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THE GODBEITE MOVEMENT:

A DISSENT AGAINST TEMPORAL CONTROL

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Department of History

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In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Grant H. Palmer

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem. The Godbeites were a group of Mormon merchants of Salt Lake City who opposed the Mormon Church's[1] claim to dictate in temporal affairs. This dissent had been smouldering for several years prior to the coming of the Pacific Railroad in 1869; but it was the Church's stepped-up enforcement of earlier economic policies that caused these men to break with the Mormon hierarchy.

The Church's answer to the problems posed by the railroad was an extension of its economic ideals. Its goal was to achieve economic self-sufficiency, through cooperation and unity. This policy, in Godbeite thinking, was not only unrealistic in meeting the railroad problem, but also curbed the freedom of Church members. The Godbeites proposed to end this isolation policy and join the laissez-faire national economy. To insure more freedom, they proposed to end President Brigham Young's "one man rule." In their organ, the Utah Magazine, these men pushed for more freedom in temporal affairs by advocating separation of the spiritual and temporal, church and state.

The purpose of this study is to provide an insight into the spirit of the times and bring into focus the problems faced by the Mormon people. The Godbeite movement, through its opposition, helps to clarify these problems faced by the Mormons in this era.

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[1] The official Church title is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Organization and limitations of the study. The following chapters are an attempt to present the Godbeite movement as it unfolded during these difficult times. The leaders of the "New Movement" were intelligent men. They lived moral lives and prior to their excommunication played important roles in the Church and in community life.

This group of Mormon merchants found Brigham Young's economic policies irritating and devoid of common sense. Seeking divine guidance on the course of action that should be taken, William S. Godbe and Elias L. T. Harrison, the two principal Godbeites, claimed to have received revelations confirming their convictions. Godbe claimed that without this spiritual direction, the movement would have never come to light. Brigham Young was off course, they were told, and the responsibility rested upon them to set it straight. Their cause was plead weekly through their organ, the Utah Magazine, in an attempt to "demolish the worst part of Brigham's work that the better part might be preserved."[2] Their early articles emphasized economic reforms, but after their excommunication, ecclesiastical and political matters received more attention.

The Godbeites' influence in changing Church policy was minimal. Along with other groups, they exerted a political influence which helped to defeat anti-Mormon legislation in the late 1860's. The Godbeite leaders, in 1870, joined other factions in the Territory and organized the Liberal Party. This party until 1890 fought to seperate the Mormon Church from governmental affairs. The Godbeites, however, belonged to this party but

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[2]Edward W. Tullidge, "The Godbeite Movement," Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine, I (October, 1880), p. 18. Hereafter cited as "The Godbeite Movement."

a short time. The Godbeite leaders refused to sanction the radical plans that their Gentile colleagues suggested in solving the Mormon question. Their love for the Mormon people would not allow them to persecute the Saints and resort to ridicule and the bad taste in literature that frequently appeared in the Gentile organ, the Salt Lake Tribune. Since the Godbeites were not willing to do this, the "New Movement" collapsed at the end of 1870.

The Godbeite movement had but a brief moment in Utah history. It appeared with the coming of the railroad and lost its momentum a year and a half later. The intent of this study is to examine the part that the Godbeites played in 1869-70.

Review of the literature. While a few accounts of the Godbeites have been written, there is not a complete history of the movement. No serious study has been made to examine the Godbeite excommunication trial. Neither has there been any in-depth study of what the Godbeites were dissenting against. Only when this has been discovered can an understanding of the Godbeite desire for separation between the spiritual and temporal, church and state be realized. T. B. H. Stenhouse, in his Rocky Mountain Saints, tries to foist onto Godbe and Harrison, the originators of the movement, his own bitterness toward Mormonism. Edward W. Tullidge gives a more objective account of the Godbeite history in his works, although there are inaccuracies. His account of the excommunication trial is generally supported in the excommunication minutes located at the library of the Church Historian in Salt Lake City. Orson F. Whitney's accounts of the Godbeite movement are cut and dried and their lack of documentation

lessens their value. Other short histories have been attempted by B. H. Roberts in his Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; Hubert H. Bancroft's History of Utah; and Leonard J. Arrington in his Great Basin Kingdom also mentions the Godbeite movement. Robert J. Dywer, The Gentile Comes to Utah, briefly outlines the Godbeite's connection with the Liberal Party. Many other writers have also touched on the Godbeite movement.

Source data. Material for this thesis was obtained from a variety of sources. Conversations with William S. Godbe's descendants have been helpful. The materials at the Church Historian's Office have been consulted. The Journal History consists of five hundred typewritten volumes giving day by day accounts of Church history. It contains letters, journals and sermons of Church leaders. Excommunication trial minutes, the manuscript materials on the Godbeites, diaries and letters, the Utah Magazine, the Contributor, the Instructor, and the Millennial Star were all looked at. The Utah State Historical Society and the University of Utah Library were also helpful. The Deseret News, Salt Lake Tribune, Corinne Journal and other newspapers were used. Many published books and some periodicals have been studied and used which cover the various phases of Church and Utah history that involve the Godbeite movement.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

One of the distinguishing marks of nineteenth century Mormonism was the attention paid to temporal matters. Unlike many other religious organizations, Mormonism's task did not end with the conversion of the individuals' soul. The Mormon concept of the Kingdom of God included more than an ecclesiastical function. Incorporated into its definition of religion was economics, and secular policy in general. The temporal and spiritual were viewed as inseparable. Brigham Young, speaking about this, said:

> We cannot talk about spiritual things without connecting them with temporal things, neither can we talk about temporal things without connecting spiritual things with them. They are inseparably connected. . . . We, as latter-day Saints, really expect, look for and we will not be satisfied with anything short of being governed and controlled by the word of the Lord in all our acts, both spiritual and temporal. If we do not live for this, we do not live to be one with Christ.[1]

It was the vocation of man to build the Kingdom of God on earth and to the Mormon frontiersman this meant building the Kingdom economically, socially, spiritually and politically. That this "Kingdom of God" was not only to be built spiritually but temporally is documented by Brigham Young.

