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AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHIES OF BRIGHAM YOUNG
AND JOHN CALVIN, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR
SIMILARITIES AS THEY WERE EXPRESSED THROUGH
THE UTAH AND GENEVA THEOCRACIES

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
OF
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE

BY
WESLEY P. LLOYD
1933

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHIES OF BRIGHAM
YOUNG AND JOHN CALVIN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THEIR SIMILARITIES AS THEY WERE EXPRESSED THROUGH
THE UTAH AND GENEVA THEOCRACIES

INTRODUCTION

Brigham Young was an American product of the nineteenth century. John Calvin was a European product of the sixteenth century. Each of these men left definite impressions upon world history. Of the two, Calvin is more widely understood and better known, but we should remember that the element of time is in his favor.

An examination of the lives of these two men indicates definite parallels, and their teachings show many views in common. Both were spiritual as well as temporal leaders, and each succeeded in gaining the interest of the world in his particular time. Just as the attention of the people of sixteenth century Europe was focused upon Geneva, the world of the nineteenth century had its attention centered upon Utah. Both Utah and Geneva offered novel situations, but the thing which made them colorful before the world was not their people, but their leaders, Brigham Young and John Calvin.

Both of these personalities were leaders of dissenting religious groups, but history has also given them places as leaders of social and economic achievement. It is the object of this work to make a comparative study of the social philosophies of these two men.

In analyzing Brigham Young and John Calvin we must consider their times, their localities, and the world movements in which each was working.

The Reformation stands out as an example of worldly interest in which men overthrew oppressions that had held them for centuries. Christianity itself is a like example of the result of a period of social upheaval. And so the history of social movements is marked by trial and error in which arise philosophies which seem to embody the very ultimate in social relationships. These philosophies meet and satisfy needs of a certain period and are in turn outgrown and discarded to give way for new solutions to problems of a new era of enlightenment, until the social theorist, if he is inclined to reach for something which is fixed or final, is in the position of one who seems to be "ever learning but never coming to a knowledge of the truth." It must be so in a society of constant change.

All movements of world importance have their beginnings in relatively simple situations and in well confined geographical areas, and their spread and momentum is

is directly dependent upon the need that the world may have for the new philosophy.

In periods of uneasiness or social maladjustment the circumstances tend to create, or at least to discover, the "man of the hour", and society shifts its base to the easier or better plan which he advances. Just as the social organisms of the middle ages found a place for the teachings of John Calvin, a social organization of a different age found a place in its social pattern for the teachings of Brigham Young.

The Mormon Movement

When much of the philosophy of Calvin was carried to the New England coast, by the Puritan migration, it became the basis for a social order in the "new world." Just to what effect these doctrines influenced so called "new movements" which had their birth on New England soil has been a subject of much speculation, as well as a good deal of systematic study. Among these organizations founded in the shadow and influence of New England in the first half of the nineteenth century, a period noted for its dynamic social adjustments, is Mormonism. Much credit for its perpetuation is given to its pioneer leader Brigham Young, who spent his boyhood and early manhood in New England, where he was surrounded by the religious, social, and economic developments which found beginnings in the

Protestant movement. The achievement of the Mormon group under his leadership is a subject of common knowledge. It was a hope of the day that followers of Joseph Smith would disband after his martyrdom and, like so many other new movements, disintegrate when deprived of the magnetic personality which had organized it. But an understanding of the religious philosophy of the group in accepting Brigham Young as the direct successor and mouthpiece of God to the people, helps us to understand how the subsequent development of the great Mormon "Empire" was so greatly dependent upon the utterances and dealings of Brigham Young with his people.

To Brigham Young is directed the credit for transplanting the institution of Mormonism from its peripatetic home in the Eastern States, into the Great Basin from which it spread and became an intermountain "Empire".

To know Brigham Young is to understand the philosophy of Mormonism to which he gave frequent credit for all he had done. He regarded himself not as an originator but as a builder upon the foundation first laid by his predecessor and founder of the Latter-day Saint Church, Joseph Smith.

It is of interest however, to observe the rather definite change which took place in the activities of the church after he assumed its leadership. His relationship to the founder of Mormonism is well shown by the statement of his daughter, who is credited with saying that Joseph

Smith prophecied, and Brigham Young proceeded to see that the prophecies were fulfilled. All will admit that the activities of Brigham Young followed a very practical trend. Even in Nauvoo, the "Saints", after three and a half years, had failed during the life of Joseph Smith to make much headway in building the temple, but using as a foundation the law of tithing which had been formulated through the prophet as a spiritual law to the saints, Brigham Young marshalled the money forces of his people and placed the capstone of the temple within two years after the death of his predecessor; thus completing, in the midst of severe persecution, in this short time what had seemed to be an almost impossible as well as apparently futile job.

As social engineer he coordinated his forces for the most dangerous, and discouraging, yet the most successful trek of any group of people in the history of the nation.

At the death of Joseph Smith, its founder, a distinct crisis had arisen in the church. Even the matter of choosing his successor took the skill of this social diplomat who formulated his convictions on the succession to leadership in such a practical way that his people were without hesitancy as to where the succession to leadership should fall.

Whatever may be said of Mormonism before the advent

of Brigham Young's leadership it cannot be doubted that from that time it was a highly practical movement.

How the genius of this New England carpenter and glazier soon found opportunity for expression in conducting his people out onto the "American Desert", and then to make them an independent and self supporting commonwealth is not the central theme of this study except as these actions tend to assist in the formulation of his social philosophies.

Being the product of a strictly Puritan ancestry from both his father and his mother's side, and coming from two generations of early Massachusetts settlers, and Massachusetts being the stronghold of New England Calvinism, the question at once presents itself as to the degree to which the social and economic theories of Calvin found lodgement in the later philosophies of the Mormon leader. To a systematic comparison of the social philosophies then of John Calvin and Brigham Young this thesis is directed.

Two Theocracies

The social and economic philosophies of Brigham Young best found their expression in the workings of the "Utah Theocracy". The corresponding philosophies of John Calvin chiefly found their expression in the "Geneva Theocracy".

In full realization of the fact that these two Polities

had far different problems to meet, there seems to be yet an interesting parallel in the methods used in meeting these problems. Into a well settled and populated section of the old world went John Calvin, who instituted a school of discipline which was destined to make of gay and immoral Geneva the "most perfect school of Christ to be found on the earth since the days of the apostles",¹ and later make its influence felt in every part of Europe.

Three hundred years later into an unsettled and unpopulated desert went Brigham Young leading a band of his own people, not only to make them into a "school of Christ", but to banish from them any economic or social dependence that they might have upon an outside world which had driven them out. One, the leader of the popular Protestant movement, the other a leader of an unpopular and persecuted religion. Both, the theocratic leaders of a people. Both claiming to be the instruments through which God's message was carried. Each claiming as the organ of his authority, a holy priesthood.

Possible Connections

But Brigham Young according to his own story had but eleven days of formal schooling. It is doubtful that his study had ever taken him into the philosophies of Calvin, and yet his Puritanic life clearly reflects much of the

1. John Knox in History of the Christian Church quoted by Schaff Page 518 Vol. 1

philosophy of the Geneva reformer.

The differences in their problems were briefly mentioned above. In finding solutions to these difficulties each taught conquest of self and living of the word of God. While Brigham Young has been referred to as the modern Moses, John Calvin cannot be deprived of the place of a Medieval "law giver". If Calvin considered the Hebraic law, of greatest value in human control, Brigham Young was its personification. In results each became the revered and undisputed spokesman of God to a people who had theoretically "come out of the world of sin".

Their problems so different; their methods so similar, their results so alike; yet their times so far removed; we naturally look for a connecting link, and seem to find it in Puritan New England. Not that Calvin would have admitted that New England followed the path of his teachings. It is readily conceded that the entire Puritan Movement had greatly diverged from the philosophies presented by the Genevan hero which they claimed to follow, and that Calvin, could never have been classed with the later Calvinists. But it seems certain that outstanding points of character and discipline of Calvin found lodgment in the later "Mind of New England" and carried into the life of Brigham Young, who was a typical product of a long line of New England Puritan ancestry.

Born in Vermont, a short time after his parents had moved from the Puritan stronghold of Massachusetts, where several generations of Youngs had been raised, Brigham inherited strict traits of Puritan morality. In his later life he recorded the fact that Sundays were spent in the strictest piety, only a limited distance could be walked on that day, and it was with great torment that he stopped and listened to the sweet tones from a violin, almost reconciled that this act had put him on the high road to Hell.²

No religious or social movement can be explained without a consideration of its environment. No man can be correctly analyzed without due consideration to his surroundings and back-ground. That which the world has received from Brigham Young must be partially explained from his early training and Puritan back-ground. It follows then that the movement known as Mormonism has naturally and perhaps unconsciously absorbed much of Calvin through its early Puritan environment.

We then may ask in what ways do Mormonism and Calvinism correlate?; or more specifically, what relationship do we find in the philosophies of Brigham Young and John Calvin?

Literature

The numerous volumes now extant give an indication

2. Gates and Widsoe--The Life Story of Brigham Young

of the interest of the public in the problem of explaining Brigham Young. It is but calling attention to a well recognized fact, however, when we say that most of this literature adds little enlightenment to a systematic study of the problem. These writings may well be divided into three divisions; pro-Mormon, historical, and anti-Mormon; with the historical field still in its infancy.

Within the Church itself there has arisen a literary defense of the organization and its leaders. This is the natural result of severe and unjustified criticism to which it has been subjected. These pro-Mormon writings have in general been colored to present the case of the church, and abound in the general conception that the church and its leaders are always on the side of right and that all opposition is traceable directly to the influence of his "Satanic Majesty" who is staging an active campaign to eradicate the restored "Gospel of Christ". It can be said in favor of these writings that they come nearer to an authentic approach to the subject than do those in the anti-Mormon field, due to the fact that church writers have at least made their interpretations from first hand information.

This cannot be said of the literary efforts of a passing anti-Mormon wave of writers who, preying upon the pocketbooks of an anticipating public fed them, regardless

of accuracy, the sensational stories for which they called, and produced a low ebb in that field of American literature.

In fairness let it be said that some writers and historians both in and out of the Church, have treated the problem with a more historical approach. It is the intention of the writer that this work will be an addition to the historical field.

The social and economic developments which have grown out of the Protestant Reformation, and more specifically, from the Calvinistic phase of it, have been numerous. Modern capitalism with all its social situations and problems is now recognized among one group of investigating scholars as having its origin, or at least its greatest stimulus, in the Calvinistic religious philosophy. The German scholars Max Weber, and Ernest Troeltch, are leaders in this school, while many investigators could be mentioned who assume a positive disregard of Calvinism in the economics of the world.

No other investigation has yet been made in a field closely related to this one. Studies on the life and works of Calvin are numerous.

A field for the systematic study of Mormon sociology, has been opened by Dr. Lowry Nelson, of Brigham Young University, who has dealt specifically with the "Mormon village".³ But the relationships existing between Calvin

3. Dr. Nelson has presented three significant studies.

A. Social Survey of Escalante, Utah

B. Ephraim: Utah Farm Village

C. The Mormon Village: A Study In Social Origins

and Brigham Young have been, to the present time, largely speculative. The following have been of assistance in formulating social and economic philosophies of Calvin and Young.

1-Secondary Writings

A.-- Weber, Max. Gessammelte Aufsätze Zur Religionssoziologie.

The only contact the writer has been able to make with the work of Weber is through the following secondary sources:

1. G. Harkness--"The Protestant Ethic, and the Spirit of Capitalism" , in John Calvin, the Man and His Ethics. Chapter 9

2. R. H. Tawney--"John Calvin", in Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, Chapter 2

3. Pitirim Sorokin--"Max Weber, The Fundamental Problem" in, Contemporary Sociological Theories. Chapter 12 Page 673-675

4. H. H. Maurer--"Studies in the Sociology of Religion", in American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 30 Page 257-286

B. Petre, Ray C.---Some Writings of Calvin on Economic Affairs.⁴

4. The work of Dr. Petre is an unpublished paper, read before "The American Society of Church History", at Chicago, March 27, 1931. Dr. Petre kindly sent the manuscript to the writer of this work for reference in the present study. This transaction was made possible through the suggestion of Dr. John McNiell of the department of Church History at the University of Chicago.

- C. Tawney, R. H. --Religion and The Rise of Capitalism.
- D. Harkness, G.--John Calvin, The Man and His Ethics.
- E. Patric, William -- "Calvin", in Dictionary of Political Economy.
- F. Bancroft. H. H.--History of Utah
- G. Tullidge, H. H. --Life of Brigham Young
- H. Whitney, O. F. -- History of Utah Volume 1
- I. Thomas, George--Civil Government in Utah

An Analysis of These Studies

A. Weber--"Religionssoziologie"

The method used by Weber, who is the outstanding authority in this field, is statistical and comparative. He has shown that in Protestant countries, the system of capitalism has advanced, while in other countries where different ideals of religion are prevalent, capitalism has not succeeded.

It seems that this treatise is not beyond question since it can be pointed out that Japan, which has little to do with Protestantism is, at the present time, in a rapidly developing capitalistic era. It would appear from this that while the Protestant faith may have an important bearing on the question of capitalism it is not a complete explanation of it.

B. Petre, Ray C, ----Some Writings of Calvin On Economic Affairs.

This work includes gleanings from Calvin's works, and summaries from his economic theories.

Consideration is given four major topics:

- (a) Wealth and Poverty.
- (b) Usury and Interest.
- (c) Commerce and Industry.
- (d) Vocational idealism.

The technique here used is very significant in formulating Calvin's ideas on these four considerations.

C. Tawney, R. H.--Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.

In this book Tawney makes a historical study of the effect of various religious theorists upon capitalism. He deals specifically with Calvin, and partly assumes the theories of Max Weber. He makes definite criticism, however, of Weber's limitations.

He traces the results of the Calvinistic movement into England showing its effect upon the rise of commerce in that country, and calls the Puritan Movement the most important of three streams which had their beginning in the teachings of Calvin.

This seems to be a very adequate work in its field. It takes in all important religious theories as they have bearing on capitalism. It fails to make great contribution

to the present study, however, because of its lack of attention to the effects of the Puritan movement as it effected New England.

D. Harkness- John Calvin, the Man and his Ethics.

This is a historical analysis of John Calvin as his philosophies affected various world movements. After a consideration of his life history, Harkness develops the idea of a Calvinistic conscience, and its relationship to man. She deals with Calvinism and its middle class virtues to show that they are somewhat responsible for the rise of capitalism. It is the most relevant work to this subject of any here mentioned. Through it the writer has had access to many of Calvin's quotations from his "Opera." All quotations from the "Opera" used in this work, are given by Harkness except those otherwise specified.

E. Patric, William--"Calvin", Dictionary of Political Economy.

A dictionary article assuming the important roll of Calvin in world economic development.

Patric treats the theories of Calvin on money, usury, and wealth and shows their effect upon the spirit of capitalism.

The above studies tend to show that the economic theories advanced by Calvin and incorporated into the Reformation are very closely related to the development of capitalism, which in turn is a pertinent factor in the teachings

of Brigham Young.

This investigation will deal with the economic as well as the social philosophies of Brigham Young and John Calvin, and will bring a previously uninvestigated phase into the problem of Brigham Young, that is, his philosophic relationship to Calvin.

F. Bancroft--History of Utah

Bancroft has here made an attempt to write a historical account of Mormonism in Utah, most of which deals with the workings of Brigham Young. Using his own words, he has "in a spirit of equity presented both sides, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions."

G. Tullidge, W.T.--Life of Brigham Young

This is a reliable contribution written by an apostate from the Mormon church who cannot be successfully charged with the motive of spreading Mormon propoganda, even though the book has a pro-Mormon flavor.

Tullidge spent a large part of his life among the Latter-day Saints, and while not believing in their doctrine has had a great desire to present an authentic history.

H. Whitney, O.F.--History of Utah Volume I

A historical narrative of the settlement and formation of Utah until the death of Brigham Young. The work of a Mormon apostle who has attempted to present a truthful account of his own people.

I--Thomas, George--Civil Government in Utah

Thomas here deals systematically of Utah before and after statehood. It is well written and objective.

Chapters one and two, dealing with the government before statehood, are especially helpful here although brief.

J--Gates and Widsoe--Life of Brigham Young

In this biography the daughter of Brigham Young tells the inside story of her father's life. It gives us a view of the Mormon leader, as seen by his own people.

2-Source Materials

As source materials for the study there will be taken the original writings of Calvin, principally his, Institutes of the Christian Religion, which is recognized as embodying all the important doctrines which he advanced.

Principal source materials on Brigham Young are three.

1. The Journal of Discourses, Volumes 1 to 19. In these are included his lectures during his life in Salt Lake valley.
 2. Journal History of the Church, which includes copies of many of his original letters. Access to these journals has been possible through the courtesy of the staff at the Latter-day Saint Church Historian's office.
 3. A Group Of Original Letters, written by Brigham Young to H. S. Elldredge, the church economic agent at St. Louis from 1857 to 1859. These give many interesting side
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lights on Brigham Young's social and economic theories.⁵

Method of Approach

The method used in this research will be to consider the social and economic philosophies of these two men, principally as they found expression through the Geneva and Utah Theocracies, and to point out striking similarities. This makes of it, a comparative study.

5. The letters until recently were in the possession of Ben R. Elldredge of Salt Lake City, a son of Horace S. Elldredge to whom they were written. They were shown to the writer of this work in May 1933. No copies had ever been made of them and Mr. Elldredge was persuaded to deposit his interesting collection, along with other articles of historical importance in the files of the church historian's office at Salt Lake City where they can be found at the present time.

CHAPTER I

THE INFLUENCE OF NEW ENGLAND CALVINISM IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRIGHAM YOUNG

Scholars form a natural division as to the influence which Calvin was exerting in New England down into the beginning of the nineteenth century. The present tendency, as expressed by such investigators as T. C. Hall and H. D. Foster seems to indicate that the progress of the New England group was dependent upon its ability to finally throw off the clamps from their legacy of Calvinism. T.C. Hall says that to speak of New England at the time of the revolution as "strictly Puritan" is to miss the real meaning of the facts.¹ In the words of Parrington,

"That the immigrant Pilgrims brought in their intellectual luggage the system of Calvin rather than that of Luther must be reckoned as a misfortune."²

Such theories could not find place in the school of Weber and Troelch, German scholars who attribute the rise of capitalism to the individualistic philosophies of the Protestant Church especially those of Calvinistic derivation. The place of Calvin however; in the Capitalistic system will be dealt with in a later chapter.

As to the advantages or disadvantages of Calvin's

1. Hall, T.C.--The Religious Background of American Culture
Chapter XIV

2. Parrington, V.L.--The Colonial Mind Page 11

influence on New England there is prevalent disagreement. It is beyond controversy that the influence of Calvin was strongly felt and practically unchallenged from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. Although throughout the seventeenth century the drift of all progressive thought was away from Calvinism, the words of Foster are here significant. "New England philosophy professed to be and was Calvinistic. This was its condemnation."³

The story of how Calvinism was forced to surrender its place as leader of New England thought in spite of the heroic efforts of such defenders as Cotton and Increase Mather, and Jonathan Edwards, whose valient stands to fit the Calvinistic doctrine into the minds of a people who were so readily accepting the new Unitarian and Humanitarian concepts, is important to this subject only as it shows the intense struggle of the theories of Calvin to survive in the world contemporary with Brigham Young.

"In three hundred years of New England history the minister has enjoyed two periods of intellectual ascendancy, the first during the early days of the theocracy when the commonwealth was ruled by the laws of God and John Calvin, and the second between 1830 and 1850 when John Calvin was finally put aside and New England was being remodeled in accordance with the laws of God alone."⁴

Control of Harvard College was captured by the

31 Foster---A History of New England Theology
 4. Parrington, V.L.--The Romantic Revolution in America
 Page 272

Unitarians in 1805 and in the intellectual and legal battle that followed, the Calvinists tallied by the founding of Andover Theological Seminary in 1808. It is interesting to note in this connection that Massachusetts, the ancestral home of the Youngs, held firm and was the last to surrender the Calvin philosophy.

To say that Puritan Calvinism was submerged in New England by the nineteenth century is not to say that this section did not still hold a rich portion of the Calvinistic ethics. Indeed the stamp of the Puritan influence is still distinct in some sections of New England.

Having indicated the place of Calvin in New England, it is interesting to compare early life in Utah with that of New England. The two social patterns seem to have found some common source. The early history of Utah in some respects reads like that of the founding of New England where for years it was forbidden to build a house more than two miles from the meeting house. This served two purposes; besides being protection from the Indians, it made easier the enforcement of strict laws on church attendance. We here see an interesting parallel of the problems of these two newly transplanted peoples. In Utah the question of Indian protection was instrumental in forming compact communities but this was perhaps superceded by the desire on the part of the people as well as the

leaders, to have social accessibility. The meeting house in both instances was the community social center. Both societies were strongly regulated by the patriarchal order of the Old Testament, which was carried even farther in Utah than in New England. In each case the father exercised singular control of the family and he in turn was subject to the ecclesiastical authority. The problems of land, timber, and currency, were also common to both groups as they settled new territory and began commerce with one another. Paper currency was introduced first in America by John Winthrop in Massachusetts in 1646. Brigham Young introduced it in Utah in January 1849. The common cattle herd and common pasture were also factors of social relationships in the Utah of Brigham Young and the New England of John Calvin.

It is not the intention of this work to prove that Brigham Young was imitator of Calvin or of his philosophies. It would even seem that conscious knowledge of the works of the Geneva reformer had but little if any place in his life, but it seems evident that Calvinism, as it was expressed through New England Puritanism, had a great part in the moulding of the social and economic philosophies of the Mormon leader.

H.L. Osgood in discussing the relations between the church and the commonwealth in Massachusetts says, "Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion, was the chief religious

and political textbook of the English Puritans."⁵

It is evident that when circumstances made necessary the creation of the political party in New England the people still followed the Geneva Lawmaker, just as the formation and control of the state in early Utah followed the suggestions of the Mormon leader.

The theory of the "Elect" or chosen of God was strong among the Puritans, as it was also among the Utah "Saints". Emphasis upon Old Testament law in both cases may have been somewhat responsible.

Belief in evil spirits working through witches was always a common belief among Calvinistic communities and while Brigham Young had no place in his life for the witch philosophy, he held strongly to the Mormon thought of human torment by "evil spirits".

As we progress then in our comparison of the social and economic philosophies of these two history makers, we do not think at random to consider that in their similarities, the connecting link could well have been, the Puritan movement, and especially New England.

5. The American Colonies in the 17th Century Page 201

CHAPTER II

THE GENEVA AND THE UTAH THEOCRACIES

"A Theocracy", says Webster, "is a government or Political rule of priests as representing Deities." The Encyclopedia Britannica describes it, as "A term applied to a form of government in which God or the Divine Power is looked to as the source of all civil power, and the Divine commandments regarded as the laws of the community."

Certainly neither the Geneva of 1541 to 1564 nor the Utah of 1847 to 1877 could be called a pure theocracy. Theoretically, Geneva operated under a well organized civil government during much of Calvin's residence there, but from a practical standpoint, the word of God, as interpreted by Calvin carried the day in the decisions of the councils. Theoretically Utah operated under a definite civil organization from 1849 to 1877, but here also from a practical standpoint the word of God as interpreted by Brigham Young held sway in the formulation of the laws by the commonwealth.

It is interesting at this point however, to keep in mind, that from February 2, 1848, the conclusion of the Mexican War, when Mexico ceded to the United States the territory which included Utah, until September 1850, there was not even a pretense at civil government, in the newly acquired territory. We are safe in saying that in the first

two and one half years the pioneers lived in Utah, they existed under a theoretic organization as pure and unrestricted as any society since the people of Israel before the organization of the kingship under Saul.

We see in this presentation one organizer taking over leadership of a people who were existing under civil government (although it was a definitely unpopular government) and organizing them, under much opposition, into a practical Theocracy. We see then another organizer taking his group into a territory of no organized government, and during his life time being instrumental in the erection, of a civil government. The point of similarity comes then at the period when each was a practical theocracy. The reader will here see the distinction between the mechanics of government and the actual spirit of government. From the standpoint of popular opinion among the people of these two groups, we do not hesitate to call the Geneva of Calvin, and the Utah of Brigham Young, Theocracies.

The subject of each of these Theocracies would furnish ample material for a thesis in itself. It is our object here to consider them only as they make parallels which help to show the theories of their leaders.

JOHN CALVIN

In considering the Geneva Theocracy, a word is important

on the life of its founder.

While Luther was transforming Germany, Calvin was in France. Twenty five years younger than Luther and Zwingli, he had opportunity to study their genius and build from the foundations they had made. Calvin was born July 10, 1509 at Noyon, France. His father, Gerrard Cauvin, a highly respected but not wealthy member of the town had early desires that Jean should study for the ministry, but upon considering that the study of law usually ended in wealth for those who understood it, he changed his mind and had his son study law. This was unconsciously but very significantly training him for the later work he was to assume. His university training was very thorough, both in the Priesthood and in law, which took him to the leading French schools of learning at Orleans, Bourges, and Paris. In the classification of Schaff,¹ Calvin was first of all a Theologian, second a legislator and disciplinarian, and third an intellectual and literary contributor.

His conversion to the Protestant movement occurred in 1532, and at this point he considered himself "called" of God as a reformer of the Church. Due to Protestant persecution in France he became a wandering refugee under assumed names, visiting places of interest in France, Switzerland, and Italy. During this period he visited Geneva. This was the turning point of his life. The change was

1. Schaff--History of the Christian Church Vol. 7 Page 260

from scholar to reformer. Farel, who was having a difficult time in preserving the reformation in Geneva, felt that Calvin was the man to save the day for the Protestant movement in French Switzerland. The words of Schaff here are significant.

"Calvin found in the city on Lake Lemman, a tottering republic, a wavering faith, a nascent church. He left it a Gibraltar of Protestantism, a school of nations and churches."²

Calvin did not last long at Geneva however; about all he could do before he was driven out was to impress the people, who were later to come into power, that they wanted him back. At their urgent invitation he returned to them from Strassburg in September 1541. Geneva had pled for his return;

"An ancient Polity fallen to the ground together with the religion which had been its props: a priesthood retiring, discomfited, disgraced, abandoning at once their sacred offices, and their secular revenue; a people inflamed with the love of civil and religious liberty, which in their case was identical, and willing to submit themselves to those who offered to conduct them to both: a new system of education of civil laws, and of ecclesiastical government to be built upon the ruins of the old. These were the scattered elements which awaited but the plastic power of some master spirit to be combined into new and lasting forms."³

The people felt that Calvin was the only person who could save their cause. An understanding of this situation helps us to appreciate the authority which the name of

2. Ibid Page 348-49

3. Dyer, T.H.--Life of Jean Calvin

Calvin would now carry with it. He accepted this call reluctantly, and then not until he felt certain he was called of God. He entered his task as the representative of God to the people of Geneva, the twenty three remaining years of his life he dedicated to making Geneva a city of God, and here begins our story of the development of the Geneva Theocracy. "Calvin wanted a city of God, and if he could not get it from the inside, he would get it from the outside."⁴ The instrument for this attainment was a strict system of discipline.

