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Anti-Mormon Pamphleteering in Great Britain,
1837-1860


A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

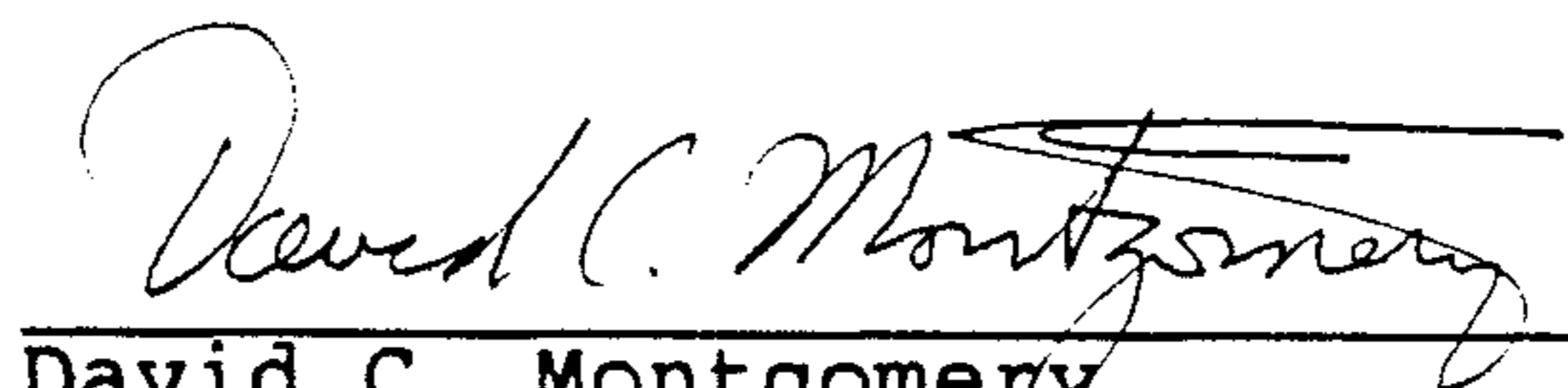
In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Craig L. Foster
April 1989

This thesis by Craig L. Foster is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.


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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

As with most other aspects of history, the creation of English anti-Mormon pamphlets did not occur within an historical vacuum. The publication of cheap street literature had been a popular means of communicating ideas and defending causes since the sixteenth century. Indeed, by the seventeenth century, there was a veritable tidal wave of printed literature in circulation in England. This collection of printed matter included such items as broadsides, ballads, catchpennies, chapbooks, and pamphlets.¹

These items of literature provided the medium of communication and entertainment for those of the lower classes. And, as printing spread beyond London into the provincial towns, cheap literature became more accessible to the common class. Provincial printers obtained most of their profits from what they called jobbing printing. This was the printing of tickets, handbills, and numerous other items. Because of the great demand for and dependence on printed matter, the rate of learning and literacy began to rise. As one historian explained, "In such a society, illiteracy was no longer merely a social

stigma, it was a fundamental economic disadvantage."²

Practically all aspects of life were addressed in these broadsides and chapbooks. The subjects ranged from religion and politics to crime, romance, superstitions and humour. By the end of the seventeenth century, the publication of such items was a profitable business with a "brisk trade in unseemly reading matter for the masses".³ The publications were, in fact, filled with sexual references and bawdy humour. The content of the reading material for the working classes did not go unnoticed by the keen eyes of the religious reformers.

Perhaps the most vocal against what she considered to be bawdy and unhealthy reading material for the lower classes was Hannah More. Hannah had been a part of the early Sunday School movement created by her mentor, Robert Raikes of Gloucester. Aware of the vast amount of questionable reading material circulating among the workers, Hannah wrote, "Vulger and indecent penny books were always common, but speculative infidelity, brought down to the pockets and capacities of the poor, forms a new [era] in our history."⁴

With this concern in mind, Hannah formed the Religious Tract Society, with its Cheap Repository Tracts. These tracts, which contained moral tales, Biblical teachings, and other aspects of "good Christian living", were designed to drive the other type of literature "from the

face of England".⁵

The success of the Religious Tract Society was phenomenal. Within the first six months of its creation in 1795, three hundred thousand copies of the various tracts had been sold. By March 1796, the total had reached two million.⁶ These tracts were distributed by the thousands among the poor and the working class. Indeed, "tracts were to become a common feature of Victorian working-class life."⁷ In describing the impact and importance of this early tract distribution by this and other religious societies, one historian has written, "...by 1803 the tract had become a weapon."⁸ This was particularly true with the cheap religious tracts. For, while chapbooks continued to survive in the provinces, they were largely replaced in the cities by the large quantities of cheap religious tracts.

Even so, neither these tracts, nor their distributors, were always well received by the working class. Often, the contents of the tracts offended the readers by offering advice on frugality to a people barely subsisting or suggesting patience and temperance in the face of inhuman living and working conditions. This, however, was not the only reason that the enmity of the working and poor classes was aroused. It was the apparent indifference to human feelings that so

embittered the recipients of the tracts. When a depression struck Paisley in 1837, "Bibles were rushed to the relief of the starving".⁹

Added to this apparent attitude of indifference for their suffering was the recognition of class-consciousness and the animosity which existed between those of the working class and those of the middle class. Those within the working class were well aware that beyond the facade of altruism was, for most of those involved in the distribution of tracts, an underlying belief in inherent class differences and middle class superiority. The distribution of religious tracts was an attempt by the middle class to project their religious and social values onto the poorer classes and keep them from immoral and politically dangerous activities. "Tracts were supposed to keep one from thinking wicked Chartist thoughts, to make one content with his empty stomach and stench-filled hovel."¹⁰

Thus it was that when "thousands of eager ladies, pencils and subscription pads in hand" came around the neighborhoods, their "inquiring about the spiritual as well as the physical welfare of the household, and offering wholesome admonitions, aroused widespread resentment."¹¹ As one young pickpocket explained to Henry Mayhew in an interview at mid-century, "They bring tracts to the lodging-houses--pipes are lighted with

them; tracts won't fill your belly. Tracts is no good, except to a person that has a home; at the lodging-houses they're laughed at."¹²

The animosity and indifference of the working class notwithstanding, the importance of the religious tracts should not be underestimated. Although Hannah More died in 1833, before the ascension to the throne of Queen Victoria and the onset of what has come to be referred to as the Victorian Age, More and her Cheap Repository Tracts had a profound effect on Victorian social and moral attitudes. The Repository's tracts catered to middle class values and concepts of respectability. These tracts re-enforced the value system that had been created by a class-conscious society. They also re-enforced the ever present and ever driving need for honor and respectability; perhaps even at the expense of reality.

While those of the working and poorer classes were faced with the harsh reality of survival, many in the middle class chose to ignore these more unpleasant circumstances. Or, the middle class attempted to develop a more sanitized society based on their class concepts of social purity, hardwork, and thriftiness. There is very little question that The Religious Tract Society, with its millions of tracts a year, and the numerous other religiously oriented publishing societies influenced the

"social conscience of the day".¹³

It was within this context that The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was introduced into Britain. While the religious pamphleteers had, in their ignorance and zeal, offended some of the working and poor class, they had, none the less, made an impact on the worker's religious attitudes. They had also laid the groundwork for the Latter-Day Saint missionaries by increasing the rate of literacy among the working class through the wide distribution of tracts and Sunday Schools. Thus it was, that by the time the Mormon missionaries arrived, a large number of those below the middle class had been prepared through an increased awareness of moral and religious ideas and a greater capacity for reading.

In modern technical societies the art of communication and dissemination of knowledge are of extreme importance. These are enhanced through the circulation of various ideas, concepts and beliefs. Without the publication of such, it would be extremely difficult to communicate new ideas and beliefs to large populations. For, while oral traditions and other forms of verbal communication have existed among the inhabitants of the world since time immemorial, the power of the printed word cannot be underestimated.

This is particularly true with religion. Indeed, it does not seem at all unlikely to surmise that both Islam

and Judaism would have remained local, tribal religions if it had not been for the recording of the teachings of their respective prophets and leaders. The same can be said concerning Christianity. If the disciples of Jesus Christ and the early Church Fathers had not recorded their experiences and beliefs in the form of narratives and epistles, Christianity would probably have dwindled into obscurity with countless other religious movements of that part of the world. Thus, the recording and publication of beliefs and doctrines can be considered an integral part of the success, and even survival, of a religious movement.

This is just as true with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (commonly called the Mormon Church). David J. Whittaker, in his ground-breaking study of early Mormon pamphleteering, explained in his introduction, "In one sense, Mormonism began with a book." This, in turn, "...spawned a prolific amount of published material expounding and defending the early doctrines and history of the movement."¹⁴

Mormonism, as with almost every other religious movement in history, has had not only its adherents, but also its adversaries. Like the apologists of a religious movement, its adversaries are also responsible for producing large amounts of published materials. As an example of the conflict between believers and antagonists

and the voluminous products of such religious turmoil, one needs to look no further than the mountains of material containing attacks and counter-attacks between the Catholics and Protestants in Christianity. The same is true with Mormonism.

The purpose of this work is to take only one small part of the Church's almost one hundred sixty year history and study what can be termed as the counterpart of Mormon pamphleteering. This paper will study the themes of anti-Mormon pamphlets from the introduction of the Church into Great Britain, in 1837, to 1860, and will show how they were representative of the popular attitudes and perceptions of the time. In the process of analyzing the material contained within the pamphlets, the backgrounds of some of the numerous writers will also be discussed in order to allow the reader a better understanding of the pamphlets and those who produced them.

Obviously, with such an ambitious undertaking, there are necessary limitations. First, and foremost, is the definition of the term "pamphlet". For the definition of this term, the writer has turned to The Oxford English Dictionary, volume 7, page 410, wherein it describes a pamphlet as:

A small treatise occupying fewer pages or sheets than would make a book....[and] More specifically, a treatise of the size and form above described on some subject or question of current or

temporary interest, personal, social, political, ecclesiastical, or controversial, on which the writer desires to appeal to the public.

Because of this strict definition of the term pamphlet, some of the larger works of well-known anti-Mormons have either been left out of the study, or mentioned only in passing.

Secondly, while one hundred anti-Mormon pamphlets, not to mention the various Mormon responses to some of these pamphlets, were read in preparation for this study, not all available pamphlets have been discussed. Even so, those considered to be of the highest quality and/or most interest have been analyzed. Thus, the pamphlets discussed in this work can be considered as a good representation of the literature of this genre available.

The limitations of this thesis notwithstanding, it is hoped that it will make a valuable contribution to the study of Mormon history. For, while various articles and books have discussed certain aspects of anti-Mormon pamphlets and their writers, no major study of anti-Mormon pamphleteering, has yet been produced.

The two major works concerning anti-Mormon literature are David Brion Davis' "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review 47 (September 1960):205-224, and

Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt's "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature," The Western Humanities Review 12 (Summer 1968):243-260. Both articles discuss the themes and imagery used by anti-Mormon writers.

Davis described how Masonry, Mormonism, and Catholicism were used as symbols of internal subversion by writers. These three entities were merged into a common stereotype for the purpose of ridicule and attack because of the aura of secrecy which surrounded their organizations.¹⁵ Arrington and Haupt also discussed this aspect of literature, but went into more detail explaining the various themes that were common in nineteenth century anti-Mormon fiction. Some of the more important themes were the image of the seducer; the sinister secret society; the lustful Turk; and the sinful, fallen city (Salt Lake City).¹⁶

While both of these works are of great importance and have been extremely helpful in identifying common themes found in anti-Mormon pamphlets, this thesis goes beyond what is found in the two articles. First, and foremost, is that while both articles concerned American literature, the primary emphasis of this work is British literature. Secondly, although the veracity of some of the pamphlets is highly questionable, the tracts under consideration are nonfictional literature while the two

previous articles examined, for the most part, fictional novels.

Thus, it is believed that this thesis has broken new ground by examining British anti-Mormon pamphlets. It is hoped that this work will help fill the void now existing in the area of research on anti-Mormon pamphleteering and will be a stepping-stone for future scholarly work.

NOTES-CHAPTER 1

1. Leslie Shepard, The History of Street Literature (David & Charles Newton Abbot: Great Britain, 1973), pp. 224-5. Ballads were traditional narratives associated with songs and dancing. A catchpenny was a term for deceptive or hasty work, while a chapbook was the term used for pamphlets that were specifically prepared for the lower classes.
2. John Feather, A History of British Publishing (Croom Helm: New York, 1988), p. 130.
3. Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, Illinois, 1957), p. 74.
4. Ibid., p. 74.
5. Ibid., p. 75.
6. Ibid.
7. Feather, p. 162.
8. Victor E. Neuburg, Popular Literature: A History and Guide from the Beginings of Printing to the Year 1887 (London, New York: Woburn Press, 1977), p.257.
9. Altick, p. 106. For a more detailed account of this and other problems between the tract distributors and the working class, read Altick, pages 104-108.
10. Ibid., p.107.
11. Ibid., pp. 106-7.
12. Ibid., pp.107-8.
13. Russell M. Goldfarb, Sexual Repression and Victorian Literature (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1970), pp. 20-1.

14. David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering", (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1982). p. 2.
15. David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review 47 (September 1960):205, 208, 212.
16. Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature," Western Humanities Review 12 (Summer 1968):245-248.

CHAPTER 2

MORMON CHURCH HISTORY WITHIN THE AMERICAN CONTEXT

On April 6, 1830 in a small house in Fayette, New York, Joseph Smith, Jr. and five other men organized the Church of Christ, later renamed the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This event had been preceded by several religious experiences of Joseph Smith and also the publication of The Book of Mormon on March 26, 1830. Within a short time of its organization, the Church had attracted a large following in the neighboring communities around Manchester and Palmyra, New York, and Kirtland, Ohio. Other communities of Mormons were also founded in the western section of Missouri.

As is usually the case with new religious movements, there were those who were skeptical of the veracity of Mormonism and who were vocal with their doubts and criticisms. The main thrust of what could be termed anti-Mormon activity was through the press. While criticism of Joseph Smith and The Book of Mormon had been appearing in various newspapers since the beginning of the movement, the first anti-Mormon pamphlet was published by Alexander Campbell, cofounder of the Campbellite movement. The sixteen page tract, a compilation of news articles,

published in Boston in 1832, was titled Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon . . . and a Refutation of its Pretences to Divine Authority.¹ Shortly following the publication of Campbell's tract, Ezra Booth, an apostate Mormon, published a series of nine letters on the evils of Mormonism in the Ohio Star.²

It was not until 1834 that the first book-length expose of the Mormon Church was published. Mormonism Unveiled [sic], published by Eber D. Howe, was "the genesis of many later anti-Mormon works."³ The book itself was in large measure a compilation of affidavits and stories collected by Philastus Hurlbut, but after Hurlbut was convicted of threatening the life of Joseph Smith, Eber D. Howe issued the book under his own name. The book, despite its billing as an insider's expose, did not live up to the thrills promised in pre-publication advertising, and sales were very sluggish as a result.⁴

Although this work was a disappointment to the committee of concerned citizens and clergymen who had financially supported it, not to mention its first readers, the book nevertheless had a great impact as it introduced the themes and methods of attack used by many future anti-Mormon publications. For example, one of the themes introduced in Hurlbut-Howes' book was the character of the Smith family. In Mormonism Unveiled, the Smith's were described as being "lazy, indolent, ignorant, and

superstitious." Joseph Smith and his family were also described as being involved in money-digging and folk magic, and Joseph's use of a seer stone was also discussed.⁵

Probably the most important and influential concept introduced by Howe's book was the Spaulding Manuscript theory, which differed greatly from Joseph Smith's explanation of the origin of The Book of Mormon. This was an important theme because of its popularity among critics of the Church. Because of its constant use by most anti-Mormon writers of the nineteenth century, a short explanation of Solomon Spaulding and his manuscript will be helpful.

Solomon Spaulding (also spelled Spalding in some places) was born in Connecticut in 1761. He fought in the Revolutionary War and then decided to enter the ministry. He graduated from Dartmouth College with an A.M. degree in 1785. Although ordained as an evangelist minister, Spaulding suffered from poor health, and, it has been suggested by some writers, a loss of faith. By 1795, Spaulding had abandoned his ministry and had married Matilda Sabin. He went into business with his brother and occasionally preached at a local Presbyterian church. Spaulding appears to have been a poor business man, and was forced into bankruptcy on at least two occasions. It is believed that it was while living in Cherry Valley, New York, that Spaulding wrote his romantic novel, "The Manuscript Found."⁶

Spaulding and his family eventually moved to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where sometime between 1812 and 1814 he tried to have his novel published. Apparently Reverend Robert Patterson, the would-be publisher, rejected the manuscript because of Spaulding's lack of funds. Spaulding moved to Amity (near Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania, where he died in 1816.⁷

As short and uneventful as Solomon Spaulding's life was, the theory about his manuscript has been long-lived and unique. The theory began in 1833, when "Doctor" Hurlbut, seeking revenge for his recent excommunication from the Mormon Church, began to collect affidavits and stories for use against the Mormons. While doing so, he heard a rumor concerning a manuscript which closely paralleled the Book of Mormon story. Upon further investigation, Hurlbut learned that a man named Spaulding had written a romance which told of a group of people who left Jerusalem and came to America under the direction of a Nephi and Lehi. The novel also contained, he heard, accounts of wars and contentions among two nations. Hurlbut soon found a copy of the novel among Spaulding's papers.⁸

The theory that was proposed, then, was that somehow Sidney Rigdon had met Spaulding, had obtained a copy of the manuscript of his novel, and then had given it to Joseph Smith. Joseph then enlarged the story slightly and

copied some parts directly in order to write the Book of Mormon.

Actually, "Manuscript Found" bears little resemblance to the Book of Mormon. It is the story of a group of Romans who lived about the time of Constantine who were blown off course while on a voyage to Britain and landed on the shores of North America. There were no names such as Nephi, Lehi, Laman, or Zarahemla in the Spaulding manuscript; however, there were some vague similarities between some names and some Book of Mormon names. For example, there was "Moonrod," which could have been changed to Moroni and a "Mamoon," which sounds similar to Mormon, except that it is a native term for a domesticated woolley mammoth in Spaulding's manuscript.⁹

The Spaulding manuscript theory is now considered by most scholars, both Mormon and non-Mormon, as completely ridiculous and unfounded. It proved, however, to be a constant source of problems for Mormon apologists throughout the nineteenth century. Numerous defenses and counter-attacks were penned by Mormon pamphleteers as a result of anti-Mormon use of the Spaulding theory. At the time of the publication of Mormonism Unveiled, Joseph Smith sent out missionaries to respond to the accusations made in the book; but it was not until 1840 that an extensive Mormon defense was published by Benjamin Winchester -- interestingly enough under the title The Origin of the Spaulding Theory.¹⁰

One of the first anti-Mormon writers to use material from E. D. Howe's Mormonism Unveiled [sic] was La Roy Sunderland, editor of the Methodist Zion's Watchman in New York City. Sunderland's eight-part article was a reaction to Parley P. Pratt's Voice of Warning which had been published three months prior to the article. Sunderland's article quoted from Pratt's work as well as The Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants. In April 1838, Pratt published his response to Sunderland, Mormonism Unveiled: Zion's Watchman Unmasked, and its Editor Mr. L. R. Sunderland, Exposed: Truth Vindicated: the Devil Mad, and Priestcraft in Danger!. This was the first tract written in response to anti-Mormon attacks.¹¹

The anti-Mormon attacks in the press were not the only problems facing Joseph Smith and the Church at the time. Conflict between the Mormon community and other settlers in Missouri had broken out into violence and had led to the expulsion of the Mormons from their property in Missouri. Although Joseph Smith and an army of over two hundred men had marched to Missouri to assist the Saints in the redemption of their lands, they had not been successful and the Mormons were forced to settle in another section of that state.¹²

The Church in Ohio was also not without its problems. Shortly after Joseph Smith and the members of Zion's Camp returned, accusations were made by disgruntled members of

the army about alleged actions made by Joseph and that he was a false prophet. A court was held by the high council and Joseph was exonerated of all charges; even so, several of the disaffected eventually apostatized. This, however, was only a foreshadowing of the problems within the Mormon community that were on the verge of boiling over.

In the summer of 1835, there arose another problem within the ranks of the church. This concerned the morality of Joseph Smith. There were rumors of sexual impropriety between Joseph and a seventeen-year old girl named Fanny Alger. This caused discord among the Church leadership, particularly with Oliver Cowdery. In a letter to his brother Warren, Oliver referred to Joseph's and Fanny's relationship as a "dirty, nasty, filthy affair." Rumors had already begun to be spread both within and without the church concerning the practice of polygamy. Later evidence has demonstrated that Fanny Alger was Joseph Smith's first plural wife.¹³

Without doubt the most devastating problem, both economically and morally, to hit Kirtland and the Church was the turmoil brought on by the failure of the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company. The company was originally founded as a bank on November 2, 1836. However, the Mormons were unable to obtain a charter for a state bank. So instead, Joseph Smith and the other church leaders created a joint-stock company and issued notes

and collected money. The Kirtland notes began to circulate and the Kirtland members took advantage of a period of economic prosperity. The prosperity, however, was short-lived. Within three weeks of its opening there were signs of trouble within the company. Because of the nationwide economic crisis occurring at that time, major state banks refused to accept Kirtland Bank notes, so the notes came pouring back into Kirtland to be redeemed. The only way to repay these notes was through land. The bank, naturally, soon failed, causing intense problems within the Mormon community.¹⁴

Joseph Smith had assumed debts for about \$100,000. His creditors were filing lawsuits against him as well as other church leaders who had been involved with the company. Apostasy became a crisis in Kirtland. While Joseph and Sidney Rigdon were away on a trip to Missouri in the fall of 1837, a faction of the Church in Kirtland tried to replace Joseph as the head of the Church, referring to him as a fallen prophet. Brigham Young and a few others defended Joseph Smith and his position as a prophet. Brigham was so forceful in his defence that he was eventually forced to flee for his own life in the dead of winter. Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon followed suit on the night of January 12; their families followed soon after. The Church, in a state of disarray, was at an all-time low in its short history.

By July 6, 1838, an exodus from Kirtland of 515 members still loyal to Joseph Smith began. Upon the arrival of the Kirtland Saints in Missouri, they found a large and prosperous community of saints living in Far West, Caldwell County, in the northern part of that state. There were also members in Ray, Daviess, and Carroll counties. Problems, however, were beginning again for the Mormons. While the early settlers had at first been friendly and accepting towards their Mormon neighbors, they were beginning to resent the great influx of population and the economic and social position of strength that the Latter-day Saints were quickly gaining. Problems within the community and problems that had followed from Kirtland also caused a threat to the peace and prosperity of the Church.

A number of important members became dissenters and even apostates. Among these were Oliver Cowdery, David and John Whitmer, Lyman Johnson, Thomas B. Marsh, and William W. Phelps. These men took refuge about twenty-five miles away from Far West, and helped stir up agitation and resentment against the Mormons. The defection from the Church of these important men, as well as financial and other problems, were used by anti-Mormon writers.

In response to the dissenters and the problems that were being caused in the community, Sidney Rigdon suggested, in a speech given before the saints that "a Republican

society had the right to eject dissenters."¹⁵ On the Fourth of July, 1838, Rigdon gave his famous "Salt Sermon" wherein he promised that if a mob came against the Mormons, it would be a war of extermination. This, of course, was not taken well by their non-Mormon neighbors.

Rigdon's statements of a war of retribution did, however, reconfirm for some members, an idea that had been secretly taught by a few men. While recent research has shown that the term Danite appears to have been a description of the Mormon community's attempt to live as a covenant community much like ancient Israel, as early as June of 1838, a small band of men had begun to reinterpret this purpose and use the organization for their own means. As with the general body of the membership of the Church, the organization was created to provide community service such as building houses, gathering food, caring for the sick, and assisting the scattered Saints. Bearing arms and providing protection was only one aspect of the organization of Danites.¹⁶

Apparently Sampson Avard was over one of the companies which were divided into tens, fifties, and hundreds. Avard's group of men agreed that the Mormon dissenters must leave Far West in order that the peace and prosperity of the church could return. Although it was known as the Danites, Avard later claimed that the company was also called several other names, including The Big Fan, the

Daughters of Zion, the Brothers of Gideon, and The Avenging Angels.

Although the Danites were dedicated to the service of the Saints and their protection against the mob, Avarð went beyond the original intention of the organization by ordering his men to steal from the "gentile" neighbors and to create havoc among the non-Mormon community. It is probable that Avarð and his followers performed these acts under the guise of defensive measures¹⁷ which the Danite organization as a whole would have been following during those times of difficulties in 1838. By the time a halt was brought to Avarð and his followers, they had been involved in widespread "pillaging, spoiling, and burning the property of all who opposed the saints."¹⁸

In the subsequent court of inquiry of Sampson Avarð and some others for the atrocities committed during the conflict between the Mormons and other Missourians, Avarð successfully placed all the blame for his and the other Danites' action onto Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and the other Church leaders.¹⁹ Although there appears to have been no connection between Joseph Smith and other Church leaders and the illegal actions of Avarð and his associates, the existence of the Danites as a gang of murderers and thieves and Joseph's supposed involvement with them has continued to be a popular theme in anti-Mormon literature.

Numerous are the tracts, books, and novels that have

broached the subject of the Danites and secret societies of the Mormons. It is not positively known when and how the theme of the Danites was first used in polemic writing. As early as 1841, however, Thomas Sharp of Warsaw, Illinois had discussed it in his newspaper, the Warsaw Signal. By 1900, more than fifty-six novels about the Danites had been published in English. These exposes and pseudo-memoirs were popular reading for the Victorians,²⁰ but the infatuation with the Danites continues to the present.

The resentment and bitterness felt by the non-Mormons in Missouri erupted into violence on August 6, 1838, the Daviess County election day. The ensuing violence between the Mormons and their neighbors prompted the governor, Lilburn W. Boggs, an avowed anti-Mormon from Independence, to issue on October 27, his infamous "Extermination Order," wherein he stated that the Mormons "must be exterminated or driven from the state . . ." ²¹ In consequence of this order, Joseph Smith and his associates were eventually arrested and held in prison, and the Saints were eventually driven from the state of Missouri.

The members of the Church proceeded to settle in Illinois where they were eventually joined by Joseph Smith upon his escape from his Missouri incarceration. The place chosen for gathering was an area with large tracts of available land around a small settlement called Commerce, later renamed Nauvoo by Joseph Smith. Nauvoo

became the new headquarters for the Church, and by December of 1840 the town had been granted a generous city charter by the state legislature. After the saints moved there, it became an industrious, fast growing metropolis.

The enormous growth experienced by Nauvoo was brought about in a large way by the immigration of British saints. The first of these arrived on June 6, 1840, led by John Moon. Before the end of Nauvoo, 4,733 British members of the Church sailed to America, increasing the size of Nauvoo by nearly one-third.²²

The man who was influential in getting the city charter which enabled Nauvoo to grow and accomodate the large numbers of immigrants arriving was John C. Bennett. Bennett had been Quartermaster General of Illinois before coming to Nauvoo in September 1840. Shortly thereafter he was baptised into the Church. On February 1, 1841, he became Nauvoo's first mayor. In February of that year the Nauvoo Legion was organized. Joseph Smith, as head of the city militia, was appointed as lieutenant general and John C. Bennett was made major general. Bennett's rise to power was quick and impressive; his fall was just as quick.