> The first revelations given to Joseph were of a temporal character, pertaining to a literal kingdom on the earth. And most of the revelations he received in the early part of his ministry pertained to what the few around him should do in this or in that case-when and how they should perform their duties; at the same time calling upon

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[1]George D. Watt, et al. (ed.), Journal of Discourses (Liverpool: Asa Calkin, 1961), Volume X, p. 329, Sermon of June 22, 1864. Hereafter cited as Journal of Discourses.

> them to preach the Gospel and diffuse the Spirit and principles of the kingdom of God, that their eyes might be open to see and gather the people together--that they might begin and organize a literal, temporal organization on the earth.[2]

The ultimate destiny of the Kingdom of God, according to Mormon theology, was to:

> . . . usher in the literal and earthly Kingdom of God ('Zion') over which Christ would one day rule. Man would 'work out his salvation' in preparing for this Kingdom; the church would exercise leadership in fostering it. All individuals who participated in this divine and awesome task would be specially blessed and protected. One day, when the Kingdom was finally achieved, there would be no more wars or pestilences, no more poverty or contention.[3]

The Mormon concept of the Kingdom of God originated with Joseph Smith. The temporal revelations given to him were reflected in the early economic experiences of the Church. These beliefs and practices came to be accepted by the Church and were used throughout the nineteenth century as a pattern for establishment of the Kingdom of God.[4] The theory of the Kingdom followed this basic pattern. Missionaries were sent throughout the world to teach the true message of Christianity; converts were to be gathered in Zion for the purpose of building the temporal and spiritual Kingdom. After arriving from Europe and elsewhere, the Saints were settled after a pattern suggested by Joseph Smith in the plan of the city of Zion. A community was laid out in a gridiron pattern. Homes, farms, etc. were laid out in a way that provided for a highly organized community.

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[2] Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 171. Sermon of January 17, 1853.

[3] Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 5.

[4] Klaus J. Hansen, Quest for Empire (Michigan State University Press, 1967). See for more information concerning the Mormon concept and practice of the political Kingdom of God.

Property was distributed with an emphasis upon group rather than individual interests. The earth was the Lord's and the Saints were His stewards. They were, through unity and cooperation, to redeem the earth by development of the local resources.

Under the leadership of Brigham Young, these ideals of the temporal Kingdom of God were implanted in the West and given wider application. Between 1847-1900, about five hundred settlements were established by the Mormons.[5] Each of these colonizing efforts followed the basic pattern of Salt Lake City, which in turn was patterned after those in Nauvoo, Illinois, Far West and Jackson County, Missouri. As the Mormon settlements expanded, so did the jurisdiction of the Kingdom of God on earth.

To insure this continued colonization, the Church leaders made money available for the Saints to emigrate to the Valley. This was called a Perpetual Emigration Fund. Brigham Young, in explaining the operation of the P. E. Fund, said:

> When the Saints thus helped arrive here, they will give their obligations to the Church to refund to the amount of what they have received, as soon as circumstances will permit; and labor will be furnished, to such as wish, on the public works, and good pay, and as fast as they can procure the necessaries of life, and a surplus, that surplus will be applied to liquidating their debt, and thereby increasing the Perpetual Fund.
>
> By this it will readily be discovered, that the funds are to be appropriated in the form of a loan, rather than a gift. The Perpetual Fund will help no such idlers: we have no use for them in the Valley, they had better stay where they are . . . these funds are designed to increase until Israel is gathered from all nations, and the poor can sit under their own vine, and inhabit their own house, and wor-

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[5]Arrington, op. cit., p. 88.

ship God in Zion.[6]

This fund was established in 1849 and during its operation until the 1890's brought thousands of Mormon converts to the Great Basin. Once the Saints arrived in the Valley, they usually worked on "public work" projects until they received their call to colonize a particular area. These calls were usually issued from the pulpit at the semi-annual General Conference of the Church. The calls were issued to a group of Saints who were then formed into a company. Each company was carefully selected to include men with the proper skills necessary to conquer the desert and establish a successful community life. While there were occasional "backsliders" most honored their calls. Upon their departure from Salt Lake City, the company was divided into groups of ten, fifty and one hundred with the captains of hundreds responsible to the company president appointed by the Church. Reaching their destination, a fort or stockade was cooperatively built. This served as a temporary community center and also protected them against Indians. From this fort the colonists went each day to cooperatively dig canals, erect fences, build roads, plant crops, erect houses, all necessary for the groundwork of a successful village life. All this work was assigned by the leaders of the company and established after Joseph Smith's "plan of the city of Zion." Leonard Arrington describes how this was laid out:

> During this period of preparation the settlement area was surveyed and divided into blocks by an appointed church engineer who was assigned to the company. The blocks were separated by wide streets, and varied from five to ten acres in size. A large block in the center

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[6]The First Presidency to Orson Hyde, October 16, 1849, Millennial Star, XII (1850), 124.

was reserved for public buildings, and an important early task was the construction of a combination meetinghouse-schoolhouse on this lot. Each block in the village was divided into equal lots of an acre or more each, which were distributed among the colonists in a community drawing in which each family was to receive one lot. On these lots the colonists built their homes, planted their orchards, raised their vegetables and flowers, and erected their livestock and poultry sheds.