GENEVAN GOVERNMENT BEFORE CALVIN

Before the advent of Calvin in Geneva, the city, under the persuasion of Farel, had succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Catholicism. Political independence seemed also assured, when in 1536 Berne acknowledged Genevan independence. Berne was Protestant and now Geneva was Protestant, "more for political than for religious reasons."⁵ At this point Calvin arrived. His job was to form anew the religious institution of Geneva.

The political organization of Geneva now consisted of (a) "The General assembly"⁶ (b) A "Little Council"⁷, (c) A "Council of Sixty"⁸, (d) "The Council of two hundred."⁹

4. Atkins, G.G.--The making of the Christian Mind Page 309
 5. Walker W.--A History of the Christian Church Page 389
 6. Including the general public.
 7. Consisted of twenty five members. Syndics of that year and the year previous were members.
 8. Appointed by the little council.
 9. Including little council and one hundred sixty five appointed by them.

This was an oligarchical form of government. The "General assembly" consisted of heads of families. It was to conduct business relating to the entire community and was to meet twice each year. It elected four syndics who acted as administrative officers. In later years the general assembly was called together less often and its powers were acquired by the "Little council" and the Council of two hundred.

The "Little Council" was the most powerful of the governmental divisions, exercising control as a supreme court, as well as a body of legislation and administration. The "Council of Sixty" was comparatively insignificant.

BRIGHAM YOUNG AND UTAH

In the case of Utah we have a commonwealth which was organized on the principle of pure Theocracy. (In Geneva the Theocracy was formed from the commonwealth.) The spirit of the founding of the Utah commonwealth is well expressed in the following quotation from a general epistle signed by Brigham Young and addressed to all the Saints in all the world:

"Let all Saints who love God more than their own dear selves, gather without delay to the place appointed, bringing their gold, their silver, their copper, their zinc, their tin, and brass, and iron, and choice steel, and ivory and precious stones, their curiosities

of science, of art to build in strength and stability, to beautify, to adorn, to embellish, to delight, and to cast fragrance over the house of the Lord...we invite presidents and emperors, and kings, and princes, nobles, and governors and rulers, and judges, and all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people under the whole heaven, to come and help us to build a house to the name of the God of Jacob, a place of peace, a city of rest, a habitation for the oppressed of every clime, even for those that love their neighbor as they do themselves, and are willing to do as they would be done unto, and this we are determined to do, and we will do, God being our helper."¹⁰

In the Utah Theocracy we have a different historical setting than we find at Geneva. Brigham Young was not a foreigner to the people but was one of their number. The people were not surrounded on all sides by cities or states. He did not have to win his way to acceptance by the people, as Calvin did, but by the time the pioneers landed in Utah the authority of Brigham Young to lead them was not subject to serious questioning. There was not, as in the case of Calvin, to be found a Perrin, a Castellio, a Berthelier, nor a Servetus, with whom he had to meet and contest for leadership. His people who had followed him on a dangerous trek across the continent were not ready to deny him the place of prophet in less critical situations. His task was not to make civil government subservient to his ecclesiastical organization. In fact he saw the importance of organizing a civil government among his people. When

10. Millennial Star March 15, 1848

the Mormon pioneers entered the Salt Lake valley, they were a Theocracy. This is indicated by the statement of Brigham Young later when his power was in question by the United States government. "Though I may not be governor here my power will not be diminished. Let them send who they will and it will not deminish my influence one particle."

When Calvin landed in Geneva he had before him the task of making a Theocracy.

A knowledge of the different situations of these two groups makes the similarities of the two leaders, the more significant.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TWO THEOCRACIES

A--Geneva

1. Calvin first formulated a new ecclesiastical constitution known as the "ordinances", and had them adopted by the council. These organized the four church offices of Pastor, Teacher, Elder, and Deacon and defined their duties as follows:

(1) Pastors-(Bishops) Who met weekly for public discussion, known as "congregation". Candidates for the ministry were here examined.

(2) Teachers--To be heads of the school system of Geneva.

(3) Deacons--Care of the poor and hospital supervision.

(4) Elders--They and the ministers composed the "Consistoire". They met each Thursday and their work was ecclesiastical discipline.

In this organization we are able to see the skill of Calvin in bringing ecclesiastical organization into power. Education, under the teacher, assumed its important place, in the religious training of the community. The training of the Genevise in the Calvinistic system was thus taken care of. The Calvin system however, seemed to center around the Elders. Their selection was in the hands of the "Little Council" who were to select two from their own number, four from the "Council of sixty", and six from the "Council of two hundred".

Theirs was the problem of discipline around which the entire Calvinistic system was built. At their Thursday meetings they considered the cases of blasphemers, drunkards, fornicators, brawlers, and fighters, those in matrimonial difficulties, dancers, and dancing masters, spreaders of false doctrine and those who neglected or questioned divine service. Excommunication was the limit of their power, and offenders requiring more drastic punishment, they could turn over to the civil government who were thus obligated to do their duty in supporting church procedure. Those who defied the Church were banished for a year by the civil council. Much difficulty was encountered in granting the "Consistoire" power of excommunication, and a serious conflict ensued. It was not until 1555 that this undisputed power was finally granted.

"The influence of Calvin on the civil government of Geneva was undemocratic."¹¹ He looked with suspicion upon people who were interested in calling the general assembly into session: consequently few were called. He also arranged that nothing could be discussed in the "general assembly" which had not been considered first in the "Council of the Two Hundred" that nothing could be discussed in the "Council of two hundred" that had not originated in the "Little Council". All legislation was to begin then in the "Little Council" which practically came to be dominated by Calvin's "Consistory". Thus Calvin without official civil position became the dominant factor in the government of Geneva. As Hulme suggests, "He made the laws, while the councils confirmed them and the syndics carried them out."¹²

B--Utah

In Utah the ecclesiastical organization had complete control in civil affairs for two years, from 1847-49. This control was by no means inefficient. The church organization was a source of pride to the people and consisted in general of:-

1. General Authorities-

(a) First Presidency

This body exercises a presidency over the entire

12. Institutes Book 4 Chapter 22 Section 1 Also found in Hulme--Renaissance and Reformation Page 298 (Institutes to be hereafter designated as Inst 4-22:1)
 11. E.M. Hulme--Renaissance and Reformation Page 297

church and must be High Priests of the Melchizedek Priesthood.

(b) Council of the Twelve Apostles

This council also has general powers over the entire church. It acts under the direction of the first Presidency in building up the church in all nations. They meet in council with the Presidency in an advisory and legislative capacity. This council was the presiding body of the church when the pioneers entered Salt Lake Valley, July 24, 1847. At this time Brigham Young was President of the council. The first presidency of the church with Brigham Young as president was not organized until December of the same year at a conference of the church at Winter Quarters, Nebraska, where the main body of the church was spending the winter in preparation for their migration to the Salt Lake Valley the following spring.

(c) Council of Seventy

Quorums of seventy were organized throughout the church including worthy members of the higher (Melchizedek) Priesthood. Their duties are primarily missionary work in promulgating "the gospel" at home and abroad. The Seventy acts under the direction of the Twelve Apostles. Their first seven presidents act as an executive council and are a part of the general authorities of the entire church.

(d) Presiding Bishopric

This the executive body over the ward bishoprics. Their work is confined largely to temporal affairs.

(e) Presiding Patriarch

The Patriarch acted as a spiritual advisor and pronouncer of blessings to the people of the church. Patriarchs were appointed in each stake of the church. They acted under the direction of the presiding Patriarch. Through this organization blessings were given upon the heads of the people of the church. This had a unifying effect upon the people. They were told of their royal descent and given blessings for the future, which were dependent upon their righteousness.

2. Stake Authorities

For governmental purposes the church was subdivided into "Stakes".¹³ The Stake Presidency, consisting of three members, are the presiding officers. They are assisted by a "High Council", consisting of twelve members, who act in the Stake in the same capacity, as do the council of the twelve in the general church. At first there was but one Stake in the Salt Lake valley. While the Presidency were

13. The term taken from the Old Testament prophecies of Isiah, "Look up Zion, thine eyes shall see Jerusalem, a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down not one of the Stakes thereof shall ever be moved, neither shall anyone of the cords thereof be broken." Isaih 33-20. "Spare not, lengthen thy corde and strengthen they stakes. Isaih 54

absent from the city, the instructions to the High Council were, to apportion all water priveleges from the city creek. They were-

"to pass such laws and ordinances as shall be necessary for the peace and prosperity of the city for the time being, if such there need be, though we trust few or none will be necessary...for you know what is right and our motto is, every person do your duty. It is the duty of the council to see that justice is administered to all, that righteousness may run down your streets like an overflowing stream."¹⁴

The presidency at this time nominated a marshall for the city.¹⁵

3. Ward Officers

Each stake is subdivided into "Wards" in which the presiding authority is a Bishop with two counselors. The Bishop is considered as the father of the ward and has, under his jurisdiction, all of the activities of the ward. The Bishopric is the presiding authority of the lessor or Aaronic priesthood, and has charge of the temporal affairs of the church. It has interesting parallels to the Geneva order. In the Utah Theocracy we find officials in each ward, working under the direction of the Bishop. All appointments of offices within the church are made through the agencies directly responsible to the First Presidency of the church.

 14. At a meeting of the High Council June 6, 1849, a resolution was passed relieving the council of municipal duties.
 15. Journal History of Church September 9, 1847

The Aaronic priesthood of the ward act as aids to the bishopric and include the offices of-

1. Priests,-who preach, teach, expound and baptize. They visit the homes of each member of the ward, and urge them to their religious duties.

2. Teachers-whose duty is to see that there is no iniquity in the church; no lying, backbiting, nor evil speaking, and to see that all members do their duty.

3. Deacons, who were to care for the poor and assist the teachers in seeing "that all should come to Christ." The office acted as training for boys and younger men in preparing them for higher office.

This Priesthood governing plan was devised so that each male member of the church should have active responsibility and development. It was in itself a method of education for church membership. Advancement in the priesthood was dependent upon recommendation of worthiness by the Bishop and the sustaining vote of the congregation.

Within each ward are auxiliary organizations, which act as aids in promoting the many phases of the church program. These auxiliary organizations are indirectly supervised by stake and general boards who specialize in their respective fields.

This brief outline, represents an elaborate organization. With the exception of the general authorities, the offices

in the church are taken without financial remuneration. In the case of the small number of general authorities whose entire time is required financial compensation is granted.

It is evident that the possibilities of such an organization are extensive. It is equally evident that the efficiency of the organization is directly dependent upon the religious enthusiasm and zeal, manifest by the church members.

The judiciary department was also provided for in this set up, minor differences between neighbors were to be settled by the visiting teachers. If these difficulties were more complicated, the case was taken before the Bishop's court; where, if satisfaction was not obtained, the Stake High Council acted as a court of judgement. Each side of the controversy was presented by neutral members of that body. The limit of judgement in the church organization was excommunication which was given great exercise in the early days of Utah. The saints regarded their bishops courts and high councils as divinely commissioned and inspired tribunals.

Such a plan of organization was not originated by Brigham Young. It was an inheritance from his predecessor, Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon movement. The contribution of Brigham Young was the adjustment of the organization

to the needs of the people so that it became a vehicle by which they could build a successful commonwealth. It was the machine through which the Utah Theocracy worked.

Its theocratic principal is well described by Brigham Young in the words, "I am at my post and God is at the helm."¹⁶

The effectiveness of this system of government was shown during the interval from July 1847 to March of 1849 when Utah operated as a pure Theocracy, without any suggestion of civil authority. What few civil offices were necessary, "Police and peace officers, as well as assessors and collectors of taxes, were elected at the religious conferences of the people."¹⁷ There were no laws until the later part of 1847, but certain penalties were executed by the people. The High Council tried and sentenced offenders. In governmental matters men and women voted by ballot, this being the first example of woman suffrage in the United States.

In March 1849 the people adopted a constitution for what they called the "New State of Deseret". In this system the Bishops were elected as magistrates.¹⁸ Under this provisional government they operated until August 1851 when they elected delegates to the congress of the United States, having been given the status of a territory by a provision of the compromise of 1850. This territorial government provided for a governor, secretary of state,

16. Journal of Discourses--Volume 5 Page 293 This reference hereafter to be noted as J.D.

17. Thomas, George--Civil Government of Utah

18. Tullige, History of Salt Lake City.

and territorial judges, all appointed by the president of the United States, and a territorial legislature of two houses. Brigham Young was the first governor.

From this time on Utah cannot be regarded in theory as a pure Theocracy. We shall see however, how subsequent history forced the territory to continue in its practical role as primarily Theocratic. With Brigham Young interpreting the word of God to his "Chosen People".

COMPARISONS IN ORGANIZATION

Each ecclesiastical organization provided for the offices of Bishop, Teacher, Elder, and Deacon.

The office of Bishop in each case was one of supervision over a particular district or "ward" of the church. They presided over their respective divisions and exercised disciplinary measures.

Each system provided for a visit to the house of each member of the congregation at regular intervals, to check upon the conduct, and allegiance to duty, of the people.

The work of the deacons in each organization was to care for the poor and assist in the order of the church.

In each case the teacher was given, the responsibility of instructing the people in sound doctrine. They expound, exhort, and teach, that no false doctrine may be found among the people. The work of the teacher in the

Utah Theocracy almost paralleled that of the elder in the Geneva Theocracy, while the work of the Geneva teacher was principally the interpretation of the scripture.

Excommunication was the limit of punishment in each case, although in Geneva, the consistoire had power in influencing civil authority to inflict the death sentence, as in the case of E.G. Servetus.

In Geneva as well as in Utah, executive power was well centered in the influence of one man who interpreted the will of God to the people.

UNDERLYING POLITICAL THEORIES AT WORK

A--Geneva

With Calvin, the church as well as the state was to operate in its own respective sphere. Theoretically there was to be no overlapping, each was supreme in its own field. He felt that Christian liberty was altogether possible in the midst of political servitude.

In his concluding chapter of the Institute, which Calvin devotes to civil government, he introduces the subject by saying,

"Having already stated that man is the subject of two kinds of government, and having sufficiently discussed that which...relates to eternal life, we are in this chapter to say something of the other kind which relates to civil government."¹⁹

We are not to get the mistaken idea however; that with Calvin, the civil government of man, was equal in authority with the ecclesiastical government instituted for carrying on the work of God. In this respect he presents an interesting philosophy; for while men are in complete subjection to their civil governors, regardless of cruelty or injustice, there is one and only one excuse for not following the magistrate: that being, when the magistrate requests an action on the part of his subjects which is in direct contradiction to the commandments of God.

"The Lord therefore is king of kings, who, when he has opened his sacred mouth is to be heard alone, above all, for all, and before all; in the next place, we are subject to those men who preside over us; but no otherwise than in him. If they command anything against him, it ought not to have the least attention."²⁰

This philosophy has been the basis it seems for the tendency of Protestant countries to be less inclined than others to accept the dictates of unrighteous sovereigns. To the same philosophy is attributed much of the anxiety of the Pilgrims and Puritans in America to throw off the clamps of England in the American revolution, yet we cannot let our conclusions wander in giving credit to Calvin for revolutionary movements in the face of other of his pertinent philosophies of government such as;

"But if we direct our attention to the word of God it will carry us much farther; even to

submit to the government not only of those princes who discharge their duty to us with becoming integrity and fidelity, but of all who possess the sovereignty."²¹

If the American Revolutionist could find satisfaction in the teachings of Calvin, he could also have found much discomfort. "Finally we owe these sentiments of affection and reverence to all our rulers, whatever their character may be", and, "They are still subject even to those who are wicked and unkind", also,

"Wherefore if we are inhumanly harassed by a cruel prince, if we are rapaciously plundered by an avaricious or luxurious one; if we are neglected by an indolent one; or if we are persecuted on account of piety, by an impious and sacriligious one,...let us first call to mind our transgressions against God which he undoubtedly chastises by these scourges. Let us, in the next place, consider that it is not our province to remedy these evils, and that nothing remains for us but to implore the aid of the Lord, in whose hand are the hearts of kings and the revolutions of kingdoms."²²

Calvin then calls to our attention the punishment of the children of Israel under Pharoah, and later under the Assyrians and Babylonians, which people were punished for transgression until God, should send them a deliverer.

As we look into seemingly conflicting philosophies, on the same subject, we see why it is that in later European and world history great groups followed directly opposing philosophies, and each claimed Calvin as authority for their procedures.

21. Ibid 4-20:32

22. Ibid 4-20:24

The inconsistency however; is not traceable to Calvin, but to a lack of understanding that behind all of his expressions of human freedom and subjection to authority was his theological doctrine of predestination in which God was the ruling power who pulled the strings and man was the puppet. In summing up his chapter on civil government he repeats acts 5-29 "We ought to obey God rather than men."

His fundamental philosophy of government which was instilled into the people of Geneva was that they owed allegiance to the civil government; so long as the civil government did not govern contrary to the law of God.

For its written law Calvin's theocracy took the Old Testament. The law of God was contained fully in the Bible. "The Genevan Theocracy may more perfectly be called a Bibliocracy."²³ God's earthly interpreter of His word was John Calvin. With this whip he ruled Theocratic Geneva, surely his power and position were unique. As someone has put it, "Calvin was God's prosecuting attorney." The way in which Calvin impressed his people with the thought, that it was a religious duty to obey the civil government, was unique up to his time, and has led Gettel to say, "The greatest of the reformers from the standpoint of political thought, was John Calvin."²⁴

23. Harkness--John Calvin; The Man and His Ethics

24. Gettel, R.G.--History of Political Thought

B--Utah

In governmental theory Brigham Young followed in general one of the "Articles of Faith" of his church.

"We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law."²⁵

His own expression is best presented in one of his sermons,

"All governments are more or less under control of the Almighty, and in their forms, have sprung from the laws that he has from time to time given to man."²⁶

"The newspapers are teeming with statements that I said, President Pierce and all Hell could not remove me from office. I will tell you what I did say and what I now say; The Lord reigns and rules in the armies of the heavens, and does his pleasure among the inhabitants of the earth. He sets up a kingdom here and pulls down another there, at His pleasure. He makes kings, presidents, and governors, at his pleasure; hence I conclude, that I shall be governor of Utah Territory just as long as He wants me to be, and for that time, neither the president of the United States nor any other can prevent it."²⁷

While this indicates a distinct obligation on the part of subjects to obey the laws of civil government, we should evade any tendency to interpret Brigham Young as putting civil and religious government on an equal plane of authority.

25. Articles of Faith--No. 12

26. J.D. Vol. 19 P. 342

27. Ibid vol. 2 P. 83

It is well to keep in mind in considering the philosophies of Brigham Young, that he was not in general making a world philosophy, as seemed to be the case with Calvin. Although he branches out in generalization at times the great bulk of his teaching shows the anxiety of a perplexing and specific problem at hand. In speaking of civil government his principal discussion hinges around the United States government with which he has such intimate difficulties, and yet behind it all, was a well grounded philosophy of the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of God, when Christ should rule as "king of kings and Lord of Lords", to him God was the founder of all kingdoms and principalities but when the rulers or governors showed drastic tendencies in corruption and polluting of right principles, he recognized but slight allegiance to them.

Brigham Young saw in the establishment of his church the beginning of the end, God had so regulated the kingdoms and governments of the earth, throughout all history, that the world would be prepared for the establishment of the church of God in 1830. Civil government reached its peak with the establishment of the United States of America. The constitution was an inspired document created by men who had been sent forth at that time for that specific purpose.

"We are a people whose rise and progress from the beginning has been the work of God our heavenly father, which in his wisdom has seen

proper to commence the reestablishment of his kingdom upon the earth. Still further we believe that the Lord has been preparing that, when he should bring forth his work, that when the set time should finally come, that there might be a place upon his footstool where sufficient liberty of conscience should exist, that his saints might dwell in peace, under the broad canopy of constitutional law and equal rights. For this cause were Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, Washington, and a host of others, inspired to deeds of resistance to the acts of the kings of Great Britain, who might also have been led to those aggressive acts, for ought we know, to bring to pass the purposes of God, in thus establishing a new government upon a principle of greater freedom...allowing a free exercise of religious worship."²⁹

A recognition of the fact that any government, no matter how well constituted, may fall into the hands of unworthy magistrates, led Brigham Young to conclude that even the United States government, which he considered Divinely organized, was not to expect his allegiance if its administration should attempt to hinder the progress of the work of God.

With the approach of the Johnson army to the borders of the city in 1857 when it looked as though the religious activities of the people, were to receive another setback, Brigham Young said to the people,

"They say that their army is legal, and I say that such a statement is as false as hell, and that they are as rotten as an old pumpkin that has been frozen seven times and then melted in a harvest snow. Come on with your thousands of illegally ordered troops and I will promise you in the name of Israel's God, that

29. Ibid. V. 2 P. 170

you shall melt away as the snow before a July sun."³⁰

Brigham Young saw civil and religious government covering two extremely different fields. Both his church and the Constitution of his nation were established under direct guidance of God. There was not and could not develop any conflict of principle.

"To accuse us of being unfriendly to the government is to accuse us of being unfriendly to religion, for no item of inspiration is held more sacred with us than the constitution under which she acts."³¹

He was under no obligation to submit to civil authority if it was administered in opposition to God's work. Speaking of some evidently corrupt politicians who had been sent to Utah to represent the United States government as territorial officers, he said,

"There have been officers here who were not fit to live in our midst...corrupt, men cannot walk these streets with impunity, and if that is alienism to the government, amen to it."³²

From these quotations we are able to get some idea of the political philosophies of the Mormon leader. He made no pretensions that he was operating a Theocracy. He speaks freely about the Theocracy of Heaven, and regards it as an institution which will later be given to the earth. In one of his discourses he gives us his conception of a real theocracy along with what types of theocracies the peoples of the world have had previously to deal.

30. Ibid V. 5 P. 230

31. Ibid V. 2 P. 173

32. Ibid V. 2 Page 183

"What do I understand to be a Theocratic government? One in which all laws are enacted and executed in righteousness and whose officers possess that power which proceedeth from the Almighty?"

The people have reason to fear a bogus or spurious Theocracy.

"What do the world understand a Theocracy to be.. a poor, rotten government of men, that should say without a shadow of provocation or just cause, "cut that man's head off, put that one on the rack; arrest another, and retain him while you plunder his property, and polute his wife and daughters; massacre here and there."³³

The Theocracy to come should be a civil and religious polity, speaking of it he said,

"The kingdom of God will be extended over the earth." "Is that day coming?" "It is. Even now the form of the government of the United States differs but little from that of the kingdom of God."³⁴

Brigham Young did not see the Utah of his day as theocratic in theory. But as we stand by and watch it at work; as we see a scheduled meeting of the council of the Twelve dismissed because Brigham Young was at his farm,³⁵ we are impressed with the way in which the people responded to the will of God, as they saw it expressed by Brigham Young.

COMPARISON OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES

We have seen that the political philosophies of both John Calvin and Brigham Young are based upon the theory that God is the regulator of all governments, and that he

33. Ibid V. 6 PP. 346-47

34. Ibid V. 6 P. 345

35. Journal History of the church March 27, 1849 (This reference later designated as J.H.)

regulates them for his own ends. Both men recognize that people owe allegiance to civil as well as to Divine authority. Both make provisions for lack of allegiance to governments that attempt to frustrate the work of God.

We must keep in mind in this discussion that Calvin lived in an age when the very right of civil government to exist at all was in some question. His political philosophy consequently dealt with that problem. Brigham Young came into the scene at a time when the right of civil authority was definitely established. His philosophies then naturally dealt with adjustment to it.

They reach common ground in the quotation, "The Lord therefore is King of Kings and Lords of Lords, who, when he has opened his sacred mouth is to be heard alone."³⁶

Both leaders go directly to the Hebrew conception as found in Daniel "And he changeth times and ages, taketh away kingdoms and establisheth them."³⁷

Young and Calvin both considered that government is not legitimate which does not make its chief end the Glory of God.³⁸

DISCIPLINE

A--Geneva

To understand the success of Calvin in Geneva is to know

36. C. Inst. V. 4-20:32

37. Daniel 2:21

38. Inst. P. 22 J.D. V. 5 P. 230

something of his discipline. To him a well ordered community was one in which every man knew his part and played it. It was an outgrowth of this thought that found expression after his death in these words from the "Preamble to the ordinances of the Genevan church".

"Having considered that it is a thing worthy of commendation above all others, that the doctrine of the Holy Gospel of our Lord, Jesus Christ, shall be preserved in its purity, and the Christian Church duly maintained, by good government and policy, and also that youth in the future be well and faithfully instructed, and the hospital well ordered for the support of the poor; which things can only be if there be established a certain rule and order of living, by which each man may be able to understand the duties of his position."³⁹

It all centered upon the ability of each man to understand the duties of his position.

To assist the populace to understand the result of some men being out of their true position, torture and burnings were practiced frequently. Other governments have shown little consideration for human life and suffering, but in the wholesale slaughter of people just for purposes of pure righteousness Geneva stands alone. It was for the attainment of "Holiness of life" among the people that Calvin drafted his scheme of government which concerned itself with matters of administration from the regulation of markets and buildings to the control of prices and interest and it was his conception that it was the duty of

 39. Tawney Page 145 Quotes from E. Choisy, L'Etat Chretien Calviniste A' Geneve au temps de Theodore de Beze--1902 P. 145

the state to enforce a high tone of morality as well as sound doctrine upon the people.

In order that discipline could be enforced it was necessary that governing officials should know of the actions and even the thoughts of the people. The church organization had been especially adapted to the getting of information. It was the duty of the Pastors and Elders to visit every home in the parish at least each year. In this way they could secure an individual check upon each member of the Parish. Their inquiries during these visits were to be along the following line: Does this household live in peace? Do you attend church regularly? Does drunkenness or quarreling disturb the peace of the family? In order to facilitate this order of discipline the city was divided into three parishes. The official position of Calvin was leader of one of these parishes, but he was in practice, the Bishop of Geneva.

T.H. Dyer has said,

"Calvin made his civil legislation subservient to his church polity. The object of both was to found a theocratic state resembling that of the Israelites under Moses, of which he himself was to be the High Priest and Prophet."⁴⁰

This tendency back toward Judaism was more marked, according to Dyer, among the English Puritan followers, who it is significant to note, were the progenitors of the New England Puritans who formed the ancestry of Brigham Young.