While acting as mayor, counselor, and confidant of Joseph Smith, Bennett was secretly involved in several illicit affairs with various women of the community. He had also tried to seduce several others using the guise

that his attempts to engage in illicit intercourse were a part of Joseph Smith's "spiritual wife" system. Joseph also feared that Bennett was secretly seeking his life. By May 19, 1842, Bennett had relenquished his offices and had been excommunicated from the church, supposedly on good terms with the brethren. The "good feelings," however, were as short lived as his membership. By July 8, Bennett had begun publishing articles in the Sangamo Journal in Springfield, Illinois. He accused Joseph of licencious behaviour, religious prostitution²³, threatening violence through the Danites, and numerous other crimes.²⁴

Along with his newspaper articles, John C. Bennett also lectured and wrote a book on Joseph Smith and the Mormons. The book, The History of The Saints; or, An Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism, was published in Boston in 1842. The expose contained basically the same things which had been printed in the articles, but with more detail. Bennett stated that Joseph Smith, like Mohammed of old, was going to use his army to take over the county. He also discussed the immorality of the citizens of Nauvoo and referred to the Relief Society (a women's organization) as the Cyprian Saints, and described Joseph's relations with various Cyprian Saints.²⁵ Bennett's accusations added fuel to the many rumors of Mormon immorality circulating around western Illinois, and intestified the anti-Mormon sentiment that was prevelant

at that time. The publication of the book and the lectures hurt the Church's already tarnished image and caused internal problems, as well.

The denials of plural marriage notwithstanding, critics and enemies of the Church were still inclined to believe that immoral activities were occurring in Nauvoo. Indeed, Bennett's detailed descriptions of Cyprian Saints and other forms of religious prostitution confirmed in the minds of the readers the reality of sexual incontinence among the Mormons.

It has been shown that plural marriage did, in fact, exist in Nauvoo among selected members of the Church hierarchy.²⁶ It has also been suggested that Joseph Smith had as many as forty-eight wives.²⁷ Although Bennett's accusations of sexual impropriety on the part of Joseph Smith and other leaders of the Church appear to be highly exaggerated, there seems to be at least some basis for the charges. There is little doubt that Joseph Smith's marriage relationship with some of the women was more than spiritual.²⁸

Perhaps the most compelling of Bennett's charges was that Joseph Smith had seduced married women. Although some of the charges appear to have been Bennett's attempt to cover his own improper activities, there were instances of married women being sealed to Joseph Smith.²⁹ Several of the women sealed to Joseph were married to non-members

and apostates. One can only imagine the confusion among the membership of the Church with rumors circulating about such a practice.

Before the Bennett episode, the Church had again become economically and politically important. Mormons had used their new found wealth and political influence to their advantage by attracting large amounts of business to their Mississippi River port and by electing those whom they believed would be most beneficial to the Church. This, of course, caused problems with the non-Mormon settlers who lived in the area. These neighbors were particularly concerned with the amazing growth that was taking place in Nauvoo and its environs, and the political and economic impact that it would have on them. By the publication of Bennett's expose, the people of Illinois were already in a very unfriendly mood toward the Mormons and what they believed to be strange religious doctrines and unacceptable social and political practices.

In the meantime, Joseph Smith had been feverishly working on a number of projects. He had directed the planning and building of what for that time was a major city in that part of the country; he had also begun the construction of a large temple and a hotel. Even so there is no doubt that his greatest accomplishments during this time came in the introduction of new doctrines and the redefining of old ones. It was in the few years

before his death that Joseph introduced to the church a new concept of diety, work for the salvation of those who were deceased, the temple endowment, the doctrine of eternal marriage and, with it, the doctrine of the plurality of wives.

Plural marriage has been, by far, the most controversial doctrine propagated by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the name was finalized in 1838). This was just as true when it was secretly taught to only the elite of the early church. While there is evidence that Joseph Smith was practicing plural marriage as early as the Kirtland period, he did not introduce the doctrine to most members of the hierarchy until August 12, 1843, when Hyrum Smith read the revelation and announced the doctrine to the Nauvoo High Council.³⁰ Joseph had officially recorded the revelation a month earlier in the presence of his brother Hyrum and William Clayton. Several of the leaders of the church were already aware of the doctrine; so the announcement caused a great rift between members of the council, and added substance to the rumors and innuendos that had been circulating about Nauvoo.

The dissatisfaction of certain individuals over the doctrine and practice of polygamy as well as other doctrines and practices of Joseph Smith culminated in the excommunications of key members of Nauvoo's political and ecclesiastical hierarchy. These dissenters included

William and Wilson Law, Charles and Robert Foster, Francis and Chauncey Higbee, and about two hundred others who joined with them.

The Laws and a number of other dissenters proceeded to publish a newspaper in which they could air their grievances. On June 7, 1844, the Nauvoo Expositor was published denouncing Joseph Smith as a fallen prophet. The paper hinted at some of the women involved in "spiritual wifery" with Joseph Smith and promised to divulge more in future issues of the newspaper. On June 10, Joseph Smith, as mayor, and the city council took action against the Expositor. They declared the paper a public nuisance and proceeded to destroy the press, scatter the type, and burn extra copies of the paper.³¹

The actions of Smith and the Nauvoo City Council brought about the expected criticism by non-Mormons and intensified the already tense atmosphere of anti-Mormon sentiment. Their actions were henceforth discussed in a number of anti-Mormon pamphlets as proof of the unsavory character of Joseph Smith and his followers. During the next few days, arrest warrants and writs of habeus corpus were issued back and forth. Joseph's legal problems, already substantial, multiplied as a result of the Nauvoo Expositor incident. The feelings were so high on both sides of the issue, that Illinois Governor Thomas Ford personally travelled to Carthage, the Hancock County

seat. On June 25, Joseph and fourteen other leading citizens of Nauvoo were arrested for riot in consequence of their participation in the destruction of the press and paper. Their case was reviewed, and they were released on bonds pending their trial in October.

That evening, however, Joseph and his brother Hyrum were arrested on a warrant charging them with treason. Joseph, Hyrum, John Taylor, Willard Richards, and four other men were immediately incarcerated in Carthage jail. On the evening of June 27, only Joseph, Hyrum, John and Willard remained in the jail. At around five in the evening, a mob of men rushed the jail, the guards putting up only a meager resistance, and began to rush up the stairs where the church leaders had been placed. Shots rang out and within a few moments, both Joseph and Hyrum Smith were dead and John Taylor was wounded.

Although the deaths of the prophet and patriarch brought a short respite from the anti-Mormon activity, the Mormons were eventually forced to leave Illinois. The Mormon migration toward the west commenced in February 1846. The Saints eventually settled in the Great Salt Lake Valley in Utah, the first company of Mormons arriving on July 24, 1847.

Over the next decade the pioneers engaged themselves in numerous projects that enabled them to have a strong, independent community. These various building projects

were financed by a combination of the Church, the Territorial Legislature, and private individuals. This was, in part, because of the lack of capital among the Mormon pioneers. It was also because of the belief that "all institutions in Mormondom ought to be under the influence of the Priesthood." ³² The Mormons truly believed they were building the Lord's empire in the Great Basin.

The decade of the 1850s was also a time of interaction and conflict with the United States government. In 1851, the first federally appointed officials to arrive in Utah found a functioning territorial government and an independent people somewhat resentful of their presence. By September of that year they had all left the territory claiming that Brigham Young's despotism and hostility toward the United States government made it impossible for them to carry out their duties.³³ The difficulties caused by the departure of these officials were soon smoothed over and better officials were sent to Utah.

Troubles with federally appointed officials did not end with the first group that came and quickly left. In 1855 Judge W. W. Drummond arrived in Utah with his mistress. His open immorality and poor job performance brought about open conflict between himself and Church leaders. Within a short time, he too had departed from Utah.³⁴ The inflammatory report which Drummond filed was later used in the tracts of various anti-Mormon writers as

proof of Mormon immorality.

The climax of the Mormon-federal government conflict was the Utah War which occurred in 1857-58. An expeditionary force was sent by President James Buchanan who had been influenced by the reports of the federal officials and the Democrats' desire to appear as hard as the Republicans on the practice of plural marriage.³⁵ Although the conflict was peacefully settled without a confrontation, it represents the degree of misunderstanding that existed between the two institutions -a misunderstanding which would continue until the end of the nineteenth century.

NOTES-CHAPTER 2

1. Max H. Parkin, "The Nature and Cause of Internal and External Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio between 1830 and 1838," (Masters Thesis Brigham Young University, 1966), p. 236.
2. Ibid.
3. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, The Story of the Latter-Day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), p. 70.
4. Ibid., pp. 70-1.
5. The most detailed and important discussion of the Smith's belief in and practice of folk magic is found in D. Michael Quinn's Mormonism and the Magic World View (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987).
6. Charles H. Whittier and Stephen W. Stathis, "The Enigma of Solomon Spalding," Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 10 (Autumn 1977):70-1. The manuscript was eventually published in the 1880s.
7. Ibid., p. 72.
8. Lester E. Bush, Jr., "The Spalding Theory Then and Now," Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 10 (Autumn 1977):41-2.
9. Ibid, p. 42.
10. Ibid., p. 46.
11. Peter Crawley, "Parley P. Pratt: Father of Mormon Pamphleteering," Dialogue 15 no.3 (Autumn 1982): 15. Crawley also mentions on the same page of this article that Pratt's pamphlet established a formula used by other Mormon pamphleteers of the nineteenth century, "balancing a defense of Mormonism's sacred books and its doctrines with an assault on the religion of the attacker."

12. Allen and Leonard, pp. 158-64.
13. Donna Hill, Joseph Smith: The First Mormon (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1977), pp. 188-9.
14. Allen and Leonard, pp. 111-3.
15. Hill, p. 226.
16. Dean C. Jessee and David J. Whittaker, "The Last Months of Mormonism in Missouri: The Albert Perry Rockwood Journal," Brigham Young University Studies 28 no.1 (Winter 1989):13. According to Rockwood, the term Dan, rather than coming from the warrior tribe of Dan, is a reference to the book of Daniel and the Saints' belief that they were setting up the Kingdom of God which would fill the whole earth. p.13.
17. For a discussion of this theory, see Richard L. Anderson, "Atchison's Letters and the Causes of Mormon Expulsion from Missouri," BYU Studies 26 (Summer 1986): 3-47.
18. Leland Homer Gentry, "A History Of The Latter-Day Saints in Northern Missouri From 1836 to 1839," (PH.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1965), pp. 322, 329.
19. Ibid., p. 364.
20. Rebecca Foster Cornwall and Leonard J. Arrington, "Perpetuation of a Myth: Mormon Danites in Five Western Novels, 1840-1890," Brigham Young University Studies 23 (Spring 1983):149.
21. Hill, p. 234.
22. Allen and Leonard, pp. 133,145-6.
23. Several statements found in the Vesta P. Crawford Collection, Brigham Young University Archives, Provo, Utah, suggest that John C. Bennett and several others were the owners and proprietors of a brothel within the city limits of Nauvoo. The brothel was eventually closed down by the city council.
24. Hill, p. 335.
25. John C. Bennett, The History of the Saints; or an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism, (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1842), pp. 220-1. It was suggested by Dale Morgan that a large portion of Bennett's book was taken from William Harris's Mormonism Portrayed (1841), which,

according to Morgan, was really written by Thomas Sharp, editor of the Warsaw Signal.

26. Danel W. Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith" (Thesis, Purdue University, 1975), p. 189. Bachman lists nineteen individuals, besides Joseph Smith, known or thought to have entered into plural marriage prior to the death of Joseph Smith.

27. Ibid., pp. 333-36. Smith's wives ranged in age from 15 for Helen Mar Kimball to 59 for Rhoda Richards. Although Bachman has listed forty-eight wives, he has questioned whether or not all of them were sealed to him while he was alive.

28. Lawrence Foster, Religion and Sexuality; The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), pp. 156-57. For further information concerning the marriages of Joseph Smith see Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage...", pp. 161-2, 190; and H. Michael Marquardt, The Strange Marriages of Sarah Ann Whitney to Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet, Joseph C. Kingsbury and Heber C. Kimball (Salt Lake City:n.p., 1973).

29. Ibid., p. 159. Several examples of married women who married Joseph Smith are given in Richard Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy: A History, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), pp. 39-42. These examples include Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Nancy Marinda Johnson Hyde, Sylvia P. Sessions, and Prescindia and Zina D. Huntington.

30. Hill, p. 335.

31. Allen and Leonard, pp. 191-2.

32. Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 129.

33. Leonard J. Arrington, Brigham Young: American Moses, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), p. 228. It appears that all three officials had personality conflicts with Brigham Young. Judge Perry E. Brocchus, however, made the mistake of chastizing the Mormons for their "expressions of hostility" toward the U.S. Government and also "made comments that were interpreted as aspersions on the virtue of the women in the audience." p. 228.

34. Ibid., p.233.
35. Ibid., pp. 251-52.

CHAPTER 3

THE BEGININGS OF MORMONISM IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1837-1841

In the midst of the turmoil surrounding Joseph Smith and his followers in Kirtland, Joseph received a revelation that would lead to the introduction of the gospel to many thousands of people and would bring into the small church much needed new blood. In June of 1837, a revelation commanded Heber C. Kimball to undertake a mission to England. Six additional missionaries were called to serve in this first mission to Britain. On June 13, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Willard Richards, and Joseph Fielding left Kirtland and traveled to New York City where they met three other missionaries from Canada. These three were John Goodson, Isaac Russell, and John Snyder. On July 1, 1837, the small party boarded the Garrick and set sail for England. After a pleasant journey of twenty days, the ship anchored in the River Mersey, opposite the city of Liverpool. Kimball and several of his companions were taken ashore in a small boat. When the boat was within about six feet of the shore, Kimball enthusiastically jumped ashore, thus being the first Latter-Day Saint missionary to touch British soil.¹

As they disembarked from the ship, the missionaries

became acutely aware of the social and political problems facing this ever-expanding empire. Shortly after their arrival, the missionaries traveled north to the city of Preston, which was the cotton manufacturing center of England. Here, the elders witnessed an election and the political and social turmoil surrounding it. This was at the time of the Chartist Movement, which would continue on into the forties, and the great political agitation that it fostered.² Their arrival was also within weeks of the ascension of a new reigning monarch to the British throne, Queen Victoria of the House of Hanover. It is interesting to note that it was while walking through the streets of Preston that the missionaries noticed a political banner proclaiming, "Truth Shall Prevail." The missionaries were so impressed by the implications of the statement that they immediately adopted the quote as the theme for the introduction of their gospel message to this new land.

While these men perceived themselves to be true messengers of the Lord Jesus Christ, they were not the first to have come across the ocean from America with a religious message to teach to their British cousins. It could be said that England in the 1830's was a field "white already to harvest" for a number of American evangelical groups. These various groups had been coming since the great revival movements in both America and

Great Britain in the early eighteenth century. Popular American evangelists, such as Lorenzo Dow and Asahel Nettleton, were well accepted and highly influential in a movement which came to be known as trans-Atlantic revivalism.³

An interesting aspect in the study of the popularity of revivals and missionary work is the relationship of religious devotion to the problems and economic prosperity of the day. The intensity of religious revivals and attendance at such generally increases during times of impending economic and social turmoil. While the early 1830's had experienced such an increase in religious activity, growth had slackened by the mid-1830's. By 1839, however, Britain was again experiencing a rapid increase in American evangelical influence. This evangelical influence can be explained, in part, because of the introduction of new religious movements such as the Mormons and the Millerite Adventist groups proselyting in Britain.⁴ Thus, as the newly arrived missionaries embarked on their sacred mission, they unknowingly became a part of the intercontinental exchange of religious ideas.

Britain at the time of the first mission was a potpourri of religious ideas and movements. The principal church in England was, of course, the Church of England, or, Anglican church. As the state church, the Anglican church enjoyed immense power and prestige. Even so, several of the

dissenting churches, such as the Presbyterians and Methodists, had accumulated large followings and had established a power base which was perceived by the Anglican leaders as a threat to the elite position that they had at that time. It was among these dissenters, especially those with millennial interest, that the missionaries had the most success because these people were already isolated from the religious mainstream.

One study of early Mormon converts has shown that the new religion brought by the missionaries was most popular "among the dissidents of the sectarian congregations" who were "disturbed by growing secular trends, as well as the bitter sectarian conflicts that raged between the various denominations."⁵ Mormonism appears to have been particularly attractive to former followers of Methodism. The largest percentage of members came from this religious background.⁶

The first preaching experience of the missionaries was an obvious indication of the attention given by nonconformists to the gospel message. Shortly after their arrival in Preston the missionaries met Rev. James Fielding, the brother of Joseph Fielding. On July 23, the Rev. James Fielding offered his pulpit to the American visitors for them to preach their message to the congregation. A large number of people attended the meeting to find out what this new religion had to offer. Both Kimball and Hyde described the restoration of the gospel and bore their testimonies

as to its truthfulness in the first session. That evening, Elders Goodson and Fielding also spoke about the new church. On Wednesday, the 26th, the missionaries again preached in James Fielding's Vauxhall Chapel.

Shortly afterwards, several people requested permission to be baptized. These baptisms were scheduled for Sunday, July 30, and were performed in the River Ribble. A large crowd had assembled to watch the baptisms. George D. Watt was the first one to be baptized, having literally raced to be first among the prospective converts. Of the nine people baptized that day, all were from Rev. James Fielding's congregation.

The next day the missionaries baptized about eight more people. In the evening, it was decided that Richards and Goodson would go to Bedford; Russell and Snyder to Alston, Cumberland; and Hyde, Fielding, and Kimball would stay and work in the Preston area. By August 6, there were close to fifty members in Preston.⁷

The work was aided by the republication of a small tract by Orson Hyde "A Timely Warning to the People of England." In September of that year, the Mormons rented an old Temperance hall, known as the "Cockpit" because of its earlier use as a place for cock fights. As a result of the many converts coming into the church, the branch in Preston became too crowded. For this reason, on October 8, 1837, the branch was divided into five separate

ones.⁸

The great missionary endeavour had also met with success in the other towns to which the elders had traveled. Russell and Snyder had traveled north to the market town of Alston where they had contacted friends and family. Within a month, they had enough members to create a small branch. However, they were met with great opposition which depressed and frustrated Elder Snyder and eventually caused his early departure for home. Elder Russell continued the work in Alston and was able to build a small branch of sixty members in the face of persecution encouraged by the local clergy,⁹ who felt that this success was a threat to their churches.

Elders Richards and Goodson, working in Bedford, had also converted many souls to their new gospel. Upon their arrival, they had gone to visit the Rev. Timothy Mathews, a brother-in-law to Joseph Fielding. Mathews was a talented and colorful individual who was known for preaching powerful sermons to his congregation. Both Mathews and his wife, Ann Fielding, were seekers, and had expressed both interest and concern about fraud in regards to the Church before the arrival of the missionaries in England.¹⁰

Mathews had been curate of Colnworth and Bolnhurst until 1830, at which time he became Chaplain of the House of Industry. In 1832 Mathews was dismissed from his position at the House of Industry because he had been ordained bishop in the Primitive Episcopal Church by an American

named G. W. West. Although Mathews later claimed to have been deceived by West, he proceeded to organize several congregations of the Primitive Episcopal Church. By March 1833, there were at least 900 members of Mathews' congregations in Bedford and the surrounding area.¹¹

Mathews, like his brother-in-law James Fielding, at first opened his church to the missionaries, but later closed it when he began to doubt the veracity of the message of the Mormons. After the first week in Bedford, the missionaries had baptized five members of Mathews' congregation. Timothy Mathews, himself, had expressed desire to be baptized, but is said to have been discouraged by his wife, Ann. On August 20, 1837 Ann wrote a letter to her brother, Joseph Fielding stating that she believed The Book of Mormon to be a fraud and chastizing him for intruding into James Fielding's congregation. Having rejected the message of the elders, Mathews became an outspoken enemy of the church.¹²

In an undated letter to his brother-in-law, Joseph Fielding, Timothy Mathews explained his views of the message brought by the missionaries:

I am fully satisfied in my own mind from the conversations I have had with the Elders of the Church of Latter day Saints, from the perusal of the Book of Mormon, and from the total want of all power with which the Apostles of old were endured with that there is no ground for me to hesitate in saying that I believe the whole to be a Fable, and that Joseph Smith has been deceived either by Satan who has appeared to him as an Angel of Light or that he has been the dupe of designing men.¹³

As did his brother-in-law James Fielding, Timothy Mathews continued on in his letter to express his concern for Joseph and his sisters: "I must say I do feel exceedingly grieved that you and your dear Sisters have fallen into the hands of wicked and deluded men..."¹⁴

In another part of the letter Mathews explained that the missionaries had not been led by the Lord while they were in Bedford, nor had they been "baptized by the Holy Ghost." He then again pled with Joseph to recognize his errors:

...I do pray that the Lord may open your eyes to see the Awful Delusions into which you have fallen and deliver you.... It is a cause of deep upset both to myself and all the family, that you and our dear Sisters have been fearfully deluded, but I believe that many prayers are offered for your deliverance. Think not that we love your lies, yea, we love you and all them that love Jesus-
I cannot but love you....¹⁵

The last mention of Timothy Mathews' activities involving Mormonism concerned his circulating hundreds of tracts in Northampton which discussed the Spalding Theory.¹⁶ The defections of members of Mathews' congregations to both the Mormons and the Irvingites had greatly impoverished him. In about 1839, Mathews replaced John Bowes in the Hope Street Chapel in Liverpool. He continued in that position until the collapse of Robert Aitken's Christian Society in 1840. Thereupon Timothy Mathews devoted his time to the rebuilding of his Bedford congregations. At the time of his death in 1845 he was one of the most successful

nonconformist preachers in Bedford.¹⁷

Shortly after Mathews' rejection of the gospel, John Goodson left Richards in Bedford and traveled back to America with Snyder. Richards stayed on in Bedford and baptized a number of people there. At the time of his departure from Bedford in March, 1838, there were two branches of the church.

Without doubt, the greatest success for the church came in the city of Preston and the Ribble Valley. Such outlying villages as Eccleston, Chatburn and Downham were the sites of many conversions into the church. Among these were the Moons of Ecclestown and Jennetta Richards, daughter of the Rev. John Richards of Walkerfold. He too allowed the missionaries to preach in his church, later closing the doors of his chapel to them when they had begun to baptize members of his congregation. Even so, Richards, unlike Fielding and Mathews, remained a friend to the church. This was partly because of the marriage of his daughter Jennetta to Willard Richards on September 24, 1838.¹⁸

On Sunday, April 8, 1838, about seven hundred members met for a conference in the Cockpit. They represented close to two thousand converts who had been baptized since the gospel had been introduced in Britain a year earlier. Kimball and Richards bade farewell to the members of the church and on Monday they departed for Liverpool where they had to wait until April 20 to sail to America. Joseph Fielding, Willard Richards, and William Clayton were selected

to preside over the mission after the departure of the Apostles.

While awaiting the departure of the ship, the new presidency met with the two Apostles and discussed any future problems that might arise in the branches. One possible problem was the threat of apostasy by Thomas Webster of Preston. Kimball wrote a letter to the members of the Church in England stating that he believed Webster would indeed apostatize and would "expose the mysteries which have been committed to him."¹⁹ Webster later did challenge the authority of those presiding in Britain and was excommunicated. He then turned against the church and wrote a tract concerning the doctrines and lectured against Mormonism.

From April 1838 to April 1840 Joseph Fielding and his two councilors presided over the mission. During that time, the church experienced both growth and various forms of persecution. A large branch was created in Manchester, and smaller ones in such towns as Bolton and Stockport. The gospel was also first introduced in Scotland during this time.²⁰

One of the first incidents of opposition to the missionaries' work was the publication of a pamphlet in the Lancashire area by a Methodist minister known as the Reverend Richard Livesey. The small tract, An Exposure of Mormonism, was offered for sale about April 15, 1838.²¹ Joseph Fielding

discussed in his journal the effect that Livesey had on the Church. In his entry for August 11, he mentioned a man named Livesey who had "got some old tales from A[meric]a in some old newspapers, and was persuaded to publish them."²² He continued by discussing the effect that the tract and Livesey's lectures were having on some of the members. He also mentioned speaking to the saints about the tract and satisfying their questions.²³

Interestingly enough, one of Richard Livesey's staunchest supporters was the Rev. James Fielding. In a letter to his brother Joseph, James defends the integrity of Mr. Livesey:

Now I hope you will not be offended because my remarks may come with power. I can assure you from certain knowledge that your judgment of Mr. R. Livesey's spirit and design was not according to truth. I am speaking in reference to the meeting in the Cock-pit last Wednesday. I have been in his company several times, and according to my best judgement he is a man of deep piety and devotedness to God. - He has with him the most satisfactory credentials as to his moral and religious character - and never did I see a more Christ-Like spirit manifested by man than that which Mr. L. evinced last Wednesday evening....²⁴

Thus, Richard Livesey seems to have been the first to publish an anti-Mormon tract in England. Very little is known about him except that he was a native of West Bradford, near Clitheroe, and that he had "spent the principal part of the last seven years" in the United States before writing his tract.²⁵ It appears that Livesey was a Methodist Episcopal minister and had resided in Winchendon, Massachusetts during his sojourn in America.

There are at least two similar accounts as to how Livesey came upon the material in his pamphlet. Both accounts appear to come from Mormon sources and, although they could be considered biased, are probably correct. One story had Livesey collecting the information from newspapers, while the other portrayed him finding them in old newspapers that he had found in his trunk.²⁶ Whether or not Livesey accidentally came upon the information or actively sought it, there is little doubt that he obtained the materials while in America. A large portion of the material was taken from E.D. Howe's Mormonism Unveiled [sic]. The main issues in this tract were the questionable character of Joseph Smith and his family, and their involvement in money digging. Livesey proceeded to explain how the Smith family was well known as "fortune-tellers" and how they "used certain arts of juggling" to find treasure.²⁷

Another theme developed by Livesey was the notion that the purpose of Mormonism was to obtain money for a set of unscrupulous men who, from the start had been involved in deceitful activities. As proof of this assertion, he provided the Spalding Theory as an explanation for The Book of Mormon, and argued that members were expected to pay tithing and consecrate their property to the church. To support his argument, he published letters from Warren Parrish, Parley P. Pratt and other disgruntled Mormons who accused Joseph Smith of deceit and theft.²⁸

Although Livesey's tract was a rehash of old arguments, the importance of it should not be underestimated. He was the first in Britain to introduce a number of themes that would be used by numerous other writers. These themes included the concept of the church as a fraudulent money-making scheme that benefited only a few individuals, the questionable character of Joseph Smith and his family, and the less than sacred origins of The Book of Mormon.