> Outside the village the surveyor located an area that could be conveniently irrigated called the Big Field, which was divided into lots ranging from five to twenty acres each, depending on the amount of irrigable land and the number of colonists. One of these farming lots was assigned to each family, again by a community drawing.[7]

Uppermost in the temporal Kingdom of God was the goal of being self-sufficient and independent from financial and economic need of the world. A "law" of the Church established this principle as early as 1830. "Let thy garments be plain, and their beauty the beauty of the work of thine own hands . . . Contract no debts with the world."[8] Under Brigham Young this revelation was also given wide application. Brigham Young instructed the Saints to manufacture their own iron, and dry goods. They were to produce their own cotton, spin their own silk, and make their own flour. Borrowing from "outsiders" made self-sufficiency more difficult and hence found little support. The key to executing this economic program was unity. Revelations received on unity came as early as 1831: "I say unto you, be one; and if ye are not one, ye are not mine."[9] Again Brigham Young expanded this revelation in the Great Basin. He developed

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[7]Arrington, op. cit., p. 90.

[8]The Evening and The Morning Star Kirtland, Ohio , July, 1832; Joseph Smith, The Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1959 edition), 42:40; 64:27. Hereafter cited as Doctrine and Covenants.

[9]Doctrine and Covenants 38:27.

the technique of united action hoping to reach the total capacity of the region. Brigham Young's goal for unity eventually envisioned the Church as representing one great family.

> I will give you a text: Except I am one with my good brethren, do not say that I am a Latter-day Saint. We must be one. Our faith must be concentrated in one great work--the building up of the kingdom of God on the earth, and our works must aim to the accomplishment of that great purpose.[10]

> I have looked upon the community of Latter-day Saints in vision, and beheld them organized as one great family of heaven, each person performing his several duties in his line of industry, working for the good of the whole more than for individual aggrandizement; and in this I have beheld the most beautiful order that the mind of man can contemplate, and the grandest results for the upbuilding of the kingdom of God and the spread of righteousness upon the earth. . . . Why can we not so live in this world?[11]

The concept of economic self-sufficiency in the Great Basin was a well-established element of religious faith. The Church members accepted this economic program and realized the importance of cooperation and unity in bringing it to fruition. It is interesting to note that contact with the "outside" is what saved the Church from economic ruin. The wave of forty-niners seeking gold in California greatly bolstered the Utah economy. As pointed out by Leonard Arrington:

> The effect of the Gold Rush upon the Mormon economy of 1849 and succeeding years is clear and unmistakable. Faced with hunger, inadequate clothing, poor housing, and a gross insufficiency of tools and equipment, the Mormon colonists would most likely have had to give up--or at least postpone--their dreams of a Great Basin empire had not the Argonauts passed through, strewing their many and varied benefits.[12]

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[10] Journal of Discourses, op. cit., VII, 280. Sermon of October 7, 1859.

[11] Ibid., XII, 153. Sermon of January 12, 1868.

[12] Arrington, op. cit., p. 64.

Another outside windfall that strengthened the Mormon economy was the encampment of Johnston's army in Utah. The Saints provided many supplies to the soldiers during their stay from 1858-1861 and benefited greatly by the spoils when the army left. Patrick Connor's volunteers soon replaced the Federal army. The supplying of these troops during the period 1862-1866 served to continue the lucrative business begun at Camp Floyd. The opening of mines in the late fifties and sixties in Colorado, Nevada, Idaho and Montana also opened markets for Utah agricultural products. The pony express and contracts to construct the transcontinental telegraph line also provided needed employment for Mormon workers. Despite all these windfalls:

> Mormon leaders uncompromisingly held to self-sufficiency as the official policy of the church. They did not expect absolute economic independence, of course, but they did seek such a high degree of autarchy as to prevent closer ties with the outside world from producing changes in the essential character of their economy. When the Civil War broke out, leaders and members felt that the self-sufficiency policy had been divinely inspired. But when that conflict ended, and the rational justification for self-sufficiency was much weaker, the official policy remained the same. Even the approach of the transcontinental railroad in the late 1860's brought no relaxation in the drive for independence from the economy of Babylon.[13]

The changes brought about by the transcontinental railroad affected almost every facet of American life. Religious, economic and political ideologies were changed. Local customs, habits and beliefs gave way to a cosmopolitan attitude. As the railroad moved west in the 1860's, the local self-sufficient economies were joined together into a national commercial network. But while other sections of the country were experiencing

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[13] Ibid., p. 195.

these social, religious, economic and political transformations, Utah prepared against them in hopes of preserving self-sufficiency through the mercantile system.

The completion of the Pacific Railroad in 1869 posed several threats to the Mormon Kingdom in Utah. The railroad made possible increased commercial relations with the East. This threatened the Mormon goal of economic self-sufficiency. The railroad also threatened the continuation of theocratic control of the region. The national economic laissez-faire philosophy would secularize and break up the Mormon Kingdom. A third general problem posed was the influx of miners that the railroad was sure to bring. A large mining population would not only increase the difficulty of maintaining theocratic control and achieving economic self-sufficiency, but would turn Utah into a rip-roaring mining camp accompanied by all the social and moral evils. In a word, the Mormon leaders feared destruction of the temporal Kingdom of God.