40. T.H. Dyer--Life of Jean Calvin Chapt. 4 P. 131

The revival of Hebrew Literature under the encouragement of Reuchlin, was called by Erasmus in 1516, a pest, the most dangerous to Christianity."

The discipline of Geneva approached the Mosiac law in practice as well as in theory. Both Moses and Calvin punished blasphemy, by death, and both codes perscribed death to the disrespectful child who should strike or curse the parent. Respect and submission to Calvin were as important as respect for the early apostles. Three men who had laughed during a sermon were imprisoned for three days, and the council record makes mention Of its punishment, at the direction of the consistory, of a person who had been discovered, singing a song defaming Calvin. Nor were the rules less strict in other lives. The consistory admonished and the council punished persons for dancing, and playing cards on Sunday, for cursing, for saying there is no devil or hell, and for saying that the Pope was a great man.⁴¹ Punishments of torture, and burning for witchcraft are also recorded on the Geneva records.

Control was not to stop with peoples actions, but an attempt was made to apply external force to the problem of individual belief. A case is on record of an attempt being made to force the people to believe that a man who had gone mad and ran to his distruction had been carried over hill and valley by the devil. Those familiar with the case were

41. Harkness--John Calvin; The Man and His Ethics Chapt. 2
Page 27

more inclined to the belief that the man had rather violently taken himself over the country, but to Calvin it was an intercession of Satan, who was pronouncing his judgment.

It is not to be argued that Calvin produced nothing but good results. We must remember that his reform was an external, an enforced discipline. It is evident that under a system where the church owned and controlled the soul, through the state, that many governing measures changed otherwise law abiding citizens, into hypocrites. The general moral tone of Geneva in the formation period of the Theocracy, as well as later, was low. Illigitimate children left exposed in many parts of the town; forced marriage, and the usual high number discovering new technique with which to evade the law.⁴²

The fact that there were so many breaking the law is not the significant thing in Geneva, but the success which Calvin attained in having so many live the law with a new religious fervor is his great achievement. His was a work of conversion. The sixteenth century found Geneva a town of factions, a luxurious and pleasure loving city. Calvin's work stressed two objectives: first, to get the people to observe one civil and ecclesiastical polity: second, to make Geneva the stronghold of Protestantism in its most severe form, and the center from which it might be propogated

throughout all Europe.⁴³ His success is the record of history. In a day when we are inclined to regard enforced morality as an impossible gesture on the part of a government, we do well to review the history of the Geneva Theocracy and John Calvin, with a view of trying to explain his power in making of this center of immorality into a "school of Christ", through discipline.

To accomplish this a religious despot was required and such Calvin proved to be. His power over the council is shown in the incident of Ameaux, one of the enemies, of Calvin, who while intoxicated had condemned Calvin, and was given a light fine by the council as his punishment. In spite of the popular following of Ameaux, Calvin appeared before the council complained of the mildness of the judgement, and the council after reconsideration inflicted on irresponsible Ameaux a degrading and insulting punishment. The opposition which arose against Calvin helps us in this study in gaining a conception of his growing power in the Theocracy. It was conflict not only between religious groups, but also between civil and religious groups. Some later felt that "they would rather be with Beza in hell, than with Calvin in heaven". Such was the feeling among some in Geneva who could not adjust to the new discipline.

43. ibid P. 116

B--Utah

The discipline in Utah and Geneva was necessarily of a somewhat different type. As a means of discipline the Geneva church could turn offenders over to the government for death penalty if it was needed. The Utah organization was limited to excommunication except in special cases where the people took things into their own hands. Here also the social ostracism of the group played an important part. We may say that in Utah the machinery for discipline was more an appeal to the finer nature, than it was a threat of torture or beheading.

"The catalogue of man's discipline, he must compile himself: he cannot be guided by any rule that others may lay down, but is placed under necessity of tracing it himself through every avenue of life. He is obligated to chastise and train himself for he knows his own disposition best...He is therefore the most fit to school himself, until every particle of the man is brought into subjection to the law of Christ."⁴⁴

There was, however, an effective means of control exercised by public sentiment as well as trial before High councils and Bishop courts. Excommunication was a common practice and was administered for slight misconduct. One man was excommunicated for evil speaking against the presidency. This type of insubordination was considered not so much as a sign of disrespect for the presidency as a disrespect for the Gospel plan, and word of God. The entire

44. J.D. V. 6 P. 315

success of the Utah enterprise rested upon the faith of the people in their leaders as spokesmen of God. This ideal was cherished and zealously promoted, and departure from such an attitude naturally was considered a grave offense.

Offenders in other lines were sometimes given a reminder of their duty by being presented at the whipping post. This was necessary because there was no jail during the first year. This punishment was used only two or three times. Brigham Young was opposed to it but a few cases arose which seemed to require it,

"for instance, one of our best men now, who was then young, was accused of riding on horseback with a girl in front of him. This was looked upon as indecorious. "e and others guilty of the same thing were severely reprimanded."⁴⁵

The power of the High Council is also shown in the adoption of paper currency as a medium of exchange. Some butchers refused to accept it; The council passed a resolution that butchers, who refused to accept the paper currency for meat be required to do so or give up the butchery business.⁴⁶ Two men who had run their horses in the street and injured a child were tried before the bishop's court.

The council also supervised holiday celebrations. At the time of a Christmas holiday, it issued this decree,

"Woe unto them that dance with guile or malice in their hearts toward their neighbors, if these shall go forth in the dance without

45. Bancrofts History of Utah PP. 271-72 from G.Q. Cannon

46. J.H. February 3, 1849

without confessing and forsaking their guilt, the faith of the council is, that they seal their doom by it. Bring all your tithes and offerings to the proper place for the poor.... and let the poor rejoice and then you may rejoice in the dance, to your hearts content."⁴⁷

Public celebrationw were conducted under church supervision and none were allowed to sing, dance, and rejoice before the Lord who were not in good church standing.

Disturbances and difficulties between people which were not generally known in public were often discovered by the ward teacher and were attended too often without carrying the difficulty farther than the families concerned, but if necessary it was taken to the bishop's court of High council. The usual method of the teacher was to inquire into the private life of the members. Questions regarding compatibility with the other members of the ward, attendance at church, faithfulness in family prayers, payment of church revenue (tithing) and general good feeling toward the work were appropriate for the visiting teachers.

The father of each family was, in the spirit of the Old Testament, the patriarch over his family. Discipline within the family belonged to him. His wife and children were to be subservant to the priesthood which he held and exercised over them as long as it was exercised in righteousness.

47. J.H. November 28, 1849

The attitude of the presidency relative to their position of authority is well expressed in an epistle sent to the saints when they were away from them in 1847.

"When we left you, the oracles of the church left, and returned with us, and that this our epistle is your oracle...let no one undertake to overrule this letter, but let it be read in this congregation of the saints, every sabbath."⁴⁸

This attitude the people also shared.

In later years when the civil organization was more completely developed, much of the work of discipline was taken from the ecclesiastical order. Yet in the first organized senate and house of representatives, meetings were held in the school room of a member of the first presidency.⁴⁹ But church members were never free to come into conflict with church standards without receiving its discipline. Sometimes it came through the Bishop's courts and High councils, but often it came in rebuke from the pulpit. Brigham Young felt that the common thief was about the most detestible of all criminals. Speaking of such in a public sermon he said,

"Live here then you poor miserable curses, until the time of retribution, when your heads will have to be severed from your bodies. Just let the Lord Almighty say 'lay judgement to the line and righteousness to the plummet', and the time of thieves is short in this community."

"I want the Elders of Israel to understand that if they are exposed in their stealing, lying,

48. Ibid September 1847

49. Ibid December 1, 1847

deceiving, and wickedness, which is idolatry, they must not fly in a passion about it for we calculate to expose you from time to time as we please, when we can get time to notice you."⁵⁰

"And when mobocrats come here, they will find a vigilance committee..I want the people in the States to know that...we do not want a gang of highwaymen here, and I say to all such characters, that if you come here and practice your iniquity we will send you home quick. I wish such characters would let the boys have a chance to lay their hands on them."⁵¹

"I mourn not that a thief is killed, but that any human being would so far debase himself as to become a mean, low, degraded thief...If any of my family shall be guilty of stealing, I shall request them to leave my house never to enter it again."⁵²

This strong philosophy regarding criminals coming from the "prophet" could not, help but have its effect. A public sentiment was created which acted to ostracise the criminal from the group, which is always an effective factor in discipline.

Brigham Young did not depend entirely upon his advice from the stand as a check to people who were not obeying council. On one occasion when flour was not too plentiful and some members were selling it to "gentiles" who bought it for speculation he said,

"Do not sell a bushel for five, ten, or twenty dollars, but tell them no, our wheat is to feed the poor saints, and no one else. If you do not do this, I am watching you. Do you know that I have my threads strung all

50. J.D. Volume 3 PP. 50-51
 51. Ibid Volume 5 Page 6
 52. Ibid Volume 9 Page 155

through the terrirory that I may know what individuals do? If you do not pursue a righteous course we will separate you from the church. Is that all? No! If necessary we will take your grain from your bin and distribute it among the poor and needy...and you shall receive what your grain is worth."⁵³

COMPARISONS OF DISCIPLINE

In Geneva Calvin had the backing of the civil government in the enforcement of discipline. In this way the death penalty could be secured. In Utah the death penalty was not used: the church organization went only as far as excommunication. This meant that order must depend more on individual responsibility or an inner discipline; while in Geneva physical coercion was more prominent.

The methods of discipline of Calvin and Young were based upon the same philosophy. As expressed by the former, it was that, "each man may be able to understand the duties of his position." The latter said, "for you know what is right, and our motto is, every person do your duty." Both involved the knowledge of right and the duty of doing it.

Private disturbances or minor crimes were discovered by a regular visitor representing the church. In Utah, it was the ward teacher, in Geneva it was the Elder. The survey in each case covered practically the same field.

53. Ibid Vol. 3 Page 122

In Utah and in Geneva the father was undisputed head of each family and demanded the respect which was shown to the patriarchs of Old Testament History.

MORALITY AND REFORM

A--Geneva

We now turn to a refreshing attempt on the part of Calvin to promote morality in Geneva. Of special interest in this regard was his attempt to promote temperance. The taverns were social centers of great interest, where people would go to spend the late hours of the night in free speech and liberal drinking. These sinks of iniquity made no pretense at taking over any of the duties of the church and possessed some of the characteristics of a modern saloon. Being institutions which were not necessary in the promotion of the kingdom of God they were all closed down and "Abbayes" were opened to take their places as social centers. At the "Abbayes" bread and wine were sold at cost. The low type jocularly however, was replaced by lawful discussion about religion. No swearing or backbiting was permitted. Grace was to be said both before and after taking bread and wine. The doors were to close at nine o'clock each night, and the people were required by law to go home in a sober and Godly frame of mind. The only

thing wrong with the "Abbaye" idea was that people refused to frequent the places. Even in a more Godly age than this, drinkers were not fond of promoting religious conversation along with their drinks, and in face of financial collapse the "Abbayes" gave way to the reopening of the taverns, which immediately started drawing the old crowds and their money.

Even the naming of children had its restrictions in Geneva. At the request of the council, Calvin prepared a list of objectional baptismal names which were enacted into law. Church attendance was compulsory and it was decreed that the house of any person not in church could be searched during worship hour and persons found there, put in prison.

"Penalties were meted out without respect to persons, for dancing, for playing cards on Sunday; for spending time in Taverns; for cursing and swearing; for trying to commit suicide...for betrothing ones daughter to a catholic; for having ones fortune told by Gypsies; for eating fish on good Friday; for arranging a marriage between a woman of seventy and a man of twenty five; and for arguing against putting men to death for religious opinion."

Thus producing a greatly different moral tone from the Geneva to which Calvin had first come, where crime and debauchery were prevelant, and prostitution was given government sanction and superintended by a woman known as the

"Reine Du Bordel."⁵⁴

Under Calvin's influence, Geneva grew, not only in population but in industry, wealth, and reputation. Drink shops were abolished, and employment was provided by the creation of new industries. The city was well provided for in matters of material prosperity. Cleanliness was a project of the new order, as next to Godliness. All filth and rubbish were to be taken from the narrow and crooked streets and thorough house cleanings were the order of the day. The magistracy of the city, at the suggestion of Calvin, supervised the markets to prevent the sale of unclean food which was thrown into the Rhone. A well regulated hospital and poor house, helped the cause of social emelioration, and employment was sought for all able bodied men.

At the solicitation of Calvin, the government financed the beginnings of the cloth and silk industries.

Factories which were built to accommodate these new industries soon attained financial independence. Geneva cloth and silk which were recognized for their value, soon found great demand in Switzerland and France. The economic structure of the city was rebuilt from the foundations of this industry. Geneva also became famous in the manufacture of watches, attaining such a degree of skill that even today

54. Schaff Volume 7 Page 353

among watches manufactured partly by hand, those of Swiss origin are leaders.

B--Utah

The work of Brigham Young was not centered in moral reform. His work was not so much reorganization as it was organization. He was not dealing with a people who were to be changed from extreme levity to piousness, as was Calvin, but a people who had demonstrated their religious devotion by following him over the plains.

The development of temperance received its share in attempts to give the saints physical as well as spiritual salvation. Brigham Young was deligent in getting the saints to obey the "Word of Wisdom."⁵⁵

"We as Latter-day Saints care little about tobacco",⁵⁶ he said "but as Mormons, we use a vast quantity of it...as saints we use but little, as Mormons we use a great deal."⁵⁷

In addressing an assemblage of young men, Brigham Young said,

"When you go from this tabernacle make a covenant with yourselves that you will taste no more ardent spirits...also make a covenant with yourselves that no more of the filthy, nasty, and obnoxious weed called tobacco shall enter your mouths it is a disgrace to this, and every other community."⁵⁸

Mention should here be made of what is known as the

55. A revelation given by Joseph Smith for the physical well being of the saints, in which tobacco, and strong drinks are prohibited.

56. The people regard the term "Mormon", as a nickname given them by the world, their recognized name is, "Latter-day Saints".

57. J. D. Vol. 9 P.35

58. Ibid Vol. 2 P. 18

Mormon Reformation 1856-57, when its leaders instigated a movement somewhat resembling a religious revival. It was a call to repentance for the saints, when they should forsake any folly or sin that had developed among them, and renew their covenants with their God.

We see also a consistent attempt to improve the tone of language in the community when at the suggestion of a speaker in a meeting, the audience good naturedly voted that, every man caught swearing was to have his ears boxed.⁵⁹ In celebrating the second anniversary of their entry into the valley, a large national flag sixty feet in length was unfurled at the top of the liberty pole, and the Journal history records a great celebration but, "not an oath was uttered, not a man intoxicated, not a disturbance or jar to mar the union peace and harmony of the day."⁶⁰ This bespeaks a high moral tone of affairs in the valley at this time.

Labor was not only honorable but was a religious duty. Brigham Young himself labored in his own mills and on his farm. Everyone worked and contributed his tithes toward church revenue which was spent for public improvement. The idler had no place in the city. A place of honor was given to the worker quite on a par with the early pilgrim ideal, that the "idler should not eat the bread of the

59. Ibid March 18, 1849
60. J.H. July 24, 1849

worker." At a public meeting idlers were reprovved, and the bishops were instructed to mark the law pertaining to them.⁶¹ There was to be no room in the program of a people conquering the desert, for card playing. Brigham Young is reported to have said, that he would not lead a card playing people.

The saints were instructed that they were to permit non church members to settle among them providing they were people of good society, who loved peace, "but it is not your privelege to let anyone tarry among you to corrupt your morals."⁶² In the same instructions it was recommended that all saints as they arrived in the valley were to be rebaptized and begin life anew. This was an indication that they had cast off the world of sin, and in their new home were dedicating themselves to live the laws of God. This is an interesting picture, and also somewhat unique. The dream of many now became a reality. They were at last living in the company of saints, "far from the world's ignoble strife" and they were trying to accept the challenge of the new situation.

Mormon literature is replete with evidence that the people and leaders realized the uniqueness of the situation. They were far from the world. They were called to build the kingdom of God. Some quotations are here relevant.

61. Ibid July 29, 1849

62. Ibid September 9, 1847

To some who were inclined to tarry on the pacific coast, Brigham Young wrote.

"We want to see you, even all of you, and throw our arms around you, and kill the fatted calf and make merry. Yes, brethern we want to rejoice with you once more. Come then and see us, and we will show you a location that cannot be beat upon the Pacific ocean, and you shall have an inheritance in this goodly land."

From "The Camp of Israels Pioneers" to the "Saints in California", they wrote,

"We have selected a spot for the city which has never before been equaled...where every lot or room may be abundently supplied with cold water from the mountains at pleasure."⁶³

And again in a general epistle of the presidency in 1852.

"Brethren come home, as fast as possible, bringing your poor, your silver, your gold, and everything that will beautify and enoble Zion."⁶⁴

Such invitations were not issued in vain. Their arrival in Zion became the dream of each convert. A well organized missionary system brought its results. The territory increased in population during the years 1850-62 of from eleven to approximately sixty five thousand. They were not seekers for gold but for an inheritance in Zion.

A remarkable test of the pioneers came with the discovery of Gold in California and the gold rush of forty

63. Ibid August 7, 1847

64. Ibid April 13, 1852

nine. A nation of gold seekers passed through their city on their way to material riches. It is a distinct compliment to the people, that they did not become maddened by the prospect for gold. Such a test would have broken to pieces a less conscientious polity. But here again we can give credit to their leader who told them in no uncertain terms that people of God should be planted on their own ground, and telling it to raise food,

"If you elders of Israel want to go the gold mine, go, and be damned. If you go, I would not give a picayune to keep you from damnation."⁶⁵

Under such strong council the saints stayed in the Great Basin. Disintegration was avoided, and the religious ideal held sound.

With such an ideal the Utah Theocracy was filled by an obedient and largely law abiding membership. Church attendance was the general rule. It was to be understood that Mormonism was not a "Sunday religion", church activities and meetings were scheduled during the week, and found expressions in auxiliary organizations. The saints were instructed to meet often and renew their covenants with the Lord.

Up to this period (1862) says Bancroft,

"There was little pauperism in their midst, and there was little crime, or such crimes as were punished by imprisonment."

65. ibid July 8, 1849

It is worthy to note that up to this date there occurred in the territory, only one suicide committed by the Mormons.⁶⁶

"Law suits, and mobs are far from this valley of peace, and may they ever remain so."⁶⁷

This gives a good indication of the general health of mind among the people. Thus giving a distinct challenge to the Geneva "City of God".

COMPARISONS

The problem of reformation was more vital in Geneva than in Utah, where the leaders were busy with the process of formation. Brigham Young was dealing with a group who had indicated religious inclinations and had already sacrificed for a religious ideal while Calvin was dealing with a city which included all types of people, of various inclinations.

Geneva and Utah both attained a moral plane which was distinctive in its age. In spite of a difference of three hundred years, their interpretations of moral issues were much alike.

A high percentage of membership of both groups were attenders at church. In Geneva this was somewhat the result of law enforced attendance, while in Utah the entire life of the people was dependent upon their close contact with the organization. In both places swearing, cursing,

66. Bancrofts--History of Utah Page 577

67. J.H. July 20, 1849

playing cards on Sunday, and loafing were minimized by the social taboo. In Geneva they were also given heavy penalty.

In each system intermarriage with the "out group" was frowned upon. Geneva Protestants were not to marry into Catholicism, and Utah Israelites, were not to intermarry with the gentiles, the penalty was religious ostracism.

OPPOSITION

A--Geneva

Let us not suppose that Calvin, the Frenchman went about revolutionizing the lives of a foreign people, without meeting well organized and dangerous opposition. Crises arose constantly from 1541-1555. There were at first, slight restraints placed upon him by the council, and by the time he had succeeded in getting freedom here, he became at once occupied with personal enemies. The party of Libertines who followed a non restrictive personal life philosophy found an increasing number willing to join their ranks. Also Calvin being a Frenchman, the large French population which he drew to Geneva did not set so well with the native Genevese. With the Libertines, the anti-foreign element, and with groups wanting to contest some of his theological interpretations, Calvin had plenty of challenge to his position.

In the field of doctrinal controversy his principal antagonist was Michael Servetus, a physician of great ability and with a good following from among Calvin's enemies, Servetus was, by order of the council slowly burned to death in 1553. As a result of this event Calvin's influence was somewhat weakened.

Sebastin Castellio furnished him opposition in the realm of religious toleration. He was too much of a modernist for Geneva, and was forced to leave the city.

Ami Perrin, the leader of the Libertines, and member of a very influential family, had danced at a betrothal. When recompense had been made for this, he appeared in a costume which had been forbidden by the Consistory. His defiant attitude at once challenged the power of the Consistory. After the matter had been given due consideration, Perrin found that he had important business out of the city.

The Libertine, Gruet had been found guilty of questioning the authority of Calvin on the Bible. He charged Moses with saying a great deal and proving nothing, and one of Calvin's books was found in his house with the words, "all nonsense" written upon the margin. Gruet was tortured and beheaded in July 1547.

Philibert Berthelier another Libertine had denied the right of the Consistory to excommunicate. Calvin here won a moral victory but later trouble with Berthelier resulted

in the council passing a death sentence against him. Berthelier escaped beheading by fleeing from the city.

Calvin was relentless and even bloodthirsty in the treatment of his enemies. Leniency had but little place in his philosophy of discipline. That a girl should be beheaded for striking her parent, was to him an essential to proper governmental order. If it is hard for us to explain these uncompromising attitudes on the part of a religious leader, we do well to explain them only in terms of religion. Calvin believed implicitly in his Divine calling. An enemy to Calvin was an enemy to Christ. He felt no obligation and no right to compromise with evil. Only a religious conviction and fervor could have driven him to such extremes of discipline. If we dislike his methods, we are forced to admit that his results were good. Under his guidance, Geneva was regenerated. She attained moral and spiritual prosperity above any other city of the age. In view of such singular results can we seriously question the methods by which they were achieved?

The foregoing examples of direct opposition to Calvin are relevant here only as they show the personality and power with which he dealt with the situations which led up to the real Theocracy. The following example is enlightening. After Gruet had been beheaded, in 1547, the popularity of Calvin was put to a test. Although his position

seemed to have been strengthened, his enemies were still busy. Dogs were named after him, and he was nicknamed Cain. Songs of ridicule made him their subject. In the midst of such feeling Perrin who had been chosen to represent Geneva at the French Court, barbained with France to send military forces to Geneva, the excuse being, protection against Germany, but the real reason, as evident to Calvin, was to strengthen Perrin against Calvin.

Feeling ran high and at a meeting of the "Council of Two Hundred", Calvin was receiving his share of the blame for the dissention. The scene is well described by Audin.⁶⁸

"The council assembled. Never was it more tumultuous. The parties, weary of speaking, cried, "To arms". The people heard the cry. Calvin arrived alone. He was received at the end of the hall with threats of death. He crossed his arms, and gazed fixedly at the agitators. No one dared to strike him. Then advancing into the midst with his breast bare he said, "If you wish blood strike here", not an arm moved. Calvin then slowly ascended the stair case. The hall was about to be filled with blood. Swords glittered, but at the sight of the reformer, the weapons were lowered, and some words sufficed to allay the excitement. Calvin taking one of the councilors by the arm came down the staircase, and cried to the people that he wished to speak to them. He spoke with such force and emotion that the tears ran down his cheeks, and the crowd retired in silence...From that point it was easy to predict that victory would rest with the reformers."

Such was the personality and leadership which characterized the organizer of the Genevan Theocracy.

By the year 1555 Calvin's victory over the Libertine and other dissenting groups was complete. It was in that year that the Consistory was finally given unlimited power of excommunication. In the words of Harkness,⁶⁹

"With the fall of the Libertines the long struggle was ended, and the Geneva Theocracy was born."

From the time of the birth of the Theocracy it seemed, that State authorities were as anxious as ministers for the honor of the church and the glory of Christ. The word of God, was presented daily, and churches were well filled. Praying and singing seemed almost continuous. Geneva appeared as a city of earnest and sincere Christians who really practiced what they believed.

The "congregation" which was held every Friday was a spiritual conference which partook of the spirit of testimony. At the conferences many citizens were in attendance as well as all the ministers who would read and explain a verse from the scriptures. Following this any member of the congregation was permitted to speak and express his thoughts or testimony. This developed spirit and practice of the gospel of Christ among the members.

69. Ibid P. 49

B--Utah

The opposition to Brigham Young which arose was not so much a challenge from within his group. On the contrary it was of a nature which kept the leader cemented to his people. We must understand the history of this driven people to know the degree of unity to which they had attained. Their arrival in the Great Basin did not remove all danger of them being scattered. They were still looked upon with anxiety by the people of the nation and the tension was not lessened by unjust stories which continued to circulate throughout the nation and which came to a climax in the visit of the United States Army to Utah. The problem of Brigham Young then was not to fight his way to leadership, as did Calvin, but with his united group, establish a successful commonwealth in spite of exterior agitation. These experiences undoubtedly had their effect in helpint to shape the political philosophies of Brigham Young.

On September 12, 1851, Brigham Young wrote to Eli Kelsi:

"In these valleys of the mountains we live in peace, our settlements are extending to the north and south, and to the east and west. There is room for all. Therefore, let them come home, that Zion may be comforted, and her wilderness made like Eden, and her desert like the Garden of the Lord. Joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody."⁷⁰

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70. J.H. September 12, 1851

But this condition was not to last. The period of uneasiness between the "Saints" and the United States government reached its climax in the Utah War of 1857-58. A celebration was in progress in the city canyons when word arrived of the approach of the United States Army. Brigham Young had not been notified of his release as Governor of the territory,⁷¹ nor officially of the approach of this conflict. It is sufficient to say that the people of the Utah Theocracy were thrown into a frenzy. They called to mind their difficulty with the mobs of Missouri and Illinois, some of which claimed government authority. After traveling almost across a continent they hoped for relief from mobocracy or other interference, and now the crisis was upon them. In this position of stress we have our best opportunity to study the political philosophy which directed them. Should they submit to the civil government of the United States misled as they felt it to be, or were they to make a stand in the name of "God of Israel." An acquaintance with the Utah literature of that day helps us to see the issue and at the same time see Brigham Young as he dealt with what he considered opposition to the cause of God.