Thomas Webster, a former member of the Church, also dwelt on the theme of Mormonism as a money-making scheme. Webster, however, went a step beyond Livesey by quoting extensively from a copy of The Doctrine and Covenants that he had in his possession. In his tract, which was published in 1838, he stated that he had been given the book and told to show it to no one else. It is interesting to recall that Webster's apostasy had been predicted by Heber C. Kimball before he left England. It is probable that the term mysteries used in the letter referred to the revelations concerning consecrating property to the Church and paying tithing. These revelations of Joseph Smith were contained in The Doctrine and Covenants and were printed in Webster's tract.

The bulk of Webster's tract, Some Extracts from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints..., contained a compilation of numerous quotes showing that the aim of Mormonism was making

money. However, in the last few pages, he gave examples of the evils of the new faith. Among these were the Elders' "pretensions" to working miracles such as healing the sick. He also hinted at sexual impropriety with a certain Sister Farries when the Elders attempted to heal her.²⁹

Another pamphlet which addressed the theme of Mormonism as a fraudulent money-making scheme was a little four-page work published in Cheltenham in 1840. The tract, To The Followers of The "Latter-Day Saints", was penned by D.L. St. Clair, who claimed to be a Captain in the Royal Navy. St. Clair began his essay by announcing that the Mormons were in England only for the people's money, and that they had already left three families destitute in Herefordshire.³⁰ He then explained that "the Americans generally, are the most cunning and money-getting people in the world, and their lies are quite astounding."³¹

To support this statement, St. Clair related various revelations that he claimed the missionaries had given. Some, he claimed, had told would-be converts that they would travel to America on a flying ship, while others had promised that a wall would be built through the Atlantic Ocean and the people would be able to walk to America on a road.³² Even more amazing was his description of the meeting place of the saints as Kirtland, Ohio, which he described as "a Slave Settlement bordering on Kentucky..."³³ It is obvious that the object of this statement was to support his claims

against the Mormons by portraying Americans in general and Mormons in particular as untrustworthy and unscrupulous. This was done by describing Americans as liars and associating Mormons with slavery.

St. Clair was not the only writer to portray Mormons as being favorable to slavery. W. J. Morrish published two tracts in Ledbury, Herefordshire, in 1840. In his second tract, Morrish claimed that the Mormons upheld slavery. He supported this statement by quoting from the "Book of Revelations" section 102, verse 12, "We do not believe it right to interfere with bond-servants, neither preach the gospel to, nor baptize them contrary to the will and wish of their masters..."³⁴

The issue of slavery was used by these and later writers because popular opinion in Britain was against the American system of slavery. Slavery was an important evangelical issue. Along with temperance societies and other social organizations, which had begun to gain popularity in the early part of the nineteenth century, there were several anti-slavery organizations which were vocal in their abhorrence of what they considered to be an evil practice. By equating Mormonism to slavery, both St. Clair and Morrish hoped to cause enmity between the British and the Mormons.

Other writers also attempted to depict the Smith family as disreputable by building on the foundation already laid

by Richard Livesey. The Rev. John Simons' A Few More Facts Relating to the Self-Styled "Latter-Day Saints" is a good example of a work which negatively stressed the character of Joseph Smith. In his introduction, Simons stated, "The more I searched into the matter, the more I became satisfied that the whole was a deep-laid scheme to pick the pockets of poor and ignorant people; and I have at length obtained the most convincing proof of this fact."³⁵ He then proceeded to explain that a number of documents had been brought over from America.

Simons stated that the material was gained from Mormonism Unveiled. He then gave eight arguments to show the characters of those involved with the founding of the church. He related the money-digging activities of the Smiths, and gave examples of the evil character of Joseph Smith. He discussed the low characters of Martin Harris and Oliver Cowdery. These included examples of lying, quarreling, intemperance, and the use of profanity.³⁶ He also quoted from the Doctrine and Covenants to show that Mormonism was a plot to make easy money off the unsuspecting.³⁷

After restating the points that he had made in this small tract, Simons warned his parishioners of the dangers of listening to the Mormon doctrines. He wrote, "I warn you for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, that if you will follow the wicked and blasphemous doctrines which are now taught among you, you will plunge yourselves headlong into

everlasting misery."³⁸ Perhaps in self-defence against comments made by Mormon missionaries, Simons also declared that he had no interest in the gold and silver of the people, only their souls.³⁹

The integrity and sincerity of Simons can not be doubted. He appears to have been a dedicated man, well-liked by his parishioners. He was the Vicar of Dymock, a parish in the county of Gloucester. He appears to have been a staunch defender of the Anglican Church and to have combatted any perceived enemy of it, including the Mormons against whom he authored two tracts. In his enthusiasm to defend the Anglican Church against the missionaries, Simons is said to have stirred up mobs against the Mormons on several occasions.⁴⁰ On his death in 1866, a parishioner wrote a poem honoring his long career and steadfastness. The poem also shows perhaps a hint of sarcasm towards the vain battle of Simons against the Mormons:

He is gone...!
 In Dymock he preached near forty long years,
 ...
 The last forty years many changes have brought;
 The Mormonites came, and earnest they sought
 For victims amongst us to blind and deceive.
 Oh! well I remember the Vicar did grieve
 That men so deluded and silly should be
 To hearken to fraud of the vilest degree.
 He laboured with fervor to open the eyes
 Of those who were blinded with craft and with lies.
 I blush with shame, but am forced to declare
 That men so benighted away did repair
 From Dymock's fair land to Columbia's shore,
 Where death, they were told, would seek them no
 more.

Thus truth was despised, and falsehood was sought-
 The church was neglected, and folly was bought.

Yet he preached and he prated, he hoped and he
 strove,
 Till these fraudulent cheats from the parish were
 drove,
 And now he is gone to receive his reward
 For service performed for his Master and Lord.⁴¹

Samuel Haining was another writer who emphasized the disreputable character of the Church leaders. However, as is the case with most of the pamphlets, this theme was only one aspect of his arguments against Mormonism. The events that led up to the publication of his lengthy pamphlet are interesting.

In September 1840, John Taylor and two other missionaries arrived on the Isle of Man. The Isle of Man, being only some thirty miles in length and twelve miles in width, was densely populated. There were more than 47,000 inhabitants in 1840 on an island where the main source of income for its populace was fishing. Several days after their arrival, it was decided that Brothers Clark and Mitchell should journey to Ramsey, where they would preach. Elder Taylor would stay in Douglas, the capital city of the small island.⁴²

John Taylor rented a hall, known as the Wellington Rooms, to preach in. He began a series of lectures, and, within a short time, had baptized several people. The success of this new minister naturally began to attract attention. Several members of the local clergy began to complain. One minister, the Rev. Thomas Hamilton, challenged Taylor to a debate. According to Taylor, Hamilton was

soundly defeated and he afterwards, referred to Hamilton as "a very ignorant man."⁴³

After Hamilton's disappointing performance, the clergy sought other means to oppose Taylor and his message. A Mr. J. Currans published a number of articles in the local press, which attacked Taylor and the church. Taylor responded to these attacks by publishing in article form what he considered to be the Church's views on certain doctrines, which he had obtained from the writings of Parley P. Pratt, as well as answers to the accusations in the Manx Liberal and the Manx Sun. Taylor's articles were also published in the LDS Millennial Star.

Another minister, Rev. Robert Heys, published three tracts against the Mormons. John Taylor responded to all three pamphlets. All of his responses were published in tract form, the first under the title, An Answer to Some False Statements and Misrepresentations Made By The Rev. Robert Heys, Wesleyan Minister.... While no copies of the Rev. Heys' pamphlets can be found, an idea of the content of the tracts can be discovered by reading John Taylor's rebuttals.

Taylor referred to Heys' use of the Spalding theory and other arguments imported from America. He also attacked Heys' use of Richard Livesey's tract and proceeded to show discrepancies between Heys' and Livesey's pamphlets. He ended by reminding Mr. Heys of the persecutions and suffering

experienced by Methodist ministers only a few years before the arrival of Mormonism, and he questioned how they could turn around and persecute others.

It appears that John Taylor's replies were sufficient to stop Robert Heys, for, Taylor wrote,

...some Methodist local preachers...promised to assist in pecuniary measures, and made use of the Rev. Mr. Haining as their tool to do what they could not get Mr. Heys to do: either to meet me in public debate or to deliver public lecture against my principles....⁴⁴

While Robert Heys appears to have been a traveling minister from England whose only Manx ties were that it was within his jurisdiction, Rev. Samuel Haining was a local Independent Calvinist preacher who had been preaching in Douglas for a number of years. In 1840, he published a lengthy pamphlet that was the substance of four lectures which he had delivered to the people in Douglas.

The first lecture, comprising the first nineteen pages of the text, was a defense of the Bible against any other scripture. Haining compared The Book of Mormon to the Koran and stated that the Bible should have no other scripture added to it, thus relegating The Book of Mormon to the status of the Koran - false scripture. The second and third lectures, the largest portion of the tract, were an attack on The Book of Mormon and the character of Joseph Smith.

At the beginning of this section, he wrote that not since the days of Mohammed had there been a more awful delusion to mislead men.⁴⁵ From the start, the character

of Joseph Smith had been evil and the nature of the Mormon scriptures was bad. He wrote, "A more wild, romantic tale, was never invented and published, than that which is contained in the book Mormon."⁴⁶

The substance of the fourth lecture was a criticism of various doctrines of the Church, in particular beliefs in priesthood and spiritual gifts. He ended his pamphlet by reminding the reader of people whom he felt had been deluded and had led their followers astray. This list included "Mohamet" and his Koran, Mrs. Buchan of Scotland, and Johanna Southcott.⁴⁷

Probably the most interesting aspect of an otherwise long and repetitious pamphlet was Haining's comparison of Joseph Smith to the founder of Islam, the Prophet Mohammed. Samuel Haining was not the first, and certainly not the last, to refer to Joseph Smith in these terms. A number of contemporary works about Joseph Smith, usually those that were critical of him, insisted that Joseph had referred to himself as a second Mohammed.⁴⁸ Many aspects of Mormonism were compared to Islam by these writers; in particular, the visions that both men claimed to have, the introduction of new scripture, and the perceived sensual nature of both religions.⁴⁹ One English pamphleteer, writing against Mormonism in 1853, concluded that this new religion, "bears in many respects a striking resemblance to Mahometanism..."⁵⁰

Shortly after the publication of Samuel Haining's

pamphlet, Richard Davis, also a Manx resident, continued with the theme so ably presented by Haining. The theme of Davis' The Imposture Unmasked; or, A Complete Exposure of The Mormon Fraud..., was that Mormonism, like Islam, is a fraud into which the foolish and ill-balanced are swept. He elaborately traced the history of the Church and The Book of Mormon, giving what he considered to be absolute proofs to the falsehood of the book and the evil character of Joseph Smith.

Davis went beyond what Haining had discussed by mentioning the troubles in Missouri and suggesting that the Mormons were trying to drive the Missourians out of their state with the use of the Danites.⁵¹ At the end of the pamphlet he continued the theme of Mohammed by comparing the actions of Joseph Smith in Missouri to those of the founder of Islam. But he again went beyond Haining by giving a structural analysis of the contents of The Book of Mormon. Although simplistic in comparison to modern studies, it does offer some criticisms of the book that are still in use today. Two examples of criticisms that are still in use are his attacks on the use of a compass in the Book of Nephi and the word Christ, which is a Greek title of office.⁵²

Although most of the tracts during these formative years of the British mission generally follow along the same themes created by E. D. Howe and introduced into Britain

by Richard Livesey, such as the bad character of Joseph Smith and the other leaders of Mormonism, and a description and refutation of The Book of Mormon, several stand out for their arguments.

One such pamphlet is Plain facts, Shewing the Falsehood and Folly of the Mormonites... by the Rev. C.S. Bush of Over Peover, near Knutsford, in Lancashire. Even though Bush's tract offers little in the way of new information, it is worth noting because it was responded to by the LDS Millennial Star,⁵³ and also because it was used on several occasions by other writers of anti-Mormon pamphlets. The general theme of the tract is the ignorance and deception of Mormonism and its founder which, in turn, appeals to the weak, wicked, and ignorant who allow themselves to be deluded by the Mormons. To support these themes he used the Spalding Theory and also referred to the missionaries as uneducated.⁵⁴

Bush ended this short tract with an explanation for his fight against Mormonism. He stated that it was because of his ordination vows that he was fighting against Mormonism for, "...if it shall happen the same Church or any member thereof, take any hurt or hindrance by reason of my negligence, I should be guilty of a great fault..."⁵⁵

In sharp contrast with Bush's claims of genuine concern for those with whom he was entrusted, was Thomas Taylor of

Manchester. Taylor's tract was entitled, An Account of the Complete Failure of an Ordained Priest of the 'Latter Day Saints' Although Taylor discussed The Book of Mormon by referring to it in the same tone as a romance novel,⁵⁶ the main subject of the pamphlet concerns an encounter that Taylor had with a certain Mormon named Mr. Mahon.

Mahon at first agreed to show Taylor and some other gentlemen that, as a Mormon, he could speak in tongues. He failed in his attempt, but when entirely frustrated and angry, he jumped to his feet and, with "a countenance of demon-like fury", spoke "incoherent nonsense for several minutes."⁵⁷ After giving some more evidence of the falsehood of the Church, he concluded by stating:

This production has no pretension to literary merit. . . . I believe the candid reader will give me credit, at least, for purity of motive and sincerity of heart. I have no party purpose to serve; I am not a paid minister, and, consequently, can have nothing to apprehend on that ground; although I have, for more than twenty years, in the best way that I was able, directed the sinner to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.⁵⁸

Although Mr. Taylor's "purity of motive" was probably questioned by some of the readers, the account of the failed attempt of a Mormon to speak in tongues was a popular theme used by other writers in later pamphlets. This theme concerned pretended gifts and powers of the Mormon Elders and miracles claimed to have been performed by them. Both Thomas Webster and D.L. St. Clair attacked the Mormons' claims of power to receive revelations from

God,⁵⁹ and William Hewitt, a former member of the Church, correctly claimed that the Mormons taught, "That this generation shall not pass away before England shall be destroyed."⁶⁰

The purpose of Hewitt's relating this "revelation" appears to be twofold. The first, of course, was what would have been considered by the majority of people as a false revelation. Indeed, Britain at that time was almost at the height of her power and prestige. It would have seemed unlikely to most people that England would soon be destroyed. The second reason was probably an attempt to portray the Mormons as foolish millenarians or, perhaps, treasonous and anarchists, and thus a threat to the stability of the government. Another example of this theme is found in Thomas Webster's tract. Webster claimed to have heard of a member receiving a vision wherein he saw the eminent destruction of England and the death of Queen Victoria, by beheading.⁶¹ It was hoped that this perceived threat to the government and the suggested overthrow of society would put enmity between the British people and the Mormons (who were, for the most part, Americans).

Obviously, the writers of these tracts were trying to show the differences between the majority of the people and the Mormons. They had attempted to do this by portraying the Mormons as strange and fanatical. Another important theme that emerged at this time was that Mormonism appealed

only to those who were weak, foolish, ignorant, and, later, inherently evil and lascivious. Two good examples of the theme from this early time-period are from Richard Davis and C.S. Bush.

Davis stated that had Mormonism been confined to America, he and others would probably not have noticed it except for an example of the "aberrations of the human mind." However, they had made rapid progress in England, particularly the manufacturing districts. He also conceded that the converts were not from the lowest ranks, but were "remarkable for their moral character". Their problem was that they had "studied the Bible with an ill-balanced mind."⁶²

Bush, on the other hand, was not as complimentary toward the new adherents of Mormonism. In his Plain Facts..., he wrote:

Weak and deluded men and women, who suffer feeling to stand in the place of reason, and who for the folly of poor sinful man setting forth strange things, have lost sight of God's word and their Christian faith, have suffered themselves to be baptized. Among those who have been so baptized, some are well known for their weakness, wickedness, and ignorance.⁶³

Bush thus left no doubt in the reader's mind how he viewed those who joined the Mormon Church. Both he and Davis, as well as later writers, made it clear that those who converted to the LDS Church had been deceived and had not had the wisdom to untangle themselves from the web of Mormonism. And while there would be a number of Mormon apologists who would claim, and rightly so, that the material was gleaned

from inflammatory and questionable publications in America, it cannot be denied that these writers built upon the themes that they borrowed from their American counterparts and added various arguments of their own that encouraged numerous other writers to borrow from them.

Some of the major themes of the pamphlets either borrowed or created by the writers were the Spalding Theory for the origin of The Book of Mormon, and the tainted character of Joseph Smith, his family, and his associates. They also charged that Mormonism was a large scheme to obtain money for the hierarchy; that Joseph Smith was, in both actions and evilness, the American Mohammed; and, that Mormonism was not Christian and was, therefore, in the same realm of fanaticism that the Anabaptists, Southcottians and others had been placed. Thus, Mormonism was led by weak, wicked, and ignorant people who attracted only their own type for converts. Some of the lesser themes that became apparent at this time involved the idea of Mormons as supporters of American slavery, as foreigners invading England, and as homewreckers. Many of these themes, with different variations, became very important in the decades of the mid-nineteenth century.

NOTES-CHAPTER 3

1. Richard L. Evans, A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britain (Salt Lake City, UT: Publishers Press, 1984), pp. 16, 19-21.
2. Ibid., p. 55-6.
3. Ibid., p. 44.
4. Richard Carwardine, Trans-Atlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865 (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 82.
5. Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837-52," Journal of Mormon History 4 (1977):53.
6. Ibid., p. 60.
7. Ibid., p. 79.
8. Ibid., p. 80.
9. Ibid., pp. 82-3.
10. Malcolm R. Thorp, "Early Mormon Confrontations With Sectarianism, 1837-40." Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp, "Mormonism in Early Victorian England: The Sesquicentennial Essays." forthcoming from the University of Utah Press.
11. Ibid.
12. Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds...", pp. 84-5.
13. Joseph Fielding Collection, Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Thorp, "Early Mormon Confrontations...."
17. Ibid.

18. Thorp, "The Religious Background...", pp. 86-90.
19. Ibid., pp. 100-1.
20. Evans, p. 74.
21. Ibid., p. 67.
22. Diary of Joseph Fielding, Special Collections, typescript, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, p. 35.
23. Ibid.
24. Joseph Fielding Collection, Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. The meeting referred to is also noted on page 25 of Joseph Fielding's diary wherein he stated that a meeting took place in which Livesey "read and spoke of his Book."
25. Richard Livesey, An Exposure of Mormonism, Being a Statement of Facts Relating to the Self-Styled "Latter-Day Saints" and the Origin of the Book of Mormon (Manchester: William Shackleton and Son, 1840), p. 3.
26. Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, vol. 3, ed. by B. H. Roberts, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1978), p. 22.
27. Livesey, pp. 4-5.
28. Ibid., pp. 7-11. Parley P. Pratt wrote a response to Richard Livesey's charges and explained that the letter was meant to be private and that while he had complained of certain problems, he had also expressed his "entire confidence" in the Church and The Book of Mormon. Max H. Parkin, "A Study of External and Internal Conflict of the Mormons in Ohio Between 1830 and 1838," (Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966), pp.315-17.
29. Thomas Webster, Some Extracts from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, . . . (Preston: W. Pollard, 1838), pp. 21-2.
30. D. L. St. Clair, To The Followers of the "Latter-Day Saints" (Cheltonham: Willey, 1840), p. 1.
31. Ibid., p. 2.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., p. 3.

34. W.J. Morrish, The Latter-Day Saints and the Book of Mormon. A Second Warning from a Minister to his Flock (Ledbury: J. Gibbs, Jr., 1840), pp. 3-4. Although the first tract was unavailable to read, evidence from the second tract shows that it dealt mainly with The Book of Mormon and the Spalding Theory.

35. John Simons, A Few More Facts Relating to the Self-Styled "Latter-Day Saints" (Ledbury: J. Gibbs, Jr., 1840), p. 1.

36. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

37. Ibid., pp. 3-5.

38. Ibid., p. 8.

39. Ibid., p. 7.

40. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, Scott G. Kenny, ed., I (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983), 516-17. Quoted in Malcolm R. Thorp, "Sectarian Violence in Early Victorian Britain: the Mormon Experience, 1837-60." forthcoming in The John Rylands Library Bulletin (Fall 1988).

41. Robert Lively to K. Haybron Adams, 3 January, 1976. BYU Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

42. Evans, pp. 155-7.

43. Francis M. Gibbons, John Taylor: Mormon Philosopher, Prophet of God (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, n.d.), pp. 44-5.

44. Samuel W. Taylor and Raymond Taylor, The John Taylor Papers: Records of the Last Utah Pioneer (Redwood City, CA: Taylor Trust, 1964), p. 52.

45. Samuel Haining, Mormonism Weighed in the Balances of the Sanctuary and Found Wanting . . . (Douglas: Robert Fargher, 1840), p. 21.

46. Ibid., p. 25.

47. Ibid., p. 64. The references to Mrs. Buchan of Scotland and Johanna Southcott were probably included for two reasons. At this time, Mormonism was still a new and largely unknown religion in Britain. Therefore, it was much easier for the British to relate to people or movements already known. This was particularly so because of the common millennialistic interests of the two religions.

Also, this allowed the writers to equate Mormonism with other religious groups that were considered fanatical by the general populace.

48. Arnold H. Green and Lawrence P. Goldrup, "Joseph Smith, an American Mohammed? An Essay on the Perils of Historical Analogy." Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 11 (Spring 1971):47.

49. Ibid., pp. 49-51.

50. Ibid., p. 47. Interestingly enough, G. B. Arbaugh stated in Gods, Sex and Saints (Augustana Press, 1967), p. 10, that Mormonism "in fundamental respects is more alien to Christianity than is Islam," or, as Hugh Nibley succinctly explained in his July 1959 Improvement Era article, p. 547, "Modern Christianity is closer to Islam than Mormonism is."

51. Richard Davis, The Imposture Unmasked; or, A Complete Exposure of the Mormon Fraud . . . (Douglas: Robert Fargher, 1841) 2nd ed., p. 2. Davis' references to the Danites probably came from news articles and other sources from the United States.

52. Ibid., pp. 9-12. Another interesting argument Davis used against The Book of Mormon was that Nephi expressed anti-Catholic sentiment popular at that time in New York because of Maria Monk's "pretended confessions."

53. The response to C. S. Bush was authored by Parley P. Pratt and was published in pamphlet form under the title, Plain Facts, Showing the Falsehood and Folly of the Rev. C. S. Bush (Manchester, 1840). According to Peter Crawley, "Parley P. Pratt: Father of Mormon Pamphleteering," Dialogue 15 no.3 (Autumn 1982): 19, Pratt used some of the material from his publication of Voice of Warning. A similar list of missing books from the Bible was used by John Taylor in Truth Defended and Methodism Weighed in the Balance and Found Wanting (Liverpool, 1840).

54. C. S. Bush, Plain Facts, Shewing the Falsehood and Folly of the Mormonites, or Latter-Day Saints; Being an Exposition of the Imposture . . . (Macclesfield: J. Swinnerton, 1840), pp. 5-9.

55. Ibid., p. 14.

56. Thomas Taylor, An Account of the Complete Failure of an Ordained Priest of the Latter-Day Saints... (Manchester: Pigot & Slater, 1840), p.12. Taylor suggests that "a man possessing a cultivated mind and a vivid imagination, without

much mental energy" could produce a "romance" comparable to The Book of Mormon.

57. Ibid., p. 9.

58. Ibid., p. 13.

59. Webster, pp. 21-23, and St. Clair, p. 2. St. Clair's references are to revelations that Mormon missionaries were supposed to be telling people concerning how they would travel to America.

60. William Hewitt, An Exposition of the Errors and Fallacies of the Self-Named "Latter-Day-Saints" (Lane-End:C. Watts, 1840), p. 5.

61. Webster, p. 23.

62. Davis, p. 12.

63. Bush, p. 9.

CHAPTER 4

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANTI-MORMON IMAGERY, 1842-1852

After the departure of the Apostles from the British Isles, Parley P. Pratt remained behind to preside over the mission. In 1842, the mission headquarters moved from Manchester to Liverpool where it remained for over half of a century. Pratt presided in England for a year and then appointed Thomas Ward to be the Mission President, who was succeeded in 1843 by Reuben Hedlock.

The period between 1842 and 1845 was a period of slow growth for the mission. This was, in part, because of a weak leadership which was evident in the failure of the Joint Stock Company which had been organized in 1845 to promote emigration and related ventures. It was soon apparent that the company's funds had been mismanaged, and Brigham Young sent Apostles Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde, and John Taylor back to England to settle the problem. The Joint Stock Company was disbanded in 1846.

Aware that the mission needed strong new leadership, Brigham Young sent Wilford Woodruff to preside. He remained in England from 1845 to 1846 and was replaced by Orson Hyde. The Church began to experience strong growth shortly after the arrival of Woodruff, and by 1847 the

church entered into an era of unprecedented growth in the British Isles.¹

By 1850, there were 30,747 members of the church in Britain, over 3,000 more members than all of those living in Utah and the United States.² The British church had continued its rapid growth under the direction of Orson Spencer and then Orson Pratt, the prolific pamphleteer. Pratt was succeeded by fellow apostle Franklin D. Richards in 1850. Under Richards' direction, The Pearl of Great Price was first published, as well as numerous other important publications. Liverpool had become the printing center for the Church and would continue in that role for several more decades.³

In March 1851, the British government conducted a religious census throughout England and Wales. It was during that same year that the membership of the church reached its highest level. Church records reveal that membership was at 32,894. The census showed that 7,517 people attended LDS Sunday morning services, 11,481 attended afternoon services, and 16,628 evening services at 222 separate meeting-places.⁴

Not surprisingly, most of the members were identified as being from the working class. This aspect was particularly true in the industrial centers of England. Ninety-one percent of those in attendance at LDS meetings in Leeds, for example, were of the working class.⁵ Mormonism

appears to have attracted the young lower class, many of them unmarried women, generally in their 20's or 30's.⁶

For this reason, many of the tracts published against the Mormons were directed toward the working class readers. Because of this, the pamphlets tended not to emphasize deep doctrinal questions. Rather, they generally emphasized the great risks in following people of new religions. The pamphlets would usually go to great lengths to discourage the readers (whom it was presumed would be the working class) from joining the Church and emigrating to America.

Two of the more popular methods used were two themes that had begun with the first anti-Mormon tracts published in Great Britain. These were the description of Mormon converts as foolish, weak, ignorant, and dupes of a great imposter; and, by referring to the United States in negative tones and encouraging anti-American sentiment.

