west, five of the shorter meridional degrees; the whole area divided nearly equally between two geographical sections, viz.: the valley and drainage of the Colorado and its affluents, the Green and Grand rivers, and the district known as the Great or Interior Basin. This remarkable section, containing the western half of Utah, all of Nevada, and a part of southeastern California, includes all that portion of the continent extending north and south between the parallels 37 and 42, and from east to west from near the meridian 111, Greenwich, to the Sierra Nevadas,





J. SEBALD

THE SUNKEN DESERT - IN SOUTHWESTERN UTAH.



MOUNTAIN UTES RECONNOITRING THE UTAH SOUTHERN RAILROAD.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## MORMON MYSTERIES AND SECRET MARRIAGES.

The endowment—Actors—Scenery and dress—Prerequisites—Adam and Eve, The Devil and Michael, Jehovah and Eloheim—A new version—Blasphemous assumptions—Terrible oaths—Barbarous penalties—Origin—Scriptures and “Paradise Lost”—Eleusinian mysteries—“Morgan’s Freemasonry”—The witnesses—Probabilities—Their reasons—Changes—Secret marriages—No proof—Beating the Gentile courts.

## THE ENDOWMENT.

*Dramatis Personæ* (on special occasions).

ELOHEIM, or <i>Head God</i>	-	-	-	John Taylor,
JEHOVAH	-	-	-	John W. Young,
JESUS	-	-	-	Daniel H. Wells,
MICHAEL	-	-	-	George Q. Cannon,
SATAN	-	-	-	Elder Green,
APOSTLE PETER	-	-	-	Joseph F. Smith,
APOSTLE JAMES	-	-	-	Orson Hyde,
APOSTLE JOHN	-	-	-	Erastus Snow,
EVE	-	-	-	Miss Eliza R. Snow.

*Clerk, Washers, Attendants, Sectarians, Chorus and Endowees.*

## i.

## THE FIRST (PRE-EXISTENT) ESTATE.

THE candidates present themselves at the Endowment House, provided with clean clothes and a lunch; they are admitted to the outer office, and their accounts with the church

verified by a clerk. Their names, ages and the dates of their conversion and baptism are entered in the register; their tithing receipts are carefully inspected, and if found correct an entry thereof is made. This last is an indispensable before initiation. Evidence is also presented of faithful attendance on public service and at the "School of the Prophets." If y husband and wife appear who have not been sealed for eternity, a note is made of the fact, the ceremony to be performed in the initiation. They then remove their shoes, and, preceded by the attendants, who wear slippers, with measured and noiseless step enter the central ante-room, a narrow hall separated by white screens from two other rooms to the right and left; the right one is for men, and the left for women.

Deep silence prevails, the attendants communicating by mysterious signs or very low whispers; a dim light pervades the room, mellowed by heavy shades; the faint splash of pouring water behind the screens alone is heard, and the whole scene is calculated to cast a solemn awe over the ignorant candidates, waiting with subdued but nervous expectancy for some mysterious event. After a few moments of solemn waiting the men are led to their washing-room on the right, and the women to the left. The female candidate is stripped, placed in the bath and washed from head to foot by a woman set apart for the purpose. Every member is mentioned with a special blessing.

WASHER.—"*Sister*, I wash you clean from the blood of this generation, and prepare your members for lively service in the way of all true Saints. I wash your head that it may be prepared for that crown of glory awaiting you as a faithful Saint, and the fruitful wife of a priest of the Lord; that your brain may be quick in discernment, and your eyes able to perceive the truth and avoid the snares of the enemy; your mouth to



SCENES IN THE ENDOWMENT CEREMONIES.

1. Preparation—Washing and Anointing. 2. Eloheim Cursing Adam and Eve—Satan Driven out. 3. Trial of Faith—"The Searching Hand." 4. Oath to Avenge the Death of Joseph Smith. 5. The "Blood Atonement."

*“Adam.* Shall I accuse the partner of my life  
Or on myself the total crime avow?  
But what avails concealment with earth’s Lord?  
His thoughts discern my inmost hidden sense.  
The woman Thou gav’st to be my help  
Beguiled me with her perfect charms,  
By Thee endowed, acceptable, divine,  
She gave me of the fruit, and I did eat.”

*“Eloheim.* Say, woman, what is this that thou hast done?”

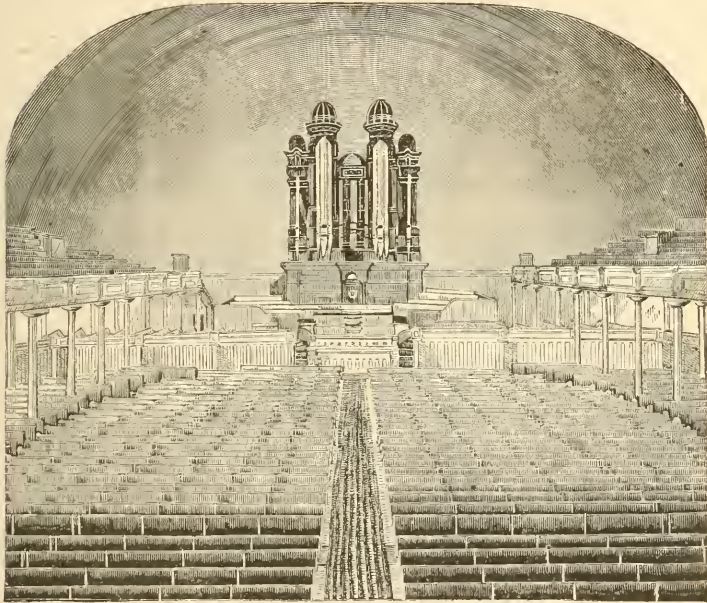
*“Eve.* The serpent me beguiled and I did eat.”

Eloheim then pronounces a curse—literally copied from the Scripture—upon the serpent, or rather Satan, who falls upon the ground, and with many contortions wriggles out of the room. A curse is next pronounced upon Eve, and then upon Adam, paraphrased from the Scripture. They fall upon the ground, beat their breasts, rend their clothes, and bewail their lost and sinful condition.

*“Eloheim.* Now is man fallen indeed. The accursed power which first made war in Heaven, hath practiced fraud on earth. By Adam’s transgression should all be under sin; the moral nature darkened, and none could know the truth. But cries of penitence have reached my ears, and Higher Power shall redeem. Upon this earth I place My holy priesthood. To them as unto Me in humble reverence bow. Man, fallen by Satan’s wiles, shall by obedience rise. Behold, the Woman’s Seed shall bruise the Serpent’s head; from her a race proceed endowed on earth with power divine. To them shall man submit, and regain the paradise now lost through disobedience. With power divine the priesthood is endowed, but not in fulness now. Obey them as the Incarnate Voice of God, and in time’s fulness Woman’s Seed shall all that’s lost restore to man. By woman, first fallen, Adam fell; from Woman’s Seed the priesthood shall arise, redeeming man; and man in turn shall Eve exalt, restoring her to the paradise by her first lost.

Meanwhile go forth, ye fallen ones, with only nature's light, and seek for truth."

The attendants now place upon each of the initiates a small square apron, of white linen or silk, with certain emblematical marks and green pieces resembling fig leaves, worked in and handsomely embroidered.



INTERIOR OF THE MORMON TABERNACLE.