From a discourse of Brigham Young we get this illuminating expression:

71. L.B. Allen--A Study of the Alleged Mormon Rebellion
Page 118 An unpublished masters thesis--1931 B.Y.U.

"On the twenty fourth of July last, a number of us went to big cottonwood canyon, to pass the arrival of our anniversary into this valley. Ten years ago the twenty fourth of July last, a few of the elders arrived here and began to plow and to plant seeds, to raise food to sustain themselves. Whilst speaking to the brethren on that day, I said inadvertently, 'if the people of the United States will let us alone for ten years we will ask no odds of them; and ten years from that very day, we had a message, by brothers', Smoot, Stoddard, and Rockwell, that the government had stopped our mail, and that they had ordered 2,500 tramps to come here and hold the Mormons still, while priests, politicians, speculators, whoremongers, and every mean filthy character that could be raked up, should come here and kill off the Mormons. I did not think about what I said ten years ago till I heard that the President of the United States had so unjustly ordered troops here, and then I said, when my former expression came to my mind, 'in the name of Israel's God we ask no odds of them'."⁷²

The feelings of Brigham Young at this time were also the feelings of the people. Living under a constitution which provided religious liberty, what right did unjust magistrates have to take it from them, and so they reasoned, and their position of economical independence added no doubt to their feeling of indignity.

In writing to H.S. Ellridge in St. Louis, Brigham Young said,

"You will learn from the Deseret News, the feeling prevailing this people, in relation to the unjustifiable treatment which the government meets out to us....We have grain enough in the territory to supply us with bread for several years, and we have sufficient beef to accompany it. You may query, will the soldiers be really permitted to enter Salt Lake Valley? No! They

72. J.D. V. 5 PP. 226-7. Recopied in Allen's study of the alleged Mormon rebellion--P. 117-8

will not!!!The spirit of peace has never been more abundant in our midst, we are determined to enjoy it if we have to fight for it... May God bless you with all his faithful servants, and enable us to triumph over every obstacle impending the onward march of truth, in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen."⁷³

Here we have the spirit of independence represented at its height, and the Utah Theocracy functioning as an independent unit. In conference with captain Van Vleet of the United States Army, Brigham Young signified his intention of preventing the army from entering Salt Lake; also that if the army succeeded in entering the valley that they would find it a charred and barren waste. To show that they were in earnest in this contention of burning their villages they had burned two forts which they had thought best to vacate.⁷⁴

Colonel Johnson, in command of the United States troops, was informed that the "demonstrations made on their animals" were for the purpose of letting them know that the Mormons were in earnest in defending their constitutional and inalienable rights. In a letter written the spring of 1858 governor Young remarked,

"Colonel Johnson and his command are at fort Bridger and, so far as we can learn, are more angry than they were last fall, not having enjoyed the anticipated pleasure of debauching our wives, and daughters, and wickedly revelling

73. Ellidredge letter--August 8, 1857

74. Ibid October 7, 1857

in our houses, and upon the fruits of our labors."⁷⁵

The Utah camp at this time was assuming a somewhat military appearance. The governor had ordered the previous spring,

"Three or four pairs of the best silver equalettes....I would also like eight dozen of large and two dozen of small silver military buttons, about fifty yards of silver cord, and about twenty five yards of the best silver lace....P.S. I wish you also to send me two silver sword knobs."⁷⁶

Since 1852, Utah had been divided into military districts. The Nauvoo Legion⁷⁷ was the name given to the organization. It numbered over 6,000 men.⁷⁸ The saints were far from unprepared to resist the attempt of the Johnson army to enter the city. On September 9, Brigham Young declared Utah under martial law. When in November governor cummings⁷⁹ issued a proclamation to the people of the territory for all armed bodies within the territory to disband and return to their homes, the order was completely ignored. The Theocracy was not now taking orders from the United States government.

"of disbanding at the bidding of governor Cummings, or any other man east of the Wasatch mountains, the Utah militia had not the remotest idea. They were defending their homes against the deporters, at least that was their view of the

75. Ibid April 3, 1858

76. Ibid June 20, 1857

77. Name taken from the military organization of the saints in Missouri.

78. History of Utah --Whitney Page 624

79. Who was the new presidential appointee as governor of the territory.

matter, . . . and were ready to die, if need be, rather than relinquish one iota of their sacred rights as freemen. Brigham Young was still the governor. When he said 'disband, so it would be, but not before.'⁸⁰

The militia had resolved to prevent the federal army from passing the Wasatch mountains, and in doing so, shed not a drop of the enemies blood. Their resolve it seemed had been kept, as most of them returned to their homes in December while the federal army had settled for the winter at Black's fort.

Through the efforts of Colonel Cane in the early part of 1858 a reconciliation was effected in which governor cummings was admitted into the city to act as governor, but he came unescorted by the federal army. A peace commission of the federal government met with the first presidency and twelve apostles on the eleventh and twelfth of June. The commission brought the pardon of the government to the people of the territory providing they would submit to the authority of the federal government. Governor Young replied that they were still at a loss to know what they had done which should require pardon and added,

"We have always been loyal, and expect to so continue; but, hands off! Do not send your armed mobs into our midst. If you do we will fight you as the Lord lives! Do not threaten us with what the United States can do, for we ask no odds of them or their troops. We have the God of Israel, the God of battles on our side, and let me tell you gentlemen, we fear not your armies."⁸¹

80. Whitney--History of Utah Vol. 1 P. 656

81. Ibid PP. 683-4

He then consented to let the troops pass through the city, but accepted the pledge of the commission that they would not stop nor quarter within forty miles of it. It was to be a peaceful entry, and then they were to pass on through. For, said Brigham Young,

"If you bring your troops here to disturb the people you have got a bigger job than you or President Buchanan have any idea of. Before the troops reach here this city will be in ashes. Every tree and shrub will be cut to the ground, and every blade of grass that will burn shall be burned...and as God lives we will hunt you by day and by night until your armies are wasted away. No mob can live in the homes we have built in these mountains. That's the program gentlemen, whether you like it or not. If you want war, you can have it; but if you wish peace, peace it is: we shall be glad of it."⁸²

The army was then ordered to pass peacefully through the city, but the Mormons meant just what their leader had said, "Brother Brigham" had spoken and it was for them to follow his inspiration. If he said leave they were to leave, if he said burn your houses, their houses were to burn. Do we find its Theocratic equal in the history of modern nations?

The scene of this entry into the city is well described by Bancroft,

"At dusk, is still heard in the streets the rumble of baggage wagons. But no other sound is heard, save the murmur of the creek; nor is there any sign of life in the city of the Saints. Zion is deserted."⁸³

82. Whitney--History of Utah Page 684

83. Bancroft--History of Utah PP. 534-35

Where they were going was not a matter of common knowledge. Certain it was that they were to take no more chances with government troops. The vacated houses were heaped with straw, a small detachment of men was left to start the blaze, if necessary, which was to make of Salt Lake City again the uninhabitable wilderness which they had found; while the people were located fifty miles south waiting for the news, that all was well for their return to the city, or that the time had again come for them to follow their modern Moses into another wilderness.

That the Utah Theocracy had a subsequent history is largely the result of the wisdom of the federal army in giving the people confidence that there was safety in their return to the city. From this time on the theocratic ideal found some limitations in its power, but it appears that there was little desire on the part of the church to dominate politically. The stay of the army in the region did not now cause any worry among the saints. In a letter dated March 11, 1859, Brigham Young questioned,

"How long our government will be so short sighted and lavishly extravagant as to keep a portion of our army in a region where they are worse than useless, except to furnish a cash market for our small amount of surplus produce, I am as yet unable to state."⁸⁴

All was not harmony, however, between the two factions yet. In December of the same year he wrote,

84. Elldredge letter March 11, 1859

"The imported post master still holds sway, and nothing can be got from the office until the Hunt, Burr, Craig, and Dätson clique have rummaged to their hearts content....The courts, or court, I should say,...is simply making an ass of itself, as everybody else will do, who strikes against Israel. Mr. Sinclair, is a notorious drunkard and appears as though he could not endure to sit in court outside of an hour without going to liquor."⁸⁵

This brief account of the central opposition which the Utah Theocracy encountered is presented not to present the case of the federal government, nor of the Mormon people, but it is here helpful in showing the feeling and general attitudes of the people and their leader as they operated in the Theocracy.

COMPARISONS UNDER OPPOSITION

In Geneva as in Utah the people held that they owed allegiance to civil government, as well as to Divine. Both polities recognized that these two governments covered fields which did not conflict. Each disclaimed allegiance to any human government whose magistrates operated contrary to the laws of God. The opposition with which Calvin had to deal was principally internal. His greatest skill was required to put down his enemies from within the Geneva society. Brigham Young's difficulties from within the group took a second place to his trouble with outside forces.

85. ibid December 3, 1858

The opposition encountered by both Calvin and Young helps us to see their power among the people, and the extent to which each was able to assume the position of Theocrat.

EDUCATION

A--Geneva

From 1555 until his death in 1563 Calvin, enjoyed a period of comparative peace and satisfaction. The most noteworthy achievement of this period, from the standpoint of results, was his founding of the "Academy of Geneva", which was dedicated in June 1559. Since 1428 there had been a college at Geneva but it was of little consequence, and had practically died out by the time of the advent of Calvin. He reorganized the school however, and provided free tuition. Enrollment was greatly increased, and to give instruction to all without over crowding, four elementary schools were established; one in each quarter of the city. Because of this effort, Calvin is sometimes called the founder of the common school system.

With the realization that the ignorance of the laity of the Roman Catholic church was responsible for much of their superstition and corruption, he was especially anxious for the education of both the Protestant ministry and people.

His great desire was to organize a full university, but due to financial limitations the school began as an academy. Money was collected from the people as a private fund for the maintenance of the institution, and the council had built a substantial building. The program of studies was drawn up by Calvin and approved by the council. It included departments of grammar, logic, mathematics, physics, music, the languages,⁸⁶ and theology. At first teachers and students had to sign a confession of faith.⁸⁷

The entire council, the ministers and six hundred students were present at the dedication. It was forever dedicated to science and religion. Theodore Beza was appointed as Rector and gave the inaugural address, and Calvin offered the benediction. Eleven experienced professors constituted the teaching staff.

Such an institution could not help but prosper. During the first year the enrollment was nine hundred regular students, in addition to many who attended only the Calvin and Beza lectures. It continued to attract students from all parts of Europe and became the center for training for the Protestant ministry. Schaff calls it "the principal school of reformed theology and literary culture for more

86. French, German, and Hebrew

87. This was later omitted in order to make room for Papists, and Lutherans.

than two hundred years."⁸⁸

The school had great prestige throughout Europe, and in Holland a degree from this academy was equivalent to a degree from any university.

The methods of discipline in the academy, as in all of Calvin's organizations, are interesting,

"The students were forbidden to dance, to dice, to play cards, to attend banquets or to go to taverns to promenade the streets, or take part in masquerades or 'mumeries', to sing indecent songs. The usual penalty for infraction of the prohibitions, was a fine of sixty sous, and imprisonment on bread and water for three days, and corporal punishment was not unusual."⁸⁹

A full years program was offered. Activities beginning at six o'clock in the morning during the summer and seven in the winter. Each day began with the religious sermon, and closed with religious exercise. The student was at school for business and preparation.

At the academy instructions were given in all grades and on through a college course. Special attention was given to religious training.

The need of preparing men for the ministry was a fundamental reason for the founding of the academy but it was also the desire of Calvin to produce in his church--state, an enlightened and educated laity. Because of his

88. History of the Christian Church Volume 7 Page 806

89. Harkness--Page 53

reputation as a scholar he attracted men of great learning to the academy, and helped to give it influence and reputation. Calvin himself considered the founding of the university the crowning work of his career, and expected that through it his work would be perpetuated throughout Europe. The Institution is still in existence under the name of "University of Geneva."

B--Utah

Unlike John Calvin, Brigham Young had received practically no formal schooling. His educational ideals and philosophies were not standardized in an academic way. He was however, intensely interested in the cause of education, and the establishment of schools among the people was of early concern to him. Even in crossing the plains the children were brought together in reading contests and drills in the beginnings of education, whenever time would permit. The Old New England "spelling schools" also furnished diversion from the journey.

Less than two months after his arrival in the valley, and just prior to his return to winter quarters, his instructions to the council were,

"Give every child among you an opportunity to commence his education, and see that he attend to it. The individual who has the opportunity to educate his children, and does not is not worthy to have children."⁹⁰

The saints at once accepted the responsibility and the first classes were for the children who met in small tents, with pieces of logs used for seats. As winter came on another children's school was started in a log house covered with willows and earth and soon school rooms sprang up in settlements, as soon as they were formed. Writing to Isaac Morley in San Pete Valley the president said, "I am glad to hear of your prosperity in building schools which evinces the zeal of faithful people."⁹¹ In December 1849, the Sabbath school was organized and was soon functioning every Sunday morning in each ward.

Plural marriage in Utah gave rise to a type of private school, which is perhaps peculiar to Utah alone.

"The few men who had large families, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Daniel H. Wells, arranged for private schools for their numerous children, always the children of Brigham Young were kept in school if not prevented by sickness."⁹²

As the families of Brigham Young increased, he built a family schoolhouse. In the construction and regulation of it we see his characteristic attention to such details as indirect lighting, high ceilings, green desks, and shutters, the desks made to fit the backs and feet of the pupils. Corporal punishment as a means of discipline was strictly forbidden.⁹³

Higher education was introduced in 1850 with the

91. Ibid December 23, 1850

92. Gates and Widtsoe---Life story of Brigham Young Page 283

93. Ibid Page 285

founding of the "University of the State of Deseret". It was under the control of a chancellor and a board of twelve regents. This was to be the center of an educational system which was to be built. An annual appropriation of \$5,000 was granted by the legislature for the support of the university. A committee met with President Young for the purpose of selecting a sight for the building, "as well as locations for primary school building."⁹⁴ A separate department for ladies was at first expected but due to lack of funds the "parent school" as it was called became co-educational. "The founding of a parents school for the training of teachers and heads of families was a new thing in educational history."⁹⁵

In the curriculum was to be included the Roman, Kel-tic, and Teutonic languages, and all the languages spoken by men. Agriculture, engineering, geology, astronomy, and chemistry, were also to find their places, "for having sought first the kingdom of heaven", the saints were now assured that knowledge and all other things would be added unto them. In December 1851, Brigham Young, wrote to Franklin D. Richards in Europe to secure for them good astronomical instruments in Paris, London or where he could.

"The world of science was to be revolutionized, the theories of gravitation, repulsion and attraction overthrown, the motion of atoms whether single or in mass being ascribed to the

94. Whitney--Vol. 1 p. 434

95. Gates and Widtsoe--Life of Brigham Young Page 287

all pervading presence of the Holy Spirit. The planetary systems were to be rearranged, their number and relations modified, for in the books of Abraham it was revealed that in the center of the universe was the great orb Kolob, the greatest of all other suns and planets revolved in endless cycles."⁹⁶

The first schools were principally for heads of families and the training of teachers, but for the advanced students the first winter in the valley saw classes in foreign languages. From the first general epistle of the twelve in Utah we read.

"There have been a large number of schools the past winter in which Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, Tahitian, and English languages have been taught successfully."

There were 411 district schools in the Utah territory in 1883. In 1867 a revival of the "University of the Desert" occurred, an educational institution was established under the direction of the board of regents of the university. It started principally as a commercial academy but by 1870 when it had an enrollment of 546, it included scientific and normal departments.⁹⁷ This institution later became the University of Utah. The principal of this university, Dr. John R. Parks, was sent on a mission to visit educational institutions in America and Europe that he might seek the best that the world could offer in education. During his absence the acting president of the university

96. Bancrofts--History of Utah Page 323-4

97. ibid Vol. 1 Page 711

was a woman.⁹⁸

With a refreshing originality the Mormons embarked upon their educational task--A new alphabet was even made as suggested by Brigham Young to be the foundation for making the English language easily accessible to the other people of the world.⁹⁹ Realizing that state school systems were not allowed to treat theology, and himself teaching that every elder of Israel should be a good theologian, Brigham Young established in the territory, church schools. The first to be founded was the Brigham Young Academy, a combined industrial and religious school,¹⁰⁰ which later grew into the Brigham Young University. The educational philosophy of its founder is pretty well presented in the advice he gave to the first president of the institution. "Brother Maeser, whatever you teach, even the multiplication tables, do it with the spirit of the Lord." 101

Thus we see the educational system of the Mormons as it took shape under the guidance of the leader.

"There are a great many branches of education," he said, "some go to colleges to learn languages, some to study law, some to study physics, and some to study astronomy and various other branches of science. We want every branch of science taught here that is taught

98. Miss Ida Ione Cook

99. Address to the legislature 1853

100. Gates and Widtsoe Page 291

101. Ibid Page 292

in the world, but our favorite study is that branch which particularly belongs to the elders of Israel, namely, theology. Every elder should become a profound theologian."¹⁰²

Theology he called the celestial science.¹⁰³

Not an elaborate system of academic excellence which we found in scholarly Geneva, do we find in Utah, but a rudimentary system for a pioneer people who persistantly believed in the midst of their arduous labors that, the glory of God was intelligence.

COMPARISONS OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

In each Theocracy we have in operation an ideal of learning. Each considered the acquisition of knowledge as fundamental to intelligent leadership. In Geneva Calvin showed his interest in education by the establishment of the academy of Geneva, and built his system of education around it. In Utah Brigham Young established the University of Deseret,¹⁰⁴ and other academic institutions.

Common schools were organized among both peoples to care for the training of the young. Both systems included training from the lowest grade of the common school up through the university.

The science of theology was the foundation upon which both of these educational systems rested. Nothing was to be taught which was contrary to the will of God. Both

102. J.D. Vol. 6 P. 317

103. Ibid Vol. 6 P. 219

104. Calvin was a professor in the Geneva academy. At the University of Deseret Brigham Young was a student.

systems gave prominent place to the teachings of the languages. Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament was given special attention. The school systems of both Utah and Geneva were given state financial support.

It is important that we do not associate too closely the educational systems of Brigham Young and John Calvin. Calvin was first a scholar, while Young was first a pioneer, and the two educational systems reflected their founders.

THE TWO THEOCRACIES AS SEEN BY PROMINENT VISITORS

A--Geneva

Descriptions of Geneva as given by people of that day who visited the city are now helpful to us in seeing the actual transformation which took place under the direction of Calvin. Let us first listen to William Farel, who was a prominent figure in Geneva when it was under Roman Catholic dominion and until the time when Calvin made it his home. While visiting Geneva in 1557 he wrote to a friend, that, he would gladly listen and learn there with the humblest of the people, and that he would rather be last in Geneva than first anywhere else.¹⁰⁵

Attention has been called to the statement of Knox,¹⁰⁶ who wrote to Lock in 1556,

105. Schaff--Page 518

106. Partly quoted in Chapter 1

"In my heart I have wished, yea that I cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place, which I neither fear nor am ashamed to say, is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached, but manners and religion to be so seriously reformed I have not yet seen in any other place besides."107

A Lutheran opponent against Calvinism, Dr. Valentine Andrea, who visited Geneva almost sixty years after the death of Calvin, makes this admission,

"When I was in Geneva I observed something great which I shall remember and desire as long as I live...all cursing, and swearing, gambling, luxury, strife, hatred, fraud, etc., are forbidden while greater sins are hardly heard of...I have not found greater purity of morals even in my father's home."108

B--Utah

The early city of the Saints has been described in many ways. It is our purpose here to present impartial views of visitors as they came in casual contact with the city and its people, and then told or wrote of it.

Burton in his "City of the Saints" gives an interesting account of the setting of the city, as he saw it in 1859,

"Everything bears the impress of handiwork, from the bleak benches behind, to what was once a barren valley in front. Truly the Mormon prophesy had been fulfilled, already the howling

107. Requoted by Schaff--Page 518

108. Ibid Page 519

wilderness in which twelve years ago a few miserable savages, the half naked Digger Indians, gathered their seed, grasshoppers, and black crickets, to keep life and soul together, and awoke with their war cries, the echo of the mountains, and the bear, and wolf, and fox prowled over the site of a new populous city-- has blossomed like the rose!

In 1849 the government sent out an expedition headed by Captain Stansbury, to explore and survey the valley of the great Salt Lake. This commission spent ten weeks in the territory when it was existing as a pure theocracy. We cite here a few statements from his official report which enlightens us as to conditions.

"The founding within the space of three years of a large and flourishing community upon a spot so remote from the abodes of men, so completely shut out by natural barriers from the rest of the world, so entirely unconnected by water courses with either of the oceans... a country offering no advantages of inland navigation...but isolated by vast uninhabited deserts, and only to be reached by long painful, and often hazardous journeys by land, presents an anomaly so very peculiar that it deserves more than passing notice...the stranger is struck with wonder at the immense results produced in so short a time, by a handful of individuals. This is the result of the guidance of all hands by one Master mind."

Nothing can exceed the appearance of prosperity, peaceful, harmony, and cheerful contentment that prevailed the whole community....The cheerful happy faces, the self satisfied countenance, the cordial salutation of brother or sister on all occasions of address, the lively strains of music pouring fourth from merry hearts in every domicile as women and children sing their songs of Zion."

"They have determined to keep themselves free from the vices of civilization. During a residence of ten weeks in Great Salt Lake City, and my observations in all their various settlements, amongst a homogeneous population of over seventy five thousand inhabitants,¹⁰⁹ it is worthy of record that I never heard any obscene, or improper language, never saw a man drunk, never had my attention called to the exhibition of vice of any sort. There are no gambling houses, grog shops, or houses of ill fame in all their settlements. They preach morality in their churches and from their stands, and what is strange as it is true, the people practice it...Theft, even in petty things, such as vegetables and fuel is prevented, not by prosecution, but by the known rule, that if a man steals two or three times, he is ordered to become honest or leave the country for good.

"In their social gatherings, and evening parties, patronized by the presence of the prophets and apostles it is not unusual to open the ball with prayer, asking the blessings of God on their amusement."¹¹⁰

Thus we leave these two unique Theocracies which approached the "City of God" concept, and we shall attempt an analysis of the underlying economic and social philosophies upon which they were built.

110. Quoted in Tullidge---Life of Brigham Young Page 230-31

Chapter III

ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHIES OF CALVIN AND YOUNG

Having considered, in the Utah and Geneva theocracies, the theories of Calvin and Young as they found practical expression, we now go to a study of the economic philosophies upon which they were based.

John Calvin is given much credit for the development of the capitalistic spirit, while in the character of Brigham Young we find capitalism in its practical form. Calvin was not an accumulator of capital. He merely gave sanction to underlying economic doctrines which produced capital and the spirit of capitalism. He died a poor man, and his financial status showed no anxiety whatever in the accumulation of wealth. His life was given to the projection of Puritan ideals of thrift and frugality. These ideals transmitted to his followers helped to create capitalism. The thrift, moral stamina, and ambition which Brigham Young inherited from Calvinist environment made of him a man of wealth.¹ We are then considering two men who were capitalists; both in spirit, and one in practice. Their economic doctrines will be considered in this chapter.

Since the investigations of Weber and Troeltch the name of Calvin has become commonplace in the field of economics. The tendency is to trace the development of modern capitalism back to the various teachings of Calvin's type of Protestantism.

1. His personal estate was valued at over \$2,000,000

Weber points out that the higher education of Catholicism stresses the humanistic, while the Protestant gives more attention to the technical. This essay is based upon the fact that Protestants are the entrepreneurs, and have the most highly trained workmen and mechanics, and that capitalism has progressed most as it has developed side by side with Calvinism.

As we make our connection between religion and economics however; it is not difficult to see in the progress of Christianity a freedom which could lend itself to the development of capitalism. One is inclined to ask, "If the Calvinistic doctrine of individualism had its effect upon the capitalistic spirit, could we not find an equally relevant force in the parable of the Talents?" Before it was clamped into an oppressive organization, Christianity was individualistic.

We find many scholars who are more inclined to turn the matter around however; and place capitalism in a field by itself, saying that in its development it has taken in Protestantism. The field is still little explored in a systematic way. We will not concern ourselves here so much with the effect Calvin had upon capitalism but an exposition of his outstanding economic theories.

WEALTH AND POVERTY

A--Calvin

Calvin accepted in full, the doctrine of Stewardship,

and made all wealth dependent upon the Divine source. It was not the acquisition of wealth but its wrong application that led men to trouble, but when wisely used by the stewards of God it had great social possibilities. In commenting on first Timothy 6:1 he says,

"Now the cause of the crime which the apostle here enumerates, is not riches, but an eager desire for them, even though the person should be poor. For every one that has resolved to become rich gives himself up as a captive to the devil.....Hence it follows that all who are violently desirous of acquiring wealth rush headlong. For the worst of all evil, is avarice."²

The Puritan Colonies in America carried the Calvin idea to a place where spending was a vice, but using wealth to gain more wealth was a virtue. Man upon the earth must work, not only hard but profitably.³

The theological doctrine of "election or "calling" extended into the Calvinistic economics and has definite effect upon it. God controlled all of the riches of the earth men were but stewards. Those who possessed money were elected in that respect. Those who were poor had been born without the grace of God. Nothing could be done about it. No one was able to determine however, who had been called by God except by their works. This had the effect of stimulating rather than paralyzing activity, because upon the shoulders of each Calvinist rested the obligation of proving to the world that he was one of the elect of God, and had been called and saved. Calvin's advice to the poor was; be satisfied,

2. Petre, Ray C. Some Teachings of Calvin on Economic Affairs
 3. DayClive--"Capitalistic and socialistic tendencies in the Puritan Colonies."

you can't help it. You have your opportunity in that realm, "Why then, does God permit some to be poor here below, if not that he wants to give us occasion to be good."⁴By saying, "be patient in adversity" Calvin made laborers satisfied often with low wages, and helped the capitalist in exploiting the laborer. Calvin's followers who got rich naturally prided themselves in the thought that they had found favor with God. Subordination was as necessary as superiority. "Servants obey your masters" was the spirit of his system. If some are elected to diligent toil why should they try to overrule the predestined program. Here again we find an opposing doctrine of the obligation which rested upon each person to show through his works that he was one of the elect. It is this theory that predominated the later Calvinistic groups. Tawney says that Calvinism began as an authoritarian regimentation, but ended as a utilitarian individualism.⁵

From his "Institutes" we get further light on Calvin's conception of wealth and poverty.

"To desire wealth and honors, to be ambitious of power, to accumulate riches....is furious.... On the contrary, to poverty, obscurity, and meanness, we feel a wonderful fear and abhorrence, which stimulate us to avoid them by all possible means....Let men neither desire nor hope, nor entertain a thought of prosperity, for any other cause than the Divine blessing."⁶

Rich people are not entirely excluded from the grace of

4. Calvin, found in Tawney Page 216
 5. "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism" Page 227
 6. Institutes Chapter 3 7;8

God however;

"For why should a moderate amount of riches prevent a man from being reckoned a servant of Christ who, in other respects, is pious, is of upright mind, and honorable deportment, and is distinguished by other excellencies."⁷

"All the blessings we enjoy are Divine deposits, committed to our trust on this condition, that they should be dispersed for the benefit of our neighbors."