In describing the large numbers of British Mormons who were emigrating to America, Charles Smith, in The Mormonites: Their Origin, History, & Pretensions . . ., referred to them as "the poor dupes" who had been "victimized" by the Mormons.⁷ Another writer to question the intelligence of converts to Mormonism was a man named Clarke. He stated in the beginning of his tract that it was not surprising that Mormonism should attract "the illiterate and uninformed portion of the community." He readily admitted, however, that it had been received by "men of

education and intellegence"; but, they had "unstable minds to be led captive by the evil at his will."⁸ Ironically, Clarke claimed to have been a former member of the Church.⁹

James Dean of Norwich, on the other hand, had never been a member of the Church. He stated in the introduction to his tract that after careful consideration, he had concluded that "Mormonism was and is a delusion, and that it could only be embraced by rogues, for the sake of obtaining an idle living, and by simpletons to provide them with it."¹⁰ Some Account of the So-Called Church of the Latter-Day Saints (1852), in contrast, explained that ignorant people from England had been "easily seduced by the prospects of worldly prosperity which the society held out..."¹¹ Perhaps both descriptions could have been considered accurate. There is no doubt that both concepts were accepted as truth.

Perhaps one of the most interesting and amusing "first-person" accounts where both concepts are discussed is the one concerning James Greenlagh who was a cotton-spinner in Egerton, Bolton-le-moors. Greenlagh's account also emphasized the anti-American theme which, in the case of this tract, was used to discourage the average working class family from leaving the safety and comfort of England.

In his narrative, Greenlagh claimed to have been a Mormon who, with his wife and four children, emigrated to

America. Although there is no evidence of a James Greenlagh in Church membership records, this possibility cannot be ruled out. Just the same, because of the style and level of writing, it is highly improbable that Greenlagh, himself, wrote this tract. It is even more probable that the Greenlaghs did not exist, but, were fictitious people created by the writer (probably a clergyman) to represent the typical working class family. Thus, Greenlagh's account could be considered a good example of sensationalized fiction used both as a selling point for tracts and as a means to give a long-lasting message.

The account of the family's journey to and return from America is indeed colorful and entertaining. It is filled with many experiences and adventures which would discourage the average person from undertaking such a risky endeavor. He described travelling to New Orleans where he encountered a dirty city destitute of morals and filled with crime, vice, and poverty. He mentioned the awful plight of the slaves and then stated that, because of the slaves, a laboring man did not have much of a chance of finding work.¹²

The journey up the Mississippi River was enlightening for Greenlagh. During several stops along the way, he learned that the American people were "hardened villains and that they cheat foreigners who are travelling in their country." He also learned about the desperate

poverty of the laboring class due to the high unemployment. By the time he reached Nauvoo, he had become somewhat disillusioned with what he had seen in America, and with the general discomfort in living conditions in comparison to those in England.¹³

Nauvoo was even more disappointing for Greenlagh and his family. He explained that no one was at the dock to greet them when they landed, nor did anyone seem to care about their arrival. Everyone was unfriendly and they could not find any place to stay the first night until a non-Mormon offered them shelter in his barn.

The next few days were filled with the fruitless effort of finding work. While his family had been allowed to stay in the barn of a member family from England, he was unable to find a place they could rent because it was too expensive. He went on to describe the overpopulation that Nauvoo was experiencing. He described the people as looking sickly and poor. He also explained that the city was in a bad location and that some land could not grow a blade of grass. After staying for only a few days, the family decided to leave.¹⁴

The next several pages of the tract were filled with accounts of lack of food and shelter for the family and poverty and unemployment for the American people in general. During their journey from Nauvoo to New York City, Greenlagh mentioned that the family passed through

the birthplace of Joseph Smith where they heard that he had been known for being lazy and for being a "juggler."¹⁵ He described the country that they traveled through as being practically devoid of plants, flowers, and birds. He also went to great lengths to show that the only people who were friendly or helpful to him were English. Finally, after a short stay in New York City, he and his family were able to return to England.¹⁶

As farfetched as this account seems, it was not the only one of its type. Europeans have long been interested in America. This fascination with certain characteristics of Americans and their country continues to the present. Numerous books and travelogues about America were published during the nineteenth century for a public hungry for adventure and fantasy. "Novels about the frontier were prized as emotional safety valves for the millions caught in the dull routine of tasks demanded by industrialization."¹⁷

European readers viewed America as the garden of the world, filled with beauty and great potential for freedom and riches. At the same time, they also envisioned America as a wild and dangerous place. Numerous books recounted hair-raising stories of wild Indians who were known to commit heinous acts of savagery against the helpless Whites. And, if the Indians did not get the traveler, the animals and elements usually would. Europeans were well aware of such creatures as ticks, snakes,

wolves, bears, buffalo, and other animals, as well as some made up by the more imaginative writers.¹⁸

Respite, however, was not to be found among those who had emigrated to America. Savagery seemed to be inbred among those who settled in the land. Americans were viewed as restless wanderers who were indifferent to the traditional concept of home and family. They were also described as being "gaunt and bony, mouths stuffed with tobacco, and shifty grey eyes alert for financial gain."¹⁹ Worse yet, those on the frontier were portrayed as being lawless and blood-thirsty. They were "half civilized and half savage."²⁰

American religion was also viewed in the same extremes as its geography and culture. "The west [in Europeans minds] was either a religious desert or a land where Satan had triumphed in the eternal battle between good and evil."²¹ Those who were religious, were regarded as fanatics who were either illiterate and ignorant, or were "degenerate sex fiends who used their churches to seduce innocent women."²² Writers, of course, would go into lurid detail of the atrocities committed in the name of religion that they had personally witnessed while traveling through America.

Another writer who used the anti-American theme was Edward Brotherton. He began his pamphlet by announcing that the Church in America made few converts, and that

they were "almost entirely from the class called `loafers.'"²³ Later, as a discouragement for anyone considering emigration, he stated that a doctor had visited Nauvoo in 1844 and had found multitudes ill from the fever and ague, dysentery, and other illnesses caused from lack of food and shelter. He then mentioned the numerous deaths that occurred in Nauvoo and that the people were buried, without a coffin, in the nearest hole they could find. "These things are done," he lamented, "with our own fellow-countrymen daily, and on a large scale, in the nineteenth century."²⁴ He ended his piece with an address to the "latter-day-saints of England," wherein he declared his hope of rescuing his fellow countrymen from Mormonism.²⁵

It appears that Brotherton, himself, had been a member of the Mormon Church and had possibly traveled with his relatives to Nauvoo. He was a cousin of Thomas and John Brotherton who were Manchester silk manufacturers, as well as Martha Brotherton who gained notoriety in Nauvoo for her accusations of impropriety on the part of Joseph Smith.²⁶ After returning from Nauvoo, Brotherton became involved with another controversial religious movement; he was a Swedenborgian. He was a believer in "spiritualistic phenomena" and founded a short-lived periodical to express these views. The Dawn, as it was called, was published from 1860 to 1861. Brotherton, born in Manchester in 1814, was also concerned with

popular education. He published a number of articles in the Manchester Guardian and helped found the Education Aid Society which was instrumental in passing the Education Act of 1870. Edward Brotherton died on 23 March, 1866, in Cornbrook, Manchester.²⁷

William Palmer, a prolific pamphleteer from Chatteris, Isle of Ely, also used an anti-American theme in his tract but concerned himself with the American missionaries who came to Britain to convert the people to Mormonism. Near the end of his pamphlet he addressed the British Mormons, "You, perhaps, are sincere. Not so the heads of the Mormon church. Not so your teachers; at least, not your foreign teachers. They are not dupes, but knaves."²⁸

It is interesting to note that Palmer made a distinction between teachers (probably referring to native English missionaries) and foreign teachers. He asserted that while English teachers may have been misguided, American teachers were dishonest rascals. This method of attack was not limited to the Mormon religion with the British. Setting up individuals or organizations as perpetrators of a foreign conspiracy was a successful way of creating enmity between the targets of the press attacks and the readers. In a further attempt to distinguish the difference between the English and the American church, Palmer referred to conspiracies, illegal associations, and military despotism that had occurred in Nauvoo as "...Mormon

fun, or American sport,--still it is un-English."²⁹

Two other important writers who used the anti-American theme in their tracts were John Bowes and J. B. Lowe. John Bowes' large pamphlet was published in about 1850, one of over 220 tracts that he authored during his lifetime. Bowes also was the publisher of two religious magazines, the Christian Magazine and the Truth Promoter, issued between 1842 and 1874.³⁰ Being a prolific writer was only one aspect of John Bowes' remarkable life.

He was born June 12, 1804 at Swineside, in Coverdale, Yorkshire, to poor parents.³¹ In about June of 1817, he joined the Wesleyan Methodist Society. He later joined the Primitive Methodists and became a traveling preacher for them. During this time, he suffered the same persecutions that numerous Primitive Methodists did, such as egging, stoning, verbal abuse, and other manifestations of animosity exhibited by the crowds.³²

In 1830 he separated from all organized religions and started his own mission at Dundee. He remained there for a time, and then began traveling from town to town preaching in the open air. During this time, he again suffered persecution and legal prosecution for street-preaching. "He was a vigorous platform speaker, ever ready to combat with socialists, freethinkers, or Roman Catholics."³³ Mormons could also have been included in that list of enemies.

Bowes' fervor was also expressed in his advocacy of temperance and of peace. While minister of the Aitkenite chapel on Hope Street, in Liverpool, Bowes came into conflict with Robert Aitken over his strict interpretation of teetotalism. Because of their disagreements, Bowes was eventually forced to leave for Manchester.³⁴ In 1848, Bowes was one of the representatives of England at the Brussels Peace Congress.³⁵ John Bowes' dedication to his religion and moral principles are indeed admirable:

During the greater part of his life he refused to accept a salary for his ministrations, and he seems to have supported himself and family chiefly by the sale of his own tracts and books.³⁶

Bowes died at Dundee, Scotland on 23 September 1874, aged 70.

On page four of his pamphlet against the Latter-day Saints, Bowes also contrasted the American Mormons with the British ones by explaining, "Persons who have opened their houses to entertain Mormon priests in England, say that the Yankees or Americans were all destitute of religion, and generally bad men, while several of the English Mormons were sincere, pious men."³⁷ He then stated that the leaders in England were always Americans who did not work, but lived off of the money of the native people.³⁸

In a further attempt to alienate the Mormons from the British people, Bowes announced that Mormonism "panders to tyranny and slavery". Thus, Bowes used the slavery

argument in order to create animosity between the English people and the "foreign" missionaries and religion. In order to accomplish this, he used the same techniques used in other tracts, which was to quote from the Doctrine and Covenants the statement about not interfering with bond-servants.³⁹ This approach, along with the anti-Mormon rhetoric and accounts of the payment of large sums of money to travel to America, was used to discourage would-be converts.

Josiah Beatson Lowe was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He received his B.A. in 1839, M.A., B.D., and D.D. in 1860. He was the Curate of St. Jude, Walton-on-the-Hill, Lancashire, from 1850 to 1875. It was during this time that he lectured and published against the Mormon Church. He was the Vicar of St. Michael, Toxteth Park, Liverpool 1875-1880. In 1880 he was chosen to be Rector of Yoxhall near Burton-on-Trent.⁴⁰ Yoxhall is a parish in the county of Stafford about seven and a half miles north-east of Lichfield. In 1831 it had 1,756 inhabitants. The living was a little over seventeen and a half pounds a year. Lowe remained there until his death on 25 June, 1893.

Lowe appears to have been a colorful and somewhat controversial individual. In 1865, a local periodical published a short article on him. The article explained:

He is a man somewhat beyond the prime of life; of middle height and spare figure; of florid complexion and light hair; with very little whisker, a broad, intellectual-looking forehead, prominent features, and a general expression of countenance indicative of decision of character and strength of will. Beyond this, his face ...is capable of expressing very little indeed. Except in its lower parts, it appears to be almost devoid of that power of motion which is in some public speakers a superadded [sic] faculty of eloquence.His voice is strong, but hard, without the compensating quality of clearness. [comparing him to Ernest Jones, a Chartist orator] There is the same absence of tenderness, the same passionate coldness, bordering on cruelty, in its tones; and the same sharp, rapid and mechanically impetuous mode of utterance in both.⁴¹

The Latter-day Saint Millennial Star also took notice of him. On February 15, 1852, an article appeared in the Star mentioning that on November 13, 1851 the Rev. J.B. Lowe delivered a lecture on "Mormonism" in the Concert Hall in Liverpool. Interestingly enough, Lowe also mentioned his November lecture in one that he gave in March of 1852. It appears that Lowe had published printed copies of his first lecture, one of which came into the hands of an Elder William Collinson. Collinson responded in a public letter to Lowe, whereupon Lowe printed a letter to Collinson on handbills asserting the truthfulness of what he had said and printed, announcing his lecture for March 8.

The lecture and subsequent pamphlet contained the usual arguments against the church. Rather than distinguish between good (but misguided) British Mormons and bad American Mormons, Lowe referred to the whole system of

Mormonism as "un-English."⁴²

However, the emphasis of Lowe's pamphlet concerns the evil character of Joseph Smith and his associates, doctrinal problems of Mormonism, and the immorality of the Mormons.

The theme of Joseph Smith and his associates as people with questionable and immoral characters was a popular theme not only in Great Britain, but also in the United States where it originated with the beginning of Mormonism. With the publication of Richard Livesey's pamphlet this theme became an integral part of numerous tracts concerning Mormonism. Some of the major pamphleteers to discuss the character of Joseph Smith were F. B. Ashley, William Palmer, John Whitney, and Henry Caswall.

F.B. Ashley was the Vicar of Wooburn, Buckinghamshire. He appears to have been a vocal opponent of Mormonism, having written at least two pamphlets against the church. Although Ashley discussed Joseph Smith, like most of the other pamphlets of that genre, the tract was a conglomeration of several concepts. The emphasis of his tract contained the usual arguments against The Book of Mormon, such as the Spaulding theory and the testimonies of various residents of Palmyra. It is obvious from his tract that he had obtained his information from E.D. Howe's work (which was reprinted in 1840) or from the various copies in the form of other tracts. Ashley, like other writers, also equated the evil character of Joseph Smith with the idea that

Mormonism was a money-making fraud which had been created for the benefit of its founders.

This was also a theme expounded upon by William Palmer. His tract, The External Evidences of the Book of Mormon, was a step by step attack on the Book of Mormon and its translator and witnesses. Palmer began his work by stating that Joseph Smith was "A sorcerer, a liar, an imposter, a vagabond, a swindler."⁴³ Having left no doubts of his opinion of Joseph Smith, Palmer then began justifying his accusations.

He commenced by describing the character of the Smiths, which, according to his tract, was anything but good. He quoted from affidavits which related how Joseph Smith got drunk and fought with some field laborers. He then proceeded to discuss the witnesses of The Book of Mormon. He listed eight points against the witnesses which included such items as the relationship of the witnesses to Joseph Smith, their character, financial problems, and other details of sordid activities.

As an example of the evil character of Smith and his followers, he portrayed the men as a group of necromancers. He related how Smith used a "peep-stone" to look for buried treasure that was guarded by evil spirits. One time, "a large fat black wether Stafford [one of the men] had in his flock was taken to another rich spot, its throat cut, and led bleeding around the circle as a

propitiation to the evil spirit....The devil kept his money, and the Smiths ate his mutton."⁴⁴ He also repeated the story from Howe's book about the toad appearing to Joseph.

The intent behind relating these instances of occult activities was to show that if Smith had been involved in necromancy, he could not have been a true prophet and, therefore, Mormonism was a hoax created to get gain. Palmer's pamphlet contained probably the most detailed account of the Smith connection to treasure-digging and folk magic of any of the English tracts from that time.

Another of the numerous writers who used Smith as the target for their attack against Mormonism was John Whitney. Whitney's work, perhaps one of the more vehement attacks on Mormonism from that time, took another approach to show the folly of Joseph Smith and his Church. In his work, he discussed the problems with Joseph Smith which showed that he was not a man of God. He also related the problems between Smith and Oliver Cowdery. He explained about Cowdery's apostasy and Smith's accusations against him. He also discussed doctrines such as temple work and the priesthood. He warned that "the most obscene and frantic orgies of Mormonism [teachings]," were "inundating the land."⁴⁵

Whitney ended his discussion against Mormonism with what he claimed to be the duties of a deacon from the

Mormon temple in "Raunos" (obviously the temple, or church of William Smith at Ramus, Illinois). Part of the oath reads:

...Secondly, if any person or persons come into this Temple, and such persons are found to be disturbers or instigators of the same, you must wring their necks, double them neck and heels together, and throw them over the rails. Thirdly, if you go along the street and meet any body uglier than yourself, knock them down.⁴⁶

Obviously, this would have been quite shocking and somewhat amusing to the readers of Whitney's tract. It is also obvious that this was not a teaching of the LDS Church. The readers at that time, however, would probably not have known that, and many of them undoubtedly believed it.

One of the more incredible and yet important stories introduced during this period was that of Henry Caswall. Although his work was written in the form of a travelogue, it should be considered more of an example of a polemic tract than that of a travelogue. Travelogues, as has been mentioned, were very popular at this period of time. Travelers were fascinated with America, the West in particular, and many returned to Europe and wrote of their experiences - both real and imagined. One writer who combined myth and reality was Marryat in his book Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet. Interestingly enough, Marryat also discussed the Mormons in his imaginative travelogue. Most of these books that mentioned the Mormons, however, did so only in

passing. Those that did go into great detail on the Mormons usually were of a negative tone; and, most were written after the Latter-day Saints had settled in the Great Basin.

Henry Caswall's The City of the Mormons; or, Three Days at Nauvoo in 1842 was a large tract of eighty-two pages and was published in London in 1842.⁴⁷ It went through several reprintings, as did Caswall's other works on Mormonism.⁴⁸ Indeed, it would not be an overstatement to say that Henry Caswall was one of the most influential of Britain's anti-Mormon writers.

Henry Caswall was born in 1810 in Yately, Hampshire, England, into a family with a large estate and a prestigious name. His mother was the niece of Thomas Burgess, Bishop of St. David, and later of Salisbury. His father, also a clergyman, was a direct descendant of Sir George Caswall, who had been a member of Parliament for Leominster. One of Henry Caswall's younger brothers, Edward Caswall, also became well known, but in a more infamous manner.

Edward was educated at Oxford, and became Curate of Stratford-sub-Castle in the diocese of Salisbury. However, he resigned his curacy shortly before joining the Catholic Church in January of 1847. He attributed his conversion to the writings of Dr. Newman of the Oxford Movement. Edward was recognized as an accomplished poet, lyricist, and writer well before his conversion to Catholicism.

After his conversion, he used his talents to defend his newly found religion. He became known as an "Oxford Pervert" and his popularity waned.⁴⁹

The effect that his younger brother's apostasy had on Henry can only be surmised, but, there is little doubt that it was a source of consternation for him. By the time of Edward's conversion to Catholicism, Henry had already written his better-known works on Mormonism. Henry had begun his career working in the field of religion in the United States, where he had gone to study.

Henry Caswall graduated from Kenyon College, Ohio, with a B.A. in 1830, and a M.A. in 1834. He became the first ordained graduate of Kenyon College, being ordained a deacon in the Episcopal Church by the Bishop of Ohio in 1831.⁵⁰ Caswall became the professor of theology at Kemper College in St. Louis, Missouri. Kemper College was established in 1841 by Bishop Kemper of Missouri, "as an institution of higher learning for the training of the clergy."⁵¹ The college, however, did not fare well and eventually had to be closed.

It was during Caswall's tenure as a professor at the college that he became interested in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He had noticed the many English members traveling to Nauvoo and decided to visit the city. Upon visiting Nauvoo, Caswall aptly expressed his own feelings of envy over the success of the Mormons

and frustration for the failure of his college and lack of success of the Church of England:

As a Churchman, I feel almost ashamed for my Church, when I reflect upon the heavy discouragements which are suffered to afflict the amiable and patient missionary bishop of Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin....Why is Kemper College, the first and only institution of the Church beyond the Mississippi, permitted to languish, while the Mormon temple, and the Mormon university, offer their delusive attractions to the rising generation? Why is the venerable bishop of Illinois permitted to labour almost alone, while the missionaries of Joseph Smith, with a zeal worthy of the true Church, perambulate his diocese and plant their standard in every village?⁵²

After the failure of his school, Henry Caswall returned to England in 1842. He published his first tract, The City of the Mormons, against the Church in that same year. During the next few years, he wrote books and pamphlets on such varying topics as the Church in Scotland and religion in America. He also published several longer works on Mormonism.

In 1848, after receiving a private act of parliament which removed any disabilities attached to his ordination in the United States, he was made the Vicar of Figcheldean, Wiltshire, in the diocese of Salisbury. Figcheldean is a parish about four miles from Amesbury, not far from the city of Salisbury. In 1831 the parish contained 437 inhabitants. It was a discharged vicarage with a sinecure rectory rated at L37.⁵³ In 1860, he also became the Prebendary of Salisbury. He held both offices until 1870, when he relinquished them and returned to America.

According to one source, he died in Franklin, Pennsylvania, on 17 December 1870.⁵⁴

The main subject of Caswall's first pamphlet was his visit to Nauvoo and his desire to prove Joseph Smith to be a fraud. Caswall stated that he obtained "an ancient Greek manuscript of the Psalter written upon parchment, and probably about six hundred years old."⁵⁵ On Friday, April 15th, he boarded a steamboat for Nauvoo, taking with him the Greek psalter, he arrived there Sunday morning.

He then proceeded to describe Nauvoo and its inhabitants. His language and descriptions, as is the case with other polemic works, are filled with bias. In relating his first meeting with the saints, he wrote:

I perceived many groups of the peasantry of old England; their steady forms, their clear complexions, their heavy movements, strongly contrasting with the slight figure, the sallow visage, and the elastic step of the American.

There too, were the bright and innocent looks of little children, who, born among the privileges of England's Church, baptized with her consecrated waters, and taught to pronounce her prayers and repeat her catechism, had now been led into this den of heresy, to listen to the ravings of a false prophet, and to imbibe the principles of a delusion worse than paganism.⁵⁶

The usual incidents of conflict with deluded Mormons and comments on their lack of intelligence and honesty encompass the first twenty pages. It was at this point in the text that he explained the purpose of his bringing the Greek psalter with him. He wrote that on Monday the

18th he crossed over the river from Montrose, Iowa, where he was staying, and showed a member his psalter and asked to have Joseph Smith look at it. He was not able to show Smith the psalter until the next day. However, he was able to use the time to expose the ignorance of the Mormon leaders and confound them in their beliefs. He explained how he visited several places of interest in the city. His presence attracted the attention of the inhabitants.

On the following morning he was transported across the river by several Mormons, including a Mormon doctor who discussed with him the missionary work in England. At this point, Caswall wrote, "I observed, that I had reason to believe that the conquests of Mormonism in Britain had been principally among the comparatively illiterate and uneducated. This he partially admitted..."⁵⁷ By this time, they had reached the home of the Prophet, followed by a crowd of curious Mormons who were hoping to get a glimpse of the mysterious book.

He met Joseph Smith a short distance from his home and was informed that he could have an interview with him. He then gives a detailed description of Joseph Smith:

He is a coarse, plebeian, sensual person in aspect, and his countenance exhibits a curious mixture of the knave and the clown. His hands are large and fat, and on one of his fingers he wears a massive gold ring, upon which I saw an inscription. His eyes appear deficient in that

open and straightforward expression which often characterizes an honest man. His dress was of coarse country manufacture....⁵⁸

Caswall then proceeded to recount the visit he had and how he showed Smith the Greek psalter. Upon seeing the Greek psalter and hearing Caswall explain that he thought it might be Greek, Smith said:

No, it ain't Greek at all; except perhaps a few words. What ain't Greek, is Egyptian; and what ain't Egyptian, is Greek. This book is very valuable. It is a dictionary of Egyptian Hieroglyphics. ...Them figures is Egyptian hieroglyphics; and them which follows, is the interpretation of the hieroglyphics, written in the reformed Egyptian. Them characters is like the letters that was engraved on the golden plates.⁵⁹

Joseph and the Mormons, of course, wanted to buy this valuable record, but Caswall refused. After a few more minutes' discussion, and a walk to Joseph's office to show the papyrus to Caswall, Joseph disappeared. Caswall saw him driving away in a light wagon as fast as he could. Caswall and the multitude that had followed him then engaged in a debate, in the middle of the street, on doctrine and the Prophet Joseph Smith. The remainder of the tract contains stories and statements concerning the character and actions of Joseph Smith and the other Mormon leaders. In addition, there is an appendix containing a statement of Bishop Kemper, the Bishop of Indiana, Missouri, Iowa, and other parts of the midwest, on the Mormons and their activities. Caswall no doubt included him to add validity and authority to his work.

Caswall's tract was of great importance among anti-Mormon writers. One Mormon apologist considers Caswall's story of his visit to Joseph Smith and the Greek psalter as the "...most effective single contribution to Anti-Mormon literature...."⁶⁰ Before, English writers had to depend upon the newspaper articles and other anti-Mormon materials that they could obtain. However, with the publication of Caswall's tract, they had an Englishman who claimed to have personally seen and talked with the Mormon Prophet. Better yet, Caswall not only claimed to have visited the Prophet, but to have proven that he was a fraud. For the opponents of Mormonism, this was, indeed, a coup.

There are, however, some serious problems with Caswall's account. First of all, Caswall's story does not correspond with any other account of that time. There is no mention of Henry Caswall and his visit in public or personal records. Nor does Caswall's description of Joseph Smith agree with any other of that time. Secondly, Caswall changed his story of the visit at least six times.⁶¹ Thus, it is obvious that, although Henry Caswall probably visited Nauvoo, he did not have the famous interview with the Prophet which he claims to have had.⁶²

Whether or not the other writers who used Caswall's story were aware of this fact will never be known. In all probability, they did not know. Either way, quite a few writers referred to Caswall and his experience.

Caswall, of course, was not the first nor the last to attack The Book of Mormon. Although his story of the Greek psalter was used by other writers, the Spalding Theory and examples of textual and historical errors were the methods most often used. In Mormonism Unmasked..., for example, R. Clarke explained that there could not be modern revelation and that The Book of Mormon, therefore, was as much a revelation as "Arabian Nights Entertainment".⁶³

In his tract, Clarke referred to both the Spalding Theory and to Caswall's Greek Psalter story. Clarke also discussed terminology problems in The Book of Mormon. He attacked the use of Greek terms (such as Christ) in the book, the use of a compass by the family of Lehi, and the eating of raw meat which was against the Mosaic law.⁶⁴ As a warning to his readers, Clarke wrote:

Mormonism is one of them [a poison to the soul]; and whosoever drinks in its blasphemies, swallows down its deceptions, ...will find to their never-ending sorrow, that its deadliness is eternal.⁶⁵

In almost every pamphlet, whether it was attacking the character of Joseph Smith or the origin of The Book of Mormon, was a warning to the readers to beware of the Mormon missionaries and priests. A number of pamphlets went a step further and made Mormon claims to divine power and authority one of the major themes discussed.

An example of this is the tract written by Charles Smith in which he warned of the pretended miracles performed by the Mormons and of their system of priestcraft.⁶⁶ In

Friendly Warnings on the Subject of Mormonism..., published in 1850, a "country Clergyman" recounted a confrontation he had with "Mormonite priests". In the tract he described the debate that he had with the Mormons concerning doctrine. He demanded that they perform miracles for him (to which they refused) and concluded that they, along with Irvingites, Quakers, and Roman Catholics, were wrong.