It would be erroneous to assume that the Mormons didn't want the railroad completed. When the railroad bypassed Salt Lake City and connected at Promontory located on the northern side of the Great Salt Lake, the Mormon leaders completed a branch line from Salt Lake City to Ogden. They later completed other branch roads that connected other Utah settlements. That the Mormon people desired the completion of the Pacific Railroad is stated by Brigham Young:

> Speaking of the completion of this railroad, I am anxious to see it, and I say to the Congress of the United States, through our Delegate, to the Company, and to others, hurry up, hasten the work! We want to hear the iron horse puffing through this valley. What for! To bring our brethren and sisters here.[14]

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[14]Journal of Discourses, XII, 54.

The railroad posed threats, but it also offered advantages. Mormon leaders were confident they could exploit these advantages and at the same time control the undesirable effects. Since the active construction of the railroad, most of the statements were optomistic about its coming; only a few statements expressed downright displeasure.[15] As Brigham Young said, Mormonism ". . . must, indeed, be a ---- poor religion, if it cannot stand one railroad."[16]

If the Mormon leaders felt confident in handling these "threats," it was only because of their well-directed program of "protection." In 1867, the School of the Prophets, an organization composed of Church leaders and Mormon merchants, was organized specifically to meet this "crisis" of the railroad.[17] This organization since the early months of 1868 had been hammering out a defensive economic plan to meet this challenge.

The Continental Railroad would end Mormon isolation from the states. To the Mormon leaders it meant that Eastern goods could be brought to Utah faster and cheaper than ever before. This would put local industry in competition with the East. The people of Utah would naturally buy the cheaper Eastern goods and this would destroy local industries and disemploy a considerable number of Mormon workers. To Mormon leaders the question became one of how to counter this economic crisis that was about to descend on Utah territory. Utah could not compete in agriculture because of high cost irrigation, which Iowa, Missouri and

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[15]Arrington, op. cit., p. 237.

[16]Ibid.

[17]This organization was named after an organization established by Joseph Smith in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1833.

California were not confronted with. Indeed, cheap wheat from Kansas would probably cause Utah's agriculture to contract. The only real avenue left to combat the economic crisis was the development of Utah's abundant mining resources. But Church leaders since entering the Valley had preached on the evils of precious metal mining. A society based on mining, it was reasoned, generally proved to be abortive. When the mines became exhausted the people moved away, thus leaving a ghost town. A permanent, happy and contented society, said Brigham Young, was based on "iron and coal, good hard work, plenty to eat, good schools, and good doctrine."[18] Apostle Erastus Snow, a leading member of the Church, gave his council to Church members on this point by saying:

> But we have all the time prayed that the Lord would shut up the mines. It is better for us to live in peace and good order, and to raise wheat, corn, potatoes and fruit, than to suffer the evils of a mining life.[19]

Brigham Young, emphasizing the evils of a mining occupation, said in General Conference:

> Whenever I see a man going along with an old mule that can hardly stand up, and a frying pan and an old quilt, I say, 'There goes a millionaire in prospect.' these millionaires are all over the county; they are in the mountains, on our highways and in the streets. And they haven't a sixpence.[20]

Needless to say, gold fever was not allowed to dominate the thoughts of a Latter-day Saint.

As a result of this policy non-Mormons had secured almost all of

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[18] Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, May 29, 1870).

[19] Ibid., June 15, 1870.

[20] Ibid., April 7, 1873.

the rich deposits in the Great Basin area.[21] Since the coming of the California volunteers in 1862, Connor and his men had staked mining claims, With the coming of the railroad, the necessary operating equipment could be brought to Utah and her mining treasures be gathered. The Mormon leaders feared that the railroad would bring great hordes of miners and thus jeopardize Mormon political control. They also feared the moral and social evils that would accompany this possible mining boom.

That Utah was rich in mineral wealth few doubted. Tullidge, for example, had written in an Eastern paper, "Utah will pay the national debt."[22] Lincoln had said, "Utah will yet become the treasure house of the nation."[23] However, the type of social atmosphere which builds around mining camps was also well known to the Saints. "Mormon leaders were determined that their Promised Valley would not be converted into a rip-roaring mining camp, despite the apparent short-run economic advantages associated with such a conversion."[24]

Mormon fear of "Gentile" intent was further intensified by the attitude taken by the non-Mormon element which was attempting to open Utah to mining. Statements such as the following by General Patrick Connor to the War Department of the United States were well known by Church leaders:

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[21] Arrington, op. cit., p. 242.

[22] Edward W. Tullidge, "The Reformation in Utah," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, XLIII (September, 1871), p. 602.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Arrington, loc. cit.