If man is predistined to be saved or to be condemned, and if all riches are bestowed by God, Calvin had a difficult question to answer in explaining why it was that some wicked people get riches. He still maintains however; that the riches are given by God to some people so that they will get greater condemnation for not using them rightly.

"We must recognize," he says, "this is a general principle, that riches come not at all to men through their own virtue, nor wisdom, nor toil, but only by the blessing of God."⁸

Even though some are rich before they are born, whose fathers have acquired great possessions, yet the providence of God is here also made manifest. He still rules over all.

Riches to Calvin carried their blessing as well as their responsibilities. The poor are safer than the rich because they are not so tempted to dishonor their stewardship.

"The rich are like those who skate on ice and are apt to fall, are like those who walk among thorns, and must walk carefully lest they be pricked. Calvin could not foresee that his followers might use such words to justify keeping the poor in poverty as a moral service."⁹

7. Requoted by Petre, Ray C.

8. Harkness-Page 217

9. Ibid--Page 218

In spite of an emphasis upon human activity and acquisition Calvin stressed the great dangers of wealth, and the goodness of God in not granting all of our accumulative desires. He put no blame upon God for sending scarcity and want, because in the midst of plenty we missuse our gifts. People are unable to be controlled when too much wine is available. In the presence of too much wheat and food stuffs people become intoxicated with prosperity. In this state they blaspheme God and are not controllable by discipline. God performs a great service to us then when he takes away our abundance, and brings us back to humility and a desire to serve him. When we are given riches it is in the form of a test that man is being put to in order to determine his wisdom and temperance. "To restrain ourselves in the presence of abundance is a virtue well pleasing to God and reveals a grateful heart."¹⁰

Community of property or of other interest had no place in his doctrine of "election". The poor were necessary, the rich necessary, and each to his calling. Temporal salvation was not a democratic proposition. To the spiritual Libertines who were giving him trouble he condemned their communistic tendencies in harsh terms.

"We have already seen how these wretches profane marriage, mixing men with women like brute beastsBut finally so as to leave no order among men they also make similar confusion as to goods, saying that it is the communion of saints for no one to possess anything of his own, but for each to take whatever he can. At the beginning there were some silly anabaptists who talked this way."¹¹

10. Harkness--Page 167

11. Ibid--Page 218

As we review the money theories of Calvin we see readily why his followers could divide so definitely and take different economic roads, while at the same time each could quote Calvin's authority for their procedure. Like most philosophies that of Calvin's was capable of varying interpretation dependent upon the environment of the people. A doctrine of complacency and noncomplaint as to one's position in life, on one hand, and a definite fight to prove by works that one is of the elect of God, on the other. One group submerging the human personality to make everything glorify God, and another group developing an intense individualism, yet all pointing to Calvin as the guide.

B--Young

The theories of Brigham Young regarding wealth and poverty all rest upon the philosophy of stewardship. Man was not an owner but one trusted with the management of property that belonged to God. The manner in which he honored this trust was of great importance to his salvation. All wealth which had been accumulated should be used for the building up of the kingdom of God, and the person who spent his means against the best interests of right was dishonoring his calling as a trustee of the property of God.

When one of the saints had complained that money he had loaned to a missionary had not been repaid, and was worried over its return, Brigham Young reminded him,

"The money was not yours, but the Lord Almighty put it into your hands to see what you would do with it. The gold, the silver, the wheat, the fine flour, the Buffalo, the deer, the cattle on a thousand hills, are all His and He turns them whithersoever he will."¹²

Because all was from God, the people should not complain at returning it to him for in so doing they would receive greater blessings. This practice of turning all property back to the church, which was God's earthly organization, was known as "Consecration". In the principle of Consecration the saints were to reach a high economic as well as spiritual order.

"When the Lord gave the revelation instructing us in our duty as to consecrating what we have, if the people then could have understood things precisely as they are...it would have been neither more nor less than yielding up that which is not their own, to him to whom it belongs."¹³

"It is time the privelege of consecrating their property was given to the people, it is the will of the Lord they should enjoy this blessing and privelege, those who choose to hand over their property; to whom? To him who has given them everything they possess. He owns all they possess, and they have no property, more or less, only that which actually belongs to the Lord, and he deals it out and bestows it where it seemeth him good."¹⁴

This doctrine of stewardship reached its fullest expression in attempts in some sections of the church to live the "United order", wherein the bishop acting as steward, made distribution to the people as it was needed, and all earnings were turned into the common store house. This

12. J. D. Volume 1 Page 340-41

13. Ibid Volume 2 Page 303

14. Ibid Volume 2 Page 299

system had in it an element of community of property, but could not be classed as pure communism. Brigham Young took care to point out that it was not a communistic scheme wherein all people were equal, but that it was a divine plan whereby each would get his just dues. Each man working at the job to which he was best fitted and each getting a just compensation for his ability and skill in promoting his enterprise.

"I do not wish for one moment to recognize the idea that in order to establish the united order, our property has to be divided equally among the people. But the idea is to get the people into the same state of unity in all things temporal, that we find ourselves in with regard to things spiritual. Then let those who possess the ability and wisdom direct the labors of those not so endowed."¹⁵

In writing to a body of his people who were headed for Salt Lake in 1847, but who had stopped with the intention of perhaps remaining in California he explained the matter of stewardship. They were not to think that they were to have everything in common as was generally supposed, but each man should have his stewardship correspond with the ability granted him by God. There were instances however; when it was quite right for them to combine all their labors, and interests in a common cause as they themselves were then doing in Salt Lake City. When their families could arrive they expected that each family would be given a lot over which the men were to act as stewards over their own.¹⁶

15. Ibid Volume 18 Page 354

16. J. H. August 7, 1847

The plan of the "united order" among the Mormons originated with Joseph Smith, but was supplanted by what was called a lesser law.¹⁷ During a period of thirty years the church made no attempt to enforce what it claimed to be a Divine command. It had not proved practical among people who were still "of the earth, earthy."

Not until 1873, after the saints had been in Utah for twenty six years did Brigham Young feel that the time was ripe for another attempt at the united order.¹⁸ There seemed to be difficulty in organizing a plan which could not be "picked to pieces" by the legal interests of the country.

"It is a matter that I am paying particular attention to, with some of my brethern, to see if we have skill enough to get up an organization and draw up papers to bind ourselves together under the laws of the United States so that we can put our means and labor together, and join as one family."¹⁹

This "united order" found its most hardy response in Utah in the sections outside of Salt Lake City. The pioneer leader had sent colonizers out who had founded thriving settlements covering a wide range from the city of Salt Lake. Conditions in these outlying districts seemed to be best suited for the reestablishment of the cooperative order. On one of his trips into northern territory, in Paris, Idaho, in August 1873, he spoke with the people on

17. Tithing; in which each member gave one tenth of his income to the church.

18. The plan had been prominent in his mind for some time, as indicated by an address of June 3, 1855

19. J. D. Volume 16 Page 122

this subject.

"Brethern if you will start here and operate together in farming, in making cheese, in herding sheep and cattle, and every other kind of work, and get a factory here, and a cooperative store, and operate together in sheep raising, store keeping, manufacturing, and everything else, no matter what it is, by and by when we can plant ourselves upon a foundation that we cannot be broken up, we shall then proceed to arrange a family organization for which we are not yet quite prepared.....I can take fifty men with not a cent, and if they will do as I would wish them to do they would soon be worth their thousands every one of them. We desire to go into this order."²⁰

On a trip to the Southern part of the state early in 1874, the organization of this order was started at St. George. It was taught and organized then in other towns past on the way to Salt Lake and by May, when a general conference of the church as held, the people had been largely prepared for what was to come. In introducing the subject, Brigham Young requested those who were to speak, to direct their remarks to the subject of this plan.

"I make a request of my brethern who may speak", he said, "to give us their instructions and views, for or against this general cooperative system which we, with propriety may call the united order."²¹

The united order as instituted under Brigham Young, however, did not closely follow the plan of Joseph Smith. Depending upon the extensive cooperative ideal which Joseph Smith had instilled in the people, Brigham Young built from it a cooperative plan which to his mind was practical to the

20. Ibid Volume 16 Page 169-70

21. Ibid Volume 7 Page 56

conditions of his people in Utah. The partial confusion of the people in regard to the plan is shown by the remarks of one of the prominent leaders, Orson Pratt.

"Inquires one, 'What is it, what kind of an order it it? Tell us all about it.' I would tell you as much as I thought was wisdom, if I understood it myself; but I do not. I have had but very little information about it. Suffice to say, I know that the order of things that could have been carried out successfully in Jackson county cannot be carried out here, on the same principle without variation. It cannot be done. Circumstances require different laws, different councils, an order of things, suited to this desert country."²²

Even the ~~far~~ sighted and practical Brigham Young, however; was unable to adapt such a plan successfully to a people who were not yet in a state of perfection. The new order had a short life. The most successful organization was that which was named, the "Orderville United Order". After a duration of about ten years it was dissolved in 1885. In fairness to Brigham Young it may be said, that the failure of the order which he introduced became most evident after its organizer had died. His genius may have helped it to greater success.

The inclusion of this order in a consideration of wealth and poverty is made necessary in understanding the extent to which the doctrine of stewardship was taken, under the direction of Brigham Young. All economic order among his people was based upon the fact that their wealth belonged to God and that they were but stewards. Such a philosophy

22. ibid Vol. 11 P. 35--also quoted in Gardner's "Communism among the Mormons." In quarterly Journal of economics 1935 Vol. 27 P. 162

was necessary before people would take kindly to the idea of consecration of property.

In the philosophy of Brigham Young wealth was an entirely desirable thing. He collected a fortune himself and recommended diligence on the part of his people in doing likewise. It was not the will of God that men should be poverty stricken, but should have every advantage of life that financial prosperity could give. Here again it was not wealth that was condemned before God, but woe unto the man who was not prudent in the expenditure of it. His admonitions were,

"Seek ye first the kingdom of God and *its* righteousness and all things will be added. Wealth also comes as a test to character regardless of men. The Lord gives to this one and that one... the wicked as well as the righteous to see what they will do with it."²³

To some of the saints who were in California he wrote,

"We understand that there are some of the company who are laboring hard to get riches....to all such we would say, get rich, for the Lord designs that his should be the richest people on the earth, but remember and get your riches honestly...and close not your ears to the cries of the widow.... but let your charities be manifest to all that need them."²⁴

The theories of Brigham Young on wealth did not stop with the mention of its advantages and disadvantages.

This practical leader would also have the people know how to acquire it. Not by digging in the hill for mineral, but by dealing with the primary necessities of life.

"We could....let the rich go to California, to

23. Ibid Volume 16 Page 10

24. J. H. August 7, 1847

get gold and we would buy their property. Would you like to know how to do this? I can tell you in a very few words...never want a thing you cannot get, live withing your means, manufacture that which you wear, and raise that which you eat. Raise every calf and lamb. Raise the chickens, and have your eggs, make your butter and cheese, and always have a little to spare. The first year we raise a crop and we have more than we want. We buy nothing, we sell a little. The next year we raise more, we buy nothing and we sell more. In this way we could pile up the gold and silver."

In this practical vein the leader would continue to advise his people, and in it we see the old Puritan frugality and thrift as if it were coming from seventeenth century forerunners of capitalism. This same Puritanic condemnation of waste is shown as he rebukes his people for the spirit shown in 1849-50-51 and 52 when wheat was allowed to be wasted in a shameful manner and the blessings of God thereby trampled on. "It was fed to horses, thrown to hogs and trampled in the mud. I told them they would want bread, and they did."²⁵

Brigham Young ^{was} himself a financier and took pride in his ability to make money. He regarded it as a virtue, and recommended it to his people. There was no note of inferiority in his words when at a meeting in the tabernacle he said,

"You know my life, there is not a person in this church and kingdom but what must acknowledge that gold and silver, houses and lands, etc., do multiply in my hands. There is not an individual but what must acknowledge that I am as good a financier as they ever knew, in all things that

I put my hands to."²⁶

This capitalistic spirit was dominant in the economic life of the pioneer leader. Thrift and frugality were an important part of his nature. It is at this point that we see in full the economic Puritan. After asking his congregation on one occasion if they wanted wealth, he answered his own question by telling them they did, and that the way to get it was to be calm and composed, and to keep their pulses down below seventy six instead of up to a hundred and twenty, but to attend to their duties to God, and his revelations, and that was the way to get rich.²⁷

The distribution of the land for the benefit of the new population was also a vital factor in wealth and stewardship. Soon after the arrival of the saints the city was divided into nineteen wards presided over by bishops. It was divided into ten acre blocks assuming some characteristics of the plan of the "City of Zion."²⁸ At first the saints cultivated this entire district in common and the harvest was divided among the people in accordance with the amount of work done. Later when distribution took place the church prevented any speculation in land. People were unable to sell the land for more than the purchase price plus improvements; as the land belonged to God, and they were but his stewards. As a parting instruction to the people when Brigham left Salt Lake for winter quarters to rejoin the main body of the saints he said,

26. Ibid Volume 4 Page 67

27. Ibid. Volume 15 Page 34

28. The plan of the city of zion was given for the building of the city of the saints at Jackson County Missouri.

"We have no land to sell to the saints...but you are entitled to as much as you need for your support...and at a future day will receive your inheritance on the farming lands as well as in city lots, and none of you have any land to buy or sell more than ourselves, for the inheritance is of the Lord and we are his servants, to see that everyone has his portion in due season."²⁹

Thus with an equal beginning in a new land Brigham Young encouraged the saints to lend every effort toward the development of their economic talent, that they might be the wealthy people that their God had intended they should be, to till the soil, and make themselves independent of others for the necessities of life first, and then to partake of the mineral wealth of the mountain, and in every way to be diligent servants and stewards in the garden of the Lord.

We see in this survey the very essence of the capitalistic spirit, with the hope that the entire people would share it its benefits.

COMPARISONS

The doctrine of stewardship was the principle upon which the theories of wealth of both Calvin and Young were based. Man was not the owner of wealth but the custodian of the riches of God. It followed then that the proper use of all surplus was for the building up of God's kingdom. Being rich was not a sin, for sin occurred in the improper use of the riches. In the earlier philosophy mere

29. J. H. September 9, 1847

possession of riches constituted the sin.

Wealth came not entirely as a result of righteousness but often to the unjust that they might be put to a greater test, and possibly greater condemnation. The best way to become rich however; was still by proper discipline in following the word of God.

"To desire great wealth and honors, and the accumulation of riches" was unholy desire so far as they were sought for pomp or display. Calvin considered them more as a by product to be bestowed by God if he so wished. But with Brigham Young the duty of man was to be both financially, and spiritually successful. A rapid increase in ones possessions indicated an alert stewardship. Both men regarded extreme poverty as very undesirable and uncomplimentary. This was a break from some medieval philosophies which regarded poverty as necessary to a God-like life.

Pure communism was extremely distasteful to Calvin, and unreasonable to Young. Both recognized individual differences in people, and proposed that all be given just due for the skills and talents which they could develop. The consecration of property however, had different meanings to them. With Calvin it was a personal consecration, while with Young, it was a community affair. Brigham Young is definite in declaring that his community of the "united order" is not what is usually thought of as communism; with which he had no sympathy in his thought.

The practical philosophy of Brigham Young on wealth and

poverty reminds us more of the Puritan descendents of Calvin, than of Calvin himself, whose financial status was limited to his theories more than to his practice.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

A--Calvin

The collection of interest and usury had received a social and religious ban almost entirely up to the time of John Calvin. The philosophies of Plato, and Aristotle find no place for usury, and economic, as well as religious, thought followed this trend up to the advent of Calvin. In his "Politics" Aristotle seriously objects to interest as a most unnatural way of making money.³⁰

Luther has expressed himself thus,

"The greatest misfortune of the German nation is easily the traffic of interest...The devil invented it and the Pope, by giving his sanction to it, has done untold evil throughout the world."³¹

The ecclesiastical councils of Lyons, (1274) and Vienna, (1312) made the usurer an outlaw and excommunicated him for going contrary to the laws of God and man. The acceptance of usury showed, they thought, that men were dominated by the spirit of greed and avarice. The age of Calvin had inherited this background of church and state condemnation of usury.

Calvinism however, was founded in the center of commerce, Geneva was not a rural section, and where commerce

30. Politics Volume I Page 3

31. Quoted in Tawney's - Religion and the Rise of Capitalism Page 95

was promoted, it was difficult to fail to set a money value upon the use of money. This religious sanction which Calvin gave to interest, spread to all the urban centers of Europe, and helped to make Calvinism a popular religion in Antwerp, London, and Amsterdam, while Lutheranism remained largely a rural religion.

"The first half century of the reformed church at Geneva, saw a prolonged effort to organize an economic order in which the ministers played the part of Old Testament prophets, to an Israel not wholly weaned from the flesh pots of Europe."³²

We are not to accept too readily however; the thought that Calvin was entirely unopposed to interest. He presents limitations to the collection of it, and never allows for a high percent. To him the exaction of interest was wrong if it meant that "the creditor becomes rich by the sweat of the debtor, and the debtor does not reap the reward of his labor."³³ The revolutionary thing about his teaching however, is, that a religious leader should accept interest under any condition.

Luther saw bad in the advancing social order and wanted a return to older virtues; while Calvin took the world as it was and taught his followers to exercise discipline within it: that in such a state of affairs the Christian virtues of diligence, sobriety, and thrift, could find their best expression. His people felt that they were a Chosen

32. Tawney Page 118-119

33. Ibid Page 106

people, with a great destiny, and were anxious to realize it.

"Calvin frankly admitted the necessity of trade and all its legitimate associations, if society were to function smoothly. His ideal was not the restoration of socio-economic intercourse to a primitive inactivity, but the elevation of its process to Christian effectiveness.³⁴

In summarizing the contribution of Calvin in economics, Petre says,

"Calvin marked out in his discussion of interest and profit a path of economic procedure based upon the principles of justice and equity. Actual circumstances, the highest good of all individuals, and the facile negotiations of a prosperous community were the basis upon which economic problems were to be considered."

The Old Testament ban upon interest seemed to him somewhat irrelevant.

"I conclude now that it is necessary to judge of usuries not according to any certain and particular sentence of God, but solely according to the rule of equity."³⁵

He denies that interest is forbidden in principle in the scriptures. The old Jewish laws, he said, prohibited interest among the Jews, but it was a political rather than a religious ruling, as Jews could take interest from gentiles.

Although Calvin recommended usury, he also provided for its control. Usury, he said, (a) must not be exacted from the poor, (b) the lender must not forget to be charitable, (c) regard must always be had to natural equity, (d) the borrower must be as much enriched as the lender,

34. Petre, Ray C. Part II

35. Opera X Page 248 Quoted by Petre, Ray C.

(e) our sense of justice must be derived from the word of God and not from prevailing usage, (f) it must consider the interests of the state as well as the individual. (g) The limit of interest fixed in each state must not be exceeded. (h) Usury should not be made a means of livelihood.³⁶

Industry was a vital note in the philosophy of Calvin. He quoted St. Paul. "If a man will not work neither shall he eat." Unregulated almsgiving he condemned and insisted that regular visits be made to the homes of the populace to see if idleness prevailed. When he came into conflict with idleness, on one occasion he wrote.

"With labor will no man now support himself... and yet labor is a thing so good and Godlike... that makes the body whole and strong, and cures the sickness produced by idleness...In the things of this life the laborer is most like God."³⁷

The idler was sinning against God as well as being an evil to society. The ambition and enterprise of a successful tradesman then was a high Christian virtue. It is this placement of a religious aspect upon business activity which gave industry its dynamic force. When the idler could avoid industry as mere social breach his sin was not so vital. But when he conceived that industry was his obligation to God, a religious zeal centered around

36. Patrick, Wm. Article on Calvin from Dictionary of Political economy.

37. Tawney -Page 115

the worker which became the moving factor in productive effort. This consecration of labor made man's proper performance of his vocational work a sacred duty. Calvin frankly recognized that trade and all its associations when under proper control, were legitimate. If they were not so, society, in its present state could not proceed smoothly. He was not looking for a retrogression to a primitive socio-economic relation, but the elevation of the present economic status to a place of "Christian effectiveness".³⁸

"What reason is there", he said, "Why the income from business should not be larger than from land owning? Where do merchants profits come from except his own diligence and industry?"

Poverty to him was not a virtue and his was the first systematic body of religious teaching to applaud economic virtue.

If we confine the two Calvinistic virtues, of industry as a duty to God, and waste and luxury as contrary to the will of God, we have a society which is producing much and consuming little. In this we have the accumulation of wealth which is the foundation of capitalism. If the Puritans had been living in a society where all were Puritans and moved by these same methods of over production and under consumption, their economic success would have received a severe jolt. But because their industry furnished produce for groups of people who, in their luxury, were consuming

38. Petre, Ray C.

more than they were producing, they became a well-to-do class. The folly of financial success attending a world who were producers and not consumers is self evident.

Calvin himself was a hard worker. He prized industry as an outstanding virtue. His followers were also a hard working lot. Had the Puritans been any different they could not have established themselves on the New England coast. There was no room for idleness. Calvinism opposed softness in all its forms, and idleness was one of these forms. It was a religion of the stern, and hard, and the conquest of the difficult.

While there could be found in the philosophies of Calvin, plenty of advice which could stimulate the growth of industry, we are forced to admit in the face of facts that his teachings could not be twisted enough to imply a recommendation of the feverish haste which is so characteristic of modern industry. In his theology of the dispensation of all good, including riches, by the direct act of God, regardless of merit, he automatically places a damper upon enthusiasm or over anxiety in industry. He mentions as an example of the uselessness of man to improve his condition, the words of the psalmist.

"It is vain to rise up early in the morning, and go to bed late, and drink water, and eat only half enough bread: that will advance one not at all unless God extends his hand and bounty. On the contrary good sometimes comes to his children while they sleep, and this shows that men err if they think they enrich

themselves by their own merit."³⁹

In the face of such a philosophy we might ask, then why can we place upon Calvin a responsibility for the Protestant ethics of industry. We must here again turn to his theology. While "God could feed us with our arms folded, if he wanted to,"⁴⁰ he has given us labor as a punishment for the sin of Adam, also because God has ordained that man should toil, the toil should be accepted without question.

As for types of occupations, there are many that are honorable in the sight of God. Men should work at the thing for which they are adapted and for the good of society. The principle concern is that man should labor diligently.

"For nothing is more unseemly than a man that is idle, and good for nothing...who profits neither himself or others, and seems born only to eat and drink."⁴¹

He had no sympathy for "idle bellies that chirp sweetly in the shade."⁴²

We see here again in the philosophy of Calvin an apparent paradox. Man is to labor yet not to labor too much, in gaining wealth. The advice to labor seems to have been taken most by later Calvinists.

The effect of Calvin's theories on the development of industry were partly seen in the chapter dealing with the Geneva Theocracy. The development of cloth, silk and watch manufacturing was a step in the direction of creative industry and also a means of furnishing work for all. Textile

39. Opera XXVI Page 627

40. Opera XXVIII Page 379

41. Opera lii Page 164

42. Ibid X6 Page 64

manufacturing continued to be a characteristic of Calvinistic urban centers. Accepting the approval which Calvin had given to the profits of the merchants, England built the woolen industry upon mercantile lines. Freedom in commerce and industry was impossible under any religious system of the middle ages, with the exception of Calvinism. Any movement requiring capital was definitely tied to the legitimate recognition of interest and usury, credit and banking, and large scale commerce and finance. To all these, Calvin gave religious support. The development of manufacturing in Calvinist countries was not limited to the textile industry. The development of the coal and iron industries were also prominent.

"In his study of the iron industry, Mr. Ashton has shown that the most eminent iron masters of the eighteenth century, belonged as a rule to the Puritan connection."⁴³

In this consideration we have shown how the economic theories of Calvin blended themselves with the economic developments which came after them. Whether Calvin was largely responsible for the development of commerce and industry, or whether the sections which were adapted to commerce and industry, adopted the theories, of Calvin because they most nearly approximated their needs is a subject of much discussion. It is not so relevant here as is the fact that the economic teachings of Calvin lend definite

encouragement to the development of commerce and industry, which could be found no where else in the religious philosophies of the day.

B--Young

The advent of Brigham Young onto the economic stage takes place at a time when usury and interest were accepted without question, by the economic and religious world, as legitimate. Consequently his theories do not deal so much with the righteousness of it. He recognized its necessity, but frowned upon its high notes. In 1857 he wrote to his economic agent in St. Louis.

"I perceive that there is now not only ten per cent interest on notes, but another ten per cent placed at the disposal of the creditor to be collected additional on dishonored paper. To avoid the payment of this penalty, do your best."⁴⁴

He had early reminded his people to owe no man anything. This responsibility did not prohibit borrowing and lending for "Scriptural precepts and plain, 'to give to him that asketh thee,' and from him that would borrow of thee turn not away."⁴⁵

The Mormon "Empire" under Brigham Young is an outstanding example of a people whose industry overcame serious geographical obstacles. Their industry was first shown in Utah, as a natural trait of character which was expressed in the conquest of the soil. Later they developed organized

44. Letter to Eldridge--June 20, 1857--(To be designated hereafter as L.E.

45. J. H. February 19, 1853

industrial enterprise which supplemented agricultural activity and tended to make of the Mormons, a people of commerce as well. This chapter will deal with the industrial philosophies of Brigham Young as they were shown in the personal characteristics of the people, and as it became organized enterprise among them. Also with the development of commerce under his philosophy.

Commerce

When the Mormons arrived in the great Basin, buying and selling among them was practically unpracticed. The reasons are obvious. First, their demand was principally for food and clothes, and the only practical way to get them was to grow the food and make the clothes. Not dependence upon a commercial system, but dependence upon personal ingenuity. Second, there was no standard medium of exchange. They did not come with gold, silver, or monetary medium. Their chief interest was to bring with them the provisions of the journey. Buying then was naturally very limited. If a member had a surplus of any article needed badly by someone else the natural thing to do was to give or trade it.