Probably one of the more detailed accounts of an encounter between a Mormon missionary and a member of the established church is the one provided in James Dean's tract, Mormonism Not Christianity. . .. He described how he desired to discuss the Mormon religion with the Mormons in order to prove that it was false. There were, however, no Mormons who wanted to meet with him and debate. Finally, a certain Mormon elder by the name of Mr. Buckingham agreed to the meeting. Upon hearing that it was with Mr. Dean that he was to meet, "Buckingham appeared to be cast down, and asked in his usual oily tone of voice, 'Is there one nearer than Norwich who could come?'" When asked why he did not want Dean, "The best answer that he could find was, that Dean was a liar, and his pastor a devoted infidel."⁶⁷

According to Dean, the meeting did occur near Knapton. The ensuing debate concerned various doctrines of the church such as priesthood authority, the Godhead, baptism by immersion, and spiritual gifts within the church. On

each subject, Dean was able to confound his opponent. At the end of this self-congratulatory work, those present decided in favor of Mr. Dean and announced that they would have no more to do with Mormonism.

Although the tract appears to have been directed more toward showing the ignorance of the Mormon missionaries, it does, just the same, discuss some important doctrinal questions. Most of the pamphlets tend to highlight the more sensational aspects of Mormons, their history and doctrines. Usually, the deeper doctrinal aspects of the religion are either avoided or are lightly touched upon. It would appear that the reason for the emphasis on the sensational was that it had more appeal to the general reading public and would, therefore, have more selling potential.

One important exception to this general trend of avoiding deep doctrinal and philosophical subjects was T.W.P. Taylder. Little is known about Taylder except that he was a "noted British theologian" residing at Liverpool⁶⁸ and obviously well-educated and intelligent. His tract, The Materialism of the Mormons, or Latter Day Saints, Examined and Exposed, is one of the better written and documented examples of this genre of literature.

Taylder utilized the well-known philosophers and Biblical scriptures in its defense of the immateriality of God and its attack on the Mormon concept of a corporeal

Deity and the material nature of all things, including spirits. He specifically discussed and attacked Elder Orson Pratt's treatise, The Kingdom of God. He stated as his thesis that the Mormon doctrine of Deity is irrational, unscriptural, and of no utility to man and derogatory to God.⁶⁹ He then used the next section of his pamphlet to support his thesis. He began his defense by explaining that the spirit is "purely immaterial", the soul is distinct from "that which is pure spirit", and that the body is material. He supported this with St. Augustine's declaration that man is in the image of the Holy Trinity.⁷⁰

In putting forth his assertion that Mormonism is unscriptural, Taylder suggested that Mormonism is, in reality, tritheism because it denies the "unity of the Godhead" and teaches of the material nature of three substances.⁷¹ He then used numerous scriptural references to show that God could not only be in human form, but could be compared to a rock, house, etc. He, of course, also used Hebrews 1:14- "God is a spirit" -as proof of the unsoundness of Mormon doctrine.

He concluded his work by claiming, "True religion elevates man, false religions humble God." The Mormon god, because it is not an "omnipresent and perfect spiritual existence, is no god." Thus, all those seeking to know the truth and to improve their minds should study the scriptures and beware of the "nefarious" falsehood of

Mormonism.⁷²

The Latter-day Saint Church was fortunate to have in England, at the time of the publication of Taylder's pamphlet, one of its greatest thinkers. This was Orson Pratt. Orson Pratt has been referred to as "The most prolific and perhaps most influential early Mormon pamphleteer..."⁷³ On the whole, however, "Orson was an elaborator, a systematizer, and populizer of Mormon thought, not an innovator nor an originator."⁷⁴

Beginning in June of 1849, Orson Pratt began publishing in The Latter-Day Saint Millennial Star a rebuttal to the charges made by T.W.P. Taylder. These articles were also published in pamphlet form and widely distributed. Pratt's rebuttal, "Absurdities of Immaterialism...", is the "fullest expression" of his theory of "Intelligent Self-moving Matter."⁷⁵

In his response, Pratt attacked Taylder's concept of the immateriality of a spirit. Pratt announced that he would show that immaterialism was irrational and opposed to true philosophy, and that an immaterial substance could not exist. Pratt went as far as to declare that those believing in the immaterial nature of God were, in reality, atheists.⁷⁶ He wrote that since the body exists in space, all aspects of it, including its spirit essence, have a relation to its surrounding space.⁷⁷ Using the same arguments for a material God, Pratt succeeded in

presenting a logical explanation to his theory.

To Taylder, however, Pratt's explanations were not logical. In 1855, he again responded to the doctrine of the materiality of God, as well as to other doctrines and practices of Mormonism in his book The Mormon's Own Book; or, Mormonism Tried by its Own Standards-Reason and Scripture. Although the two hundred page book offered some interesting points in its rebuttal of Pratt's arguments, it was not as well written as his first work, and Taylder relied on the old standbys of the Spalding Theory, temple ceremony, and polygamy.

T.W.P. Taylder was not the only one to attack the Mormon doctrine of the materiality of God. The Rev. Lowe discussed the material nature of God in his lectures, while others added an attack on the doctrine to their tracts. Although doctrines, such as the materiality of God, were discussed in the various pamphlets, it was rare for them to contain only one theme. Rather, these pamphlets were usually a conglomeration of a number of the major arguments against Mormonism. An example of this would be Mormonism: An Exposure of the Impositions Adopted by the Sect Called "The Latter-Day Saints."

The tract was authored by the Rev. F.B. Ashley, Vicar of Wooburn in Buckinghamshire, in 1851. After the usual discussion of Mormon atrocities, such as the Danites, swindling innocent victims out of their money, the Spalding

Theory, and the evil character of the Book of Mormon witnesses, he discussed the doctrine concerning Deity and referred to the Mormon God as an unknown God because it is material.⁷⁸ He then stated that Mormonism attracted the "poor weak, ignorant, vain man...."⁷⁹

In Mormonism Exposed. . ., John Bowes also discussed the Mormon concept of Deity, wherein he attacked the statement of Christ to the Jaredites that he was the "Father and the Son" as heresy. He also attacked the doctrine of the materiality of God and the eternal nature of matter. He announced that the material God of the "Mormonites" is an "unknown God" in that, as a material Being, it "could not be omnipresent, omnipotent, immutable, such as we are taught God is, in the Holy Scriptures."⁸⁰

Another tract that attacked the belief in a material God was a four page pamphlet printed in Ormskirk, Lancashire, entitled, Mormonism; or Some of the False Doctrines and Lying Abominations of the So-Called Latter-Day Saints. . .. The tract also discussed baptism and the Spaulding Theory. These were the same subjects broached in T. Dixon's Mormonism or the Bible? The author also quoted from Henry Caswall's The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century and discussed "spiritual wifery" practiced by Joseph Smith.⁸¹

Although the theme of the immoral character of Joseph Smith had been suggested very early in anti-Mormon literature,

it had been one of the lesser themes for the first decade of the Church in Britain. This began to change by the late 1840s and early 1850s. This was due in part to the stories that began circulating in England by word of mouth and in news articles of sexual misconduct on the part of the Church leaders. These rumours were fanned by the exposes of John C. Bennett and the Van Dusens.

The juxtaposing of sexual license and the temple ceremony began with the first known expose on the Mormon temple. This was published by a husband and wife team, Increase McGee and Maria Van Dusen (also spelled Van Deuzen). They had both been members of the Church in Nauvoo. Increase had held the office of Seventy in the Melchizedek Priesthood of the Church. According to the Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register, Increase was born 25 May 1810, and his wife, Maria, was born on 12 August 1824. Both received their washings, annointings, and Endowments on 29 January 1846, in the Nauvoo Temple.⁸²

Shortly after their temple experience, both Increase and Maria apparently apostatized from the Church and left Nauvoo for their native New York. By 1847, a pamphlet concerning the innerworkings of the Nauvoo Temple, had been published by them in Albany, New York. From 1847 to 1852, the Van Dusens published at least seven pamphlets on Mormonism and their temple ceremony. The tracts varied little in their content from each other. All of

them claimed to disclose the deep, dark secrets of Mormonism.

The underlying message of the pamphlet was thinly veiled eroticism and sexual incontinency of the ceremony. For, according to the tract, the first step taken in the ceremony was for the couple to be separated, undressed, and washed and annointed all over their body. In explaining this part of the ceremony, Increase wrote, "There is a variety of ceremony going on in this room, some of rather to delicate a nature to speak of as this work is designed to be read by all classes of both sex." Thus leaving the impression of lascivious behavior on the part of the Mormons.⁸³

Van Dusen also mentioned the "spiritual wife" doctrine. By 1852, the underlying message of sexuality had become blatant. The cover of the twelve and one half cent tract portrays a man pointing to a woman draped provocatively in some robes. The woman's legs and left breast are bare. Within the text is found another illustration entitled "Bridal Couch of the Spiritual Wife". This pictures a woman reclining on a couch, with a robe covering only the pubic area of her body.

The text is even more interesting. Rather than recount his own experiences, Van Dusen portrayed the experiences of a young woman. He explains that she is "...divested of the remainder of her clothing, which leaves her in a perfect state of nakedness. The conductor

next takes this nude female into a bath of water, and washes her all over..."⁸⁴ As she is washed, the person blesses different parts of her body, such as her eyes, mouth, etc. Van Dusen, of course, emphasizes the more personal aspects of the body by writing, "...your breast, that you may give suck to a numerous posterity; your loins, bowels, &c., that you may conceive and bring forth spiritual sons and daughters; your____, that you may____; and so down to the feet...."⁸⁵ By leaving these blank he allows the reader to try to envision something too explicit to be printed.

The Rev. John Frere, Chaplain to the Bishop of London, and Rector of Cottenham, in the Diocese of Ely, appears to have been the first in England to pick-up on the temple ceremony as portrayed by the Van Dusens. In his tract, Frere relied upon the works of Howe and Caswall to provide him with material to attack Mormonism with the usual arguments. As with most of the other works of this genre, Frere's tract is a veritable regurgitation of countless other pamphlets with such themes as the Spaulding Theory, the character of Joseph Smith, and Joseph Smith as an American Mohammed. The two new themes of attack that were based on the Van Dusen pamphlets were those concerning the temple and its ceremonies, and the doctrine of celestial marriage or, plurality of wives.

By the publication of Frere's tract in 1850, the

theme of the temple and sexual licence had become intertwined.

Frere described the temple as, according to Van Dusen, "Half church, half hotel" where Joseph Smith and others "established a mockery of religion, consisting in burlesque imitations of holy things, in preaching, praying, prophesying, and dancing."⁸⁶

Another who also built on the theme of an immoral system of permissiveness, was the Rev. Josiah Beatson Lowe. In one of his pamphlets, he discussed what he termed to be "The Mysteries of the Kingdom," which he had obtained from a former member. They are as follows:

The first is, that the great Jehovah has a wife in the heavens.Hence, they say, the idea of the women of Jerusalem baking cakes to the queen of heaven.

The second is, that prior to our spirits coming into this world for bodies, that in the eternal world, we may have had husbands and wives, and have begotten a large posterity. For instance, it was said of my wife [wife of the former Mormon who had written Lowe], that in other planets she may have had several children.

The writer says that he has learned other "mysteries", of such a character that he would not like to commit them to writing.

"The Spiritual Wife" Doctrine, by which a plurality of wives is allowed, was, they say, revealed to Joseph Smith, for the purpose of begetting with greater facility, for the numberless spirits which are waiting in heaven for the same. But the privilege is chiefly confined to the priesthood.

Hence, it is said that the present head of their church has as many as ninety wives, and the other officials in proportion to the rank which they hold in the church. This doctrine is not commonly taught, apart from their gathering-place in America; but, when enquired about, is almost invariably denied.⁸⁷

Lowe then explained that he had evidence of the

practice of plural marriage by the Mormons. He had obtained a book, the report of the former Judges from Utah Territory, which detailed the Mormon practice of polygamy. He also had former members stand up during the lecture and give testimonials of the wickedness of the Church. One, a Mr. Roberts, asserted that the poor did not go to Zion, as had been promised, that it was only "fine young women" who were sent.⁸⁸ These testimonials were included in the tract.

Lowe ended his tract by stating that he believed it to be his moral obligation to bring forth to the public the information that he had. He writes, "I only regret that I was not sooner aware of the extent to which the evil had gone in this town, that it might have been arrested sooner."⁸⁹ He continued by imploring:

May I entreat all of you here present--who know what it is to pray, and who feel the inutility and vanity of every effort which is not blessed of God--may I beg of you to lift up your hearts to him to grant his blessing,--to beseech him on behalf of our deluded countrymen, that their eyes may be opened before it is too late; and so this un-English, this anti-social, anti-Christian system may be banished from the land.⁹⁰

The suggestion, by the Van Dusens and subsequent writers, of licentious activities in the Mormon temple, added to the rumors and accusations of spiritual wifery and "religious prostitution," increased the perception of the Mormons as a sensual counterpart to Islam and a threat to the moral fabric and stability of the nation.

Images of an immoral Mormon empire in the Rocky Mountains of America began to be vividly described by the writers of pamphlets. As before, these pamphlets profess to be warnings to fellow countrymen of the evils of this new religious sect.

An anonymous pamphlet, Some Account of the So-Called Church of the Latter-Day Saints (1852) described Utah as "one of the most fertile tracts of land in the Western Hemisphere", and then proceeded to explain that ignorant people from England had been "easily seduced by the prospects of worldly prosperity which the society held out..." and, by the "freedom from some moral restraints which it allowed, for there can be no doubt that great immorality was not only permitted, but legalized, under the sanction of religious rites...."⁹¹ The author also compared Joseph Smith and Mormonism to Mohammed and the rise of Islam, in particularly with the creation of a Mormon state in the west.⁹²

Reverend William Kelly of Guernsey referred to Joseph Smith as following "in the steps of the false prophet of Arabia." He then stated that "Mahometanism and Mormonism are two gross delusions to hope for success....."⁹³ It appears that this was one of Kelly's first works. He was born in 1821, and, therefore, would have been about twenty-seven when he published this tract on Mormonism. Kelly was a prolific writer, and, before his death in

1906, he published numerous articles, tracts, and books on various religious topics.

The Mormonites, or Latter-Day Saints (1852) not only supported the comments of William Kelly, but he mentioned a journey which Kelly made to Utah where he saw for himself that plural marriage was being practiced.⁹⁴ The last part of the fifteen page pamphlet is a comparison of Mormonism to Islam. This, of course, was by referring to Joseph Smith as a modern Mohammed and then stating:

And there is another curious resemblance between the Arabian imposter, Mahomet, and the American imposter, Joseph Smith. Mahomet, in his book reckons adultery among the deadly sins; yet he had seventeen wives, and allowed all his followers the same liberty. Joseph Smith in his book talks much about adultery, yet he allowed what he called "spiritual wives;" and...the present head Mormonite in America has a great many wives!⁹⁵

One of the more interesting accounts of the "spiritual wife doctrine" was a tract by J.G. Deck in 1851. Along with the usual attacks on The Book of Mormon and various Mormon doctrines, was the comparison of the Mormons with the Muslims and the claim, "Among his [Joseph Smith] followers was introduced a system of female prostitution of the most revolting character, sanctioned by the name of spiritual wife doctrine."⁹⁶ He went on to explain that a Danite by the name of Dr. Foster had caught Joseph Smith trying to seduce his wife. For that reason, Foster published The Nauvoo Expositor, which contained affidavits of sixteen females whom Joseph and others had attempted

to seduce.⁹⁷

In Mormonism Exposed. . ., John Bowes gave an interesting discussuion concerning the temple ceremony and the plurality of wives. Chapter 2 of the pamphlet has the titillating title, "Hidden Orgies of Mormonism Practiced in the Nauvoo Temple." Bowes quoted extensively from the Van Dusen's works, and described in detail the different parts of the ceremony, adding to it an air of scandal. In connection with the temple ceremony, he explained the spiritual-wife doctrine, he stated that it was the purpose of the man, in order to obtain for himself a large kingdom, to "get all the women he can, consequently, it subjects that portion of the female sex which he has influence over, eventually to literal ruin."⁹⁸

In further explanation of the spiritual-wife doctrine, or, as he termed it, "universal female prostitution", Bowes referred to Edward Brotherton's account of plural marriage in Nauvoo. He then described the system wherein spiritual wifery was practiced. The system which was described was taken from John C. Bennett's History of the Saints, and involved the different degrees of the "Mormon harem."⁹⁹ After the description of the system, Bowes emphatically stated: "I trust that the fathers, and mothers, and husbands of England, will take care of their wives and daughters, and preserve them from ever being contaminated by the pestilential breath of adulterers and

fornicators."¹⁰⁰

With this warning to the people of England can be seen a trend that would come to fruition during the next decade. While the anti-Mormon tracts had, in the beginning, dealt more with the doctrines of the church, The Book of Mormon, and the character of Joseph Smith, the later pamphlets emphasized the moral condition of the Mormons and their marriage practices. Although several pamphlets discussed this aspect in the late forties and early fifties, the sensual exposes would blossom after the public announcement of plural marriage in August of 1852.

NOTES-CHAPTER 4

1. Richard Cowan, "Church Growth in England, 1841-1914," Truth Will Prevail (Cambridge: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), p. 203.
2. Ibid., p. 202.
3. Ibid., pp. 206-8.
4. British Parliamentary Papers: 1851 Census Great Britain, Report and tables on Religious Worship, England and Wales (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press Series, 1970), p. cxi.
5. Susan L. Fales, The Nonconformists of Leeds in the Early Victorian Era: A Study in Social Composition (Thesis: Brigham Young University, 1984), p. 36.
6. James B. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander, eds. Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840-1842 (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1974), pp. 21-2.
7. Charles H. Smith, The Mormonites: Their Origin, History, & Pretensions: Being an Exposure of the Blasphemous Doctrines of the Latter-Day Saints. . . (Bristol: Mathews Brothers, 1849), pp. 8-9.
8. R. Clarke, Mormonism Unmasked: or, The Latter-Day Saints in a Fix (London: G., J. & R. Banks, Printers, n.d.), p. 1.
9. Ibid., p. 11.
10. James Dean, Mormonism Not Christianity, As Proved in a Discussion Between a Mormon Elder and a Defender of Evangelical Christianity . . . (Norwich: Otty; Orford Hill: Charwood, 1847), p. 1.
11. Some Account of the So-Called Church of the Latter-Day Saints (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1852), p. 19.

12. James Greenlagh, Narrative of James Greenlagh, Cotton-Spinner . . . (Liverpool: Richard Scragg, 1842), pp. 2-3.
13. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
14. Ibid., pp. 4-6. It should be noted that there was a high number of diseases caused by the location on the Mississippi River, and the closeness to low-lying swampland, of Nauvoo. This was a problem that plagued numerous communities along the Mississippi River.
15. It is obvious that the writer of the tract was either incorrect in his knowledge of the birthplace of Joseph Smith or was ignorant of American geography. The birthplace of Joseph Smith is Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, and would not have been on any direct route of travel from Nauvoo to New York City.
16. Ibid., pp. 8-12.
17. Ray Allen Billington, Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), p. 32.
18. Ibid., pp. 220 and 86.
19. Ibid., p. 46.
20. Ibid., pp. 169-70, 176.
21. Ibid., p. 184.
22. Ibid.
23. Edward Brotherton, Mormonism; its Rise and Progress, and the Prophet Joseph Smith (Manchester: J. & S. Smith, 1843), p. 1.
24. Ibid., p. 17.
25. Ibid., p. 36.
26. D. A. Gowland, Methodist Secessions: the origins of Free Methodism in three Lancashire towns, Manchester, Rochdale, Liverpool (Manchester: Published for the Chatham Society by Manchester University Press, 1979), p. 58. In 1843, Martha Brotherton, a young English convert accused both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young of trying seduce her. Martha was, in turn, accused by several people, including members of her own family, of immoral

conduct and keeping company with known prostitutes. Edward Brotherton discussed his cousin's accusations in his tract about the Mormons.

27. Laureene Baillie, mng. ed., British Biographical Archive microfiche ed. (Great Britain: K. G. Saur, 1984).

28. Ibid., p. 21.

29. Ibid., p. 25.

30. Stephens and Lee, Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 2, p. 967.

31. John Bowes, The Autobiography or History of the Life of John Bowes (Glasgow: G. Gallie & Son; Dundee: McGregor and Wise, 1872), p. 1.

32. Bowes, p. 5, 12; Stephens & Lee, p. 967.

33. Stephens & Lee, p. 967.

34. John Bowes, The Autobiography or History of the Life of John Bowes, pp. 176-203. Cited by Malcolm R. Thorp, "Early Mormon Confrontations with Sectarianism, 1837-40." in forthcoming "Mormonism in Early Victorian England: The Sesquicentennial Essays" University of Utah Press.

35. Stephens and Lee, p. 967.

36. Ibid.

37. John Bowes, Mormonism Exposed, in its Swindling and Licentious Abomination, Refuted in it Principles, and in the Claims of its Head, the Modern Mohammed, Joseph Smith . . . (London: E. Ward; Manchester: Fletcher & Tubbs; Glasgow: G. Gallie; Edinburgh: A Muirhead, 1850), p. 4.

38. Ibid., p. 5.

39. Ibid., pp. 40-1.

40. British Biographical Archive

41. The Porcupine vol 7 (July 1, 1865):110.

42. Reverend J. B. Lowe, Mormonism Exposed: Being a Lecture on the Doctrines and Practices of "The Latter-Day Saints" (Liverpool: Edward Howell, 1852), p. 50.

43. William Palmer, The External Evidences of the Book of Mormon, Examined (London: Briscoe, 184?), p. 1.

44. Ibid., p. 3.

45. John Whitney, Mormonism Unravelled: Pseudo-Revelation, Alias, the Book of Doctrine & Covenants Not of God; and the Mormon Christ a False Christ, Joseph Smith a Fanatic and No Prophet of God (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.; Thrapston: J.T. Notcutt, 1851), p. 20.

46. Ibid., p. 47.

47. Although Caswall's piece would not technically be considered a pamphlet, his influence on British anti-Mormon pamphleteering was of such great importance that it was deemed necessary to discuss him and his work.

48. Caswall's Mormonism and its author... (1851) went through three re-printings by 1856 by the extremely influential and conservative Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

49. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Henry Lee, Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 3, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917), pp. 1185-86.

50. F. Boaz, Modern English Biography, vol. 6, n.p., n.d., cited in Laureene Baillie, mng. ed., British Biographical Archive, microfiche ed. (Great Britain: K. G. Saur, 1984).

51. Hugh Nibley, The Myth Makers (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1961), p. 199.

52. Henry Caswall, The City of the Mormons; or Three Days at Nauvoo in 1842 (London: J.G.F. & J. Rivington, 1843), pp. 58-9.

53. Samuel Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of England, vol. 2, (London: S. Lewis & Co., 1831), p. 182.

54. Boaz, n.p.

55. Caswall, The City of the Mormons, p. 5.

56. Ibid., p. 9.

57. Ibid., p. 35.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., p. 36.
60. Hugh Nibley, The Myth Makers, p. 193.
61. For a lengthier analysis of Henry Caswall's visit to Nauvoo and subsequent writings, see Hugh Nibley, The Myth Makers, pp. 193-287.
62. Ibid., p. 286.
63. Clarke, p.3.
64. Ibid., pp. 13, 16-18, and 15-16.
65. Ibid., p. 11.
66. Smith, p. 7.
67. Ibid, p. 3.
68. Joseph Willard Tingey, "An Explication of Some Philosophical Aspects of the Thought of Orson Pratt," (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958), p. 16, quoted in Breck England, The Life and Thought of Orson Pratt (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), p. 148. For an interesting overview of the conflict between Taylder and Pratt as well as the general materiality of spirits debate in general, read England, pp. 146-155.
69. T.W.P. Taylder, The Materialism of the Mormons, Or Latter-Day Saints Examined and Exposed (Woolwich: E. Jones, 1849), p. 8.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., p. 23.
72. Ibid., pp. 37-9.
73. David J. Whittaker, "Orson Pratt: Prolific Pamphleteer," Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 15 (Autumn 1982):27.
74. David J. Whittaker, Early Mormon Pamphleteering, (Dissertation: Brigham Young University, 1982), p. 121. Throughout his career as an Apostle and writer of theology for the LDS Church, Orson Pratt borrowed heavily from his brother and fellow Apostle, Parley P. Pratt.
75. Idem., "Orson Pratt: Prolific Pamphleteer," p. 31.

76. Orson Pratt, "Absurdities of Immaterialism . . ." The LDS Millennial Star 11 (June 15, 1849):177.
77. Ibid., p. 178.
78. Ashley, Mormonism: An Exposure . . ., p. 20.
79. Ibid., pp. 24-5.
80. Ibid., p. 20.
81. Mormonism or the Bible? (Cambridge: T. Dixon, 1852), pp. 6, 10.
82. Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, n.d.), p. 222.
83. Increase and Maria Van Dusen, A Dialogue between Adam and Eve, The Lord and the Devil, Called the Endowment (Albany: C. Killmer, 1847), p. 5.
84. Increase McGee and Maria Van Dusen, Startling Disclosures of the Wonderful Ceremonies of the Mormon Spiritual-Wife System, Being the Celebrated "Endowment," (New York: n.p., 1852), p. 6.
85. Ibid., p. 7.
86. Ibid., p. 7.
87. Reverend J.B. Lowe, Mormonism Exposed; Being a Lecture on the Doctrines and Practices of "The Latter-Day Saints" (Liverpool: Edward Howell, 1852), p. 40.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid., p. 50.
90. Ibid.
91. Some Account of the So-Called Church of the Latter-Day Saints (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1852), pp. 1, 19.
92. Ibid., p. 15.
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94. William Kelly, The Mormonites, or Latter-Day Saints (London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1852), p. 11.
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98. Ibid., p. 22.
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CHAPTER 5

"THE GATES OF THE MORMON HELL OPENED!" 1853-1860

The period from 1853 to 1860 was one of decline for the Church in Britain. The number of conferences (an organizational unit in the British mission) peaked at thirty-three in 1855 and then began to numerically decline afterwards.¹ This coincided with a general decrease in church membership in the British Isles. The decade of the 1850s marked the largest drop in membership in the history of the British mission, with a fifty-five percent change in membership from 30,747 in 1850 to 13,853 in 1860.²

One of the major causes of such a large decline in membership in Britain was, of course, the great amount of people who emigrated to Utah. For example, between the years 1856 to 1860, at least ten companies of British Saints traveled by handcart to the Utah Territory. Excommunication was another reason for the decrease in members. Although excommunication had been used as a process for weeding out the undesirables and apostates from the outset of the British mission, it became a more common practice during the turbulent decade of the 1850s. Added to these other factors was a decline in the number of baptisms.

As has been the case since the introduction of the gospel in Britain, the British members have been greatly affected by events occurring in the United States. Naturally, considering the theological makeup and hierarchial nature of the Church, this would be expected. This was particularly true with several events of religious, social, and political significance.