The candidates then kneel and join in a solemn oath, repeating it slowly after Adam: That they will preserve the secret inviolably, under penalty of being brought to the block, and having their blood spilt upon the ground in atonement for their sin; that they will obey and submit themselves to the priesthood in all things, and the men in addition, that they will take no woman unless given them by the Presidency of the Church. A grip and a key-word are then communicated, and

“*Peter*: Brethren and sisters, light is now come into the world, and the way is opened unto men; Satan hath desired to sift you as wheat, and great shall be his condemnation who rejects this light. (The ceremony is explained up to this point.) The holy priesthood is once more established upon earth, in the person of Joseph Smith and his successors. They alone have the power to seal. To this priesthood as unto Christ, all respect is due; obedience implicit, and yielded without a murmur. He who gave life has the right to take it. His representatives the same. You are then to obey all orders of the priesthood, temporal and spiritual, in matters of life or death. Submit yourselves to the higher powers, as a tallowed rag in the hands of God’s priesthood. You are now ready to enter the kingdom of God. Look forth upon the void and tell me what ye see.” (Curtain is raised.)

*Adam and Eve*: “A human skeleton.”

*Peter*: “Rightly have ye spoken. Behold all that remains of one unfaithful to these holy vows. The earth had no habitation for one so vile. The fowls of the air fed upon his accursed flesh, and the fierce elements consumed the joints and the marrow. Do ye still desire to go forward?”

*Adam*: “We do.”

The initiates then join hands and kneel in a circle, slowly repeating an oath after Peter. The penalty is to have the throat cut from ear to ear, with many agonizing details. The *Second Degree* of the *Aaronic Priesthood* is then conferred, and the initiates pass into the third room, in the middle of which is an altar.

### III.

#### THIRD ESTATE.

Emblematic of celestialized men.

“*Michael*. Here all hearts are laid open, all desires revealed, and all traitors are made known. In council of the *gods* it hath



“Come, ye sons of doubt and wonder,  
Indian, Moslem, Greek, or Jew ;  
All your shackles burst asunder,  
Freedom’s banner waves for you.”

The foregoing is merely the regular initiation ; but there is another ceremony frequently performed in the Endowment House, of which the United States officials in Utah would be only too happy to get a record—the polygamous marriage. But when brought before the courts, none of the Mormon officials know anything about it ! Time was when this secrecy was unnecessary. Polygamous marriages were quite as open as any, and the wedding supper, dance and all that sort of thing, quite *en regle*. Then, according to Orson Pratt’s paper on the subject, the marriage was on this wise :

“When the day set apart for the solemnization of the marriage ceremony has arrived, the bridegroom and his wife, and also the bride, together with their relatives and such other guests as may be invited, assemble at the place which they have appointed. The scribe then proceeds to take the names, ages, native towns, counties, States, and countries of the parties to be married, which he carefully enters on record. The President, who is the Prophet, Seer and Revelator over the whole church throughout the world, and who alone holds the ‘keys’ of authority in this solemn ordinance (as recorded in the 2d and 5th paragraphs of the Revelation on Marriage), calls upon the bridegroom and his wife, and the bride, to arise, which they do, fronting the President. The wife stands on the left hand of her husband, while the bride stands on her left. The President then puts this question to the wife :

“‘Are you willing to give this woman to your husband to be his lawful and wedded wife for time and for all eternity? If you are, you will manifest it by placing her right hand within the right hand of your husband.’

## CHAPTER XIX.

## UTAH UNDER GRANT I.

The forward movement—Attack on the entire Mormon position—Judges Wilson, Hawley, and Strickland—Chief-Justice McKean—Governor J. W. Shaffer—Secretary and Governor Vaughan—Secretary Black and the Nauvoo Legion—Movement for a State government—Judge McKean's court overthrown—His character.

FROM the day the Union Pacific Railroad was chartered there was a confident hope in the minds of the American people that it would prove the death of Mormonism. Bowles and Richardson confidently prophesied it; Congress accepted that view as releasing the Government from any further concern about the business, and the Mormons themselves showed a dread of it. Brigham, however, said in his bluff way that it would be "a d—d poor religion that couldn't stand one railroad." Well, the road reached Utah in 1869, to find an empire within an empire, in almost unrestricted career. A dumb war existed between the great majority of the people, adherents of the Mormon Church, and represented by the Territorial Government, and the American people, represented by the courts established and the executive officers appointed by the National Government. The people were organized as a militia, officered, and commanded independently of the governor. The Probate Courts assumed to exercise a jurisdiction concurrent with that of the District Courts, and the Territory assumed to appoint all the officers and organs of the latter save the Judges. Chief-Justice McKean, appointed by President Grant, in 1870,

the Gentiles worked as I never knew them to work before, forwarding remonstrances against it with several thousand signatures. A few liberal Mormons signed these petitions, among them forty women. The Mormon delegate at Washington sent back a list of these names, and the *Deseret News* published them, with the customary Mormon threat, that when their day



LOBBYING AGAINST "DESERET."

of triumph came "this people would remember the traitors who had joined those who are fighting against God and his people." The ecclesiastical machinery was at once set in motion, and each district was canvassed by elders and ward teachers to call the signers to account. Recantations, denials, and confessions followed rapidly; nearly all the Mormons who had signed the



ONE WIFE TOO MANY.

## CHAPTER XX.

## UTAH UNDER GRANT II. AND HAYES.

The author's researches in Southern Utah—John D. Lee, Jacob Hamlin, Bishop Windsor, Bishop Haight and other worthies—Campaign of 1872—The Poland bill—Prosecutions under it—Frightful perjury—Some polygamists convicted at last—Renewed action against polygamy—Mrs. Froiseth's *Anti-Polygamy Standard*—President Hayes' views.

IN the summer of 1872 I made a long tour on horseback through northern Arizona, accompanied most of the time by one or more Navajo Indians of Ganado Mucho's band. For these gentle barbarians I acquired such a friendship that I was really grieved when they turned to the war-path, a few years later. The Mormons were just then making the most active exertions to extend their settlements down through Arizona; and the more incautious ones said the plan was to occupy all the vacant valleys there and control the Territorial government, as in Utah. This beautiful scheme was defeated by the rapid development of Arizona and the rush of Gentiles into its new and rich mining regions. But at the time of my tour the Mormon scheme was in full tide; Jacob Hamlin had but lately visited the Moqui towns of Pueblo Indians, and taken thence to Salt Lake City a husband and wife, Telashnimki and Tuba, to be converted, if possible, to Mormonism—at any rate to help maintain friendly relations. The younger Mormons had been "counselled" to look out for Navajo wives, and found the advice much more agreeable than it was in the case of the Lemhi settlement, before referred to; for the Navajo women are sur-

Gentiles abandoned the attempt to enforce the laws, and devoted themselves to business, especially mining. The courts fell into perfect chaos; the old system of empanelling juries was admitted to be illegal, and none other had been provided. Finally, in 1874, Congress passed the bill introduced by Mr. Poland, of Vermont, which provided that the Clerk of the District Court (Gentile) and the County Judge (Mormon) should each select one hundred names, and from the two hundred grand and petit



NAVAJO GIRL.

jurors should be drawn. So that autumn the judicial mill once more began to grind. The event was signalized in the Second District by the indictment of Lee and others for participation in the Mountain Meadows massacre. The prosecution established that that infamous butchery is rightly understood by the world, the defence failed to shake the case, yet the jury, two-thirds Mormon, disagreed, and justice was finally done, as related, only upon John Doyle Lee.

of statutes, and it could not be possible that the Mormon Legislature meant to enact a law against polygamy." To this it was replied that the *intent* of legislators was only to be sought when the law was doubtful; but when a statute was plain and unambiguous, as this was, common law and common reason forbade to go outside of it for a different construction. At the same time, no evidence of any revelation to justify



MRS. HAWKINS PLEADING WITH HER HUSBAND.

polygamy was given in court. It is difficult to see how the court and jury could consistently have acted otherwise. The law was express in its directions; the offence was proved beyond a doubt. The complainant was the *wife* provided for by law. The hardships, if any, consisted in applying a universal rule of law to men who had put themselves in an exceptional condition.

hostile to the whole Mormon system, and to the polygamous feature of it especially. The case excited additional interest from the fact that it was understood that it would be a test case, and, therefore, that its result would settle definitely the question of polygamy in the Territory for the future.