> As set forth in former communications, my policy in this Territory has been to invite hither a large Gentile and loyal population, sufficient by peaceful means and through the ballot-box to overwhelm the Mormons by mere force of numbers, and thus wrest from the church--disloyal and traitorous to the core--the absolute and tyrannical control of temporal and civil affairs, or at least a population numerous enough to put a check on the Mormon authorities, and give contenance to those who are striving to loosen the bonds with which they have been so long oppressed.[25]

In light of this attitude the leaders of the Church made the decision to attempt to deflate the reports of Utah's mineral wealth at the expense of losing for the moment the riches of the mines. It was further decided to foster home manufacturing to its full capacity. In a March issue of the Deseret News the following editorial appeared realtive to home manufacturing:

> By the completion of the railroad we are going to be brought into competition with our neighbors east and west in all branches of production and manufacture. In view of this our mechanics must arrange matters in such a manner that they can command the trade of the territory. If their methods of labor and manufacturing are slow and expensive, they must avail themselves of machinery, and the various aids which men in their branches of business use in the east and west; for if they do not produce as good an article at as low a price, as it can be brought here from other places, they will be likely to find the market stocked from abroad and their wares will go begging. We have men among us, though they are not numerous, who, if they can make twenty-five cents by bringing an article from abroad do not hesitate to send for it in preference to purchasing a home manufactured article of the same quality. To control this market, therefore, those who manufacture and produce, must do so at rates so favorable that nothing in their line produced or manufactured elsewhere can find sale here except at a loss. The tariff on freight brought from the east or west answers as good a purpose as a protective duty, and we will be highly culpable if we do not take the necessary steps to supply ourselves from our own productions and manufactures to the extent of our power.[26]

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[25] Edward W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1886), p. 698.

[26] Deseret News Salt Lake City , March 3, 1869.

The problem of the Mormons, it will be noted, was to produce goods of comparative value which could be purchased at a lower cost than those of eastern markets. To accomplish this the Church decided to take several steps, among them being the following: (1) They would establish locally owned and operated "cooperative" businesses which would provide a guaranteed employment for the Saints. (2) The railroads would be made to serve the Saints by using them only for the import of raw materials not locally produced, instead of using them to obtain finished products from the eastern markets. (3) Needful products from the East were to be canalized through a Church-established wholesale house--Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution. This measure would also practically entail a boycott on "Gentile" business. (4) It was finally decided that a general wage reduction was necessary to place the local business on a competitive basis. This wage reduction was to be decided by representative members from each of the local trades, stressing the idea that this sacrifice was needful for survival.[27] Under this policy, masons were to be reduced from four dollars a day to one dollar and fifty cents. Tailors, carpenters, painters, shoemakers, etc. were also to receive similar reductions.[28]

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[27]The total economic program of the Church during this period of time is further developed by Leonard Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, pp. 245-250.

[28]"The Godbeite Movement," p. 18. The local trade unions, however, never in fact reduced wages.

CHAPTER III

THE BACKGROUND OF THE REFORMERS

The Godbeite Movement, or what has been called the Liberal Movement, the New Movement, and the Utah Schism derived its name from William S. Godbe, a prominent Mormon merchant of Salt Lake City, Utah. Unlike prior defections in Church history, the Godbeite movement was initially one of economic reform. The typical Church apostate before the Godbeite schism made little attempt to reform the practices he didn't like; he simply tried to destroy Mormonism or left the Church to its fate. The Godbeite leaders loved Utah and the Mormon people. They were not immoral, bloodthirsty men as many Church apostates had previously been. The Godbeite schism was a new kind of problem faced in the Church, but they were given essentially the same treatment and classed with previous offenders. Before exploring the schism further, let us briefly reveal the background and character of these reformers.

Seven men were spokesmen for the Godbeites; seven very capable men of more than average literary ability. Of these men, only Tullidge was a professional journalist; the rest were businessmen.[1]

William S. Godbe was born in London, England, June 26, 1833. His natural daring and love of enterprise induced the boy in his early youth to go to sea. As a sailor he was provided with a way to fulfil his more

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[1]"The Godbeite Movement," pp. 64-85. Most of the biographical material in this chapter was taken from this source. Also, pictures of some of the leaders appear in Appendix E.

ultimate ambition to see the world. Early in his youth William read with passion books about classic lands and longed to visit them himself. He had absorbed books on Egypt, Greece, Turkey and Russia and other places of historic interest. Godbe in his travels later fulfilled his dreams by visiting Egypt, the Grecian Isles, Constantinople, southern Russia and the Danube. He also went to the coast of Africa, Brazil and northern Europe, France, Germany and Denmark. But, apart from his ardent desire to see the world, a nautical life was most unsuited to William S. Godbe. His love for people left him unsatisfied with the unhumanized and unpeopled ocean. It was fortunate, therefore, for the general usefulness of his life, that at an early period his instinct for sea adventure was corrected and directed to broader life purposes. His apprenticeship to the sea not having quite expired, young Godbe had to render service for a limited period to a shipchandler - which his Captain had become - at Hull, England. There his life was one of drudgery. Each day he dragged his truck, laden with ship stores, to the docks; and it was while thus engaged that he was first attracted by the preaching of a Mormon elder. The preacher possessed considerable talent, and his themes were bold and new. Young Godbe was immediately captivated, and he commenced a course of Mormon reading with the same avidity that he had before read books on travel. Parley P. Pratt's writings charmed him greatly, as they had charmed tens of thousands of others. Pratt, dealing with the most glorious themes of prophecy, wrought up Godbe to a high pitch of inspiration and enthusiasm. At the Mormon meetings, young Godbe bore his testimony often with such fervor and inspiration as to astonish strangers present. Mormonism was almost a miracle to them in that lad.