The first, and by far the major, event of the decade was the public announcement of plural marriage. This occurred at a special conference held in Salt Lake City, Utah, on the 28th and 29th of August, 1852. Although certain members of the Church had been practicing plural marriage for almost a decade before the public announcement, the official Church stance prior to this August meeting was denial.

Several factors, however, influenced the Mormon leaders' decision to openly defend their practice of plural marriage. "These included (1) the charges of 'runaway' federal appointees in 1851, (2) the approaching end to Mormon isolation, and (3) Mormon millennialism."³ Because of the numerous stories filtering back east from the Rocky Mountains, and the uproar caused by the returning federal appointees, it was decided that the doctrine should not only be announced, but should be done so with a well thought out justification for the practice. This was accomplished by Elder Orson Pratt.

Orson Pratt had first come into contact with plural marriage in 1842 following his return from a mission to the British Isles. Nauvoo at that time was in a state of turmoil over the charges and countercharges of bigamy and adultery being hurled between Joseph Smith and John C. Bennett. Some of the accusations involved supposed sexual encounters between Bennett and Pratt's wife, Sarah, as well as claims of attempted seductions on the part of the Prophet. As a result of these charges and the ensuing personal and spiritual conflict, Orson Pratt was excommunicated in August of that year. By the time that he was reinstated into the Church, he had been able to reconcile his differences with the doctrine of plural marriage and became a staunch defender of it.⁴

Pratt's discourse was a well executed argument in favor of the plurality of wives. Rather than being on the defensive, Pratt came out on the offensive, a practice which was followed by other defenders of the doctrine.⁵ In his speech he gave specific reasons for the practice of plural marriage. These were:

- (1) fulfill the commandment given to Adam and Eve-"to multiply and replenish the earth";
- (2) take part in the promises made to Abraham and his family;
- (3) the earth's population must believe in polygamy, realizing that monogamy was the exception historically, not the rule;
- (4) accept that the practice of polygamy would reform the world morally and socially and that monogamy was unnatural and invited immorality, and
- (5) realize that spirit children of God waited in a preexistent state for a "noble parentage" on earth who would train them properly to help usher in the Kingdom

of God.⁶

Although news of the announcement reached Britain before the close of the year, the official announcement was not published until the first part of January in 1853. The Latter-day Saint Millennial Star issued a special supplement which reported the meeting verbatim. The reaction of the British members, and populace in general, varied from person to person. While there were a number of apostacies in consequence of the announcement, most of the members remained in the Church. From the majority of the British people, however, there was a negative reaction.

The public announcement of plural marriage was not the only event affecting the British members. Two other American events had impact on the members in Britain. The first of these two events was what has come to be known as the Mormon Reformation.

This reformation originated with a speech given on September 21, 1856 by Brigham Young, in which he declared, "We need a reformation in the midst of this people; we need a thorough reform."⁷ Troubled by what they perceived to be a lack of commitment to the work of the Lord and the building up of His Kingdom, the leaders of the Church began a series of speeches in the numerous communities demanding a renewel of covenants. As an outward show of commitment to the reformation, the members were encouraged

to be rebaptized.⁸ Spearheading this revivalistic fervor was Jedediah M. Grant, counselor to Brigham Young.

The enthusiasm of this reform movement reached England in November, 1856. In a letter dated 30 October, 1856, Brigham Young instructed Orson Pratt (the British Mission President at that time) to begin the reform movement in the British Isles. He wrote, "The Saints are dead and do not drink at the living fountain...the fire of the Almighty is not in them." President Young then requested the mission leaders to "trim off the dead branches, so that the tree may thrive, grow, and expand."⁹

The reform movement in England was not as effective as it had been in America; but, it did serve the purpose of weeding out weak and inactive members in the British Mission. The task of setting the Church in order was carried out, in a large measure, by Elder Ezra T. Benson, a counselor in the mission presidency. Members were requested to renew their covenants and commit to the law of tithing, Word of Wisdom, and other gospel principles. As with their fellow brethren in America, they were to be rebaptized as a show of recommitment to the gospel.¹⁰

"The impact of this reform in England was, in fact, more one of pruning than of reforming."¹¹ Indeed, it appears that large numbers of members either dropped away and were lost or were excommunicated during this difficult decade. Many, including several branch presidents,

refused to reform and be rebaptized. Elder Pratt reported in 1857, "When the branches are all trimmed and set in order, the Saints in these lands will not number more than about one half as many as...in 1850."¹²

The need for reform was not limited to the British members. In 1860, when Elders Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich took over the British Mission, they found that during the years previous to their arrival, large sums had been diverted from the tithing funds "to support some Missionaries in 'fine circumstances.'"¹³ Because of this abuse with Church funds, Brigham Young ordered that tithing funds no longer be used to support missionaries.

By 1860, the number of missionaries being sent from America had decreased appreciably. This pattern had begun when the United States government sent an army to Utah in 1857. As a means of protection against the perceived threat, Brigham Young ordered the return of all outlying colonies and all missionaries in the various parts of the world. As a result of this directive, the British Isles were left without missionary support from America. In 1858, no missionaries were sent out, and only eighteen were sent out in 1859. This decrease in the number of missionaries being sent lasted for over a decade; for, while forty-eight missionaries were sent to England in 1860, only six were sent in 1861, due to the American Civil War.¹⁴

Of even greater consequence to the growth and stability of the British Church was the introduction of new doctrines. As has already been noted, the public announcement of plural marriage caused a sensation among British members and nonmembers alike. And, although most members were reluctantly able to reconcile the doctrine of plural marriage, they were, shortly thereafter, faced with an even more difficult doctrine to digest. This was what has come to be known as the Adam-God Doctrine.

On April 9, 1852, Brigham Young declared in a session of general conference:

Now hear it, O inhabitants of the earth, Jew and Gentile, Saint and Sinner! When our Father Adam came into the garden of Eden, he came into it with a celestial body, and brought Eve, one of his wives, with him. He helped to make and organize this world. He is MICHAEL, the Archangel, the ANCIENT OF DAYS! about whom holy men have written and spoken—He is our Father and our God, and the only God with whom we have to do. Every man upon the earth, professing Christians and non-professing must hear it, and will know it sooner or later.¹⁵

In the same discourse, Brigham went on to explain, "Jesus, our elder Brother, was begotten in the flesh by the same character that was in the garden of Eden, and who is our Father in Heaven."¹⁶ Again, at the same special conference on the 28th and 29th of August, Brigham Young enlarged upon his theory of the eternal plan of creating and populating worlds, each with an "Adam."¹⁷

It was over a year before this doctrine was introduced to the members in Britain. On November 26, 1853, The

Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star published Brigham's April 1852 speech verbatim, under the title, "Adam, Our Father and God." This was followed a week later by an editorial entitled, "Our Father Adam", and yet a third editorial, two weeks later titled, "ADAM, THE FATHER AND GOD OF THE HUMAN FAMILY."¹⁸

Although the editorial was well written, not all of the British Saints were convinced. For that reason, yet a third editorial was published two weeks later in support of the new doctrine. It ended with a rather inflammatory comment:

It should be borne in mind that these wonderful mysteries, as they are supposed to be, are only mysteries because of the ignorance of men; and when men and women are troubled in spirit over those things which come to light through the proper channel of intellegence, they only betray their weakness, ignorance, and folly.¹⁹

The doctrine continued to be a "thorn in the side" for the members and the missionaries. At a special three-day missionary conference held in London, June 26-28, 1854, Elder Thomas Caffell reported that "some of the officers have not met in council for three years...they are lacking faith on one principle - the last `cat that was let out of the bag.'"²⁰ There does, however, seem to be a serious discrepancy with this statement since the Adam-God theory was not introduced to the Saints until November 1853, less than a year before the missionary conference. Even so, the Adam-God doctrine did prove to

be a major stumbling block for the members in Britain.

By 1856-57, the doctrine was still as controversial as it had been when first announced. It was around this time that Brigham Young "advanced his doctrine distinctly less emphatically and less frequently than during the previous four years."²¹

By 1860, Brigham had advised members of the Quorum of the Twelve to avoid public discussion of the doctrine. This controversial doctrine eventually ceased to be taught with the death of Brigham Young and his closest associates.

The announcement of this new, and in the eyes of traditional Christians, erratic concept of the nature of Deity added fodder for the burning pens of anti-Mormon writers. At least four pamphlets, written in the middle to late 1850s, mention Brigham Young's teachings concerning Adam as God.

One of the tracts which discussed the Adam-God doctrine was T.W.P. Taylder's Twenty Reasons for Rejecting Mormonism. Taylder, who had already written several works concerning the history and doctrines of Mormonism, appears to have brought together a compilation of various anti-Mormon arguments. Although Taylder's emphasis was on matters of doctrine, it was not as well-written as his first work, The Materialism of the Mormons

The tract discussed several issues, including the

problems with The Book of Mormon, the Spaulding Theory, nature of Diety, importance of baptism among the Mormons, and the Mormon Church's tolerance of slavery.²² It also condemned the Church for its immorality, using as evidence the Latter-day Saints' practice of plural marriage and the temple ceremony-as related by the Van Dusens.²³ Immediately following the statements concerning the immorality and licentiousness of the Mormons, Taylder declared that the eighteenth reason for rejecting Mormonism is, "Because Mormonism is a system of the most galling priestcraft."²⁴

It is in support of this declaration that he addressed the Mormon doctrine concerning Adam-God. He then quoted from the minutes of the Special General Conference that was held in London, June 26-28, 1854, during which time an Elder Joseph Hall declared: "Relative to the principle recently revealed, we have not the least difficulty. If Adam's being our Father and God cannot be proved by the Bible, it is alright."²⁵ To Taylder, this was proof of the member's "mental slavery" to the doctrines and statements given by their leaders.²⁶

Another reference to the doctrine was given in a lengthy pamphlet authored by William Cook, a former member. Cook was born in Bedford on 26 February 1805. He married Sarah Butler in November 1836, and was still living in Bedfordshire when contacted by Mormon missionaries. He was baptized on 10 November 1840.²⁷ In 1851, he was

listed as manager at a "general depot for publications" at 37, Jewin Street, London, ²⁸ and was listed on several occasions as a book agent and as handling monies for tracts and books.

Upon leaving the Church, Cook proceeded to write several exposes on Mormonism. One of these, The Mormons. The Dream and the Reality, briefly discussed the doctrine by quoting from a speech that Brigham Young supposedly gave. It states:

I then proved to you that Adam is the only God we have to do with; that he alone governs this world of ours. Well, how did he get his exaltation? Why in just the same way as you and I have to get ours, if ever we reign over worlds.²⁹

As brief as Cook's explanation was concerning the Adam-God doctrine, John E. Davis' was even shorter. For, while he quoted Brigham Young in his discussion of blood atonement, he only mentioned that Brigham had taught that Adam is our God, and that the Lord Jesus Christ is His Son. He also stated that Brigham had informed the people that Eve was not taken from the rib of Adam, but that she had been created the same way Adam had been, and that they should not think that "God made the woman in the same manner as people make daubies in Salt Lake to build houses..."³⁰ Like Cook's tract, the majority of Davis' treatise related his experiences while crossing the plains to Utah and the abominations that he found in the teachings and practices of Mormonism.

As with the previous tracts discussed, the lengthy work of Samuel Hawthornwaite also mentioned the Adam-God doctrine, as well as the plurality of gods. Hawthornwaites' tract is over one hundred and thirty-two pages and covers many topics, most of them emphasizing the immorality of the Mormons. Samuel Hawthornwaite was also a former member of the Church. Hawthornwaite appears to have been an interesting and gifted man. He was born to Peter and Elizabeth Hawthornwaite on December 25, 1825, in Leeds. He was listed as living at 16 Clarendon Street, Hulme, Manchester when he was introduced to the Mormon Church. On February 27, 1848, he was baptized a member of the Church by Thomas Stell. He became a member of the Manchester Conference.³¹

During the first few years of Hawthornwaite's membership in the Church, it appears that he was actively involved and supported the doctrines expounded by the Church and its leaders. This involvement extended to the publication of two of his poems in the LDS Millennial Star. The first, published in May of 1849, describes the feelings that he must have felt at the time of his baptism into the Church:

THE BAPTISIMAL STREAM

Oh! water, I love thee; thy stream as it flows,
 Both cheers and revives me as onward it goes.
 Ne'er planted the hart for thy sweet cooling drink,
 Nor hung he his tongue, nor lay on thy brink;
 Nor drank with more joy than I did esteem,
 The pure cleansing liquid that runs in thy stream.

The night was serene, the stars sung their glees,
 The nightingale's song ran along with the breeze.
 The grass seemed to smile as it stood on the green,
 As I was immersed in the pure liquid stream.

How grand was the scene, in the sweet woodland air,
 To hear the sweet voice of my brother in prayer;
 Of such a sweet spot not a mortal can dream,
 Unless he goes with us to wash in the stream.³²

This touching poem was followed a year later by another poem, which was also lyrics for a song set to the tune of "God Save The Queen", "Saint's Prayer"

Oh Lord! thy people bless;
 Arm them with holiness:
 Hear us, we pray.
 When troubles bow them down;
 When friends upon them frown:
 Oh, Lord! preserve thine own:
 Hear us, we pray.

When dread diseases are,
 Make them thy special care:
 Thy power display.
 Stretch forth thine arm of love;
 Let all the faithful prove
 They have a friend above:
 Hear us, we pray.

When crossing o'er the deep,
 Thy flock in safety keep,
 From every harm.
 When winds and waves roll high;
 When clouds o'erspread the sky,
 Be thou for ever nigh:
 Hear us, we pray.

When nations wish to war;
 When men begin to fear,
 Be near them then.
 Bid angels guard their way;
 Watch o'er them day by day;
 Nor let their footsteps stray.
 Even so. Amen.³³

Samuel Hawthornwaite did not follow his own advice.
 Although he had been a counselor in the Hulme Branch, he

began to have difficulties with both doctrines as well as relations with local leaders. In 1851, he brought charges of polygamy against Elder Cyrus Wheelock, who was, at that time, the President of the Manchester Conference.³⁴ As a result of his accusations, and problems with the law of tithing, on 30 October 1851 he had his priesthood taken from him. He continued to oppose the doctrine and practice of plural marriage, and thus was "cut -off" from the Church on August 19, 1852.³⁵

As already mentioned, the bulk of Samuel Hawthornwaite's work concerned plural marriage and other acts of immorality on the part of the Mormons. In a review of Adventures Among the Mormons (1857), the editor from Reynold's Newspaper made the following statement concerning the man and his book:

Pure water does not flow from putrid sources, and irreproachable testimony seldom comes from the mouths of informers. We make these remarks in order to guard the reader from accepting all Mr. Hawthornwaite tells us of the infamies, deceits, &c., practiced by his former associates- the Mormons; of which body he was a preacher, or elder, as they are termed. The author is now an apostate from Mormonism, and has turned a betrayer of their confidence, and denunciator of their alleged profligacies. Mr. Hawthornwaite assures us he does so from purely disinterested and philanthropic motives. But he was a Mormon and a preacher eight years!³⁶

Naturally, The Latter-day Saints were quick to pick this review up as another defense against Hawthornwaite and other apostates who were attempting to "tell all" about the Mormons. This, however, did not stop the flow

of exposes from former members and others concerned for their fellow British brothers and sisters. As with Hawthornwaite, most of these attempts to "tell all" described the licentious activities of the Mormons, in particular, plural marriage.

William Cook, for example, related one of the comic songs that he claimed to have been popular among the members of the Church in Utah. The song was called, "the Sulton, the Pope, and the Mormon":

The Sulton was represented in his harem, as surrounded by beautiful women, but not tasting wine. The Pope as indulging in Rhenish wine, but debarred from the pleasures of female society. The Mormon as revelling in both, and therefore enjoying all good--and therefore also Mormonism is better than any system under the sun.³⁷

Cook does not stop here, but continued by discussing what he refers to as the "proxy system", wherein a husband who goes on a mission turns his wife over to another man to be a husband in every aspect while the man is away on the mission.³⁸ He then announced that Mormons practice "the fearful sin of incest, which is so intimately and closely conected with polygamy."³⁹ In explanation, he described mothers and daughters being married to the same man and a brother and sister living together as husband and wife.⁴⁰

John E. Davis also picked up on the theme of incestuous relationships among the Mormons in his narrative. After describing Mormon marriages as "merely a state of

concubinage", he announced, "I know men living there who have married both the mother and her daughter. There is a man living in the first ward who has four wives, and who is actually the father of children by his own daughter."⁴¹

During his disclosures of the indecent activities that he witnessed in Salt Lake City, Davis, a Welshman, explains:

To the honour and virtue of the daughters of Cambria be it said, that during the whole time I was at the Salt Lake, I did not hear of one Welsh girl having married, except as the only wife; not a single instance came under my knowledge where a girl from Wales had married a man who had a wife already living!⁴²

The plight (or perhaps virtue) of other women, according to

Davis, was not so good⁴³. For, he announced, civil marriages were not recognized in Utah and that people were allowed to dissolve marriages and enter into other marriages, with the man being allowed to have as many wives as he can maintain.⁴⁴

Thus, according to Davis, Cook, and many other anti-Mormon writers, Mormonism was, rather than a Christian religion, a well-planned deception conceived by a few immoral men in order to achieve their lascivious desires. Those who entered into the Church and remained did so because it appealed to their sensual appetites. Thus, Mormonism was immoral!

Mormonism, however, has not been the only religion to receive this designation. Islam, obviously, has been the recipient of many tales of captivity, sensuality, and sexuality. Catholicism has also been the target of exposes recounting experiences of treachery and lust among its adherents.

From as early as the Elizabethan times, tales of Catholic atrocities and rumors of Popish plots of invasion were common among the British people. For centuries, a kind of anti-Catholic paranoia existed among segments of the British populace. These deep feelings of distrust and animosity toward Roman Catholicism were also carried to America, where they took on new interpretations, with the American continent (particularly the United States) being the target of Rome's unholy plots of conquer and control.

Because of these feelings of animosity, the market for anti-Catholic literature was large, particularly in England. Probably the most well known anti-Catholic work of the nineteenth century was Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery by Maria Monk. The book, presented as an autobiography of a Protestant woman who attended Catholic school and then became a nun, was "the most popular book written in America before Uncle Tom's Cabin."⁴⁵

Maria Monk's work depicted life in a convent as "a ceaseless round of forced sex and sadistic penances,

presided by the priests who had access to the nuns by means of a tunnel from the rectory."⁴⁶ In the book, she claims to have been constantly inundated with improper overtures by the priests until, worn down with the continued barrage of sexual innuendo, she submitted and had intercourse with three priests in one night, "and then became pregnant by another."⁴⁷ She then escaped from the convent to save her unborn baby's life.

Maria Monk's story began a "flourishing genre" of works detailing the immorality of Catholic priests and nuns. Many ex-priests used their status to write tracts and "launch careers in anti-Catholic sensationalism."⁴⁸ In their attempt to discredit Catholicism, the writers played upon the fears and the darker desires of the reading audience. In their process of exposing the evil of the Catholic Church, these writers raised sexual awareness to a public level that society ordinarily would not have allowed: "Sexual accusations against Catholicism contributed directly to the modern ethic of sexual pleasure by increasing the amount and the explicitness of the discourse about sex."⁴⁹

Anti-Catholic and anti-Mormon literature catered to the prurient interests of people who lived in a society that discouraged overt sexual behavior. Along with the tract and book-length exposes were numerous Victorian newspapers that carried reports of divorce cases and

other sexual scandals. Stories of adultery and bigamy were particularly popular from the late 1850s on.⁵⁰ There was also "a torrent of advertisements in the popular press for potions for, or to safegaurd against, potency, abortion, masturbation, etc."⁵¹ Thus, sexuality in Victorian society was complex and contradictory.

While Victorians (specifically the middle classes) attempted to restrain sexual conduct in order to publicly portray for the world a concept of purity, wholesomeness, and virtue,⁵² there was, on the other hand, an undercurrent of sexual interest that was expressed through prostitution, pornography, and sexually oriented news articles and tracts. Although prostitution and pornography were considered to be at variance to the norms of acceptable society, news articles and tracts were approved as long as they carried with them a moral messege or disapproval of the very "sins" that they were going to such pains to describe. Interestingly enough, some polemic tracts and novels of captivity, sexual bondage by a lascivious man or group and, subsequent escape, used the same techniques of portrayal as the pornographers did.

One of the earliest and best examples of the resemblance of themes used by both pornographers and those writing sexually oriented fiction was The Lustful Turk (1828). The plot is simple, as is the case with most works of that genre. The story concerns two young ladies named

Emily and Sylvia. Sylvia is kidnapped by the Dey (Lustful Turk). He sets up a scheme wherein she will be in a state of mind to be subjected to his desires. She is taken to a slave market where she is handled, fondled, and humiliated. He then arrives, disguised as a representative of the French Consulate, and buys her. This, he tells her, is to save her from the Dey. He then arranges for a fake marriage to be performed by a fake English priest. She is then deflowered and gains a new sense of sexuality. At this moment, the Dey reveals his true identity.⁵³

Sylvia is then reunited with Emily, who had already become his sexual slave before Sylvia's seduction. They are content to be with the Dey in a "menage a trois". This all ends abruptly, however, when the Dey attempts to deflower yet another young virgin and is castrated by the girl. Sylvia and Emily are released by the Turk, who is no longer as lustful as he had been, and they return to England to tell all about their adventures.⁵⁴

Although obviously a fictional tale, the book takes on a certain air of reality by being related in the first person. This is because "in some primitive way, a story told in the first person may seem closer to actuality, less invented, less a fantasy, more immediate and authentic than a narrative in any other form."⁵⁵ For this reason, The Lustful Turk uses this format. Also:

...in the subtitle to this novel, we are told that its scenes 'faithfully and vividly' depict

the full particulars of what happened, 'with the zest and simplicity which always gives guarantee for its authenticity.' And another subtitle states that this novel is 'an interesting history, founded on facts.'⁵⁶

The similarities with these subtitles and those found on some anti-Mormon works is remarkable.⁵⁷ This is particularly true with works written by former Mormons. Most of these follow the format of going to an exotic place (Salt Lake City), held in some form of captivity (physical or emotional), witnessing or experiencing sexual bondage and licentiousness, and eventually escaping and publishing the experiences.

An excellent example of this was a tract which announced to be, "The most Authentic Exposure of MORMONISM ever published." It was a twelve page pamphlet with the enticing title of The Gates of the Mormon Hell Opened! or the Licentious Revellings of the Rev. Brigham Young, and the Elders, Apostles, and Priests of the Church of Latter-Day-Saints, with their Many Spiritual Wives and Concubines; and all the other Abominations of Mormonism Denounced. Apart from the great billing, the tract offered very little that was new. Most of the tract was compiled from other sources that included the Van Dusens, John C. Bennett, Andrew Hepburn, and the Rev. John Bowes.

In describing polygamy and the temple ceremony, he quoted Increase Van Dusen by stating that the temple is to prepare the women for the Mormon Harem.⁵⁸ He then

went on to explain the washing performed on the female's nude body, and her being led (still in a state of nudity) into a room to represent the Garden of Eden. After she partook of the forbidden fruit, Brigham Young, portraying the Lord, rushed in:

This lecherous "High Priest", having feasted his eyes as he had oftentimes before, or done whatever he pleased with the "sheep led to the slaughter," according to the privilege and power appertaining to his office, now goes through the remainder of the obscene farce, by re-dressing the spiritual bride for the inner chamber, or "paradise," gorgeously bedecked for the occasion; also kissing her, blessing her, feasting her on the bridal supper, and rejoicing with her in the name of the Lord| And while invoking the holy name of Jesus, they often revel at a libidinous bachanal composed of a great number of these spiritual wives (mothers and daughters) and their saintly paramours, as a fitting finale to the disgusting ceremony before celebrated.⁵⁹

Another pamphlet with just as an exciting title is Appalling Disclosures! Mormon Revelations, Being the History of Fourteen Females, ...Victims of Mormon Spiritual Marriages! Wives, Mothers, Daughters, and Sisters Lured away from their Homes, and United To The Same Husbands!.

. . . The author announced, "the new Sodom established by Mormon impostures at Utah, South America, for ruining innocence, and spreading throughout the earth the darkest of crimes."⁶⁰ Again, as with the former pamphlet, the title was better than the contents. The author quoted extensively from E.D. Howe.

The last portion of the tract described fourteen women who were involved to one extent or another in

plural marriage. The account reads like a romance novel, wherein seductions are made, virtue is taken, people die and others go mad, and, finally, the desperate women escape from their tormentors. The heroine of this account wanted to escape, "on account of her disgust at the life of infamy she was compelled to lead, and to free herself from Brigham Young's resolve to make her one of his mistresses."⁶¹

So, at a later time and on another continent (but just as exotic and unknown to the British people) the Lustful Turk emerged in the persona of Brigham Young.⁶² Perhaps some of the most colorful portrayals of Brigham Young and the Mormons, in the genre of the Lustful Turk, were those by John Benjamin Franklin. During the late 1850s and early 1860s, Franklin wrote a series of tracts about his supposed adventures among the Mormons.

In introducing himself to the reading public, Franklin described himself as the former editor of The Deseret News, manager of the printing office in Salt Lake City, former Branch President of Whetstone, Middlesex, England, and, a former President of one of the Quorums of the Seventy.⁶³ The accomplishments listed are, indeed, impressive. And, as if they were not impressive enough, he claimed in an 1864 tract to have delivered the lecture before the President of the United States, the Mayors of Liverpool

and Manchester, and a number of other important dignitaries.⁶⁴

Although John Benjamin Franklin claimed to have traveled to the Great Salt Lake valley and to have lived there for several years (in Brigham Young's house), no evidence has been found to verify his assertions.⁶⁵ The only information available on Franklin and his background comes from the Record of Members Index. According to this record, John Benjamin Franklin was born on May 6, 1826, in London, Middlesex, England. On February 22, 1846, he married Ann Chenton at Hoxton Church. Ann was born on June 20, 1822, at Nightgate, Middlesex, England.⁶⁶

Franklin was baptized into the Church in July 1850 in Sommerstown by Elder James P. Grinham. Ann, his wife, was baptized a month later by the same Elder. They were both members of the Whetstone Branch in the London Conference. He was ordained a teacher on November 6, 1851, and was later ordained an Elder on July 9, 1852, by James Marsden. Franklin's association with the Church was short-lived. Sometime in 1853 he was "cut-off" from the Church.⁶⁷ Probably in relation to his excommunication, a notice appeared in the LDS Millennial Star for April 16, 1853. It stated: "Caution--The Saints are hereby cautioned against the impositions of J.B. Franklin, of London, who, we learn, has been visiting several Conferences, making wonderful professions, and obtaining money under false

pretences."⁶⁸

The first tract published by Franklin was Horrors of Mormonism which was published in about 1858. The pamphlet describes his journey to Salt Lake City, Brigham Young and his wives, polygamy and, dissenters dying in the deserts and mountains while trying to escape.