The first marriage of Reynolds was proven without difficulty, and the next and only point left to prove was the second or polygamous marriage. To do this the prosecution relied on the following witnesses :

First—Daniel H. Wells, one of the very highest dignitaries of the church, and the one who had solemnized the marriage. He was at the time Mayor of the city and commander of the Nauvoo Legion.

Second—Orson Pratt, a well-known leader and high official in the Mormon Church, a witness of the marriage, and one whose duty it seems to have been to keep a record of marriages under the Territorial Statute.

Third—A bashful young man, whose name is forgotten, who was married at the same time and place, and under the same ceremony as Reynolds.

Fourth—A sister of Reynolds, who resided with her brother and his second wife.

One would suppose that with such a quartette of witnesses it would be the easiest thing in the world to prove the second marriage of Reynolds. Yet such a supposition shows an entire ignorance of the true inwardness of Mormon influence over the acts and words of the true believers, inasmuch as the prosecution was a failure so far as these four witnesses were concerned.

Bear in mind that the marriage had taken place but a few months before the trial ; probably in August of the preceding year. General Wells swore positively and without hesitation that he had no recollection of performing the marriage cere-



mony, although the defendant was in his employ at the time of his marriage and ever since.

Orson Pratt had never heard of such a marriage, and did not remember whether he had ever made a record of it or not.

The bashful young man who had kept step with Reynolds while they marched through the awful mysteries of the Endowment House, and under the matrimonial yoke, had not the faintest recollection of what Reynolds was doing there on that interesting occasion.

Miss Reynolds did know that the second wife was living at her brother's house, but did not know in what capacity she was there, showing a lack of curiosity that was as rare as it was curious.

At this point the prosecution had exhausted its resources, and had utterly failed to make out a case.

The District Attorney could not conceal his chagrin and disgust over his discomfiture, while the Mormons in the courtroom were jubilant, and leaned over the railing to congratulate the exultant defendant over his easy victory. The Gentile spectators were utterly disheartened at the turn of the testimony, as it seemed to them that the whole fabric of the prosecution had melted away before the unblushing perjury of the witnesses.

At this critical moment Mr. Baskin, a well-known lawyer of Salt Lake City, formerly of Hillsborough, Ohio, twice the Liberal candidate for Delegate to Congress from Utah, a gentleman who is probably as bitterly hated by the Mormons as any other man in Utah, passed to the writer a card on which was written : "Tell him to call the second wife." This card was passed to the District Attorney, who read it and sprang to his feet, as if aroused by an electric shock, and asked the indulgence of the court for a few moments.

Marshal Maxwell left the court-room, and in ten minutes brought in the second wife by a side door, from which she could be seen by the entire audience. As the Marshal stepped aside from the door and revealed the person of Mrs. Reynolds No. 2 framed in the doorway, the consternation in the Mormon crowd was startling. The ghost of Joe Smith would scarcely have produced a more profound sensation. Reynolds settled himself low in his seat, with a look of hopeless, helpless terror, while a general look of dismay spread throughout the entire Mormon auditory.

Intuitively all seemed to think that here was a witness who was bound to tell the truth. Not expecting that she would be called as a witness, and knowing positively that she had not been subpoenaed, no effort was made to compel her to perjure herself; and such effort, if made, must have failed, as she must either have sworn herself the lawful wife of George Reynolds, or tacitly confessed to being his concubine.

The polygamous wife took the oath and advanced to the witness-stand in a very quiet and unassuming manner, when the following facts were elicited: "My name is Sarah Reynolds. I was married to George Reynolds in the Endowment House, in this city, in August last, by General Wells. Mr. Orson Pratt was present, and also Mr. — [naming the bashful young man with the poor memory, referred to above]. I spoke to Mr. Wells a few days ago about the case, when he told me that I need not be uneasy about it, that I would not be called as a witness, and that they could not convict George. I have lived with George Reynolds ever since our marriage." And that was all.

Now here was a predicament. Every one who heard and saw Mrs. Reynolds knew that she was telling the truth. But the truth convicted General Wells, Orson Pratt and the other

bility of securing proof of plural marriages, all the participants being sworn to secrecy by an oath which they are taught absolves them from all other oaths.

The Gentiles were suddenly roused to the full appreciation of the resolution of the polygamists within a few months of the rendering of the decision. A young Englishman named John Miles undertook to marry three girls at once, two of them sisters. One of them was Caroline Owens, and she had been drawn from home and country to marry this supposed lover. Upon arriving in Utah she found that she had two partners in her proposed husband's affections. Not only that, but one of them being older than she was, she could not even be the first or legal wife. This was too much, although she did marry him, one of the other girls backing out for some unknown reason at the last moment. At the wedding supper she made a scene, refusing to recognize the other wife, and indeed slapping her face. She appealed to District Attorney Van Zile, of Michigan, who had succeeded Howard, and Van Zile ultimately convicted Miles, claiming for the first time, and establishing, for he was sustained in these two points, that defendant's admissions were sufficient proof of the fact of his marriage, and that polygamists and those who believed in polygamy as a divine ordinance might rightfully be excluded from the jury in such a case. His weak point was in using Miss Owens at all to prove the first marriage. On that the judgment was reversed, the Supreme Court holding:

First—It is evident from the examination of the jurors on their *voir dire*, that they believed polygamy was ordained of God and that the practice of polygamy was obedience to the will of God. At common law this would have been ground for the principle challenge of juror guilty of the same act. It needs no argument to show that a jury composed of men enter-

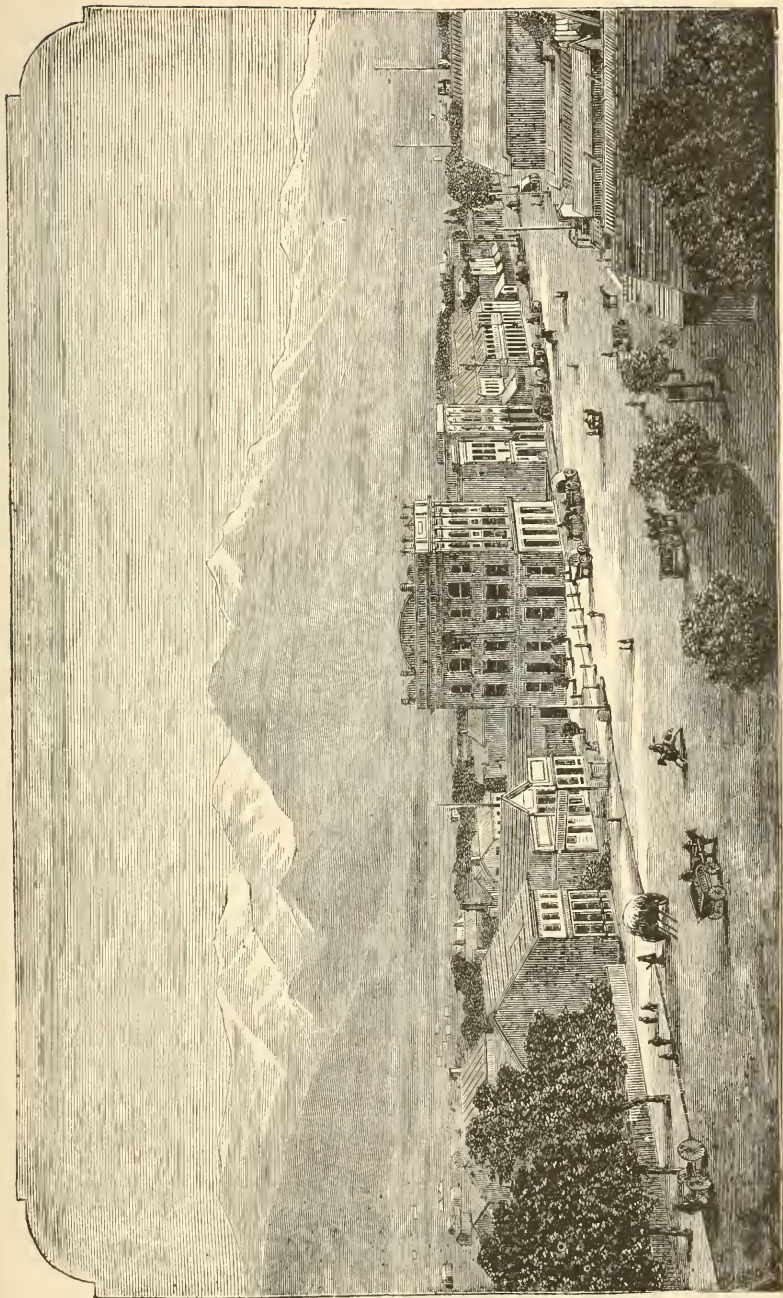
## CHAPTER XXI.