A year and a half after entering the valley, Brigham Young reminded the people that he had entered the valley with \$84.00 in small change which he had distributed among them, but now they were badly in need of change. They had

gold dust but it was not always accepted due to its waste in handling and people refused to take it. An attempt had been made to coin gold currency, but it was unsuccessful. In November, 1848, President Young with others made out the inscription to be used on the gold currency that was to be made. One side bore the inscription "Holiness to the Lord", and the emblem of the priesthood, on the reverse side was "Pure Gold and value" surrounding two hands representing friendship.⁴⁶ This reminder of their spiritual obligation which they were to take into their temporal activities is significant of the commercial theories of the leader. On December twenty-ninth the first bills were issued and president Young signed about one hundred of them.⁴⁷ On the sixth of January, Kirtland bank bills were put into circulation. The currency was to take the place of gold until gold could be successfully coined. With the issuance of the currency came the first type setting in the valley. Entries in the Journal of Brigham Young for January and February, show that he spent a considerable amount of his time in accepting gold dust on deposit and issuing notes to the depositors. The solution to the problem of currency had been met and Utah had taken an important step in the development of its commerce.

Cooperation

One of the most important commercial developments of

46. J. H. November 25, 1840

47. Ibid December 29, 1808

Brigham Young was the cooperative system among his people. Hamilton Gardner,⁴⁸ divides the cooperative practice among the Mormons into periods. One is a period of informal, but efficient cooperation from 1847-1890, and another, the development of a system of cooperative industrial enterprises from 1890 on.

The establishment in 1868 of the "Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution", marked the beginning of cooperation in merchandising. There were various reasons why the scheme was conceived by Brigham Young. Bancroft places it as an attempt to persecute gentile merchants who were operating in Salt Lake City.⁴⁹ It is true that saints were spending most of the cash that was in the territory in institutions operated by non-members of the church, who were not tithe payers, and only the tithe payer was doing his full part in promoting the kingdom of God, upon the earth. Brigham Young's denunciations of his people who were patronizing these outside institutions, began to come quite regular from the pulpit. Among other charges he accused these merchants of holding prices up beyond reason. At any rate we know that whatever the situation was, Brigham Young met it in his practical way. "Saints buy from yourselves and keep the profit," he said. Soon a chain of cooperative stores dotted the territory. When asked what would be the result if the merchants would not cooperate, the leader said.

 48. An article, "Cooperation among the Mormons" in Quarterly Journal of Economics.

49. History of Utah Page 651

"I do not know, but if they do not we shall leave them out in the cold the same as the gentiles, and the goods shall rot upon their shelves."50

In a letter to the saints in July 1875 in reviewing the reasons why the organization had been formed and telling of its accomplishments, Young reminded the people that a condition had existed among the saints wherein a few people were getting rich and the wealthy class that was forming in their midst were going to be dangerous to the union of the community. Inasmuch as union was so important to the people, they were counseled to enter into cooperation. In the establishment of this system we see again the close relationship between religion and economics. Among no people do we see a closer correlation between the temporal and religious life of the people than in the Utah Theocracy under Brigham Young. The gospel was to go with them in their business and in their pleasure and all were to unite in the building up of the kingdom. In the new cooperation the people were urged to take shares, and the community at large were to be the stock holders. Large numbers of the people responded, and those who did not take stock received the benefit of constant prices even when certain goods were scarce. Goods were given a certain value and kept there in spite of scarcity.

A great stimulus to the cooperative idea among the saints was doubtless the coming of the railway which first entered Salt Lake City in 1870. The people of Utah were

approaching a new era when they could no longer consider themselves as out of the world. The city was to become a commercial center of Western America and there was some danger of breaking down of the unity that had existed among the people. This must have been a stimulus to the mind of Brigham Young in organizing his people into closer economic bands. Hamilton Gardner reminds us that, "agitation of the Mormon leaders for a self sustaining people was the initial step in the movement."⁵¹ By the time of the October conference of 1868 the people had had time to consider the plan. In presenting the plan to them Brigham Young said,

"The question is not whether we have the right to be self sustaining or not, but will we be self sustaining? That is the question and we say we will be. What do you say brethren and sisters? All of you that say that we will be self sustaining, signify it by the show of your right hand."⁵²

Later he said, "What I have in mind with this cooperative business is this: there are very few people who cannot get \$25.00 to put into one of these cooperative stores, there are even hundreds and thousands of women who by prudence can obtain this sum, and we say to you, 'put your capital into one of these stores'. What for?.... (They) are instituted to give the poor a little advantage as well as the rich."⁵³

The first attempt at organization came in the form of the "Lehi Union Exchange" founded July 23, 1868, the first cooperative store in the west. Its success is indicated

51. Gardner--"Cooperation Among the Mormons" Quarterly Journal of Economics Vol. 31

52. Motion put and unanimously carried. J.D. Vol. 12 Page 286

53. J.D. Vol. 12 Page 373

by a 113% dividend which it declared in the first six months. The following year it was merged into a state wide system of which the Z.C.M.I. was the central organization. Brigham Young was elected president of the organization and all Mormon merchants in the city were invited to be shareholders. Buildings and goods were taken in for stock where necessary. On March 1, 1869, the doors of the institution were opened for business, and soon, many branch stores were opened. "Over all these was placed the all seeing eye, and the motto 'Holiness to the Lord'."⁵⁴

The success of the project was outstanding. A cooperative store was started in practically every Mormon city, town, and village. The "Co-op" became a household term, shares were held by local residents "who exercised entire control of the management but sentimentally, at least, they looked to the Z.C.M.I. as the head of their system."⁵⁵ We shall see later how this type of cooperation reached over into industrial development.

Thus the economic philosophies of Brigham Young found practical expression as he cemented his people in business enterprise that they might be strengthened to meet the period when they would have to again compete with the world of business that was moving west.

The appointment of Horace S. Eldredge as the church

54. Gardner--Cooperation among the Mormons Page 480
 55. Gardner--Page 480

agent in Illinois to take care of its business relations in the east was made in February, 1857. A look into the personal correspondence of Brigham Young to this agent is very illuminating in determining the commercial philosophies of the Mormon leader. A section of quotations from these various letters will be beneficial here.

"I would like you to keep a clear eye upon the markets, and when sugar is abundant in the markets, and but few purchase, and prices in consequence fall, then take advantage and purchase at the lowest figures, and so with other staple commodities, that we need...you know well when to ship these things, when the water is flush and the freights are low at say 25¢ P.C. and M. Groesbeck will be instructed to have a warehouse built, into which such shipment can be deposited, until a convenient time for sending them by the trains, when the freights are scarce from other parties; we can thus fill up our trains and forward our own goods."⁵⁶

Purchase Bills

A bill for the purchase of blacksmith and machine shop materials.

15 lb. $\frac{1}{4}$ inch square cast steel

20 lb. $\frac{3}{8}$ " " " "

25 lb. $\frac{1}{2}$ " " " "

60 lb. Get Naylor and Coys best

40 lb. Best German Steel

10 lb. Course emery

56. L.E. February 25, 1857

"You will please to pay as under an account of A.O. Smoot."

\$138 to Charles Halsenkamp

\$169 to Joseph Beaky

\$298 in all

Brigham Young⁵⁷

Drafts

"I forward a draft on you in favor of or to the order of A.O. Smoot for \$342, for value received here. And the following drafts for you to collect. One signed by William Hooper for mileage and for \$722, in my favor."⁵⁸

"We have drawn on you in favor of Levi Stewart and Co. at twenty days, for \$3605.98.

"Also another draft in favor of Levi Stewart of twenty days for \$1688.02.

"We have drawn them with this understanding with brother Stewart, that he is not to press this matter beyond his actual necessity, and your ability. That is he will make his purchases to correspond with your funds."

Your brother in the Gospel,

Brigham Young.⁵⁹

Credit and Debts

"You may fill Wm. H. Hooper's bill on as long a credit as possible, on the responsibility of H.S. Elldrige."

57. L.E. February 25, 1857

58. Ibid April 1, 1857

59. Ibid April 23, 1857

"Purchase no wagons, nor teams for the emigration this season, we must be still on this account this season till we liquidate former indebtedness."⁶⁰

"We have since our return from the north, made a call upon the people to furnish us with cattle to enable us to settle with Bill and Livingston Kinghead company in the course of two weeks. We paid them twelve thousand dollars, in cattle at forty dollars a head, and now we have two hundred head more than when we made the call."⁶¹

"If you can get any chance settle for debts or for money and what debts you can pay. With the blessings of heaven we will pay when the war is over."⁶²

"I do not wish you to run any further into debt, but cancel the present obligations of the office as fast as possible. The merchants are afraid that we are going to be broken up are they? Just tell them that I will guarantee to them every cent we owe them now, and if my council is taken it will be a long time before they will have the opportunity for such fear again."⁶³

"We very much need the following articles for our public works..Do not buy one dollars worth without you can do so without involving us in debt...We give the above as an indication of what we want, when you have the means, and can make purchases to advantage; but we would rather wear buckskin breeches and be free, than have their finest broadclothes, silks, and satins, and live in chains."

May the Lord Bless you forever, Amen

Brigham Young ⁶⁴

"You are of course aware of the necessity of so managing your business affairs as to be ready and able to leave for home whenever necessity may require, giving the payment of debts the preference to filling bills."⁶⁵

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60. Ibid April 1, 1857
 61. Ibid May 29, 1857
 62. Ibid January 6, 1858
 63. Ibid June 30, 1857
 64. Ibid June 30, 1857
 65. Ibid October 7, 1857

"The solid steriotyped cash system of brother Orson Pratt...paying just as you receive and not going into debt is good, but after the freer mode of borrowing and drawing a little on the hopes of the future, then shutting down the accomodation gates all at once has sorely pressed E. Snow, incurred heavy expences and perhaps injured our credit a little in your city."⁶⁶

"Remember always that you are not to run us in debt."⁶⁷

"I have changed my mind concerning the instructions about incurring indebtedness from the positive to the comparitive degree, and you are at liberty to use credit to a moderate extent, should your judgement...so dictate."⁶⁸

These quotations show the general attitude of Brigham Young with regard to credit, debts, and buying, as well as his position in relationship to his people and their commerce with the east. In 1875 he expressed his appreciation to all people in Zion or in the east who would entertain some fear about extending credit to the Z.C.M.I. with the hope that they would never trust the organization any more. In this way he said, it would be easy to remain out of debt, and then with some pride he referred to the fact that the Z.C.M.I. was making an annual saving to the people of from one to three million dollars.⁶⁹

The merchants who took all the money from the people that they could possibly get, and then thanked the Lord for their prosperity, he said were like a man who was able to buy a widows cow for ten per cent of her actual

66. Ibid May 29, 1857

67. Ibid April, 1858

68. Ibid May 5, 1859

69. J. D. Volume 17, Page 361

value and thank the Lord that he had so blessed him. He then quoted Charles Gunn, who said, "Hell was full of such Christians."⁷⁰ Honesty in commerce with every man getting his just due was his rule of business.

Industry

Brigham Young, unlike John Calvin, left us no finished literary works. His life was filled with physical labor, and administrative work. The only way in which we are able to study any of his philosophy is through his achievements with his people, and by his sermons in which he advised them. Most of these sermons fortunately were recorded and we see him in the harness giving expression to his thoughts as they came to him while he stood before his people and contemplated their needs. He was a man of varied interests. Although he was the president of the church his industry kept him from living off of the church. He had many private interests from which he became wealthy. His intensive industry was one of his chief characteristics. Lack of industry in others made him impatient. As has been pointed out, he had no use for the idler, and was inclined to have any such persons driven out of town. He kept his people as tillers of the soil, and "by the sweat of their brow, they earned their bread".

70. Ibid Volume 17 Page 361-2

"It is our business", he said, "to mold the elements to our wants and necessities....In this way will the Lord bring again Zion upon the earth and in no other way."⁷¹

He built his own house in the east, and his first ones in Utah. In August 1854, a correspondent in the valley wrote, that he could be seen all day and every day chopping wood, working in his garden, building houses, etc.⁷²

Tilling the soil and making the desert blossom as a rose took more than wishes, and the Mormons in this process became the first Anglo Saxons to practice irrigation.⁷³

There were canals to be built, and ditches, to be dug, but it was not the age of modern machinery. Hand shovels were the order of the day, and on the handles were Mormons, and not infrequently Brigham Young. In the journal entry of 1849, we find Brigham Young and others busy killing crickets, building houses, fences, etc.

The cosmopolitan group of people with whom he had to deal presented a real problem. Converts from all parts of the United States and northern Europe, with various traits and trades, all to be provided for. The organization of a bureau of "Public Works", was helpful in the solution of the problem, and many were given opportunity to assist in the building of civic projects such as the temple, the

71. Gates Page 209

72. Ibid Page 212

73. Gardner--Quarterly Journal of Economics.

tabernacle, and the theatre. The "Public Works" attempted to assist foreigners while they were becoming accustomed to American methods. In visiting one of the southern towns Brigham Young presented, in his characteristic way, his plan to keep everybody busy and actively engaged in some useful occupation. After outlining one project that would require five hundred laborers, he said.

"I also want a mill-race dug some three quarters of a mile in length, and an excavation made for the foundation of a grist mill. When that is done we will plan something else."⁷⁴

Among the first industrial enterprises to be established were saw mills and flour mills, these were followed by silk and woolen mills, paper mills, a sugar factory and others. As early as 1848 the streams of the city were being utilized for the running of grist and saw mills. The sheep industry was for many years exempt from taxation and consequently soon became a flourishing business. By 1882 there were ten woolen mills in the valley.⁷⁵ The first of importance was the Provo Woolen Mills, built on the cooperative plan, and for a number of years the largest woolen mill west of the Missouri. The first Woolen mill in the territory however, had been built in 1852.

According to census returns of 1850-80, which cannot be regarded as entirely accurate, there were in 1850, fourteen manufacturing establishments. By 1860 this number had

74. J.D. Volume 7 Page 67

75. Bancroft Page 732

increased to forty-eight while the number listed in 1870 was five hundred thirty three. Of special interest is a nail factory built in 1859.⁷⁶ In the early days of Utah, Dixie cotton was grown and cotton mills established with moderate success. The first sugar factories in the United States to make sugar from the sugar beet, were built by the Mormons. John Taylor who was an apostle in France was asked to investigate the beet sugar industry there and as a result of this mission, 1851-2, the industry was started in Utah. The first seed came from France, and \$12,500 worth of the new machinery was shipped from England. Experts came with this machinery. The establishment of this industry was no slight undertaking. Fifty two wagons drawn by oxen were necessary to transport the machinery on its trip of a thousand miles across the desert. One hundred thousand dollars was spent to establish the industry which was at first not greatly successful but which later became an important industry in the state.

Iron manufacturing, paper making, and leather tanneries also were established, in connection with the home industries.

The establishment of these industries was not done without a good deal of encouragement and stimulation by Brigham Young. The people were often inclined to buy the outside made product. A few quotations from his discourses help us to see some of his problems at this time.

76. Ibid Page 733

"Brother Kimball mentioned about some of the brethern sending to the states for nails. Send to the states, go to the store, buy where you please, and do you think that you can get better nails than you can get at our nail factory? I know what nails are. I have driven a great many. There is not a better nail made at Boston or in Germany than there is at this factory."⁷⁷

"They tell us that it is the climate that destroys the paint. That is a mistake. The paint is not good..other paints are adultrated. I pay from thirty to fifty dollars to have a carriage painted and in three months it needs painting again...I will venture to say that let me have the oil that is made at brother Kimball's mill, and have pure white lead of our own manufacturing and I will put a coat of paint on the outside of buildings that will last twenty years, better than the materials we import, and now use for painting will last two years...The person that told brother Kimball that he could reduce his oil so that adultration could not be detected is mistaken, for I could detect it by rubbing it between my fingers...In my young days I had to quit the business of painting purely because I had to be dishonest or quit, and I quit."⁷⁸

"We want glass. Some man will come along by-and-by and take the quartz, rock, rig up a little furnace and make glass."⁷⁹

"I look forward to no distant period when this people called Latter-day Saints, will be obliged to sustain themselves. We must be prepared to gather round us every necessity of life, to make every impliment we may wish to use, and to produce from the earth every grain, vegetable, and fruit that we need, and not to go any other place to buy. Produce every article of clothing that we need, and stop this importation that we are now incumbered with. We must produce all we can enjoy. I expect that I soon shall do so."⁸⁰

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77. J. D. Volume 9 Page 30
 78. Ibid Volume 9 Page 29
 79. Ibid Volume 9 Page 31
 80. Ibid Volume 9 Page 32

In these expressions we see no hint of the international, or national trade spirit no manifestation of an obligation to the "out group," but a concentration of effort for the independent advancement of the Kingdom of God and the people who were partakers of it. This extensive system of home manufacturing was the result of systematic planning to make the saints and people completely independent of all other peoples. The philosophy of Brigham Young was, that if his people could attain economic independence it would be of great aid in preserving their religious and social distinction. Their dealings with the gentiles since the organization of the church had made them feel that the only way in which peace and good will could be preserved was by a policy of isolation. In writing to Ell-
dridge in St. Louis he said.

"We sincerely hope that the time is not far distant when the people will supply their own wants and manufacture their own supplies. Then and not until then will we become independent of our enemies."⁸¹

In addressing the saints in 1862, he told them that if they had taken the council that had been given for the past eight years that they would have had gold enough to have bought one fourth of the state of Missouri, to have lived in when they pleased, but said he,

"There is one practice among the people that I am at war with, and I pray God to give me

81. L.E. November 20, 1858

strength and ability with the faith of the righteous to root it out of our midst, and that is, they would seemingly rather be damned than not to give their money to their enemies. Will they raise flax, cotton, and fruit? No; but they will put fortunes in the pockets of strangers to impart from a distance what we can produce at home."⁸²

In this consideration we have seen a religious, but highly economic group in action in the field of commerce and industry, under the leadership of Brigham Young, and witnessed their response to his practical philosophies.

COMPARISONS

Brigham Young and John Calvin were called to meet quite different situations. Calvin faced a world that had not yet accepted interest, usury, and the financial activities that accompanied them, as legitimate. God had frowned upon such procedure for the attainment of a livelihood. Calvin then had introduced a new era in the history of economics when he gave religious sanction, under certain limitations, to the collection of interest and usury.

Brigham Young fully accepted Calvin's theories in this regard. If for no other reason, the economic age of which he was a part made it necessary. Neither Young nor Calvin could accept the principle of exorbitant interest rates at the expense of the poor man.

Calvin and Young are both drastically intolerant to the

idler. Their societies were to be built upon the spirit of Industry of the people, and the "idler was not to eat the bread of the laborer". The religious ban upon the idler and the approval of God upon the worker give these two societies an industrial religious zeal which was not characteristic of ordinary groups.

Each leader was responsible for wealth among his followers by fastening intensive industry and production, and at the same time very little consumption, as necessary to successful life. In this way each society has an economic philosophy which required a luxurious market from the outside while under consumption would have to be limited to their own groups.

Both Calvin and Young personified their industrious ideals: Calvin a prolific writer as well as great student and political general: Young a leader in the industrial, social, and religious life of his colony. They were untiring in their physical and mental application to their tasks.

These men differed somewhat in their philosophy as to the effort which should be expended in the direction of the accumulation of wealth. With Calvin it was to be a gift of God without special effort in that direction on the part of the man; while with Brigham Young the man who was most diligent and skillful in producing honest increase of his property, was the man who had most honored his steward-

ship. Both men agreed that poverty was an uncomplimentary, distasteful, state which was not conducive to the best development of the man.

In the establishment of industrial enterprise, both John Calvin, and Brigham Young showed practical genius. While Geneva showed signs of the word of its reformer, Calvin's philosophies seemed to have far greater effect in the development of commerce and industry, among later generations who followed his teachings. In the case of Brigham Young, Utah became the active center of industry for a population who were working vigorously with the idea of becoming entirely self-supporting. This required a much greater variety of industry than was found in Geneva.

The problem of organizing a commercial system, even to formulating a medium of exchange, was more vital to Young than to Calvin, and the system of economic cooperation which takes a prominent part in the philosophies of Young played but a negative roll in Calvin's thinking. It is well to note however, that these leaders were both opposed to communism.

The obligation resting upon the people to keep out of debt, if they were to be freemen found special stress through Brigham Young, while in the non capitalistic age of Calvin it was not such an important issue.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHIES OF BRIGHAM YOUNG AND JOHN CALVIN

It seems to be a common rule, that very few groups of persecuted people learn not to become persecutors themselves. The record of history furnishes many examples of peoples who were ready to give their lives for the cause of religious toleration, and yet when they had won that toleration, either by conquest or migration, were equally willing to take the lives of others rather than to grant them toleration. It is a quality of what we call religion that each group who sincerely adopt a plan of faith gives it a religious devotion which leaves no room for a difference of opinion and usually conducts a proselyting campaign which often becomes oppressive to the group outside. In most oriental religions we have less emphasis on the proselyting phase and a great deal more tolerance. By tolerance we here mean, not so much the teaching of the principle that all men have a right to their own beliefs, but an active and fulhearted respect for the views of others. We then regard these views, as contributions from other people who are also capable of deep thinking. There is no room for a completely tolerant attitude in religions whose doctrines claim to represent "the one way", "the only plan". Such systems, regardless of the attempts at tolerance by their people, are by their very nature intolerant. Whether this is a virtue or a sin, is not important here. What we must see is, that tolerance in its fullest sense does not characterize religions of the Western world. We are here dealing with two religious

groups of the Western world and their social philosophies. We are unable to correctly interpret these unless we see their fundamental social philosophies on the problem of tolerance. In Protestant Geneva after the advent of Calvin, there was no room for Roman Catholics. The history of Utah is largely a history of conflict between Saints and Gentiles. In both cases we are dealing with societies which represent "in groups", but these two societies differ in the fact that the Roman Catholic "out group" did not furnish much opposition to Calvin while in Utah the conflict between Mormon and Gentile was intense.

Social Relationships

A--Calvin

The social intercourse of Calvinism rested upon the theory that man was not only of the world, but that his finest development could be attained by activity in the world. Not a withdrawal into an ascetic seclusion, but the attainment of a disciplinary virtue which would enable its members to do good by mixing purity into the world without partaking of its evils. They were not to withdraw from the world because of its wickedness, but to take it just as it was, good or bad and influence it for good. By this method they could attain the individual discipline so essential in their plan. By helping the world they could help themselves more. Such a plan was especially practical in a society which was not cut

up into many sections, but was in the broad sense just Protestant. Calvin had little conflict with the Roman Church. His doctrines were accepted in the centers of commerce and trade which had swung into the protestant movement. His people then could pretty well mix with their world and yet be pretty well in their own society.

We are not to think that the teachings of Calvin tended to make people think that they could make of this life a glorious experience. It was a miserable world and the present life was valuable, but only as a means of discipline. We quote Calvin from his "Institutes".

"In a word the whole soul fascinated by carnal allurements, seeks its felicity on earth. To oppose this evil the Lord by continual lessons of miseries, teaches his children, the vanity of the present life. That they may not promise themselves profound and secured peace in it, therefore; he permits them to be frequently disquieted, and infested with wars and tumults, with robberies or other injuries..... That they may not be too complacently delighted with conjugal blessings, He either causes them to be distressed with the wickedness of their wives, or afflicts them with want or loss of children..... He shows them by diseases and dangers the unstable or transitory nature of all mortal blessings.... Nothing can be sought or expected on earth, but conflict, and that when we think of a crown we must raise our eyes toward heaven."¹

There was in his philosophy no room for, making the world a happy one by conquest of it. Our job was to accept its discipline as a school and look for happiness in the future life.

B--Young

Brigham Young recognized the necessity of social relationships in the development of personality, but this development

1. Institutes III-IX:1

was to come from within the group. If they were the chosen people of the Lord, they could find among themselves the necessary traits of civilization. The Saints were the best class of people in the world so why disintegrate by intermixture with moral inferiority. Get the best which the world has to offer and make it part of our society, seemed to be the theory of Brigham Young. He invited the whole world to come into the folds of the "gospel", but to go out and make themselves one with the world could bring but disintegration. The world was wicked "Babylon", and his council to his people was "Come out of her, my people". In speaking of his people, before a body of them, Brigham Young said:

"The cry has come to them--separate yourselves from sinners and from sin. If we as a people had not believed this, we should not have been here this day.... Have the people come out from the nation? Yes. Have we separated ourselves from the nation? Yes."²

Then followed the suggestion that too much of the spirit of Babylon had been taken in by the people, that it was the spirit of strife, confusion, discord, pride, and the spirit of the world. He quoted from the 18th chapter of Revelation, verse 4.

"and I heard another voice from heaven, saying, 'come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.' And then; "We believe most firmly.... that the proclamation has gone forth to the nations of the earth, come out of her my people."³

The invitation was to all people, but the kingdom was to be separated from the world which had become a nest of sin.

Not even in fashion were the saints to follow the world. The philosophies of their leader reaches an interesting detail in this respect. No point of fashion was too minor to get his

2. J.D. Volume 7 Page 38
3. Ibid. Volume 17 Page 37

comment, from the width of a collar on a lady's dress, to the type of pockets on a man's coat.

"In the first place", he said, "We are governed and controlled too much by the feelings and fashions of the world....if I were a lady and had a piece of cloth to make me a dress, I would cut it so as to cover my person handsomely and neatly, and whether it was cut according to the fashion or not.....I would not have eighteen to twenty yards to drag behind me, so that if I had to turn around I would have to pick up my dress and throw it after me, or just as a cow does when she kicks over the milk pail, throw out one foot to kick the dress out of the way. This is not becoming, beautiful or convenient.... Take that cloth and cut you a skirt that will be modest and neat, that does not drag in the dirt, nor show your garters."⁴

He condemned fashions which required a lady to wear twelve yards in the skirt of her dress but only a half yard in the waist. The saints themselves he said had the ability to know what looked right without asking anyone else, and this would also help them from mixing up with the world, that they might isolate themselves even in the matter of fashion.

"We need not go to New York, London, or Paris to ask them whether a coat looks just right, we are the judges and can decide that just as well as anybody else on the face of the earth. I would not swap my eyes, with any living person, for beauty or comeliness... we should be our own judges."

In dealing with isolation in the Latter-day Saint group, we also consider the twin principles of "Gathering" which went with it. By the "gathering" the saints were to be collected, and by isolation they were to remain intact. Two such principles religiously adhered to were bound to make of them a distinctive culture in the history of the world. Many regard it as a superior culture. Dr. Haenle says, "The Latter-day

4. Ibid. Volume 15 Page 38

Saints have achieved a position in civilization and culture which stands unsurpassed."⁵ Whether that culture was of a surpassing nature is not so important here as the fact that it was distinctly different. The collection or gathering of a cosmopolitan body of people, and then the assumption that isolation was a religious duty is what has made the Mormon culture distinctive. For this reason we may call the "gathering", and "isolation", twin principles of Mormonism.