Soon after, a second pamphlet was published. This one was titled, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism; or, a Voice From the Utah Pandemonium. At the beginning of this pamphlet, he announced that it would "bring to light horrid and mysterious crimes" and that, "This iniquity is but another name for indiscriminate prostitution."⁶⁹ This he attempted to prove by describing the state of Brigham Young's wives:

Poor Women! they are the companions of his passions, and not of his life; panderers to his lusts, instead of being the partner of his affections--obliged to be satisfied with a passing nod, a casual smile, or accidental confidence; crushing out every hope of happiness, every dream of girlhood, every wish and every necessity of woman's nature; and yet most of them appearing content to be thus degraded for the sake of their religion.⁷⁰

And, if sexual bondage to Brigham Young was not bad enough, Franklin recounted further on in the pamphlet how, "Lawrence and Irene, Brigham Young's wives..." were murdered for speaking against him.⁷¹ This, according to Franklin, was not uncommon. He mentioned numerous murders performed by the followers of Brigham Young, and that Young, himself, cut the throat of one man who dared to

differ from him on a point of doctrine.⁷²

J.B. Franklin, however, was not the only one to accuse the Mormons of murdering dissidents. In Mormonism Unveiled..., John E. Davis describes Brigham Young's teachings concerning blood atonement, or, in other words, how a person should have his blood spilt in order to atone for sins committed.⁷³ He then goes on to explain that when he finally made his escape from the pandemonium, he went by cover of night for fear that the Mormons would follow Brigham's teachings and shoot him.⁷⁴

In describing the Mormon murders, Franklin wrote, "Woe betide the 'Latter-day Saint' who dares to dream of dissent or apostacy." For, he continued, they will have a "midnight visitation" of the Danites. This, he stated, is due to an oath the Mormons take in their temple ceremony, wherein they will obey all that their leaders command, even murder.⁷⁵

The oath was only one part of Franklin's description of the temple ceremony. As introduction he explained:

You then have to undress--the presiding elder examines you to see whether every part of your body is sound: if a male, even to see whether 'he be wounded in the testes;' if not, he is allowed to pass and receive his endowment; if he is not sound, they make a eunuch of him--whether he like it or not. Many a man, who had taken a good-looking wife with him, and would not give her up to any other man when required (by the High Priest), was also made a eunuch of. They still claim the right to continue this diabolical practice, though many have spoken against it.⁷⁶

The people were then led into a room that resembles the Garden of Eden. They were, of course, "all in a state of nudity!"⁷⁷

In further evidence of Mormon immorality, Franklin mentioned that when a husband died, the women had to remarry immediately, and that several wives lived in the same house and some even shared the same bed. But, this was not all. When husbands left on missions, the wives were cared for by proxy husbands-in all aspects. "Many and many a child has thus been born in the Mormon country." Marriage, he explained, "is the means of obtaining their lustful ends." And, he lamented, "men must lose all decency and self-respect, and degenerate into gross and disgusting animals."⁷⁸

As part of his conclusion, and as further evidence of the horrors of Mormonism, Franklin stated:

The editor of this pamphlet saw one poor woman taken from her home, stripped, tied to a tree, and flogged till the blood ran from her wounds to the ground. She was taken back to her husband's residence, laid on the door-step--the other wives would not do anything for her--and by morning she was dead.

This is not all. The mountains and valleys, yea, even cities, are infested with freebooters, desperadors [sic], and spies. They boldly stalk the streets by day, and lie in wait for the victims by night. They have debauched and then murdered helpless women. They have taken the lives of American citizens by order of their priesthood. Those who speak against the elders are shot, stabbed, and beaten, as well as robbed, and no evidence can be elicited against the guilty.⁷⁹

Although John Benjamin Franklin's tracts are probably the most imaginative (and far fetched) of this period, a number of others emphasized the immoral activities of the Mormons. One such pamphlet is Mormonism an Imposture... by the Rev. W.W. Woodhouse, Rector of St. Clement's and St. Helen's in Ipswich. The Rev. Woodhouse appears to have been active in the field of publishing, as he listed at the back of this tract three other religious publications to his credit.

The bulk of Woodhouse's tract was taken from the works of E.D. Howe, John C. Bennett, Henry Caswall, the Rev. J.B. Lowe, and the Rev. F.B. Ashley. After giving what he stated to be the true history of Joseph Smith and the Mormons, he attacked various doctrines of the Church, such as the material nature of Deity and the practice of proxy baptisms in behalf of those who are dead.⁸⁰ Woodhouse then attacked the Mormons for immorality. He quoted from J.B.Lowe, who in turn had quoted from the judges who had left Utah Territory, about Brigham Young, "riding through the streets of the city in an omnibus with a large company of wives (referred to as concubines by Lowe in Mormonism Exposed), more than two-thirds of whom had infants in their arms."⁸¹ He concluded by addressing "Mormonites" and telling them of his sincerity and concern for their souls.⁸²

The Rev. C.F.S. Money, M.A., suggested that the

readers not only pray for the Mormons, "that God would give them repentance unto life", but he also encouraged them to "burn such Mormon works as fall in our way."⁸³ Although the bulk of his sixteen-page pamphlet came from E.D. Howe and Judge W.W. Drummond, Money did give a good example of the comparison of the Mormons to the Muslims. He not only discussed the practice of plural marriage, but announced, "They [Mormons] look forward, as do the Mahometans, to a sensual Paradise."⁸⁴

The comparisons between Joseph Smith and Mohammed, and the Mormons and the Muslims became more common after the public announcement of plural marriage. Also, most of the early comparisons had dealt with the similarities between Joseph Smith's revelations and the visit of the angel Gabriel to Mohammed, or the political and military nature of the respective religions. The later comparisons tended to concern the perceived sensual aspects of the two religions which were magnified by the critics of Mormonism. Thus, while Mormonism, in reality, had very little to do with Islam, the prevailing misconceptions of Muslim sexual license were projected onto the Mormons through descriptions of polygamous marriages, harems, secret rites, and even Eunuchs in a far off desert community.

A good example of comparisons between Mormonism and Islam are the tracts authored by the Rev. Edmund Clay. In The Doctrines and Practices of "The Mormons", and the

Immoral Character of Their Prophet Joseph Smith..., Clay made at least four different references to Mohammed or Middle Eastern culture. For instance, after comparing Joseph Smith's experiences to those of the founder of Islam, and describing him as a second Mohammed, he then, in a later part of the tract, while discussing The Book of Mormon, made a not-so-subtle comparison to Islam and its culture: "The fictions of Mohammed, the story of Robinson Crusoe, or the 'Arabian Night's Entertainment,' are respectable volumes by the side of the Book of Mormon."⁸⁵ The comparison of the Book of Mormon to "Arabian Nights..." is indeed interesting considering the sensual nature of the original stories that comprised this volume.⁸⁶

At the close of the tract, as a final warning of the evil of Mormonism, Clay warned his readers of traveling to Utah. He, especially warned his female readers that the "horrid women-stealers" would take from them what every woman holds "dearer than life itself--your chastity and your honour."⁸⁷

Clay again used this same warning at the end of another of his pamphlets. This second pamphlet appears to be a compilation of four individual tracts, and is entitled Tracts on Mormonism.

After having discussed the character of Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon, and the modern revelations and Church statements contained in The Doctrine and Covenants, Clay

described the concubinage that existed in Utah. He ended his pamphlet with a highly charged statement:

English Husbands, and the wives and daughters of England (though many, alas, are destitue [sic] of any religious feelings) have not yet become so reckless of chastity and pureness of living, that they can read such accounts of these filthy "saints" without the blush of shame involuntarily rising on their cheek. Their righteous outburst of indignation, which insulted humanity so keenly resents, and so emphatically abhors, is only restrained from avenging itself by the pity they feel for these deluded creatures, and by the credulity with which they so readily believe the lying denials of the "priests" of these unclean brothels.⁸⁸

Although somewhat melodramatic in his description of English indignation over the Latter-day Saints' practice of plural marriage, he does appear to have been concerned with what he perceived to be a serious moral problem among the Mormons. Edmund Clay appears to have been a dedicated and sincere minister who was also conservative and hard-lined in his views.

He was the minister of St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Leamington Priors. Leamington Priors was a "fashionable watering-place" for the upper-classes because of its mineral springs. It was popular for its fine buildings and beautiful surrounding scenery. Clay's chapel was probably situated in the upper section of town. There were at least two Anglican chapels in the small town.⁸⁹

During his career in the ministry, Edmund Clay authored at least sixteen published works on various religious topics. At the time of his death in 1872, Clay was the

"Perpetual Curate of St. Margaret's Church, Brighton."⁹⁰ He was eulogized by a fellow minister as one who preached with, "divine unction and winning affection..."⁹¹ And, as an author, he was "...leaving monuments of the great and glorious truths which constituted for so many years the staple of his evangelical and faithful ministry, and the symmetry and beauty of his godly life. He had long been preparing for glory."⁹²

Another man who believed he was defending the morality of England was the Rev. Dawson Burns, a Baptist minister from Salford. Very little is known about Burns, but it is apparant that he, like Henry Caswall, was the son of a renowned father. Burns' father was the Rev. Jabez Burns. Jabez became involved in religion at a young age, and eventually became a minister in 1835 for a Baptist congregation in London. He published extensively and was actively involved in the temperance movement. Dawson, like his father, was also involved in the temperance movement.⁹³

Burns' tract, Mormonism, Explained and Exposed, however, has nothing to do with temperance and much to do with polygamy. The tract was first published as an article for a periodical that probably appeared in Manchester, where the pamphlet was published. Because he utilizes such writers as Caswall and E.D. Howe, Burns' tract is not too original. As polemic literature, however, it is

interesting and well-written.

After briefly discussing the character and background of Joseph Smith, the Kirtland Bank problems, and the Danites in Missouri and Nauvoo, he turned to the "spiritual wife" doctrine. In describing the moral conditions in the Salt Lake Valley, Burns wrote "...Brigham Young, ...glories in his shame, so as to make every friend of modesty and morality blush for him, and sigh over his evil example, which must `corrupt good manners'."94

Burns also compared Mormonism to Islam. During his attack on the doctrine of plural marriage, he stated "The Mormon principle of polygamy is the doctrine of the Koran, encircled with a spiritualistic verbiage to conceal its innate indelicacy and sensual grossness".95 He later went on to explain that Joseph Smith, as an imposture, was like the imposture from Mecca. "Joseph Smith might in a long train of respects be taken for Muhammed redivivus--risen from the dead."96 Burns proceeded to give various examples of the likeness of the two men, all of which show that they were pretenders.

In Burns' reasoning, Mormon militaristic ambitions would also follow the pattern of the Muslims. He announced "Utah is already growing too small for the horizon of Brigham's imagination. A universal American monarchy is beginning to dance like an ignis fatuus, before his mental vision."97 He warned that after enough members of

the Church had made their way to "Zion", that Mormonism "will then more rapidly develop its spirit and resources; the consequences of which may possibly contribute a new revenue of horrors to the transactions of the world."⁹⁸

The theme of Mormonism as a political and military power had been used earlier by writers describing the problems in Missouri. However, with the Church in the Great Basin, writers were able to build on the theme by depicting the Mormon settlements as a new empire building up in the fringes of the west. In this aspect, Mormonism was again compared to Islam.

John Benjamin Franklin and several other writers also described the political power of Brigham Young and the Mormons. To the writers, the Mormon power included control of political offices, economic matters, and social mores. An example of this are the references that Franklin made to Mormon murders. In The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism, he told how Brigham Young had personally slit a man's throat because he disagreed with him, and also explained that the members would do anything they were commanded by their leaders, even murder.⁹⁹

The images of political domination and random bloodletting by religious fanatics were powerful, emotive themes. These images were enhanced by descriptions of secret organizations such as the Danites. While the idea of the Danites as an active force in the early years of Utah is,

at most, erroneous and amusing, the idea of a separate political body of the Church is true. Indeed, Brigham Young, who was the territorial governor for a decade, strongly believed that a religion that did not "govern men and women in their social and economic affairs" was "a very poor religion."¹⁰⁰ Thus the intermingling of church and state was a part of early Utah life.

The political arm of the Church was a quasi-secret organization known as The Council of Fifty. This was an organization of the Church's elite created by Joseph Smith in March 1844. It was this organization that directed Smith's short-lived candidacy for the Presidency of the United States.¹⁰¹ Upon Smith's death and the subsequent migration to Utah, The Council of Fifty increased its powers and exercised great influence in the creation of the independent State of Deseret and, later, the territorial state government.¹⁰²

Because of the secret nature of the Council and its power to try cases of adultery and murder (which were considered to be punishable by death), the Council of Fifty "was surrounded by an aura of mystery."¹⁰³ It could well have been in this aspect that outsiders viewed the Church as a system of control. To the Saints, and particularly to the members of the Council, this was a necessary step to the literal creation of the Kingdom of God on the earth.¹⁰⁴

In Dawson Burns' tract, he described the state of the social conditions in the Salt Lake Valley, a theme that is reminiscent of earlier pamphlets concerning Mormonism. This theme concerns the danger of traveling to America and settling with the Mormon populace. It will be remembered that several earlier tracts described the perils of traveling up the Mississippi River to the Mormon settlements in and around Nauvoo; and, once arrived in the Mormon center, the tracts described poverty, disease, and corruption. This theme was carried on into the decade of the fifties.

Salt Lake City and the territory of Utah, however, offered much more to the peddlers of doom and gloom. The city and surrounding territory was set in an isolated part of the western United States, and was, for a number of years, difficult to reach. This added to the air of mystique that was already cultivated by the strange religious beliefs and social practices of the Mormons, and, naturally, added fuel to the burning imaginations of the polemic writers. So it was that Salt Lake City not only became a distant city nestled in the Rocky Mountains, but was, with the help of great imaginations, an exotic city in a forbidden land. Numerous victims of lies and deceit were held captive among these fanatic people. These hapless prisoners of evil and lascivious men had little hope of escape and freedom. For, if they were

able to escape the prison of Salt Lake City, they were surrounded by miles of deserts, mountains, and Indians.

Perhaps one of the more colorful accounts of all the horrors that awaited those foolish enough to leave their homes and security in England and travel to Utah is that of William Cook. In his tract, The Mormons. The Dream and the Reality, Cook described in detail his supposed journey to Utah and what he found upon his arrival. He commenced his account of the journey by announcing, "Poor and miserable shelters are these tents, wretched exchanges for an old English home."¹⁰⁵ This set the tone for the rest of his account.

The narrative included the usual examples of hardship. He went on to describe bickerings over food, hunger, misery, wolves, and, of course, Indians. Sickness, in truth, was an ever present danger in crossing the plains, and so was not ignored by Cook. He described whole families being "swept away in a few hours" and then stated, "many who left their homes full of hopeful anticipations die on the road exhausted by fatigue."¹⁰⁶ He then continued with a description of the fate of the corpse of a recently deceased traveler:

A grave is then dug, the body put into it, and covered with earth. But this is only for a few brief hours, for when the tent moves on, the wolves come, uncover the body, and make it their prey. The next followers see what has become of one of their companions who had been promised that he should reach Zion in safety.¹⁰⁷

For those who survived the perils of the plains and mountains, they were, according to Cook, met with new problems when they arrive in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. He mentioned that there was no firewood nor coal available for the newly arrived inhabitants of the valley. He then explained that although the place had been described as a land flowing with milk and honey, there is very little milk (especially for newcomers who do not own cows) and no honey available in the valley. He stated that not only were there very few fish in the rivers, but that fruit was very scarce:

There are no apples, pears, quinces, plums, mulberries, raspberries, strawberries, nuts, gooseberries, currants (except for a few wild ones from the Kanyons), no oranges, lemons, or citrons.¹⁰⁸

Probably one of the most interesting descriptions is that of a twelve foot high wall that was to the west of the Jordan River and which encircled the entire city. This was, he asserted, to keep people from leaving, thus making it a prison.¹⁰⁹

This, of course is not the only example of Utah being compared to a prison. In his tract, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism..., John Benjamin Franklin told of Mormon murders being committed in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. These mountains, he explained, are high and bewildering, and thus, there is no escape from them.¹¹⁰

John E. Davis, in his tract, Mormonism Unveiled,

claimed to have been another who had visited Utah and had, only with great difficulty, escaped. Davis' account of his crossing the plains is filled with stories of hunger, fatigue, and disease. He also described how the Indians would ride into camp, lasso the women and ride off with them.¹¹¹ Again, the trials and tribulations experienced by the emigrants on the plains were minor compared to the problems they faced upon their arrival in the valley, which led to either slavery or escape at the risk of one's life.

Added to these fanciful misconceptions were stories of multiple wives, secret temple rites, strange doctrines, and a closed society. Obviously, many of these rumours and stories were based upon actual teachings and events within Mormondom. As with any misunderstood group or society, these facts were both purposefully and mistakenly distorted to create an image of a sensual and licentious religion set within a foreboding and exotic place where its adherents were, in reality, prisoners.

This chapter has examined anti-Mormon themes for the period from 1852 to 1860. As with previous pamphlets, it is possible to see a continuation of such themes as the immoral character of the Mormon leaders and their followers, the attack on Mormon doctrines which were perceived by its opponents as un-Christian, the comparisons of Mormonism to Islam, and the attempt to deter would-be emigrants

from leaving England and travelling to America. Mormonism was depicted as an aberration of socio-religious mores. These themes were expanded to encompass new doctrines or stories created during this period. This, in turn, helped create new ideas and themes for future writers.

NOTES-CHAPTER 5

1. Richard O. Cowan, "Church Growth in England, 1841-1914," Truth Will Prevail eds. V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, Larry C. Porter, (Cambridge: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), p. 216.
2. V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter, eds., Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837-1987 (Cambridge: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), p. 442.
3. David J. Whittaker, "The Bone in the Throat: Orson Pratt and the Public Announcement of Plural Marriage," Western Historical Quarterly 18 (July 1987):295.
4. Ibid., pp. 301-2.
5. David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Polygamy Defenses," Journal of Mormon History 11 (1984):44.
6. Whittaker, "The Bone in the Throat," p. 303.
7. Michael Orme, "The Causes of the Mormon Reformation of 1856-57," Tangents III (Spring 1975):15.
8. Ibid., pp. 22-3.
9. Cowan, pp. 214-5.
10. Ibid., p. 215.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p. 217.
15. Journal of Discourses vol. 1 (Liverpool: F.D. and S.W. Richards, 1854), p. 50.
16. Ibid., p. 51.

17. David John Buerger, "The Adam-God Doctrine," Dialogue 15 (Spring 1982): 15-16.

18. Ibid., p. 17.

19. Ibid., p. 18.

20. Ibid., p. 19.

21. Ibid., p. 24.

22. It should be remembered that Taylder's reference to slavery was following in the earlier theme of Mormons supporting slavery, which practice was repugnant to the British. The issue of slavery took a new twist in 1856 when the founding platform of the Republican Party tied slavery and polygamy together by referring to them as "The Twin Relics of Barbarism."

23. T.W.P. Taylder, Twenty Reasons for Rejecting Mormonism (London: Partridge & Co., 1857), pp. 13-4.

24. Ibid., pp. 14-5.

25. Ibid., p. 15. Also see LDS Millennial Star 16 (August 5, 1854):482.

26. Ibid.

27. Susan Easton, Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1848 vol 2, (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1984-), p. 520.

28. LDS Millennial Star 13 (Feb 1, 1851), p.

29. William Cook The Mormons. The Dream and the Reality (London: Joseph Master, 1857), p. 34.

30. John E. Davis, Mormonism Unveiled: Or, A Peep into the Principles & Practices of the Latter-Day Saints (Cardiff: J.G. Patterson, "Star of Gwent" office, 1858), p. 38.

31. Easton, vol 21, pp. 930-1.

32. LDS Millennial Star 19 (November 28, 1857, pp. 766-7.

33. Ibid., vol 12 (December 1, 1850):368.

34. Easton, vol 21, p. 930.

35. Ibid., pp. 930-1. Although Hawthornwaite's excommunication occurred before the public announcement of plural marriage, there is the possibility that he had been privy to prior teachings.

36. LDS Millennial Star 19 (November 28, 1857), pp. 766-7. Although Hawthornwaite claimed to have been a member for eight years records show that he was a member for a little over four years.

37. Willaim Cook, p. 21.

38. Ibid., pp. 45-6.

39. Ibid., p. 46.

40. Ibid.

41. John E. Davis, p. 30. Although the story of the man having children by his own daughter is highly unlikely, the practice of marrying sisters and even mothers and daughters, from previous marriages, was practiced by members of the Church. This was the case with Joseph Smith wherein he married several sets of sisters (the Lawrence and Partridge girls for example) and mothers and daughters (Sylvia and Patty Sessions is an example).

42. Ibid.

43. An interesting insight into nineteenth century views of women can be obtained by observing contemporary descriptions of Mormon women. The Mormon woman was portrayed as everything from the hapless victim to the flirtatious temptress. Davis Bitton and Gary L. Bunker, "Double Jeopardy: Visual Images of Mormon Women to 1914," Utah Historical Quarterly 46 no.2 (Spring 1978):184-202, describes different ways in which Mormon women were portrayed in the nineteenth century press.

44. Ibid., p. 29. There is evidence that divorces were easy to obtain in polygynous marriages on the part of the women. The opposite was the case for the men. Eugene E. Campbell, in his book, Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847-1869, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), states that between 1847 and 1859, Brigham Young authorized 517 divorces, most of them from polygamous marriages. See p. 167.

45. Peter Gardella, Innocent Ecstasy: How Christianity Gave America an Ethic of Sexual Pleasure (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 25.

46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p. 26.
48. Ibid, p. 26-7.
49. Ibid., p. 26. The author explains on page 32 that, "Mormons, Masons, Indians, Communists, Fascists and Muslims have all inspired comparable fears in Americans, and all have figured as villains in the literature of sexual threat. People have always projected the desires they cannot acknowledge onto their enemies. For a discussion of the projection of sexual fantasies onto perceived enemies, see David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion...", The Mississippi Valley Historical Review 47 (September 1960):216-222.
50. Jeffrey Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800 (New York Longman, 1981), p. 20. Although a number of Mormon related stories concerning polygamy were published, the themes of adultery and bigamy were particularly enhanced by the Divorce Act of 1857.
51. Ibid. Ironically, while Mormonism and the practitioners of plural marriage were condemned by the populace, the supposed sexual powers of the Mormon men were admired if not envied. Lester E. Bush, Jr., in his article, "Mormon Elder's Wafers: Images of Mormon Virility in Patent Medicine Ads," Dialogue 10 no.2 (Autumn 1976):89-93, describes such items as The Mormon Elder's Damiana Wafers (ca.1884-1888) and Mormon Bishop Pills (ca.1906) advertised cures for various nervous problems and impotency.
52. Russell M. Goldfarb, Sexual Repression and Victorian Literature (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1970), p. 20.
53. Steven Marcus, The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in the Mid-Nineteenth Century England (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1966), p. 202.
54. Ibid., pp. 202-3.
55. Ibid., pp. 203-4.
56. Ibid., p. 204.

57. While such works as The Prophets; or, Mormonism Unveiled (1855) by Orvilla S. Belisle, Female Life Among the Mormons (1855) and The Mormon Wife: A Life Story of the Sacrifices, Sorrows and Sufferings of Woman (1872) by Maria Ward can best be compared to the style and contents of The Lustful Turk, similarities can also be found among anti-Mormon pamphlets.

58. The Gates of the Mormon Hell Opened . . . (London: James Gilbert, n.d.), p. 5.

59. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

60. Appalling Disclosures! Mormon Revelations, Being the History of Fourteen Females . . . (London: M. Elliot, 1856), p. 3. The author was obviously referring to North America but was either ignorant of American geography or mistakenly wrote south rather than north.

61. Ibid., p. 16.

62. While alive, Brigham Young, as the symbol of Mormonism, was the prime figure for numerous articles and cartoons describing him and his perceived powers (both political and sexual). Examples of some of the articles, stories, and cartoons that portrayed Brigham and the Mormons as licentious and over sexed can be found in Douglas McKay, "The Puissant Procreator: Comic Ridicule of Brigham Young," Sunstone 7 no.6 (November-December 1982): 15-17. Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834-1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983, is an excellent study of the imagery used by cartoonists to portray Mormons in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Upon Brigham's death in 1877, numerous cartoons were produced poking fun at his large number of wives and Mormonism in general. Examples of this are found in Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, "The Death of Brigham Young: Occasion For Satire," Utah Historical Quarterly 54 no.4 (Fall 1986):358-370.

63. John Benjamin Franklin, A Cheap Trip to the City of the Mormons: A Lecture . . . (n.p., 186?), p. 32.

64. Ibid., p. 1.

65. It should be noted that very few of those claiming to have travelled to Utah probably did so. No evidence has been found to prove their claim, while some evidence has been found to disprove their stories of journeying to the Great Basin.

66. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Record of Members Index Film #5.
67. Ibid.
68. LDS Millennial Star 15 (April 6, 1853) p. 255. [The exact reasons for his excommunication are not known]
69. John Benjamin Franklin, The Mysteries and the Crimes of Mormonism; or, a Voice from the Utah Pandemonium (London: C. Elliott, 1858 or 9), p. 3.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., p. 13-14.
72. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
73. John E. Davis, p. 38.
74. Ibid., p. 41.
75. Franklin, The Mysteries and the Crimes, p. 11.
76. Ibid., p. 10.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid., p. 11.
79. Ibid., p. 115. In reference to Mormon spies, Franklin authored a poem intitled "Crimes of Mormon Spies" which appeared on p. 13 of his tract. The poem is as follows: A way of error, a temple full of treason.\ In All effect contrary unto reason\ A school of guile, a net of deep deceit\ a gilded hoo that hold a poison'd bait.
80. Rev. W. W. Woodhouse, M.A, Mormonism an Imposture; or, the Doctrines of the So-Called Latter-Day Saints, Proved to be Utterly Opposed to the Word of God (Ipswich: N. Pannifer, 1853), pp. 19-23.
81. Ibid., p. 26.
82. Ibid., pp. 30-1.
83. Rev. C.F.S. Mooney, M.A. Mormonism Unmasked (London, Wertheim and Macintosh, 1857), p. 16.
84. Ibid., p. 8. It has been suggested that this reference could have been made because of the Mormon's belief in a physical resurrection. This, of course,

would have been one of the reasons. However, I believe the emphasis in this statement was being placed on the comparison between the Mormons and the Muslims and the perceived sensuality of both religions.

85. Rev. Edmund Clay, The Doctrines and Practices of "The Mormons" and the Immoral Character of their Prophet Joseph Smith, Delineated from Authentic Sources (London: Wertheim & Macintosh; Leamington: J. Glover, 1853), p. 31. In comparing Joseph Smith to Mohammed, Clay uses several examples: 1) Mohammed had a vision in a cave while Joseph Smith had one in a grove; 2) Mohammed saw one angel while Joseph Smith saw two; 3) Both were promised a second revelation; and, 4) Both payed little attention to the first revelation, p. 22.

86. The Arabian Nights not only contain stories of magic and romance, but also "stories of homosexuality, bestiality, and simple earthy obscenity. Even the romances set precedents for explicitness." Fawn M. Brodie, The Devil Drives: A Life of Sir Richard Burton (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1967), p. 300. Although the French translation by Antoine Galland (1646-1715) and the later English editions before those of John Payne (1882-1884) and Richard Burton (1885-1888) were censored, the sensuality of some of the stories was still probably apparent to the reader.