## BRIGHAM YOUNG.

His remarkable position—Compared with Queen Victoria and the Pope—His birth, conversion and rise in Mormonism—Marries Mary Ann Angell, Lucy Decker Seely, Clara Decker, Clara Chase, Harriet Bowker, Lucy Bigelow, Harriet Barney *et al.*—Death and funeral ceremonies—His will—Settlement of the estate—Church reorganized—John W. Young left out—Brigham's character—Was he a success?

“BRIGHAM YOUNG died to-day.” When this brief dispatch flashed over the wires, on the 29th of August, 1877, it found the nation in no humor to speculate. We had something like a laborers' war on our hands, and the Mormons were confidently looking forward to anarchy and ruin in the States. But no Gentile could realize the solemn import of those words to the 75,000 orthodox Mormons in Utah, to the four thousand or more in Great Britain, and the scattered churches in Scandinavia, Arizona, Idaho and the Sandwich Islands. At the time of his death about one hundred thousand adults looked upon Brigham Young as the divinely appointed head of the only true church in the world. In 1870 the Pope, Queen Victoria and Brigham Young were the only heads of church and state in the civilized world; the Pope has since lost his temporal power, Brigham is dead and the British Episcopal Church is only not quite disestablished. It was a bad decade for theocrats.

Brigham Young was born, June 1st, 1801, in Whittingham, Windham county, Vermont. His father was an old revolutionary soldier, of Massachusetts, the parent of six sons and five



MAIN STREET, SALT LAKE CITY.

daughters. This whole family embraced Mormonism soon after Brigham did. The father died in one of the early migrations of the Mormons in Missouri; the sons and daughters lived to go into polygamy in Utah, and become the parents of large families. None of Brigham's brothers ever evinced any special talent for anything. Phineas and Lorenzo Dow Young were barely mediocre; "Uncle John" Young for many years was Patriarch of the church, but was a mere puppet as pulled by



BRIGHAM YOUNG.

Brigham; Joseph sometimes preached, but with no particular force, and the fifth brother was of so little consequence that his name is scarcely known in Utah. Nor did any of them acquire property to any great extent; at least two were so poor they had to accept assistance—it might be called charity—from Brigham. The sisters are equally obscure. Whatever Brigham's talent was, he alone of the family possessed it. I have repeatedly talked with his nephews and grandchildren concerning him; but his career was as much a mystery to them as to the Gentile world. Oscar Young, Brigham's second oldest child in polygamy, is now a thorough-going Gentile, and a

jealousy she tried to strangle her son Oscar; Brigham then swore he "would have no more of that breed," and Harriet never again became a mother. She railed on polygamy and denounced the whole saintly outfit, but in after years became more reconciled, and was one of the most active in protesting against the Congressional law against polygamy.

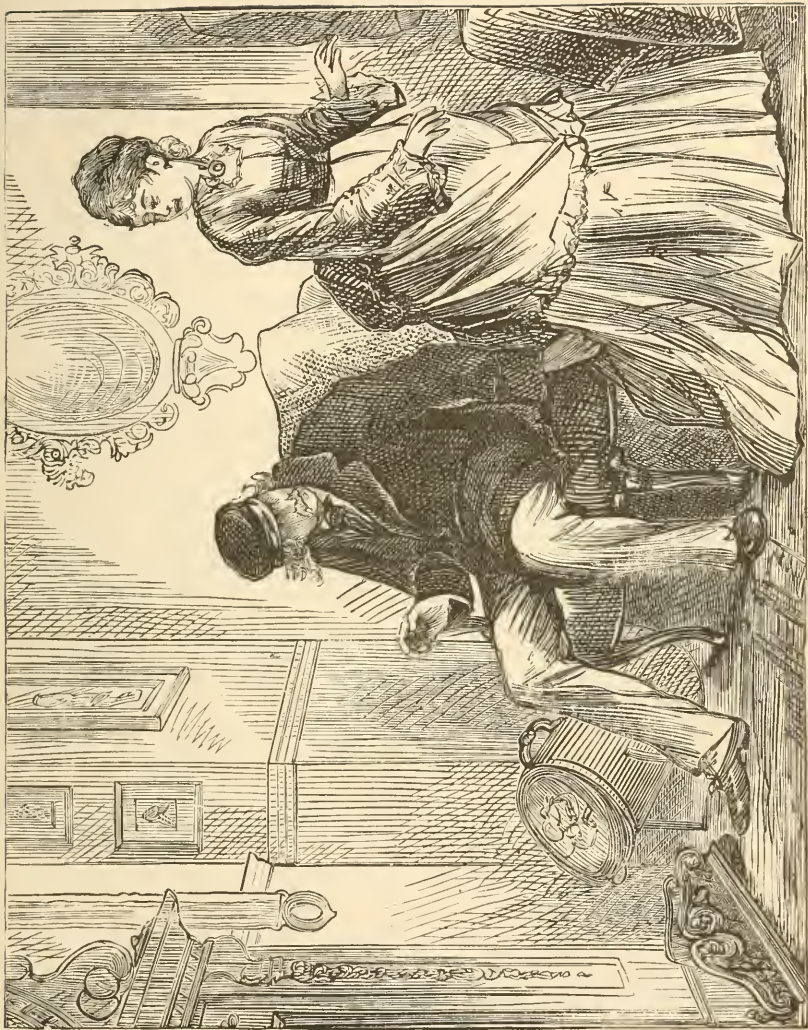
Thereafter Brigham's alliances were so numerous that we can only glance at them. After reaching Utah he married, in rapid succession, Lucy Bigelow, Clara Chase, Miss Twiss, Martha Bowker and Harriet Barney. The last complained a great deal of Brigham's devotion to one or two wives, but otherwise she was a woman of good disposition. She also left a Gentile husband to become the wife of Brigham, but retained his affections a very short time. All this lot of wives retired from business long ago, and after 1865 were no more wives to Brigham than any other women whom he had about the house as servants. Clara Chase, one of these wives, died a maniac, leaving four children.

His next wife, Eliza Burgess, was an English servant-girl; she worked seven years in Brigham's family, was obedient and industrious, and the story goes that Brigham married her rather than lose her services. Other wives taken about the same time were: Ellen Rockwood, daughter of S. P. Rockwood, Warden of the Penitentiary; Susan Snively, a Yankee girl; Jemima Angell, sister of the legal wife; Margaret Alley, who died in 1853, leaving two children; Margaret Peirce, who is a "home body" of whom Gentiles know nothing; Mrs. Hampton, widow of a Hampton who died at Nauvoo, and Mary Bigelow, who lived with Brigham but a short time and departed, no one seems to know where. Brigham's affection during these years seems to have been a sort of flowering annual, clinging to new supports at each returning season.