After a time, Godbe left Hull to visit his mother in London. On the journey he got into conversation with a man of intelligence on the subject of religion to whom he began to tell the story of the restored gospel in all its former power and purity. "Stop," said his fellow passenger, interrupting him, "Is your name William?" "Yes," was the answer. And then the man told Godbe that a short time before, in response to much prayer and fasting, an angel had appeared to him in a vision and said that he would meet a boy by the name of William who would tell him what to do, and that he was to give heed to his words. On their arrival in London, the man was baptized into the Mormon Church.

These episodes are told to illustrate that William S. Godbe in his youth was deeply captivated with Mormonism; for that fact also explains something of the part he played in Utah as the leader of a spiritual movement with his friend, Elias Harrison.

William S. Godbe soon emigrated to America to join the body of his people in the performance of their work of founding Utah. Landing in New York with little means, the boy boldly set out to walk the entire distance to Salt Lake City. Except for a boat journey from Buffalo to Chicago, he walked every step of the road to the frontiers, from which point he worked his way across the Plains in a merchant train.

After arriving in Salt Lake City in 1851, he worked for Thomas S. Williams, a first class merchant, and in a few years had himself grown to be one of the most substantial men in the Mormon community.

In the early days of Utah, an agent to go East and purchase goods for the people was a necessity, and W. S. Godbe was the man of their choice. Already his public spirit was recognized and appreciated by the community,

even in a commercial career, where a public spirit is truly uncommon. Yearly he went East on the people's commercial business as well as his own. The day of starting was advertised and then men and women from all parts of the Territory thronged his office with their commissions. Thus, Godbe purchased hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of goods for the people of Utah, and the arrival of his trains gave periodical sensations to the city, so many being personally interested.

Prior to the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad, Godbe made no less than twenty-four trips across the plains to the Missouri River, besides several passages to California. These trips were performed mostly on horseback. In some instances, only one man would accompany him, owing to the hostility of the Indians, he deeming it safer to go that way than to attract attention by a large party.

This popular merchant was also the first who brought down prices. When there were any commercial aims to specially benefit the people, Godbe took the lead in working them out. In one instance, he purchased a large stock of goods to be sold off immediately at cost and freight, thus bringing down prices to a figure never before known in Utah. The result of this venture benefitted the community more than it did himself, but benevolence was the policy of his life, not only in his private but also in his commercial character.

In addition to his economic talents, Godbe also held responsibilities in the Church. He was president of one of the local quorums of Seventy.[2]

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[2]In the Mormon Church there are two divisions of priesthood. A Seventy is an ecclesiastical office within the higher priesthood. A quorum consists of a certain number of Seventies.

Both his economic and church talents were respected by Brigham Young.

Elias L. T. Harrison was born at Barking, Essex, England, on March 26, 1839. His first religious impressions were derived from his mother at a very early age. At that impressible period, she so persuasively instilled into his mind the beauties of goodness and virtue, and the delight and happiness it would confer on herself and his father to have him live a good and noble life, that the influence of her teachings never left him. His mother died when he was only eight years of age, but never was a mother's memory more loved and worshipped. It was one of his cherished convictions that her presence and influence had been with him in every important event throughout his life.

Harrison, after examining the Christian creeds, held to the belief that they were insufficient to meet the wants of human nature. He first sensed this from his mother who, so earnest in her love for truth, was distressed over the question whether she really had come up to the Christian standard of faith or not.

Thus, even at this childish period, Harrison was unconsciously preparing for the life of a reformer. The important questions, "whence am I?-Whither am I going?-and what is the true religion of life?" were always before him in his youth. Under the guidance of his sincerely religious father, he attended Sunday School, read the Jewish Scriptures and began to reason for himself on their contents. Harrison says:

> At the age of twelve years . . . I found myself, on one occasion, suddenly arrested by the question--After all, how do I know that Jesus <u>is</u> the Son of God? I believe it, but how do I know it? The question arrested me like an inspiration in one of my little wanderings through the byways and lanes of my native village. I well remember standing transfixed by that question, which seemed more spoken from without than within. The answer given back to my invisible questioner came

> to my mind almost as quickly as the question: 'I do not know that Jesus is the Christ. All I know is that he taught the most noble and Godlike principles of any man of whom I have ever heard. He must therefore have been nearer to God than any other man.' It was such an answer as I might have received from the lips of a Parker or a Channing, had I lived in a country where such men could be found. But I was in an atmosphere of religious thought, unpenetrated by such unorthodox methods of determining the divinity of principles. It was a case of truth springing up intuitively in the soul, without the aid of religious guides. It satisfied me, and gave me rest, and was the basis of future independent thought.[3]

At the age of fourteen, Harrison entered the study of architecture and he remained eight years with one of the most prominent London architects. It was while thus employed that he made his first acquaintance with the Mormon movement, at that time in its most prosperous condition in England. In joining Mormonism, he claims that he simply attached himself to a system incarnating ideas which had strongly impressed themselves upon his mind as the result of his own search for truth. He was following up the line of intuitional thought begun in his boyhood. Alone and unassisted, he had arrived at most of the principles which Mormonism professed. His mind demanded a religion of present evidences. He had asked his religious teachers why positive evidence of the truth of Christian theology could not be had, beyond the testimony of ancient books. Receiving no satisfactory answer, he had concluded that the fault lay in the theological systems and not in Divine arrangements. Therefore, when he met with Mormon elders, who were not only combatting so many of the dogmas of the past but asserting the return of an age of spiritual manifestations and direct spiritual evidences, it was like listening back to the echoes of his own heart. He joined the strange sect, and for a period of ten

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[3]"The Godbeite Movement," pp. 82-83.

years, commencing with youthful manhood, he resigned all professional life and "went out to preach the glorious doctrine of a present God in the affairs of men."[4]

In one respect Harrison realized what was promised him by the elders--namely, an actual spiritual power accompanying the system. In the simplehearted associations of those early missionary days, he found a brotherhood that possessed indescribable charms for him. At times, remarkable healings occurred under his hands. Compelled to stand up before multitudes, trembling from a sense of his own inadequacy, he found himself the subject of influences which made him the vehicle for a flood of words and ideas beyond his own thoughts. Remarkable and almost miraculous, providences supplied his needs. All this and much more were, to his mind, evidences of the divine origin of his religion.