The program of "gathering" was based upon the extensive missionary system of the church. This proselyting factor had several effects--First, it swelled the ranks of the saints. Into many parts of the world Brigham Young continued to call his elders, to go and gather out the "Blood of Israel"⁶ and send them to Zion. In that period of religious evolution and revival, many heard the call of the strange faith, and gathered to the valleys of the mountains. For those too poor to pay their way, Brigham Young organized the "Perpetual Emigration Fund", which was liberally subscribed to by the saints, and many borrowed money from this fund to help them to Salt Lake City.

Second, the missionary system was an aid in training the priesthood of the church in its defense. From the great

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5. Dr. Max Haenle, University of Erlangen, Bavaria, from an address delivered June 14, 1928, at University of Utah summer session.
 6. The blood of Israel according to Latter-day Saint belief was mixed among the people of the world and people with this blood in their veins would be receptive to the gospel, and gather to Zion.

body of returned missionaries who had donated from two to five years, and paid their own expenses to convert people to the cause, the church found capable men to act as officers as well as to become a well enlightened laity.

Third, the missionary system brought the men of the church into contact with the culture of other nations, and made possible the inception of much of this advanced culture into the Mormon society.

The call to a church mission was an honor, and no sacrifice seemed too great in order to honor the call. If the conversion of one soul was to bring great reward in heaven how much greater the reward for bringing many to the knowledge of the truth. Brigham Young himself had served as a very successful missionary and was filled with the desire that others should also go. The missionaries often left in large parties. We find in one of his letters, the following post script.

"At ten a.m. this morning about ninety missionaries with forty handcarts left this city, the air reverberating with the music of brass bands, and many happy farewell shouts of thousands."

Brigham Young was proud of his city and did not hesitate to invite the saints to gather to it. As he returned from a trip to the south he wrote to a friend of what he saw as he viewed the city.

"As we rounded the hill south of hot springs, and east of the lake, our eyes feasted on the city of white houses, peaceful homes and verdant gardens, here still it stands, lovely when seen by the clear beams of silver light now shed mightily upon it by the fair moon; where

7. L. E. April 8, 1857

is its equal? Where do the cooling streams of melted snow water every tree shaded streed as here? Where the same amount of peace, faith, power? Nowhere at present.Still we don't want to try you too much, but are assured you know your place for the time being and will do your duty."⁸

In August of the same year, he wrote, "Instruct the saints to 'gather' while they have opportunity so to do, as the time may not be far distant when they cannot come except by stealth at the risk of their lives." In 1861 he addressed the saints on the subject of the gathering.

"There are hundreds and thousands coming here this season. We are gathering the people as fast as we can. We are gathering them to make saints of them and of ourselves."⁹

From these twin principles of "gathering" and "isolation" we have the social structure of the Utah theocracy established. While its pattern was not original with Brigham Young, he gave it its greatest stimulus and practical application. Upon these principles he built his social structure.

COMPARISONS

On the theory of social relationships Calvin and Young both taught that people should separate themselves from the sins of the world. Both taught that this was largely a problem of individual discipline and moral development.

Calvin recommended however; that this discipline should come by mixing with the world and exercising Christian virtues in it, while Brigham Young would make of the "people of God", a distinct society, independent of its enemies, and following its straight and narrow path without accepting the

8. Ibid. May 29, 1857

9. J. D. Volume 9 Page 137-38

sins of Babylon, or being brought even in contact with them.

We see however; practical reasons for this difference in philosophy. Calvin was introducing a broad Protestantism in large commercial centers where economic life depended upon close inter-relations, while Brigham Young led a people surrounded by desert, who had the "only plan" of salvation. It could not mix nor sacrifice but must retain its distinct identity, if Zion was to be built up to prepare for the second coming of Christ.

Class Relationships

A--Calvin

In determining the philosophy of Calvin in regard to the relationships which should exist among classes of people, we must again refer to his theory of predestination, and "calling". To speak of the rich and the poor as attaining their positions by their own merit or lack of merit was out of the question. God was the great bestower of blessings, and what was man that he should question the plan of God. It was a great shame to pretend to serve God when one did not. "And a still greater shame that a mere worm of the earth should wish to take precedence of his creator."¹⁰ In fact the chief end of man was to "Glorify God", not to glorify man. "Servants, obey your masters", was his admonition and it seemed logical to his followers, especially those who happened to be masters. This doctrine of predestination receives its fullest explanation in "The Institutes", wherein; Calvin

makes a rather logical defense of it.

"Predestination, by which God adopts some to the hope of life and adjudges others to eternal death, no one desirous of the credit of piety dares, absolutely to deny....Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which he has determined to himself, what he would have to become of every individual of mankind. For they are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is fore-ordained for some, and eternal damnation for others."¹¹

It is not to be expected that men are created equal, and if God does not create them equal it naturally follows that men should not try to attain equality on earth. Here we are brought to the definite cause for class distinction. If men are not created to a similar destiny they should accept their calling or foreordination without complaint and should continue to function in their proper capacities. With Calvin, God was not even subject to law. He made his own choices and they became the law.

"God has already shown that in his mere goodness He is bound by no laws, but is perfectly free, so that none can require of him an equal distribution of grace, the inequality of which demonstrates it to be truly gratuitous."¹²

Thus all men have received a certain "calling" and in it they should learn to satisfy themselves. Poverty was good discipline, and the worker should be content with his wages and labor soberly. He would receive a heavenly reward if he thus honored God.¹³ It was the duty of the employer to honor God by making profit. In this doctrine we find seeds for

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11. Institutes English translation by John Allen Volume 2
Pages 144-45
12. Institutes Volume 2 Pages 147-8
13. Harkness Page 186

definite class distinction.

Position of Women

In the time of Calvin women had made no serious bid for position in public life, and especially in the vocations. Women taking any lead in commercial enterprise was not thought of. If it had occurred to women that they should have a prominent position in public life, it had not occurred to men to grant them this position.¹⁴ Although Calvin was in general opposed to women rulers, such as Mary Stewart in Scotland and Elizabeth in England he felt that those who were tyrants, God would dispose of in his own way. He could not overlook, however, the fact that Deborah ruled in Israel under God's permission. In the matter of religious offices women were not to be considered. In his Opera Calvin remarks.

"It is not permitted to any woman, Turtullian says, to speak in church, nor to teach, nor to baptise, nor to offer sacrifice neither to lay claim to the lot of any man, or of the priestly office."¹⁵

Vocations and "callings" in Geneva were for the men, the women had been made inferior to the man and when she complained at his supervision she was registering a complaint against God who had made her subject to man. We shall see when we deal with domestic relations however, that Calvin did much in the emancipation of women, by improving their status in the family.

Vocations

In choosing a vocation Calvin said that there were many

15. Quoted by Harkness Page 153

of them which were honorable in the sight of God, and that all persons should select those where they could most help their neighbors. Manual labor was commended and encouraged but other kinds of industry were not unlawful. The principle thing is diligent labor, and idleness is accursed of God. If man was created to do something the lazy and idle were not to be encouraged by giving them food.¹⁶

Treatment of Criminals

Calvin's practice went far in the treatment of criminals. We have seen something of his system of discipline in the chapter on "The Geneva Theocracy." We add here that one of the first crimes among the people was to refuse to accept the confession of faith of the new Geneva church. The penalty for such refusal, was banishment. As the church gained in power we see the philosophy of Calvin taking form in the treatment of criminals by the magistrates. An improper head-dress was the reason for the imprisonment of three women. "A gambler was placed in the pillory with a chain around his neck."¹⁷ Although it would be impossible to make of the world a habitation of perfect people, until the time when Christ should separate the sheep from the goats, it was the duty of the church to strive for perfection, and to lend its effort to the correction of vices as they exist. Calvin was

16. Harkness Page 171-2

17. Schaff Volume VI Page 356

relentless in his punishment of anything which seemed to him vice. In Geneva, dancing, gambling, drunkenness, profanity, luxury, immodesty in dress or song was punished by fine or imprisonment. The death penalty was used against heresy, idolatry and blasphemy, which was also accompanied by the practice of torture. Adultery after a second offense was also punished by death.

A summary of some of the most striking cases of discipline is given by Schaff.

"A man was banished from the city for three months because on hearing an ass bray, he said jestingly, 'He brays a beautiful psalm'...A child was whipped for calling his mother a thief and a she devil, a girl was beheaded for striking parents. A banker was executed for repeated adultery, but he died penitent and praised God for the triumph of Justice, a person was imprisoned for four days because he persisted in calling his child Claud (A Roman Catholic Saint) instead of Abraham, as the minister wished. Men and women were burned for witchcraft."¹⁸

Thus we get a picture of the treatment of criminals in the society of Calvin, and all this that the Glory of God might be advanced in the earth.

B--Brigham Young

The theological doctrine of "Foreordination" which was taught by Brigham Young, had a different influence upon the social structure of his people, than did the Predestination of Calvin upon his people. While in ordinary usage the terms are not far apart the meaning given to foreordination by the Mormon leader did not imply a stationary and rigid society

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18. Ibid. Page 491-2

in which every man had his place, and should not get out of it. It left room for adjustment to new levels and consequently did not develop the class distinction which we would expect from pure predestination.

The people of early Utah were largely from the laboring classes. From such we would expect a philosophy of class equality. Brigham Young told his people that they were gathered from laboring and middle classes who had not been learned in the develtry and craft of the world and possessed honesty enough to accept the truth. He had a definite distrust for the so-called higher classes in spite of their refinement and education.

"The higher classes," he said, "have nothing to do only to study the nature of man, their own dispositions and those of their fellow beings. We can look upon them as they really are, and truly we are compelled to conclude that the devilry, mischief, dishonesty, craft, corruption, etc. that are taught and practiced among the higher classes have prevented them from receiving the gospel. But the poor half-starved laborers, those who feel as though they want a friend, who look around for some source of happiness, for some arm to lean on, for some eye to pity them, are the ones who have honesty enough to receive the truth."¹⁹

In a society which had tasted in their necessities both poverty and prosperity we would naturally look for a sympathetic attitude toward the poor. It was the policy of Brigham Young to encourage the poor to come among them. For this cause as we have seen, the perpetual emigration fund was started. In talking about it Brigham Young would frequently remind the saints of the days when they were wandering around

the streets, with the finger of scorn being pointed at them, and they were too poor to leave and come to Zion except by help from the fund. One of the interesting things about Mormonism is that it took people often out of the most poverty stricken elements of society and made of them happy, self-respecting and moderately well to do people. "Where else upon all the earth can be found a people who own their own homes?" was the thought which often found expression in the talks of Brigham Young. In speaking to the subject of gathering the poor he once said,

"Suppose we pick up a company of those poor saints in England whose faces are pale, and who can scarcely tread their way through the streets for the want of the staff of life, you may see them bowed down through very weakness with their arms across their stomachs going too and from work, the greater part of them not able to get a bit of meat more than once a month...by working sixteen hours out of the twenty-four...we bring two hundred of them here; instead of their being obliged to work for two or three pence per day, they can get a dollar or a dollar and a half per day. With one day's wages they can purchase flour, and meat, and vegetables enough to last a moderately sized family a week."²⁰

This temporal salvation of the poor of course did not always bring the best results. If some of the above mentioned two hundred were to soon assume a position of pride and haughtiness unbecoming to rescued men they of course incurred upon them the wrath of their leader. When he saw them sometimes "swelling in the streets with an air of perfect independence", and refusing to repay in any way the benefactor who furnished the money to bring them to Utah, they at once lost all grace

with Brigham Young. He would regret having had them brought over,

"I say, let such persons starve to death, and die Christians, instead of being brought here to live and commit the sin of ingratitude, and die and go to hell." 21

The ambitious, honest and conscientious man was accepted with wholesome respect by Brigham Young, whether he was poor or rich, providing his circumstance were beyond his power to control while a shiftless, corrupt, or dishonorable character should have no social rating in spite of his money or his poverty.

If a man had learning he was no better than the man who plows, hoes, or hews the stones. A man who could dress himself nicely and labor in school was no better than the stalwart man who, axe in hand went to chop wood.²² All occupations were needful and just. Because a man had learning and the faculty of imparting it to others was no reason for him to assume a superior attitude. This type of social equality characterized the philosophy of Brigham Young.

Vocations

A person should choose his vocation carefully, thought Brigham Young. In the first place his society was to be self sustaining. A people who were dependent upon the soil for their sustenance, but who also had developed the arts and crafts to such an extent that economic progress could be made.

21. Ibid Volume I Page 325

22. Ibid Volume 16 Page 19

He decried the idea of mining as a means to wealth.

"Whenever I see a man going along with an old mule that can hardly stand up, and a frying pan, and an old quilt, I say, there goes a millionaire in prospect...These millionaires are all over our country: they are in the mountains, on our highways, and in our streets, but ask them, can you give me a six pence to buy me a morsel of meat? No, I have not got it. I am going to have just plenty of money, but I have not got it now."²³

All other labor was on a high plane, with the laborer "worthy of his hire."

Position of Women

The position of women is closely connected with Brigham Young's philosophy of labor and vocations. While the first duty of a woman was in the home, she should not be limited to the home. Men who did work which could be done by women were almost useless. For a six foot man to be dealing out calico over a counter was to him the height of folly. In soliciting the aid of women for the work of printing he suggested.

"Some one perhaps will use some little argument against the men doing anything of this kind, but the truth is that women can set type and read and correct proof as well as any man in the world if they learn how. Men have to learn it before they can do it, and when they tell you that that is not a woman's business, you tell them that they do not know what they were born for. They were not born to wash dishes, to dress the babies nor to have babies. They were born to go into the field and do the work that women cannot do, and should not do for fear of exposing themselves. Keep the ladies in their proper places selling tape and calico, setting type, working the telegraph, keeping books, etc."

"See a great big six footer working the telegraph, one of them will eat as much as three or four women, and they stuff themselves until they are almost too lazy to touch the wire."²⁴

He recommended that women learn some good solid sense and learn to handle the needle, and also to raise silk worms and get their own cloth for beautiful dresses instead of teasing their husbands to buy it for them. In connection with this industrial emancipation of women in Utah we recall that they exercise a voting franchise along with the men, in the election of their first territorial officers in 1849.

Women then were to assist their husbands and society by assisting in any gainful work to which they were physically fitted. All labor was honorable. To give to the idle was a sin, and working to the advantage of society. Brigham Young taught that every hour, day, week and month should be used for some useful occupation and then all would have the necessities of life.

Treatment of Criminals

With regard to treatment of criminals Brigham Young showed no tendency to leniency. The only way to have a moral community was to get rid of the immoral members of it. A criminal was a criminal, and reform was not so easy. The best thing to do with a thief or robber was to shoot him. Some occupations were also undesirable. Under such definite

24. Ibid. Volume 16 Page 20

council, Brigham Young was able to write in 1857. "There is a general scarcity of lawyers, apostates, officials, thieves, and scoundrals, amongst us."²⁵ The services of lawyers seemed unnecessary to determine the guilt of a man. He regarded the principal work of a lawyer as finding some way of getting a guilty person free from the penalty of the law. His remedy for crime was more simple and direct than that.

"If you want to know what to do with a thief that you find stealing, I say kill him on the spot, and never suffer him to commit another iniquity....I know this appears hard and throws a cold chill over our revered traditions, but I have trained myself to measure things by the line of justice...If you will cause all those whom you know to be thieves, to be placed in a line before one of our largest cannons, well loaded with chain shot, I will prove by my works, whether I can mete out justice to such persons or not. I would consider it just as much my duty to do that as to baptise a man for the remission of his sins. That is a short discourse on thieves, I acknowledge, but I tell you the truth as it is in my heart."²⁶

Working under such a philosophy; criminals, especially thieves, did not thrive in the Utah society.

In the relationships among classes, we may say that Brigham Young provided a democratic social unit with little distinction in class, with a hard working people, where the women enter into industry as far as is feasible, and the criminal was sent immediately to his reward.

Comparisons

The doctrines of predestination and uncomplained acceptance of the calling, had a tendency in the Calvin philosophy

25. Ellridge May 29, 1857

26. J. D. Volume 1 Page 109

to create class distinction and special privilege. While this philosophy of foreordination of Brigham Young tended to democratic class relationships. Both leaders put a premium on labor regarding it a profitable vocation as the will of God. With Calvin it was labor within the calling and with Brigham Young it was labor in conquest of any profitable field. The question of vocation in the Brigham Young theory took women into consideration and put them on a vocational equal with man, with limitations in the realm of their physical capabilities. Calvin was not inclined to give woman a place in public life, but he gave her a better position in domestic relationships. Both Calvin and Young agreed that Ecclesiastical authority should be confined to men. With Calvin the woman could take no individual part in the church service.

In the matter of discipline and punishment for crime both Calvin, and Young were relentless in ridding society of the criminal. They both recommended free use of the death penalty in what are regarded today as some minor crimes. While their philosophies were much alike, the practice of Calvin was more severe in meeting out punishment for breaking the church and social rules.

Social Virtues

A--Calvin

The religious philosophy of Calvin was accepted principally by what we may call the middle classes." It is true that there was included in its folds a good number of the

rich as well as the poor but its principal appeal was to the people that we might regard as the middle class. Within this class we find certain outstanding virtues or traits of character developed. Harkness has called them the "Middle Class virtues."²⁷ These virtues predominated in the Puritans of New England and became the heritage of the American people. They regard the whole duty of man; to fear God and keep the Sabbath, to shun scandal, and do an honest days work; to live simply, invest shrewdly and to put by for a rainy day. "These virtues were epitomized in the Puritan Calvin Coolidge in North Hampton, Massachusetts." ²⁸

As classified by Harkness the teachings of Calvin on reverence, chastity, sobriety, frugality, industry, and honesty are responsible for the development of these factors in the Puritans, and were passed on to their descendants. This classification so nearly represents the outstanding virtues as taught by Brigham Young, that they are being listed here not as, "middle class virtues", but as social virtues, as they were taught by the two leaders.

1. Reverence seemed to be a foremost virtue as taught by Calvin. Reverence for God, and for His word as taught in the Bible; principally the Old Testament. If man existed for the glory of God, the most important thing was to honor God. The ten commandments summed up all of the important

27. Harkness Chapter 8

28. Ibid Page 159

laws of God. Christ had added nothing but had made his great contribution by clarifying the principles of the decalogue. If some of the ceremony had been taken from the Mosaic law, its moral injunctions remained the same. It was a drastic sin for man to pass by the instructions sent from God.

"But if it be necessary for God to instruct us, it is on the other hand, our duty to listen to him when he calls, and rebukes our sluggishness; in order that, despising the world, we may apply ourselves with our whole heart to meditate on the life which is to come."²⁹

The personal devil was the great enemy of man and the instigator of evil. He was the foe of God and stimulated men to dishonor their creation. Calvin had little mercy for sinners because he could see no middle road. A man was either under the influence of God or of the Devil, and the earth was a battleground between the two. Here Calvinism makes an interesting approach to Zoroastrianism.

The observance of the Lord's day or the Sabbath, reached a more strict interpretation among Calvin's New England followers than it seems to have done in his own thinking. New England laws against Sabbath breaking forbade even the holding of funerals on the Sabbath. To Calvin the observance of the Sabbath had three purposes. 1. That the faithful might refrain from their own works in order to give God and the spirit a chance to work within them. 2. That a day might be set aside to hear and discuss the word of God.

3. That servants should be given a day of rest.³⁰ The outstanding difference which Calvin saw over the Christian and Jewish Sabbath was that the Jewish Sabbath was a ceremony while the Christian Sabbath was to be a spiritual experience. Even in the days of Calvin's Geneva there was reason for worry about sabbath breakers and irreverence. Calvin complains that a great many use the Sabbath for the purpose of better attending to business, others stay home and feast, while others go away to have a good time. "All this is so common, it is a great pity, and would to God it were harder to find examples."³¹ In Calvin's doctrine we have a Sabbath of spiritual growth and development, but none of the exaggerated formalism which characterized the Jewish or the later Puritan day of rest.

General simplicity in living, and moderation in all things characterized Calvin's teachings on sobriety.

"Sobriety, undoubtedly denotes chastity and temperance, as well as a pure and frugal use of temporal blessings, and patience under poverty."³²

Chastity and temperance were foremost items in his discussions of sobriety. Unchastity finds a prominent foe in Calvin. His writings are filled with condemnation of the unchaste to the extent that this condemnation almost seems to be a hobby with him. A duty of man is to overcome all uncleanness because God loves chastity and purity. All incontinence tends to adultery which God has strictly for-

30. Institutes Volume 1 Page 354

31. Opera XXVI 293

32. Institutes Volume 1 Page 621

bidden in the seventh commandment. The institution of marriage was given by the Lord, that a union of the sexes may be affected without breaking his laws. He condemns celibacy because in the nature of man it is not in his power to preserve chastity in celibacy. Refraining from fornication is not chastity if "the heart at the same time is inflamed with libidinous desire."

"By continence I mean, not a mere abstinence of the body from fornication but an unpoluted chastity of mind."³⁴

Calvin made caustic rebuke of the lack of severity of the penalty for adultery in Geneva. It is a far greater sin than robbery which was punished by death, and this heinous crime should be punished to the limit. In commenting in his opera on the stoning commanded in Deuteronomy he says:

"And so it must be in such a great extremity when the punishment is so severe, that the Lord wishes this to serve as an example to us, that those who have lived in such scandal in their lives, may teach us by their death to keep ourselves chaste."³⁵

Moderation in the matter of drink rather than total abstinence was all that was required of man. He was not a total abstainer himself, and we have record of an occasion when he was presented with a barrel of wine in appreciation of his work. He had no toleration, however, for drunkards who "when they come to the table sit down like dogs and get up like hogs."³⁶ He compares intemperance to a tyrant which overcomes the senses and feelings of men until they

34. Institutes Vol. II Page 449

35. Printed by Harkness Page 131

36. Opera Page 441

have no freedom left.³⁷ Laws were accordingly passed to punish those who become over-intoxicated. In his chapter from the Institutes on, The right use of the present life, he admits that God has given men some means to enjoy temporal life, and that these should be used in place of making ourselves ascetic. The philosophy that deprives man of all lawful enjoyment and reduces him to a "senseless block", should be discarded.

Calvin condemned extravagance and luxury, and recommended the frugal life. All vain display ceased among his followers, the reason being that to display any luxury was to take man's attention from heaven onto the earth. Too much attention to earthly things made us lose sight of salvation. Worldly things would make man corrupt.

Plain living in dress and in food was the rule.

"Those who have devised much variety in order to satisfy the appetite have surely offended God...however much they are applauded by people who exclaim, 'Oh what a fine cook, what a capital housekeeper.'"³⁸

In discussing clothes, Calvin has little respect for those who spend everything on their backs. He does not blame God for sending scarcity, because if he sends us plenty we at once misuse the gifts. One certain way to please God, and show him our thanks is to restrain ourselves in the midst of the abundance which he sends. It is this type of frugality which made of Calvinists, economic leaders.

37. Opera XXXVII

38. Opera XXVIII 35

Another characteristic which is evident among the followers of Calvin is industry. Having dealt specifically with this quality in the section on Commerce and Industry we shall here but supplement, with the thought that while industry was an essential to the good life, it did not necessarily follow that industry produced prosperity. Wealth was merely a gift of God. This double injunctions to labor, and as economic progress came to the Protestant world, it pointed to Calvin as its model of industry.

"Thou shalt not bear false witness." To Calvin this command was to apply not only in private but in business life. There was to him no excuse for dishonesty in any of its forms. A lie was always wrong regardless of its results.

"Those who hold what is called a dutiful lie to be altogether excusable do not sufficiently consider how precious truth is in the slight of God."³⁹

Some present questionable methods of business would not have been questionable to Calvin. He branded a lie as always wrong, and could find no place for the inference that accompanies the motto "business is business."

"We ought to preserve the truth without the least disguise", he writes. "The sum of it therefore is, that we neither violate the character of any man, either by columnies or by false accusations, nor distress him in his property by falsehood, nor injure him by detraction of impertinence."⁴⁰

It was the obligation of an individual neither to bear nor hear false witness. In this way honesty became a

39. Ibid XXV 440

40. Institutes Volume 1 Page 369

personal problem as well as a public one with just as much obligation resting upon public honesty as upon private. Not outward honesty but honesty of spirit were the characteristics of the Puritan. A thief and robber was to be killed in Geneva, designating the moral philosophy of its leaders with regard to the importance of honesty.

B--Brigham Young

In Utah we find a Christian society possessing many of the qualities of the New England Puritan, and among its leaders we have the same constant admonitions toward reverence, sobriety, frugality, industry, and honesty. Brigham Young was a thrifty pioneer and his teachings are alive with practical advice as to character requirements of a successful people.

God, the Devil and the Sabbath were all significant in the philosophies of Brigham Young. It was the duty of man to revere his maker, to obey the sabbath, and to live a life of righteousness beyond the buffetings of Satan. Man should be tried tempted and buffeted to realize his own weakness and the power of God, and "to rejoice in God the rock of his salvation."⁴¹

To him Satan was not an imaginary entity but a person who influenced the lives of men for evil and was the constant enemy of good. We find here also a tendency to regard

41. J. D. Volume 1 page 359

the earth as a battle ground between God and Satan.

"Let the world and the enemies of Christ and his kingdom that are upon earth and in hell, do their worst, it matters not, the work of the Lord is still onward and prosperous in his hands."⁴²

He pictured a time when Satan was to be bound and a seal set upon him, while righteousness prevailed on the earth.

The Sabbath rules under the Old Mosaic law were too stringent and formal for Brigham Young. He admitted it to be almost beyond his power to obey the sabbath according to that standard. He saw it in the light of the new covenant, as a reminder of the time when the Lord rested and also a time for the saints to rest, as little labor as possible should be done. He taught observance of the day as a temporal blessing to man. Very little cooking was to be done, and as little work of other types as could be consistently arranged. It was to be always remembered that the "Sabbath was made for man, and not, man for the Sabbath."⁴³

Sobriety was of first importance to the follower of God. Included in sobriety we shall here also deal with temperance and chastity. Brigham Young taught temperance in a way which the middle ages had not conceived of it. To him nothing was good in excess and many things not at all. His abstinence from drink was not limited to liquors but included tea and coffee. Tobacco was not to be used, nor any

42. Ibid. Volume 10 Page 198

43. Ibid. Volume 6 Page 277-8

other substance which harmed the body. Moderation was not sufficient. His plea to the people was for complete abstinence. "If I had the influence the world gives me credit for," he said, "I would not have a single drunkard, thief or liar in this society."⁴⁴ He taught that excess in drink, food or exercise all tended to the grave. A clean body was necessary for the development of the spirit, and the Lord would not suffer his spirit to dwell in an "unclean tabernacle," drunkenness finally became sufficient cause for separation from the church.