But the favorite who soon displaced all others, and for a dozen years ruled undisputed Queen of the Harem, was Emmeline Free, originally of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Emmeline was indeed a lovely woman, and by all accounts as lovely in disposition as in person. She was tall and graceful, with violet eyes and soft fair hair, and her ten children are the best looking of Brigham's offspring. He distinguished her in every way; gave her better rooms than the rest, and servants to wait upon her. She grew to love him, and obtained a powerful influence over him. Finally, so great became the jealousy of the other wives, that he had constructed a private hall leading from his office to Emmeline's room, that he might visit her without observation or constraint. He devoted himself to her exclusively, and she reigned supreme over the sisters. She received her company in the grand saloon; she occupied the seat of honor at the table, at the right hand of her husband. In short, she was his real wife, and he was proud of her beauty and accomplishments.

But youth and beauty cannot last always. Emmeline grew faded, and Brigham demanded a new deal. In 1865 he cast a wistful eye on Amelia Folsom, also from New Hampshire, and his carriage often stood for hours before her father's door. She had a young lover, whom Brigham sent on a mission. Three times, they say, was the Endowment House warmed for the ceremony before Amelia finally came to the sticking point, and was "sealed" to the Prophet. Emmeline was frantic. She raved, prayed and begged by turns, and finally appealed to Mary Ann Angell to help her in preventing this marriage; but Mary Ann was long past taking any interest in such things. Amelia enjoyed her triumph amazingly. She was Brigham's only companion in his box at the theatre; had a palace built for her sole self, and rode beside him in his carriage on his





BRIGHAM AND HIS FAVORITE WIFE AMELIA.



BRIGHAM'S APOSTATE DAUGHTER.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## LATE EVENTS IN UTAH.

A few progressive Mormons take hold—Are defeated—Gentiles contest the election of 1880—The Cannon-Campbell contest—Trial of the old church murders—The Aikin massacre proved—Mormon jury acquits—Burton tried for the Morrisite massacre—Other trials—Degradation of Brigham's family—Legislatures of 1880 and 1882—Proposed Congressional legislation.

THE legislative session of 1878 was more liberal than any that preceded it. Although unanimously Mormon and mostly polygamous, there were a few progressive men in it—men who favored fair dealing regardless of what is called religion. There were some sharp debates, and difference of opinion went so far on one occasion as to induce a call for the eyes and noses, something before unknown in the history of Utah. There was a strong desire to provide a better school system and sustain it more generously, but the majority deemed the community unable to support a thorough free-school system, and so nothing was done. The most important measures enacted were a Criminal Practice Act, a revenue law, and an election law. The last was to forestall Congress in passing an election law for the Territory, which it threatened. The law professes to give a secret ballot, but does not. It left the Gentiles more discouraged than ever, so much so that they failed to contest the delegate election of that year. It impliedly, if not absolutely, rests in the registration officers the power to exclude or erase the names of persons from the voting lists whom they may deem not entitled to vote. If these officers do not register a voter



SOUTH HALF OF SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH; FROM THE PEAK SOUTH OF EMIGRATION CAÑON.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## DISSENTING MORMON SECTS.

Natural tendency to dissent—The Nauvoo break-up—James Jesse Strang—Reappearance of Dr. John C. Bennett—Voree—Kingdom on Beaver Island—Murder of Strang—Joseph Morris—Trouble with the law—Murder of Morris, Banks and the women—Dispersion of the Morrisites—"Reorganized Church"—Young Joe Smith—David Hyrum Smith—William Alexander Smith—Raid of 1869—Present condition—Godbeites—Changes in the Brighamite Church.

INTELLECTUAL development, or even excitement, is fatal to religious uniformity; for in a domain where so much depends on emotion, and where the moral weight of the proof depends on the moral condition of the subject, any intellectual movement is almost certain to be followed by apostasy and schism. Those countries in which there are no *sects* are those in which there is little thought given to religion, and little real liberty of any kind; and we note in history that each era of great energy in thought and action has also been an era of ecclesiastical chaos. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find that each crisis in the Mormon Church has given birth to schisms; and that the original organization has from time to time given rise to no less than twenty-five sects, *ites* and *isms*, of which six or seven, besides the main branch in Utah, still preserve a sort of moribund existence. As with the non-juring bishops of Anglican history, secession once begun constantly repeated itself; the recusant and deposed priests in turn denounced and deposed all who questioned their prophetic right, and each of the sects sol-



PROPHET STRANG INTRODUCES POLYGAMY.



MASSACRE OF THE MORRISITES.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## THE UTAH OF TO-DAY.

The last conference—Official roll of the church—Ominous change in tone—Statistics of the church—One temple completed, and three under way—The Gentiles—Their gain in mineral wealth—Rapid railroad development—Fertile area—Live-stock—Present and future—A retrospect—The central figure: Chief Justice McKean.

THE Fifty-second Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints convened in the great Tabernacle at Salt Lake City, Thursday, April 6th, 1882. Fifty-two years had passed since the Immortal Six had met at the house of Peter Whitmer and organized the church, as related in the second chapter of this work. In those years the church had grown to a membership of probably 200,000, and slowly shrunk to about half that number. Yet if we consider the mere words of the speakers, their confidence in speedy triumph is not weakened a particle. But through all the addresses, as reported in the *Deseret News*, one familiar with Mormon literature can detect a vein of doubt and sadness. Once the church was fiery, vigorous and aggressive; now it is cold, conservative and on the defence. Once it looked forward to the speedy destruction of the Gentile nations, especially the United States; now it only asks to be let alone, and requests permission to place its own Territory among the States of that Union which was soon to be destroyed.

All the authorities of the church were put forward and "sustained" by unanimous vote, as follows:



*President*: JOHN TAYLOR. *His Councillors*: GEORGE Q. CANNON and JOSEPH F. SMITH.

These three now constitute the First Presidency, Taylor being also Prophet, Seer and Revelator, *by election!* Next come the Apostles, and, as in the previous list, we give the number of wives supposed to appertain to each. I say *supposed*, for there is more secrecy about it than there was twelve years ago. Some have lost wives by death since then, and some have married without publishing the fact:

THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

Wilford Woodruff,	Three wives.
Moses Thatcher,	Two “
Francis Marion Lyman,	Three “
John Henry Smith,	Two “
George Q. Cannon,	Four “
Joseph F. Smith,	Two “
Erastus Snow,	Five “
Lorenzo Snow,	Four “
Franklin D. Richards,	Three “
Albert Carrington,	Three “
Charles C. Rich,	Three “
Brigham Young, Jr.,	Two “

It will be seen that the average now is only three wives per apostle, which is a decided falling off since 1870. President John Taylor is credited with four wives. Acting with the apostles, and in an apostle's place when necessary, are John W. Young and Daniel H. Wells as Apostles' Councillors. To all these fourteen, as well as Taylor, the church now gives the full titles of Prophets, Seers and Revelators. The power of prophecy is evidently spreading in the church, and like other *spirits* it is probably weakening as it spreads.

the following figures are from the Census Returns: The number of horses found in Utah was 38,058; of mules and asses, 2,898; working oxen, 3,956; other cattle, 58,680; sheep, 233,121 (not half the true number); swine, not given (very few). The growth of manufactures is illustrated by the following table:

	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.
Number of manufacturing establishments.....	14	148	533	1,066
Number of hands employed....	51	389	1,534	3,221
Capital invested.....	\$44,400	\$443,356	\$1,491,898	\$2,839,463
Value of products.....	\$291,221	\$903,153	\$2,343,619	\$4,217,434

Nearly ten million acres of public land have been surveyed. There are ten thousand farms. About twelve hundred mineral patents have been issued, and there are eighty mining districts. The mining area is supposed to be almost co-extensive with the mountains. There are eight hundred and fifty miles of railroad. The land area is 52,601,600 acres. The streams have been approximately measured, and calculating the "irrigating duty" of one cubic foot per second for the season for one hundred acres, they carry enough water to irrigate 1,500,000 acres. But with what can be farmed dry (one-third) and what can be watered from springs and wells, it is thought safe to count the possible arable land of Utah at three million acres, about 6 per cent. of the whole. Of this it is estimated that one-twelfth is under fence. The banks have increased their deposits from about one million in 1878 to \$3,375,000 in 1881. Business is steadily improving. Railroad building alone disbursed a million dollars in Utah in 1881. The Denver and Rio Grande is laying track from Gunnison westward, and the iron for some 150 miles, including sixty or seventy already down, is on the ground ready to carry a completed line from Salt Lake City into Castle Valley *via* Spanish Fork. The



# POLYGAMY; OR, THE MYSTERIES AND CRIMES OF MORMONISM.

BEING AN EXPOSÉ OF THEIR SECRET RITES AND CEREMONIES;

*With a Full and Authentic History of Polygamy and the Mormon Sect, from its origin to the present time.*

BY J. H. BEADLE,

Late Editor of the "Salt Lake Reporter," and Clerk of the Supreme Court for Utah.