Of Harrison's official position in the Church in England, it may be remarked that after serving as a traveling elder, he was for some years the President of the great London Conference[5] which, at the date of his presiding, was so extensive that he regularly paid the rent of twenty-four public halls in London and vicinity. For five years, he was also manager of the Book Depot of the Church in London, and was financial agent of the Liverpool office for the receipt of all monies from the continent and several districts of England. A new system of books designed by him, for accounting for all monies paid by the people, was adopted by the British

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[4]Ibid., p. 83.

[5]This is an organization that held large group meetings in an attempt to make proselytes for the Mormon Church.

mission.

After years of faithful labor in the British mission, Harrison emigrated to Utah in 1861. No provision of money or outfit having been made for him beyond his passage across the water, his journey was a most painful experience. He walked a thousand miles across the Plains and suffered unspeakable agony over the death of his beloved wife. Arriving in Utah, his exalted dreams of a present Zion seemed dissipated by the realities. Like thousands of others who have concealed similar disappointment in their bosoms, he bore all this in pain and silence for some years until, when the burden grew insupportable, he uttered his protest, in concert with his brethren.

In the meantime, he occupied himself with business cares and lived a life of self-suppression. There was little or no demand in Utah at that time for men of his profession; and his struggles for mere existence were a relief.

Harrison was an architect by profession, but his avocation was writing. This interest led him to write a series of articles in defense of Mormonism called "Tokens of Divinity in Mormonism." In 1864, Harrison, in an attempt to supplement his meager income, contracted with Edward W. Tullidge and founded the Peep O'Day magazine. In 1868, in partnership with Godbe he also fathered the Utah Magazine. These ventures were two of Utah's first literary magazines. Harrison, like Godbe, also held the same ecclesiastical responsibility in the Mormon Church at the time of his break with it.

Edward W. Tullidge, as mentioned earlier, was the only literary man of the group by profession. Tullidge seems to be the real idealist of the

group and the only one attracted to the movement for both philosophic and economic reasons. This fact is important to keep in mind when reading the history of the Godbeite movement, since he is its chief historian. Besides the economic problem, Tullidge feels that the movement was a great revival of the Messianic and Millennial spirit among the Mormon people. To other historians it often appears that the only point of contention between the Godbeites and the Church was economic in nature. Tullidge, like Godbe and Harrison, was a president of one of the local quorums of Seventy. He, like the others before mentioned, was a British convert to the Church. While in England he served as editor of the Millennial Star. Coming to Utah he entered first into the Peep O'Day venture with Harrison. When this magazine was forced to discontinue because of finances and a paper shortage, Tullidge went to New York where he served for two years on the staff of the Galaxy Magazine. In 1868 he returned to Salt Lake City and became involved in the publication of the Utah Magazine.

Eli B. Kelsey, the third member of the Godbeites to officially be excommunicated, was also a member of a quorum of Seventy. He was born at Scioto County, Ohio, on October 27, 1819. He joined the Mormon Church in 1843 while teaching school in Trimble County, Kentucky. His mother had, some years earlier, joined the Church and was in Nauvoo in 1843 with the Saints. Eli, through his mother's letters, became interested in the Church and sent money to purchase a copy of all the Mormon books that had been published. He found the revelations claimed by Joseph Smith and his teachings on doctrines were in close harmony with the teachings of Christ and His apostles. Kelsey, through his own private study, gained an intellectual conviction of Mormonism and was a convert many months before he was

baptized. In April of 1844, he moved to Nauvoo with his wife and three children. At the request of the prophet, Kelsey founded the Nauvoo Seminary. Within three months he had 224 pupils and several assistant teachers under his direction. In this teaching capacity he tutored the children of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

In the forced exodus of the Saints from Nauvoo in the winter and spring of 1846, Kelsey with his wife and four children made the arduous trek to "Winter Quarters," located near present day Omaha, Nebraska.

In February of 1848, he was appointed to a mission in the British Isles. Slowly he worked his way from Winter Quarters to St. Joseph on the Missouri River with his family, which was by then reduced by the death of his two youngest children. Reaching St. Louis he then set out for his father-in-law's farm in Ohio. Finding no employment, he went to Louisville, Kentucky, and took hire with his brother, who was a master builder. Kelsey remained in his brother's employ for a sufficient length of time to save money enough to furnish his wife and children with food and clothing for a year. In July, 1848, he left for the British Isles without purse or script. He remained on the mission until 1851. He fulfilled an honorable mission and held several important responsibilities. Kelsey was left, by Orson Pratt, in charge of the British Mission during the Mormon apostle's return to America in 1850. But his crowning mark was made as president of the London Conference and through his instrumentality and his influence missionary tract societies were organized everywhere in his district and hundreds were brought into the Church by his missionary energy. One of his notable converts was Charles W. Penrose, later a Mormon apostle and member of the First Presidency of the Church. Finishing his mission, Kelsey

returned home to his family. In 1852 he led a company of Mormon pioneers to the Promised Valley and joined the Saints in Utah.