"I now again request the authorities of this church in their various localities, to sever from this society, those who will not cease getting drunk."⁴⁵

He commanded the elders of Israel to stop getting drunk and stop drinking strong drink as long as they were able to walk. He taught that anything taken into the system which stimulated it beyond its normal capacity, shortened life.⁴⁶

In the matter of chastity, men had obligations as definite as those for women.

"Any man who humbles a daughter of Eve to rob her of her virtue, and cast her off dishonored and defiled is her destroyer, and is responsible to God for the deed...He will be damned; in hell he will lift up his eyes, being in torment until he has paid the uttermost farthing."⁴⁷

Any person who thus brought disgrace upon another was to be cast out from respectable society and nothing should screen him from righteous indignation. He was among the worst of felons.⁴⁸

44. Gates and Widtsoe Page 333

45. J.D. Volume 7 Page 338

46. Ibid. Volume 7 Page 337

47. Ibid. Volume 11 Page 268

48. Ibid. Volume 2 Page 267

"I would rather follow her to her grave and send her home pure than suffer my daughter to be prostituted."⁴⁹

Brigham Young had no sympathy with a group of strangers who came into the midst of his people and under pretense of taking some of their daughters to California started them on the journey and then exercised their lust. He threatened any other such who came into their midst, with their just deserts, and added, "and they say that Brigham does not lie."

Attention to temporal duties was considered by Brigham Young, a religious obligation. Negligence or waste was not only unwise but it was sinful.

"It is to our advantage to take good care of the blessings God bestows upon us...It is through our own carefulness, frugality, and judgment which God has given us, that we are enabled to preserve, our grain, our flocks and herds, wives and children, houses and lands."⁵⁰

This type of frugality was part of his religion. The frugality of Brigham Young was not so much however, a frugality of accumulation as it was a frugality in distribution. Man should not covet for in so doing he became centered upon things of the earth to the extent that he would forget God. Luxury was discouraged by this leader who did not want people to show luxury even in receiving him. Plain foods were what he wanted to eat. The story is told, that on one of his visits to an outlying settlement, when his hostess had prepared a delicious meal with all the varieties which she could

49. Ibid Volume 2 Page 267

50. Ibid Volume 10 Page 174

fancy would suit his taste, he refused to partake of the fancy delicacies and called for his bowl of bread and milk. To him the best cook was the one who could prepare the most simple, and yet substantial foods. The man who was wasteful had already forgotten God, and he remarks, "How the Devil will play with a man who worships gain."⁵¹

The saints received a great deal of council about picking up everything, and wasting nothing, if a man had millions of bushels of wheat, he should not let his servant girl sweep a kernel of it into the fire because it would then be eaten by nothing, and would fail to fulfill the purpose of its growth. Rags should be saved to make paper for school books, clothes should be completely worn out and then converted into paper. This was the kind of frugality which Brigham Young instilled into the lives of many of his people.

Idleness was not one of the rules of heaven any more than was wastefulness, and Brigham Young proved by his example that idleness had no place in his own life. Industry was to be one of the principle virtues of the chosen people of God. If the saints were ever to walk upon streets of gold it would have to be a result of their own industry in building them.⁵²

"My faith does not lead me to think the Lord will provide us with roast pigs, bread already buttered etc., he will give us the ability to raise the grain, to obtain the fruits of the earth of make habitations."⁵³

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51. Ibid. Volume 10 Page 174
 52. Ibid. Volume 8 Page 354
 53. Ibid. Volume 10 Page 293

Even though a man had many possessions and much wealth he was not exempt from his calling to labor in some useful work for the good of himself and society. "Though I possessed millions of money and property, that does not excuse me from performing the labor that it is my calling to perform."⁵⁴

We have seen his discipline of the idler and the place of honor that honest labor had in his philosophy.

Both temporal and spiritual advancement, rested upon the basis of honesty. In a perfectly honest community there would be no poor people and all would have sufficient.⁵⁵ If the greater number were dishonest the remainder of the people were poor and if all were honest, "every man, woman, and child would have all they needed." Honesty was not a difficult thing to acquire. If only people could realize it, dishonesty was the most difficult path. In Utah honesty was more than something to preach about. Reference has been made to the punishment to be meted out to the robber, and council was also given by Brigham Young for bishops who knew any of their members to be guilty of any type of pilfering or dishonesty to cut them off from the church. He had no fellowship, he said "for thieves, liars, murderers, robbers, whoremongers, or any such character, I never have had, and I hope I never shall have."⁵⁶ When this remark was

54. Ibid. Volume 9 Page 172
 55. Ibid. Volume 6 Page 76
 56. Ibid. Volume 7 Page 338

made by the president in the Salt Lake Tabernacle at a general conference session, the congregation of saints exclaimed, "Amen".

With the constant urge which Brigham Young used to instill into his people these Christian virtues of reverence, chastity, sobriety, frugality, industry, and honesty, we see a normal transfer of the Puritanic training of this New England product into the idealism of the Utah social philosophy.

Comparison

The philosophy of a God who was the giver of all blessings and a Devil who encouraged men to do evil is found in the teachings of Brigham Young as well as those of John Calvin. In both cases their Devil is a real and tangible person who brings others under his influence. In this way he strives to overcome the Kingdom of God.

In the observance of the Sabbath Day, the teachings of Young skip in a rather interesting way the theories of the New England Puritans and go back to the spiritual Sabbath of Calvin. It was not a day of formalism and ritual, but a day for the temporal affairs of man to rest, that his spirit might have a chance for development. As much as Calvin and Young agreed with the regulations of the Old Testament, they here take a position following the ban on Sunday ritual and excessive formalism. They incline in practice as well as in theory to the thought that "Man was not made for the Sabbath,

but the Sabbath for Man."

In the problem of sobriety as expressed in temperance and chastity, both regard the unchaste thought of an individual as his condemnation, and both recommend the extreme penalty for the act of adultery.

In the matter of temperance; what was temperance to Calvin was not temperance to Brigham Young, who considered that anything taken into the body which stimulated it, broke physical laws and shortened life. Both heartily condemned the drunkard and taught that they were not fit for association in society. The penalty for drunkenness was more severe however, in the philosophy of Young than that of Calvin. In Utah it drew a penalty of excommunication if it could not be corrected.

Frugality was a religious duty among all people both in Geneva and in Utah. It was not to be the type which should place undue emphasis on gain, which would take men's minds away from God. Simplicity was to mark each society and there was a definite lack of luxury or any other softening influence. Simplicity in fashion and in foods were outstanding in the teachings of each.

The industrious and honest man was to both Calvin and Young the foundation of society. A religious sanctity was placed around these two outstanding virtues. There was no room for the idler in either society. In the matter of honesty, Young and Calvin both laid stress upon the duty of man to be honest in public. Not in external form, but to be

honest was an inner and spiritual experience. The death penalty was to be the reward of dishonesty in both Utah and Geneva.

Domestic Relations

We are now to deal with a phase of social ethics in which we see Calvin and Brigham Young as they consider the institution of marriage and the family as it takes its place in the social pattern. In contrast to our study so far, which has dealt principally with the duty of man to glorify God, we now consider what we may call, man's duty to himself in the social world.

A-- John Calvin

John Calvin married and begot a child in an age when a married clergy was still looked upon with some degree of misgiving. When Luther married in 1525, it had startled all Europe. The marriage of Calvin was not a sensation, but it caused its share of comment. The legitimacy of divorce was then just beginning to be recognized, and we may regard this period as one when the marital relationship was in a period of dynamic evolution.

Marriage of Calvin had a two fold purpose. It was a remedy which God had instituted to remedy incontinence, and it was for the purpose of begetting offspring. Here again we are indebted to his comments from, the Opera, for a knowledge of his philosophy. In its original form marriage served

only for the begetting of offspring but with the fall of Adam came the evils which sometimes attend marriage, and also makes necessary marriage in its second function; to remedy incontinence. In this matter Calvin speaks with freedom.

"The unsexed and eunicks, without virility, are excluded from marriage by Christ....And certainly there is nothing more repugnant to sense than the error that the fidelity of a woman cannot be released when she thought she was marrying a husband and finds herself deceived. Indeed such a frustration of union overthrows the very nature and end of marriage, for what else is marriage than the union of male and female, Why indeed was it instituted except for two ends, either to beget offspring, or as a remedy for incontinence."

He made a serious attack upon celibacy, due to the fact that continence was a gift to but very few people and celibacy encouraged unchastity. To avoid unlawful sexual relations, marriage was necessary.

Certain regulations attended the marriage ceremony. Intention of marriage must be announced for three Sundays prior to the performance in order that any complaints that might have been in existence could be heard. The marriage could take place whenever regular service was being held with the exception of Communion Sunday. In order and sobriety the couple were to present themselves at the church, without the display of extravagance in jewelry or dress and in an order appropriate to Christians. A city ordinance provided for short engagements. The marriage must take place not more than six weeks after the promise has been made. An engagement was equivalent to a marriage. Only sufficient cause

for divorce could prevent the marriage when it had been announced. The legal age of marriage in Geneva was eighteen for the woman and twenty for the man. If persons above these ages wanted to marry and the parents did not consent to the match, the Consistory could demand the consent of parents.⁵⁷ The problem of marriage between religious groups was also dealt with. Calvin reasoned that marriage between Catholic and Protestant would bring bad results. If however, such a union had been made it was to be strictly kept. It could only be broken when the fidelity of the contracting parties to one another interfered with their fidelity to God.

The transfer of marriage from the minister of the gospel to the magistrate is perhaps a development from Calvin's teaching that marriage was not a sacrament as the Roman Catholics taught but was but a holy ordinance of God. The Dutch Calvinists and New England Puritans carried his thought over until they made of it a purely civil affair.

In the matter of Polygamy Calvin takes the liberty of a free interpretation of the Old Testament. Although the Patriarchs lived in polygamy it was not of God. To prove this he reminds us that God made only one wife for Adam, but that after his fall, his descendant Lamech of the house of Cain, introduced bigamy. The polygamists, he said, should not be proud of their prototype. "In the beginning there was one

Eve; and, to the end God wills that a man be the husband of one wife."⁵⁸

In the matter of large families Calvin seems somewhat silent. Although he looked upon large families as a blessing of God his teachings do not dwell particularly upon the begetting of many children. His personal life may have had some bearing upon this. He died childless, and spent only eight years as a married man. Not only continence but fertility was from God who fecundates the beasts and gives human increase. Those whom he chooses to bless with large families he will as in the case of Job.

The permanency of the marriage covenant received a supporter in Calvin, but he could not follow the Roman Catholic view of divorce. For good and sufficient reasons, incompatibility could be remedied by separation. These were not light reasons and the divorce could be granted only when a continued union was definitely disintegrating to both persons.

Calvin admits four grounds for divorce, adultery, physical incapacity for sex intercourse, desertion, and religious incompatibility. In each case the innocent party may remarry, but not the guilty one.

A great contribution of Calvin in the problem of divorce is that he puts the woman on an equal with the man. In other respects he does not regard her as an equal, but in the marriage relation the wife has just as much authority for divorce as has the husband. From the Opera we read his reasons for

regarding this as a mutual and equal problem. He calls the Apostle Paul to his support.

"But since according to the witness of the apostle the obligation is mutual and reciprocal in reference to cohabitation of the bed, and in this the wife is no more subject to the husband than the husband to the wife, it follows that if a man is convicted of adultery and the wife asks to be separated from him, and they cannot be reconciled by good admonitions, it shall be authorized."⁵⁹

Adultery and sex relationship are the outstanding reasons in the category of Calvin, for divorce. After ten years desertion the remaining party has power of divorce, and in extreme cases of religious incompatibility a separation may be granted also.

In the marriage covenant Calvin recognized a certain sex equality, but it was based upon a relationship where the authority rested with the husband. The word obey was still an important one in the ceremony. The wife was formed of the flesh and bone of her husband which removes all doubts as to who is superior. The woman is to remember:

"This is my husband who is my chief: he has authority over me, and God compels me. Let the husband so rule as to be the head and not the tyrant of his wife. Let the woman on the other hand yield modestly to his demands."⁶⁰

We have here a patriarchal authority which must be exercised in kindness and intelligence.

B--Brigham Young

In the philosophy of Brigham Young the social structure

59. Opera Xa, 110

60. Opera XXVIII 149 and XIV 529

stood or fell upon family relationships. The family organization followed rather closely the Old Testament pattern, with its patriarchal authority as well as its polygamous organization. We cannot understand the theories of Brigham Young in domestic relations without getting a general outline of his belief with regard to the eternity of the marriage covenant. Marriage was not a matter which concluded with death in the spirit world. Family units retained their organization, and in the eternal plan men and women were to become kings and queens unto God, exercising influence over their descendents to the latest generation. In such a plan man's heavenly reward was largely dependent upon the number and faithfulness of his descent. In order for the marriage for eternity to be legal it must be performed by the authority of the church. This authority was held by only one person upon the earth who could delegate his "keys" to others for the performance of the ceremony. The one person who held the keys was the prophet and president of the church who was the representative of God upon the earth. Thus it was Brigham Young while he was living who delegated authority for the binding or "sealing", as it was called, "for time and for all eternity."

The purpose of marriage was that men and women might generate a posterity for whom they should some day act as Gods and Godesses, if their lives conformed to the ideal. The goal of all members of the church was the attainment of the highest degree of glory in eternity, and none could

reach it without marriage and posterity or as it was called, "eternal increase."

The efficacy of such a plan for the life to come may be subject to some questioning, but its place in the development of social ethics, and the perpetuation of the race cannot be overlooked. This religious stimulus for the rearing of large families might well find a place today among nations who face the social problem of national depopulation.

There was no room in such a doctrine for celibacy. Marriage was not merely ordained of God, but required by him. Executive offices in the church were sometimes restricted to married men. The entire membership of the church was given a mission and that mission was to marry when they reached the marriagable age.

"I will give each of the young men of Israel... a mission" said Brigham Young, "to go straight-way and get married to a good sister, fence a city lot, lay out garden and orchard and make a home. This is the mission I give to all the young men of Israel."⁶¹

The ceremony was to be performed in the temples which were constructed for sealing and covenant purposes. Any person not worthy to receive a recommend to enter the temple, was forbidden the marriage seal, and could only have a civil marriage for time and not eternity. The opportunity of entering into the eternal marriage covenant was looked upon as a great privilege among the church membership. The civil contract was alright for the people of the world who could not see and accept the gospel plan, but for saints it

was a very unsatisfactory arrangement. Husband and wife were bound by covenant to refrain from any sex relationship except with their lawful wedded partner, and a breaking of this contract was sufficient grounds for divorce. The man was the undisputed head of the family:

"Let the father be the head of the family, and the master of his own household, and let him treat them as an angel would treat them, and let the wives and children say amen to what he says, and be subject to his dictates, instead of their dictating the man."⁶²

The strength of the Mormon family in the time of Brigham Young rested upon the sanctity which it built around the home through the principle of eternal increase. At a time when monogamy was accepted by the Western World as the only respectable type of marriage Brigham Young was living in polygamy and recommending that his people who could afford it, live it also. The mormons were not dealing with a group of women who were considered as oriental slaves to men, and in this peculiar mixture of self-respecting women and the practice of polygamy we have a phenomenon which requires more than an imaginary passing thought to explain. This practice made the Utah Theocracy famous throughout the world, but not respectably famous. A complete misunderstanding of the religious plan of celestial marriage as viewed by the Saints, caused the people of the world to look to Utah as a social unit where sex relationship was almost promiscuous. Brigham Young was not apologizing for his stand on this subject.

62. Ibid. Volume 4. Page 55

"Suppose I had had the privilege of having only one wife, I should have had only three sons, for those are all that my first wife bore, whereas I now...have thirteen living." "God never introduced the patriarchal order of marriage with a view to please man in his carnal desires, nor to punish females for anything they had done; but he introduced it for the express purpose of raising up to his name a royal priesthood, a peculiar people."⁶³

"The elders of Israel frequently call upon me-'Brother Brigham, a word in private, if you please.' Bless me this is no secret to me, I know what you want. It is to get a wife; 'Yes Brother Brigham, if you are willing,' I tell you here, now, in the presence of the almighty God, it is not the privilege of any elder to have even one wife before he has honored his priesthood."⁶⁴

To Brigham Young polygamy was a religious ideal, not a drop in moral standard.

Regarding the size of family, Brigham Young taught that there were spirits in the spirit world waiting to come to the earth and take bodies, it was the duty of men and women not to restrict the size of their families. In an age when birth control was gaining ground he said that infanticide came in conflict with the law and was not so boldly practiced as that other equally great crime which made infanticide unnecessary.

With Brigham Young marriage was not a temporary arrangement and in early Utah the permanency of marriage surpassed that of other societies of its day. In spite of the sacredness of the marriage covenant, there were some reasons for a dissolution of the contract. The church, acting with authority from God, could dissolve the vow, as well as to bind it.

63. Ibid. Volume 3 Page 264

64. Ibid Volume 1 Page 119

And for sufficient reasons a temple divorce could be granted. The right of a women to divorce a husband who had not honored his priesthood was upheld. We have seen in a previous chapter the place of prominence which women held in early Utah. In the theory of Brigham Young was that woman was not inferior to man. She had merely been called to a different work. Her rights in the marriage were to be upheld. But a man who had honored his priesthood could not be divorced. It must be kept in mind however that in order for a man to honor that priesthood he must be kind and considerate, and exercise his authority with wisdom, and love.

"There is no ecclesiastical law that you know anything about, to free a wife from a man to whom she has been sealed, if he honors his priesthood."65

A distinct obligation rested upon the "Camp of Israel" to marry within their own ranks. Their leader called their attention to the commandment of the Lord in Old Testament times, not to take wives from among the gentiles, and Brigham Young passed this commandment on to modern Israel. In a sermon he said:

"Be careful, O ye mothers of Israel, and do not teach your daughters... to marry out of Israel. Woe to you who do it: you will lose your crowns as sure as God lives."66

In the case of the death of a man, his wife may not marry another for eternity, but a union for time could be effected in the temple.

65. Ibid. Volume 8 Page 345.

66. Ibid. Volume 1 Page 97

Comparison

Calvin and Young both regarded marriage as an essential to society as well as to the good life, and both condemned celibacy. The reasons for this condemnation however, were different. Calvin taught that celibacy encouraged adultery and was thus a hindrance to man's development while to Brigham Young celibacy denied its participants the blessings of family life which was essential to heavenly exaltation.

With Brigham Young marriage was a sacrament, while with Calvin it was but a holy order.

Calvin took a stand definitely opposed to polygamy, while Brigham Young regarded it as a holy order, and practiced it.

While Calvin and Young both supported the stability of marriage to a marked degree, each made provision for divorce when it became necessary. Neither favored the rigid Catholic interpretation of rigidly holding marriage intact regardless of result. On the question of divorce Calvin and Young meet on common ground in the equality of women with men in the right to divorce. They both agree also that man is the unquestioned authority in the home. Marriage was not to take place with persons of opposite religious faiths. Both men regarded large families as a heritage of the Lord, and regarded proper domestic relations as the foundation of society.

- 5 - Authority and Education

We have seen how, in the Geneva and Utah Theocracies, education was a foremost consideration. Brigham Young and John Calvin could both have expressed their views on education by saying that "the glory of God is intelligence."

Calvin was a scholar his system of education followed scholarly methods. The people of Europe recognized the authority of the University of Geneva, and the educational system of Calvin went forward in its mission to take darkness and superstition out of the lives of protestant laymen.

Going hand in hand with education went the teachings of Calvin in the authority of the work of God as expressed in the Old Testament, with himself as the interpreter. This encouragement to investigate the sciences, to accumulate knowledge in all fields, and to accept truth wherever it was found did not conflict in that day with the teachings of Calvin on authority. In his age scientific investigation had not reached the stage where it was necessary to choose between scientific fact and the authority of the Bible or of John Calvin. Both could be accepted at that time in good grace. It was the followers of Calvin who had the battle to fight in breaking with the authority of the word of the bible that they might accept proven fact which conflicted with it in the realm of scientific investigation.

To Brigham Young, the purpose of education was that the

Gospel, which included all truth, could be spread in all the world. Men should diligently seek knowledge and then use it gracefully.

"We might ask, when shall we cease to learn? I will give you my opinion about it--never, never."⁶⁷

"Whether the truth be found with professed infidels...or any other of the various.... sects and parties....it is the duty of the elders of this church to gather up all the truths in the world pertaining to life and salvation, to the gospel we preach, to mechanism of every kind, to the sciences and to philosophy, whenever it may be found in every nation, kindred, tongue and people and bring it to Zion."⁶⁸

This intensive search for the truths of the earth wherever they might be found characterized the educational philosophy of this mormon leader. He said upon one occasion to accept truth from no matter where it came, even if it were found in hell, and that if he did not learn what was in the world from first to last, some one would be wiser than he.

This premium that was placed upon the acquisition of knowledge, made it according to one interpretation the fundamental thing in all the religious plan of Brigham Young. If it received any restriction at all it was because exceptional stress was placed upon the authority of the scriptures, and the representatives of God upon the earth. In the Utah Society Authority had to go entirely unquestioned. This was an essential principal in holding the new organization to-

67. J. D. Volume 3. Page 202

68. J.D.

The final appeal or interpretation was to rest with one individual whose rule was law. The word of the prophet was not to be questioned. The saints were to question and investigate until they came into conflict with authority and then obedience was to replace the questioning attitude. In 1849 when Brigham Young was speaking to men called to the coast he said:

"When the first presidency ordered a thing, they need not ask any questions, but do just as they were told and that ended it right off." 69

The Bible did not speak with such authority in Utah as it did in Geneva. The Saints had other scriptures which spoke to them more authoritatively because they were later and had less chance of mistranslation. The Bible was the word of God, "as far as it was translated correctly." It was more than just an inspired record however, its teachings were direct from God as He spoke through His prophets, and they were to be obeyed. If prominent theories of science were advanced which would not square with accepted Bible teachings the new theories were wrong. Modern research has forced many Latter-day Saints of today into a new interpretation of the Bible. It appears that its authority has somewhat been broken down, in the light of modern research. It is now not so much the "word of God" as it is an inspired record of the religious history of the race.

Brigham Young and Calvin had stressed among their people the duty which they owed to God and to themselves to become educated, and had put no less stress upon their duty to obey external authority. For them and their contemporaries the problem was simple, but the people who followed them in an age of scientific emphasis met problems of which Calvin, or Young did not dream. Each presented an authoritative theology, and encouraged an educated laity. The followers of later generations had difficulty in making the two ideas get along together. It seemed that they were paradoxical. Insistence upon authority and encouragement of education appear to have characteristics of inconsistency. We have here a tendency to affirm and at the same time deny human freedom. Education has a tendency to be its own authority and, if present tendencies continue, it is not improbable that the future will show that the power which speaks from the organizations of Calvin and Young will come from their insistence upon the search for truth.

SUMMARY

As we peruse the philosophies of John Calvin and Brigham Young, we are struck not only with their similarities, but with their definite difference in approach to subjects. We get Calvin's philosophy from his writings which show scholarly organization and analysis of each subject with which he deals. In considering a subject he traces it in a philosophic way, to its source, and writes as though he were making a general rule for all time. His arguments are logical and to the point which makes them even today seriously considered by thinking people. When we come to Brigham Young we have an entirely different approach. We get our conclusions from addresses which he gave; not prepared and read before the people, but extemporaneous utterances as he viewed the problems of his people. We find in these sermons not a cold and calculating genius, but refreshing doctrines made vital by specific experiences which called them forth. It was a practical need in each case which brought forth the remedy and his congenial wit is mixed throughout his sermons with clear cut statements of encouragement to action.

The societies of Brigham Young and John Calvin show also an interesting correlation in their emphasis on social patterns of the Old Testament. Calvinism has been called

by some one, "more Roman than Christian, and more Jewish than either." It is certain that the Old Testament forms the ethical basis of his philosophy. The organization which was led by Brigham Young went in some respects even farther than Calvinism in its adherence to Old Testament standards. The priesthood and patriarchal order predominate, and the prophet again assumes his leading position of authority. Adherence to Old Testament standards finds its most outstanding expression when in the face of a nation which was hostile to the idea, it reinaugarated the practice of polygamy.

We are at no loss in tracing a connecting link between many of the teachings of Young and Calvin. Young was proud of his Puritan ancestry and reflected in his teachings and personal life many of the traits of character of the native Puritan of New England. It is not to be here inferred that the New England Puritan reflected by any means the pure doctrine of Calvin. Two centuries that had passed between the death of Calvin and the New England of Brigham Young, had produced its effect upon the teachings of the reformer of Geneva. The culture of the Puritan had over emphasized some of Calvin's teachings, and completely disregarded others, and in general it might be said that where New England differed from Calvin, Young also

differed. We can say that Brigham Young reflects more of the doctrine of the New England Puritan than does he, of Calvin, yet all three have a great deal in common. We cannot separate Calvin from New England even if the tendency is one of over emphasis. Tawney reminds us that

"of English speaking communities, that in which the social discipline of the Calvinist Church state was carried to the farthest extreme was the Puritan Theocracy of New England."¹

In their concepts of the dignity of the human personality Calvin and Young were far apart. To Calvin man was but a "worm of the earth" existing for the glorification of a God he had been taught to fear, while to Young, man was a God in the making. All things existed for the development of the human personality, which was taught to worship a God of love. Calvin has been accused of letting theology strangle life, by elevating the sovereignty of God and obscuring human freedom. John Fisk however, takes issue with this thought, and declares that "Calvin made men feel the dignity and importance of the human soul."² In Calvin's doctrine of predestination it is difficult for us to see the majesty of the human soul.

In the Utah and the Geneva theocracies, we get societies based upon the government of God as interpreted by his representative on earth. Few people who know the situation will say that God was not fairly well represented.

1. Tawney, Page 127

2. The beginning of New England Page 59

Without the claim of perfection for either we are enclined to wish for more such rulers who might be as effective in organizing their people to their advantage as did Calvin and Young. They tackled their callings with wholesome diligence, and a faith that they had a definite mission to perform. Each felt himself called of God to the work, and showed courage that the Lord would not permit his work to fail in their hands.

During the time which elapsed between Calvin and Young the social pattern of the world was greatly changed. Calvin was limited in his teachings by the social pattern in which he lived just as Young's philosophy was somewhat determined by the social structure which he met. Similarities in approach and solution of difficulties which we see in the two men thus become more significant.

To partially explain Brigham Young's teachings by showing his dependence upon his early environment, and natural acquisition of thoughts is not to belittle his character. Nor do we try to explain Calvin apart from his training and cultural background. We have reached a point in the development of social theory that makes us appreciate the fact that theories and practices do not have to be new to be beneficial, that the human is also the divine and that he who shows the greatest development from his human environment shows the most significant qualities of greatness.

B_I_B_L_I_O_G_R_A_P_H_Y

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