Assisted by Hon. O. J. HOLLISTER, United States Revenue Collector for Utah.

Illustrated with nearly 100 Fine Engravings of Scenes in Utah.

For nearly fifty years the people of the United States have been horrified, startled, and perplexed by the audacity and success of a sect calling themselves "Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints." Though founded in fraud, this sect has succeeded in spite of all opposition, until to-day Mormonism in Utah presents a problem which is the puzzle of statesmen and the despair of moral reformers.

It was supposed that the death of Brigham Young would be the end of this monstrous system of lust and hate and crime; but another has taken his place, and the work of proselyting still goes on.

It is fortunate that the author of this book has come forward at this time to give a complete history of Mormonism. He was for many years a resident of Utah, and editor of the principal paper there. He writes of what he has seen, and tells his story with an earnestness and power that renders his book very fascinating. Mormonism has been productive of so many dark and strange mysteries—so many terrible crimes—that few can comprehend, without an intimate knowledge of it, how much wickedness it has to answer for, and what a standing menace to order and society it is. In this work the author has drawn back the curtain, and has revealed these mysteries and brought to light these crimes, and in doing so, he has presented a work which will startle and horrify every reader; for he has presented a fearful picture, but one which his personal knowledge of the subject has enabled him to paint true to the life.

# THE WORK TREATS OF

Mormonism; its origin and history, and shows how, founded on imposture, it has grown by deceit and crime. It shows how JOE SMITH was enabled to deceive and cheat his followers; how by leading them on from crime to crime, and enticing them with licentious baits, he succeeded in maintaining his influence over them.

Of the Mormon religion, its infamous and heathenish character, its multitude of gods, its abominable doctrines and practices, revealing many strange mysteries and outrageous ceremonies.

Of the *Endowment* or initiation ceremonies, showing how obscene and disgusting they are; how female modesty is outraged in them, and how licentiousness is taught as a part of their religious creed; how every Mormon is forced to swear eternal hostility to the United States, with odd sketches of the devil, showing the Mormon idea of Mother Eve's temptation.

Of Polygamy in theory and practice, how it debases society; how it poisons domestic happiness; how it is despised by the best women; and how they are forced into it by the Mormon leaders; a fearful picture skillfully drawn.

Of the spiritual wife doctrine, showing how a woman may have more than one living husband and accord to each the same privileges; how women are debauched and degraded; how they are required to prostitute themselves "for religion's sake;" showing the terrible results of polygamy and sin.

Of BRIGHAM YOUNG, his life and character; his crimes and outrages upon his own people—how he oppressed and robbed them in the name of religion; how he degraded and embittered their lives; and how, in spite of all this, his influence over them was so long maintained.

Of crime and lawlessness in Utah; showing the Mormon leaders in their true light, as thieves, murderers and assassins; how human life was every day taken in Utah; explaining and illustrating the infamous doctrine of killing a man to save his soul; and presenting a catalogue of crimes and horrors at which even the coolest and calmest reader will turn pale.

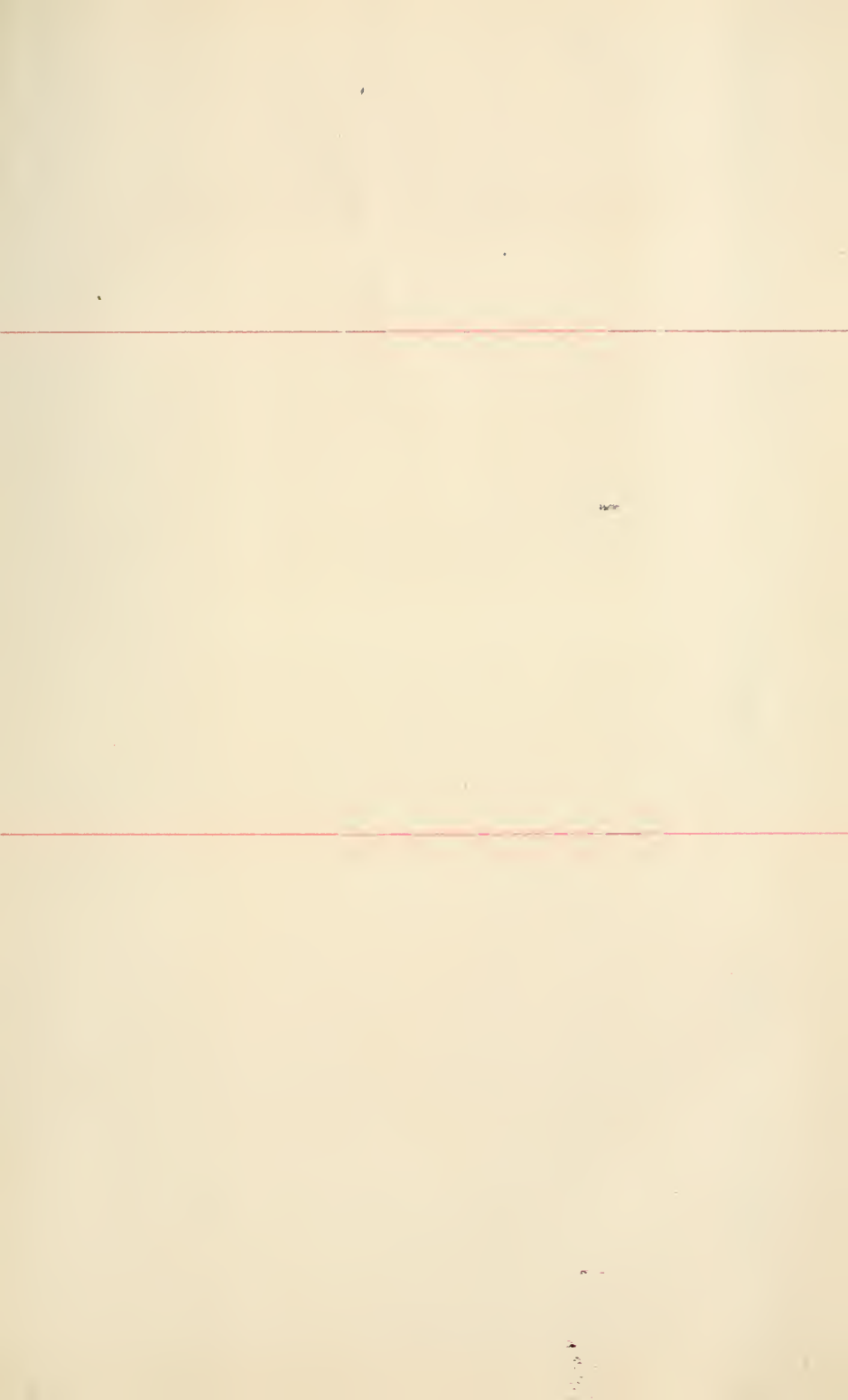
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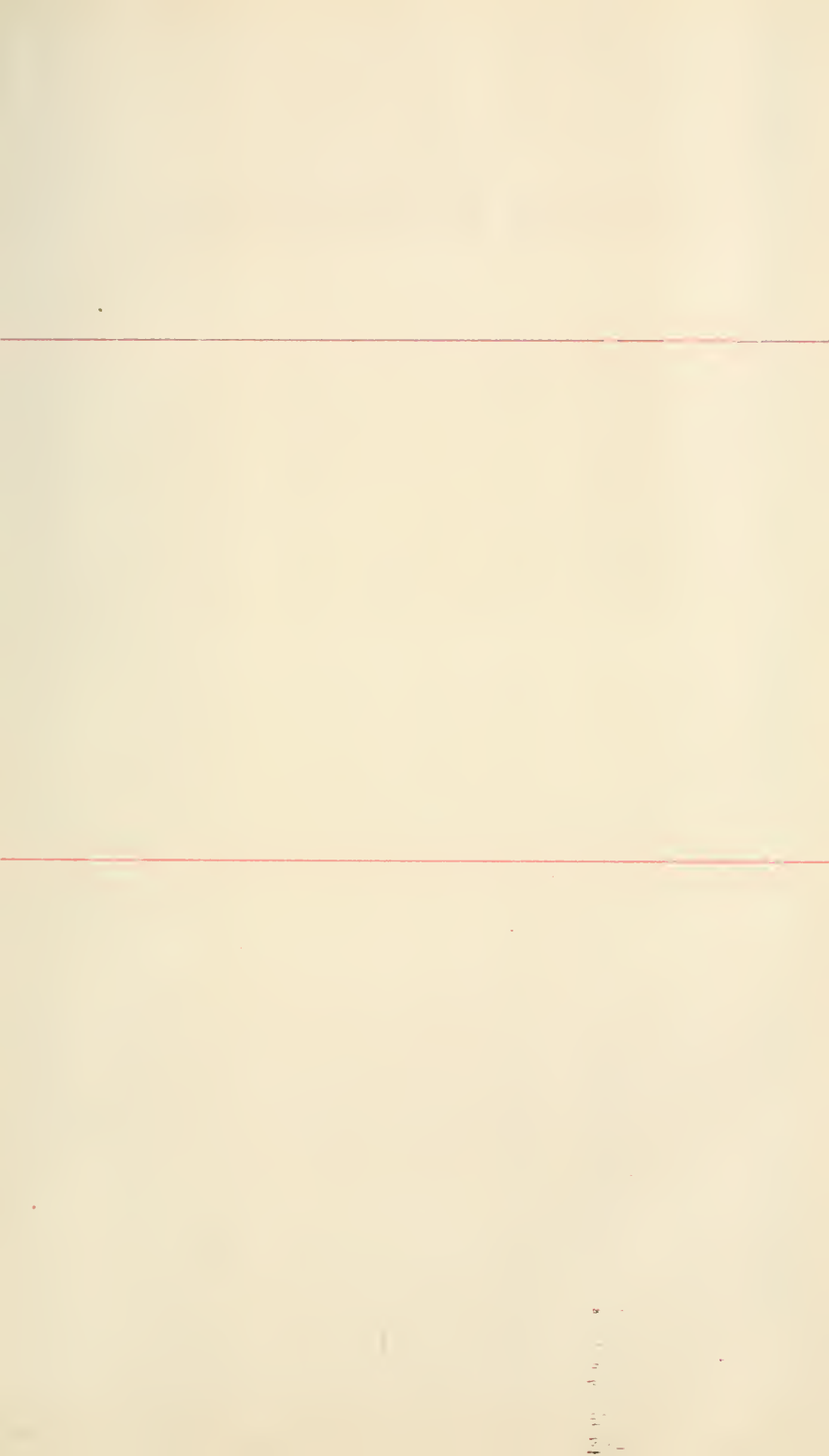