87. Clay, The Doctrines and Practices, pp. 69-70.

88. Rev. Edmund Clay, B.A., Tracts on Mormonism (London: Wertheim and Macintosh; Leamington: J. Glover, 1855), p. 20.

89. Samuel Lewis, A Topographical Guide of England . . . vol 3 (London: S. Lewis and Co., 1831), pp. 40-2.

90. Octavius Winslow, D.D., Following Christ Fully: A Tribute top the Memory of the Rev. Edmund Clay, M.A (London: John F. Shaw & Co.; Brighton: D.B. Friend, 1872), p. 1.

91. Ibid., p. 22.

92. Ibid.

93. Photocopies of documents in possession of author.

94. Dawson Burns, Mormonism, Explained and Exposed (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1853), p. 26,

95. Ibid., p. 37.

96. Ibid., p. 40.
97. Ibid., p. 46.
98. Ibid., p. 47.
99. Franklin, The Mysteries and Crimes, pp.13-14, 11.
100. Leonard J. Arrington and Ronald K. Esplin, "Building A Commonwealth: The Secular Leadership of Brigham Young," Utah Historical Quarterly 45 (Summer 1977): 216-32. Part of the quote comes from the Journal of Discourses, 26 vols. (London, 1854-86), 14:159.
101. Richard D. Poll, "Joseph Smith and the Presidency, 1844," Dialogue 3, (Autumn 1968): 17-21.
102. Klaus J. Hansen, Quest For Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), pp. 131-33, 136-39. While Hansen's book is considered by many to be the most indepth study of The Council of Fifty and Mormon political thought and activity available, a differing view of the importance of the council has been given by D. Michael Quinn, "The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844-1945," BYU Studies 20 no.2 (Winter 1980): 163-197.
103. Ibid., p. 69. The reason for secrecy was "to avoid the possibility of misunderstanding by both gentiles and Saints." Hansen, p.64.
104. Ibid., p. 45. The Council of Fifty began to decline in the last decade of the nineteenth century and was eventually disbanded. Hansen, pp. 180-190.
105. Cook, The Mormons, p.10.
106. Ibid., p.12.
107. Ibid., p.13.
108. Ibid., p.19.
109. Ibid., pp.16-17.
110. Franklin, The Mysteries and the Crimes, pp.13-14.
111. Davis, Mormonism Unveiled, p.26. There are examples in early journals of Indians attempting to steal women from wagon trains by grabbing them and riding off on horseback. For a more lengthy discussion of Mormon

accounts of kidnapping by Indians, see Stanley B. Kimball, "The Captivity Narrative on Mormon Trails, 1846-65," Dialogue 18 (Winter 1985):81-88.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

In this study we have examined the important themes developed by anti-Mormon writers during over two decades. The obvious purpose of this literature was to dissuade prospective converts from joining this new religion, as well as to win back to the "orthodox" Christian fold members of the Church still in Britain. From this study, several important conclusions can be made concerning the writers and their pamphlets.

The first conclusion concerns the backgrounds of the various pamphleteers. Most of the writers discussed in this study can be placed into two categories. These are, ministers and representatives of other faiths, and former Mormons. Those in the first category can be further separated into two divisions: Nonconformists and Anglicans. Most of the Nonconformists appear to have come from the industrial north and include such writers as Richard Livesey, Robert Heys, John Bowes, Samuel Haining, Richard Davis, and Dawson Burns. Those representing the Church of England tended to have more representation in the south and included such individuals as Henry Caswall,

John Simons, C. S. Bush, F. B. Ashley, John Frere, J. B. Lowe, W. W. Woodhouse, and Edmund Clay.

It appears that a larger number of pamphlets were produced by the Anglican clergy than were published by Nonconformists. Anglican writers were influential in their writing because of the large network of official publishing and distribution firms such as the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

The writers from the second category, those who had been members of the Church but had eventually left, tended to be the most bitter in their denunciations of Mormonism. Perhaps this was because they had a sense of betrayal once they had lost their faith and separated themselves from the main body; or, it very well could have been feelings of anger and humiliation for having fallen victim to what they obviously believed by that time to be a falsehood and a scam. Whatever their varied reasons for having left the Church, these individuals included Thomas Webster, John Whitney, William Cook, John E. Davis, Samuel Hawthornwaite, John Hyde, and John Benjamin Franklin.

What motivated anti-Mormon pamphleteers to fiercely attack the tenets of Mormonism? The answer to this question is complex, although some reasons can be ascertained. The first reason has already been broached. For various reasons, the writer sincerely believed that he (as a

former member) had been deceived by the Church and its leaders and was thus seeking revenge by verbally attacking it in pamphlet form.

Another reason was a belief on the part of the various clergymen that their congregations were being lost to the new interlopers from America. Many expressed a genuine concern for the salvation of their parishioners who had converted to Mormon Church. Mormonism was viewed as an antithesis of Christianity, and thus, a religious hoax which would lead to the destruction of the people over whom they, as ministers, had been entrusted.

Upon analyzing the pamphlets, it is obvious that a large number of the writers were distressed by what they perceived to be a breakdown of traditional social values. In their eyes, religious toleration had allowed frauds, such as the Mormons, to enter England and abuse and corrupt those of the working classes. The perception of Mormons as interlopers was compounded by a fear among members of the clergy that they had already morally and spiritually "lost" the working classes.

Mormonism epitomized the decline in morality with its doctrines concerning marriage and the family which were at odds with the accepted values of this period. These values were those which were espoused by members of the middle class. The Victorian middle class was obsessed with respectability. This obsession was expressed in the

pamphlets by an essentially middle class clergy which exhibited an evangelical zeal in their efforts to save the lost souls of the working classes.

Because of the clerical concern for the working classes, pamphlets were often written with them in mind. For this reason, tracts usually contained subjects which the writers believed would interest the common readers.

Another reason for including topics which specifically attracted the common people, was money. This aspect of anti-Mormon pamphleteering was conducted, for the most part, by those at the bottom end of the writing and publication spectrum. Publishing small tracts (especially of a scandalous or controversial nature) was a quick, cheap way of making a profit. Thousands of these tracts were sold for a few pence each, thus bringing in a good amount of money for the writer and printer. For this reason, such colorful titles as, The Gates of the Mormon Hell Opened! or, the Licentious Revellings of the Rev. Brigham Young, and the Elders, Apostles, and Priests of the Church of Latter-Day-Saintd, with their many Spiritual Wives and Concubines... , Appalling Disclosures!..., Horrors of Mormonism, and The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism: or, a Voice From the Utah Pandemonium were used to attract would be buyers.

The pamphlets contained themes of varying importance. Some of the lesser themes included suggestions of Mormonism

as a new political threat (much like the popular image of the Catholic Church); as an institution which supported slavery in America; and as a religion which espoused belief in a material God. The major themes tended to be more long lasting and complex. A few of the more popular ones included the debauched character of Joseph Smith and his money-making activities; The Book of Mormon as a fraudulent religious text; similarities between Mormonism and Islam; the immoral nature of the Mormons and their doctrines; and the idea that weak and foolish people were converted to Mormonism.

The use of such themes changed throughout this period. Several examples of this can be given. First, while the character of Joseph Smith was, according to the pamphlets, bad from the beginning, emphasis on certain faults changed with time. The first pamphlets written in Britain discussed the idea that Smith was a drunkard and curser, and that he was a known treasure seeker. By the time of his death, more emphasis was being placed on his immoral character and the claim that he was a known adulterer. And, although the idea of taking money from unsuspecting dupes was prevalent throughout the time period studied, the theme of Joseph Smith (replaced at his death by Brigham Young) and his followers taking the virginity of young women became more prevalent in later pamphlets.

Many of these themes were borrowed from their American

counterparts. The first tracts published in Britain borrowed heavily from the works of American writers such as E. D. Howe. By the middle of the 1840s, however, the British had developed themes of particular interest to themselves. These themes included American slavery and analysis of The Book of Mormon. By the end of the 1840s, a number of the British writers were strongly influenced by the American husband and wife team of Increase and Maria Van Dusen. The recounting of secret Mormon ceremonies and licentious behavior became the paramount theme of writers during the 1850s.

The emphasis on immorality was also important to the comparisons with Islam. When first introduced, the comparisons between the religious experiences of Joseph Smith and Mohammed were accentuated by these writers. However, after the Missouri period and particularly after settling in Utah, the Mormons were viewed, much like the Muslims, in militaristic terms. Hence, kingdom building in a far away place guarded by secret bands of Danites. Added to this picture was the moral state of Mormonism. Because of the practice of plural marriage, it was easy to portray Mormon polygamy in the same fabric as an Oriental harem with the same misconceptions of sexual promiscuity. Thus, while having existed from the beginning, both themes changed over time to fit the ever expanding image of Mormonism and its adherents.

Media is the mirror of society, wherein it reflects popular attitudes and interests. Publishing, as a form of media, was representative of the majority of the population and its ideas in the nineteenth century. The contents of anti-Mormon pamphlets were reflective of the ever changing attitudes of Victorian society. While several tracts mentioned Mormonism as a threat to the stability of the British government during the first years of Victoria, it was a little discussed subject in the 1850s. By this time, the Mormons were portayed as building an empire in the deserts of America which, while not eminent, was perceived as a future threat to political stability. The marital practices of the Mormons, however, were of greater interest to the reading public. This was partly due to the proliferation of sensationalism in the newspapers and "tell it all" novels wherein the describing of explicit accounts of crime and passion were condoned because they were supposed to be actual events and could, therefore, be read with an air of disapproval.

Perhaps one of the most significant questions that can be asked is what effect the pamphlets had on the growth of the Church in Great Britain? In the introduction to this work, it was stated that the power of the printed word cannot be underestimated. This is indeed true. Even so, in order for the reader to be influenced by books or pamphlets, there must be certain factors which

allow writers to adequately form a basis of attack. Factors of this nature would include controversial doctrines and secret practices. For the most part, these factors did not exist at the introduction of the gospel into Britain in 1837. And, though certain problems began to develop in the 1840s, they were not of such a great amount as to effectively hinder the growth of the Church.

Although the pamphlets of the early 1840s undoubtedly persuaded some to not join the LDS Church, their influence was only slight in comparison to the success of the missionaries in converting thousands of people. This was due to the inability of the anti-Mormon writers to effectively find issues that would damage the LDS reputation and also appeal to the popular imagination. Such issues as the alleged theological inconsistencies in The Book of Mormon, or even the Spalding Theory, might have deterred some investigators, but they hardly moved the masses to moral outrage. This was due to the relatively unknown status of the Church as a religious movement.

This, however, was not the case in the following decade. During the 1850s, the Church was, to a degree, its own worse enemy. For, while there had not been any serious problems to upset the success and growth of the Church in the 1840s, Polygamy provided the necessary ammunition in the 1850s. While most religious institutions attempt to protect their image by hiding unpleasant or

potentially dangerous facts about themselves, the Church not only announced their belief in plural marriage, but also attacked monogamy as a defense for polygamy. By so doing, the Church had set itself on a collision course with popular morality.

The effect of the public announcement of the doctrine of plural marriage, and the subsequent attacks by pamphleteers, not only caused doubts within the Mormon community, but also hampered missionary work. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that anti-Mormon literature was highly effective during this period. The images portrayed were believable, even if the distortions might seem incredulous in retrospect. Nor did the highly visible counter crusade launched by major LDS pamphleteers soften the impact of these ugly rumors. As a result, by 1859, baptisms had dropped to 1,064 or, only fifty percent of what they had been in 1854.¹

While much remains to be done, this study has at least provided a meaningful framework for understanding the themes of anti-Mormon literature during this formative period of the Church in Britain. In so doing, it is hoped that not only has the Mormon experience been viewed in a different perspective, but also that the worldview of Victorian popular religious literature can be seen as an effective vehicle for the aspirations this morally self-righteous age.

NOTES-CHAPTER 6

1. Figures provided by Malcolm R. Thorp.

APPENDIX

A Short List of Anti-Mormon Literature,
1837 - 1860

- America, and the American church. (Caswall) [1231]*
- An Account of the Complete Failure of an Ordained Priest
of the "Latter-Day Saints". . . (Taylor) [8858]
- An Exposition of the Errors and Falacies of the Self-
Named Latter-Day Saints. (Hewitt) [3974]
- An exposure of Mormonism. . . (Livesey) [4963]
- Appalling disclosures. . . [185a]
- Awful Disclosures of Mormonism and its Mysteries. [237]
- Beware of the Mormons! Otherwise Known as Latter-Day
Saints. (Hancock) [3811]
- Blood of Christ or the Mormon Baptist Water, The. (Bays)
[341]
- Book of Mormon Contradictory to Common Sense, Reason, and
Revelation; or, The Mormon Hierarchy Founded upon a
Fiction, The. (Burgess) [1015]
- Book of Mormon Examined and its Claims to be a Revelation
from God, Proved to be False by John Haynes, The.
(Haynes) [3922]
- Cautions for the Times. . . (Whatley)
- Cheap Trip to the Great Salt Lake City . . ., A.
(Franklin) [3422]
- City of the Mormons, The (Three Days at Nauvoo).
(Caswall) [1232]

* Numbers in brackets indicate item numbers of these
pamphlets in Chad Flake's Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930.

- Delusions. An Analysis of the Book of Mormon. . . and a Refutation of its Pretenses to Divine Authority. (Campbell) [1107]
- Dialogue between a Latter-Day Saint and a Methodist in which some of the errors of that strange people are exposed. . ., A. (Frost) [3478]
- Dialogue Between Adam and Eve, the Lord and the Devil, Called the Endowment. . ., A. (Van Dusen) [9423]
- Divine Warning to the Church, at this time, of Our Present Enemies. . ., The. (Bickersteth) [508]
- Doctrines and Practices of "The Mormons," and the Immoral Character of their Prophet Joseph Smith, Delineated from Authentic Sources, The. (Clay) [2412]
- Doctrines of Mormonism, The. (Religious Tract Society) [6855]
- External Evidences of The Book of Mormon Examined, The. (Palmer) [6084]
- False Prophet Tested; or, Mormonism Refuted, The. (Fishwick) [3368]
- Few more Facts Relating to the Self-styled "Latter-Day Saints, A. (Simons) [7721]
- Few plain words about Mormonism, showing that the Latter-day Saints are no saints at all. . ., A. (Wright)
- Few Thoughts Suggested by the Term "Latter-day Saint," A. [3345]
- Few Words from a Pastor to his People on the Subject of the Latter-Day Saints, A. (Lawrence)
- Fowler's Snare. . ., The. (Cook) [2496]
- Friendly Warning to the Latter-day Saints, or Mormons, A. (Cook) [2494]
- Gates of the Mormon hell opened; or, the licentious revellings of the Rev. Brigham Young. . .with their many spiritual wives and concubines. . ., The. [3531]
- History of the Mormons. [4047]

- History of the Saints; or, an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism, The. (Bennett) [403]
- Horrors of Mormonism. . . (Franklin) [3424]
- Imposter unmasked; or, a complete exposure of the Mormon Fraud, The.
- Is Mormonism True or Not? (Religious Tract Society) [6856]
- Is the Mormon a Man? (Broom) [888]
- Joseph Smith, the American Imposter; or Mormonism Proved to be False by a Fair Examination of it History and Pretensions . . . (Tyson) [9067]
- Journey up the Mississippi River, from its Mouth to Nauvoo, the City of the Latter-day Saints, A. (Alcock)
- Latter-day Delusions, or the Inconsistencies of Mormonism. (Bell) [386]
- Latter-day Saints. A Letter from the Reverend P. Alcock, Baptist Minister, Berwick St. John's, Dorsetshire,. . (Alcock) [42]
- Latter-day Saints and the Book of Mormon: A Few Words of Warning from a Minister to his Flock, The. (Moorish)
- Latter-day Saints and the Book of Mormon: A Second Warning from a Minister to his Flock, The. (Moorish)
- Latter-day Saints, or Mormonites: Who and What are they? (Day) [2733]
- Latter-day Saints: the Dupes of a Foolish and Wicked Imposter. (Mason) [5301]
- Lecture on Mormonism, A. (Stevenson) [8458]
- Lecture on The Book of Mormon and the Latter-Day Saints, with notes, A. (Sweet) [8547]
- Letter to the Christians in Guernsey upon the pretensions of Mormonism, A. (Kelly) [4570]
- Little Talk between John Robinson and his Master about Mormonism, Shewing its Origin, Absurdity, and Impiety, A.

- Magic, Pretended Miracles, and Remarkable Phenomenoms.
(Religious Tract Society)
- Materialism of the Mormons, or the Latter-day Saints,
examined and exposed, The. (Taylder) [8795]
- Mormon Doctrine of Polygamy or Plurality of Wives Examined
by the Author of "Plain Questions of Mormonites" .
. . [5522]
- Mormon Endowment: a secret drama, or conspiracy, in the
Nauvoo Temple, The. (Van Dusen) [9422]
- Mormon Miracle, at Rochdale, Tested and Exposed. . . ,
The. (Dicken) [2831]
- Mormon Morality! Revelation given to Joseph Smith-
Nauvoo, July 12, 1843. Extracted from the Latter-
day Saints Millennial Star for Jan. 1st, 1853.
[5525a]
- Mormonism . . . (Lowe) [4998]
- Mormonism (Religious Tract Society) [6857]
- Mormonism Absurd (Willimore)
- Mormonism a Delusion. (Chalmer) [1246]
- Mormonism a Heresy. . . (Mant) [5266]
- Mormonism: a Sketch of Its Rise and Progress (Lee)
[4839]
- Mormonism: An Exposure of the impositions adopted by the
sect called "Latter-day Saints. (Ashley) [209]
- Mormonism, an Imposture . . . (Woodhouse) [9990a]
- Mormonism an imposture. . . (Drummond) [3016]
- Mormonism and its Author . . . (Caswall) [1234]
- Mormonism and the Bible (Ashley)
- Mormonism and the Mormonites. [5547]
- Mormonism Briefly Examined. (Palmer) [6085]
- Mormonism Contrasted with the Word of God. [5548]

- Mormonism: Embracing the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Sect. (Hunt) [4142]
- Mormonism Examined: a Few Kind Words to a Mormom . . . (Weakley) [5549]
- Mormonism, Examined by J. Weakley and Proved to be False by the Holy Scriptures. (Weakley) [9662]
- Mormonism Exhibited in its own Mirror . . . (Wray) [10021]
- Mormonism, Explained and Exposed. (Burns) [1021]
- Mormonism Exposed. (Lowe) [4999]
- Mormonism exposed. . . (Van Dusen) [9434]
- Mormonism Exposed and Refuted. . . (Sunderland) [8536]
- Mormonism Exposed in its Swindling and Licentious Abomination, Refuted in its Principles, and in the Claims of its Head, the Modern Mohammed, Joseph Smith. . . (Bowes) [763]
- Mormonism Further Exposed. (Parker)
- Mormonism Harpooned . . . (Theobald) [8893]
- Mormonism immoral (Willimore)
- Mormonism: Its blessings and advantages. [5552]
- Mormonism: its History, Doctrines, and Practices. (Simpson) [7728]
- Mormonism: its Rise and Progress, and the Prophet Joseph Smith. (Brotherton) [890]
- Mormonism not Christianity, As Proved in a discussion between a Mormon Elder and a Defender of Evangelical Christianity. . . (Dean) [2736]
- Mormonism; or some of the False Doctrines and Lying Abominations of the so-called Latter-Day Saints Confuted and Exploded by the Bible--the Word of God.
- Mormonism or the Bible? A question for the Times. (Dixon) [5555]
- Mormonism Sifted; or the Question, Was Joseph Smith Sent by God? (Hickman) [3983]

- Mormonism. The Claims of the Book of Mormon to be a
Divine Revelation Examined and Proved to Be False.
(Johnson) [4438]
- Mormonism Tried by the Bible and Condemned.. . (Wainwright)
[9503]
- Mormonism Unmasked. (Money) [5449]
- Mormonism Unmasked. . . (Davies) [2682]
- Mormonism Unmasked . . . (Willmore) [9904]
- Mormonism Unmasked: or, the Latter-day Saints in a
Fix. (Clarke) [2401]
- Mormonism Unravelled, Pseudo-Revelations; alias, The Book
of Doctrine and Covenants, Not of God. . . (Whitney)
[9751]
- Mormonism Unvailed. [sic] (Howe) [4104]
- Mormonism Unveiled. . . (Davis) [2718]
- Mormonism Unveiled. . . a dissertation on "Polygamy" and
the Bible. (Davis) [2719]
- Mormonites, or Latter-day Saints. A Country Clergyman's
Warning to his Parishioners, The. (Kelly)
- Mormonites: their Origin, History, & Pretensions; being
an exposure of the blasphemous doctrines of the
Latter-day Saints. . . , The. (Smith) [7778]
- Mormonology . . . (Theobald) [8894]
- Mormons' "Only Way to be Saved" Not the Way to be Saved.
. . (Drummond) [3014]
- Mormons or Latter-Day Saints. What are They? (Deck)
- Mormon's own book; or, Mormonism Tried by its own
standards. . . reason and scripture, The. (Taylder)
[8796]
- Mormons, the dream and the reality. . . , The. (Cook)
[2495]
- Most complete and authentic exposure ever published of
the spiritual courtship and marriages of the Mormons
. . . , The. [5650]

- Mr. Hawthornwaite's Adventures among the Mormons, as an Elder during Eight Years. (Hawthornwaite) [3915]
- Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism: or, a Voice from the Utah Pandemonium, The. (Franklin) [3425]
- Mysteries of Mormonism. A History of the Rise and Progress of the Notorious Latter-Day Saints . . . [5700]
- Narrative of James Greenlaugh, Cotton-Spinner, Eagerton, Bolton-le-Moors. . . (Greenlaugh) [3713a]
- Narrative of Personal Experiences among the Latter-day Saints, A. (Munday) [5664]
- New Heresy! An Exposure of Mormonism . . . , The. [5790]
- One year at the Great Salt Lake City . . . (Franklin) [3426]
- Peep at Mormonism, A. (Theobald) [8893]
- Plain Facts Against the Latter-Day Saints Proving Their Doctrines Contrary to the Doctrines of the Bible. (Berry) [443]
- Plain Facts, Shewing the Falsehood and Folly of the Mormonites. (Bush) [1046]
- Plurality of Wives among the Mormons. (Gray) [3696]
- Portraiture of Mormonism. . . , A. (Sexton) [7625]
- Principles and Practices of Mormons, Tested in Two Lectures. . . (Gray) [3697]
- Prophet of the Nineteenth Century. . . , The. (Caswall) [1237]
- Reasons Why I Cannot Become a Mormonite. (Religious Tract Society) [6858]
- Refutation of the Mormon Doctrines . . . , A. (Haynes) [3923]
- Religious Impostors [6854]
- Remarks on Mormonism, Occasioned by the Question of Orson Pratt, a Mormon Apostle, "Was Joseph Smith Sent of God." . . . (Paton) [6864]

- Remarks on the Doctrines, Practices, etc. of the Latter-Day Saints. . .
- Reply of Rev. Josiah B. Lowe to the Letter of Mr. William Collinson, Addressed to him in the Mail of the 28 February 1852. (Lowe) [5000]
- Secrets of Mormonism Disclosed; an authentic exposure of the immorality and licentious abominations of the . . . Latter-day Saints and their spiritual wives . . . showing their obscene practices in the Temple . . . , The. [7608]
- Short History of the Mormonites. . . , A. (Frere) [3463]
- Sketch of the Rise, progress, and dispersion of the Mormons. . . (Thomas) [8907]
- Some account of the so-called Church of the Latter-day Saints. [8275]
- Some Extracts from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Webster) [9667]
- Spiritual Delusions: Being a key to the Mysteries of Mormonism. (Van Dusen) [9435]
- Spiritual Wife Doctrine of the Mormons Proved from the Report of the Judges of the Utah Territory . . . , The. (Bowes) [766]
- Startling Disclosures of the Great Mormon Conspiracy against the liberties of this country. . . (Van Dusen) [9425]
- Startling Disclosures of the wonderful ceremonies of the Mormon Spiritual-wife System. (Van Dusen) [9430]
- Sublime and ridiculous blended; called, The Endowment. . . , The. (Van Dusen) [9424]
- Substance of Two Lectures on Mormonism . . . , The. (Gray) [3698]
- Three Days at Nauvoo (City of the Mormons, The). (Caswall) [1232]
- To the followers of the "Latter-day Saints." (St. Clair) [7468]
- Tracts on Mormonism. (Clay) [2414]

Twenty Reasons for Rejecting Mormonism. (Taylder)
[8798]

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countrymen, The. (Parrott) [6106a]

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Anti-Mormon Pamphleteering in Great Britain,
1837-1860

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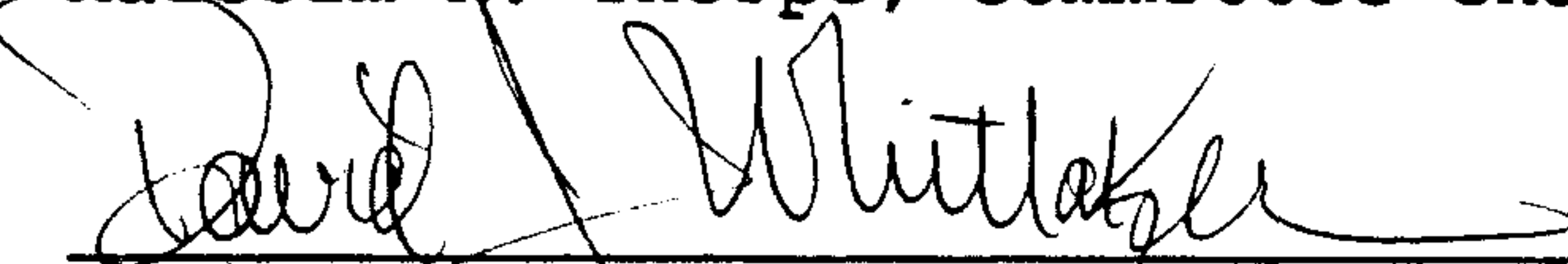
ABSTRACT

The introduction of Mormonism into Great Britain was met with both success and resistance. The major form of British resistance to the Latter-day Saints was through the press. From the introduction of the Church into Great Britain in 1837 to 1860, numerous anti-Mormon pamphlets were published to discourage people from associating with what was considered to be a strange American sect.

The major themes of a number of these tracts have been analyzed in order to gain a better understanding of how the Mormons were perceived by the British. Some of the major themes included the evil character of Joseph Smith; the immorality of the Mormons; and, comparisons between the Mormons and the Muslims. The themes of anti-Mormon pamphlets reflected the attitudes and concerns of the Early Victorian middle class displayed a sense of concern for the vulnerability of social inferiors. Pamphlets published in the 1850s were partly successful in creating a negative public image of Mormonism that was disturbing to many practicing saints and impaired missionary work.

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