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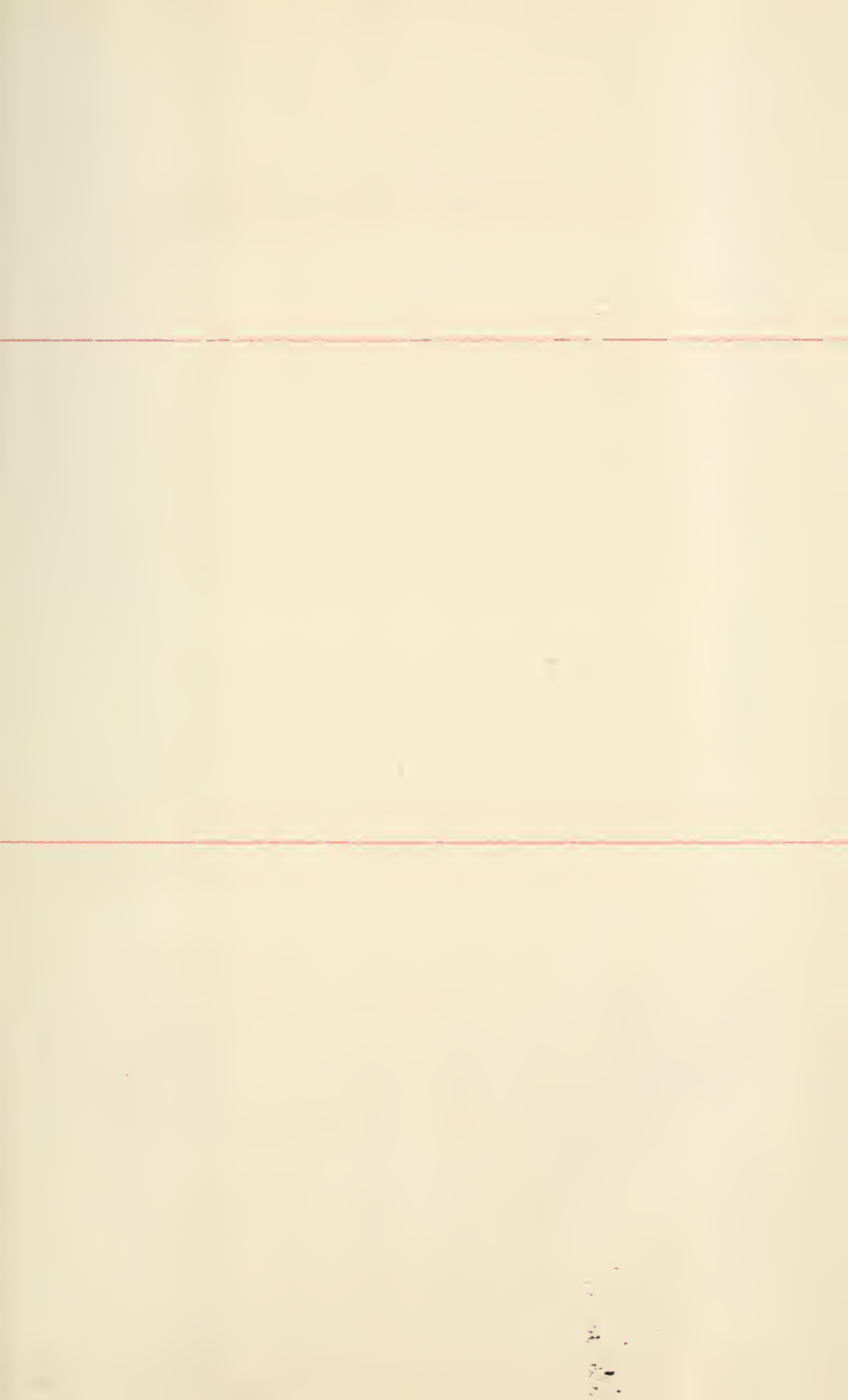
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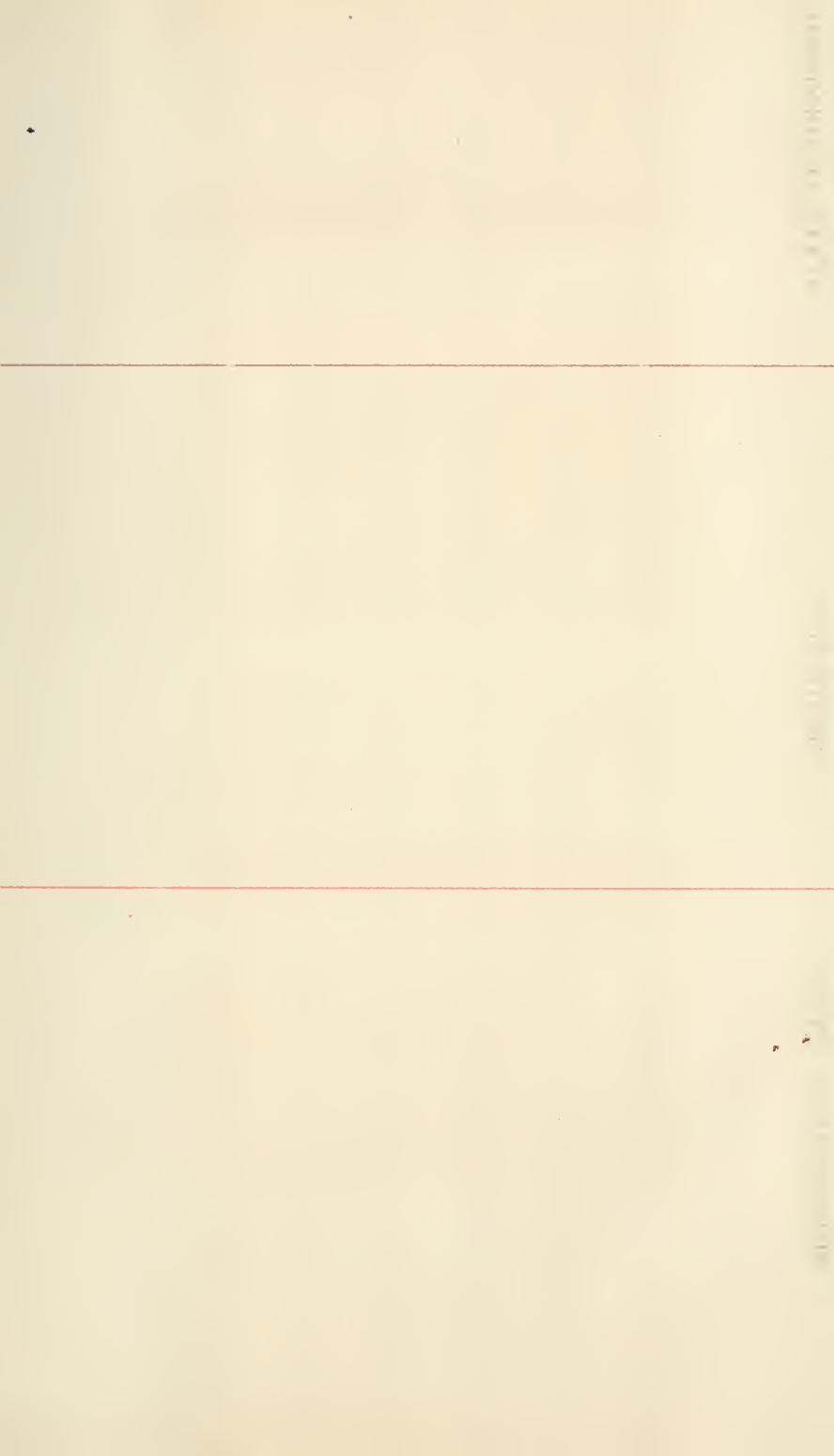




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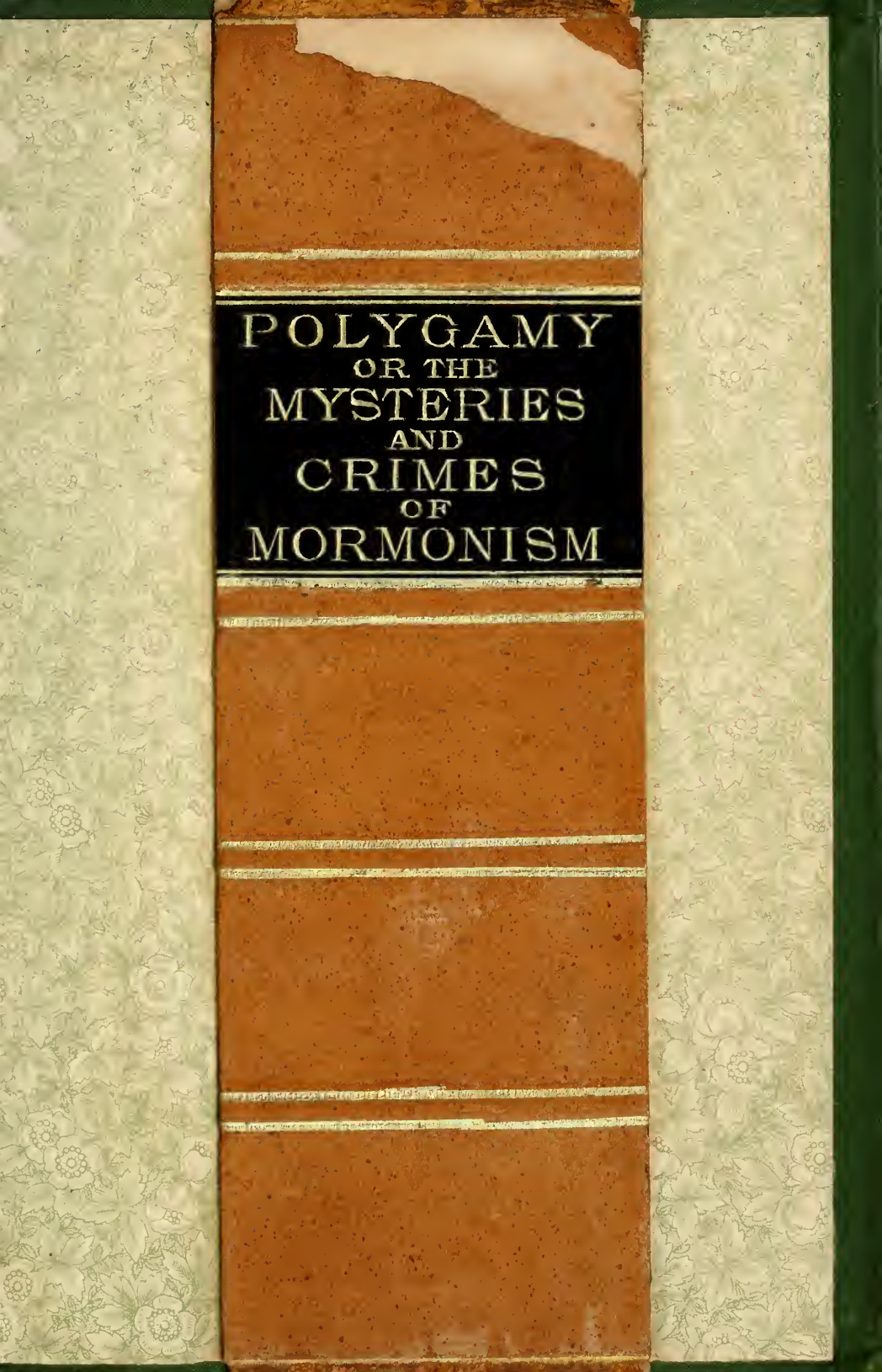
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POLYGAMY  
OR THE  
MYSTERIES  
AND  
CRIMES  
OF  
MORMONISM



# THE BOLD'GAW



ORIGIN - A  
MISTAKE  
OR  
MORMONISM