William H. Shearman was born at Wakefield, Yorkshire, England, December 17, 1831. His parents were Baptists. His father was a physician, but devoted considerable time to lecturing and preaching in different parts of England, so that William had a strict religious training, consonant to his own nature. His parents and brothers emigrated to America before him, but he followed them to New York in 1845, where, in the year 1847, he united with the Amity Street Baptist Church, under the pastoral care of the Rev. W. R. William, D. D. Possessing a refined spiritual organization, he passed through what among the sects in that day was a very uncommon spiritual experience. As he was walking down Broadway, New York, in a contemplative mood, a glorious vision, in open day, was revealed to him. He saw a vast multitude of angels, in the forms of men, and one whom he recognized as Jesus was speaking to them. He was given to understand that it was Jesus. To describe the glory of his vision, his ineffable joy and the spirit of love which overshadowed him, his power to tell would fail, but to His death that vision was a revered experience to him never to be forgotten.

In 1849, William H. Shearman, eighteen years of age, went to California, so that he was one of the pioneers of the Golden State. In 1855 he became connected with the Mormon people. At that period, the mission on the Pacific Coast was under the Presidency of the apostle, Parley P. Pratt. The preaching of the doctrine of new revelations in that age could not but attract the spiritual mind of Shearman. He knew that the doctrine was in agreement with his own experience; so that in embracing Mormonism

he embraced, to his mind, a highly spiritual work; indeed nothing less than Christianity in its pristine purity, beauty and spiritual power,

Having been ordained an Elder under the hands of Parley P. Pratt, Shearman became a travelling Elder in California. In 1857, Shearman being released from his California mission emigrated to Utah. Here he quickly showed his usefulness with the pen, and his articles in the Deseret News attracted attention.

In 1862, Shearman was sent on a mission to England. In this capacity he served as assistant editor of the Millennial Star under the Apostle George Q. Cannon. Between him and President Cannon, at this period, there existed the most affectionate relations.

On his return from England, Elder Shearman again took up the mission of education of the rising generation. He is credited by Tullidge as the first to establish Sunday Schools in Zion, beginning in the Twelfth Ward under the solicitious encouragement of the Presiding Bishop, L. W. Hardy. Tullidge contends that Shearman was also the originator of the Juvenile Instructor, which became the official journal of Sunday School organizations throughout the Territory, and the basis of the Sunday School education of the Mormon Church. Andrew Jensen, a Mormon Church historian disputes this and claims Cannon to be the originator of the magazine.[6]

Shearman also demonstrated his leadership in business affairs; in connection with another gentlemen he purchased Mr. Godbe's store at Logan. In this he was encouraged by President Young who offered, if necessary, to

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[6]Andrew Jensen, L. D. S. Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1901), Vol. I, p. 48.

back him in the enterprise. When cooperation started he was doing a business which would have made him financially comfortable for life. At the request of Apostle Ezra T. Benson, he promptly gave up his individual business and put all he had into the Logan Co-operative Institution.

Henry W. Lawrence was born July 18, 1835, near Toronto, Canada. Lawrence's mother and father were converted by Joseph Smith and John Taylor while the two were visiting Canada. Shortly after his father's death, Lawrence and the rest of his family crossed the Plains to Salt Lake City in 1850.

After having served as a clerk for several of the pioneer firms, Lawrence, in the spring of 1859, went into business with his brother-in-law, John B. Kimball, a Gentile, who was known as a prominent merchant of Salt Lake City. Soon the firm of Kimball & Lawrence became famous both at home and abroad, for its commercial integrity. John Kimball, though a Gentile merchant, had always been on the most friendly terms with the Mormon people and was as faithful as any brother in paying his tithing to the Church and in his donations to the poor. Undoubtedly, however, it was Lawrence who gave to the firm its substantial influence with the community. Lawrence's commercial talents made him a close confidant of Brigham Young's. Lawrence later played an important financial role in the organization of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution, where he served as one of the seven directors of the Church institution.

Lawrence was considered one of the bright young members of the Church whose star was in the ascendency. At the time of his rift with the Church leaders he was first counselor to a bishop.

Thomas B. H. Stenhouse is usually considered one of the leading lights of the Godbeite movement, but his place in it is in reality rather obscure. His book, Rocky Mountain Saints, is usually quoted for its history of the movement, but it appears to be one of the few bits of writing he did in behalf of the group. Stenhouse, in company with his wife, Fanny, seems to have departed further from the spirit of the early movement than any of the other members--at least as this spirit is defined by Tullidge. Stenhouse, like most of the other Godbeite leaders, was an early missionary of the Church. He accompanied Elder Lorenzo Snow in opening Italy and Switzerland to the missionary work of the Church. He later served as editor of the Daily Telegraph, a Utah paper that championed the cause of the Church against the violent anti-Mormon barrages of the Union Vedette. Stenhouse was also the father-in-law of one of Brigham Young's sons, which relationship complicated the problem which later developed.

CHAPTER IV

GRIEVANCES AND REFORMS

After reviewing the Church activities of the Godbeite leaders, it seems strange that these men could be motivated to rise in opposition to the cause they had so strongly championed before. However, it should be borne in mind constantly that these men did not see themselves initially as being in opposition to the Church; they simply wanted to bring about certain reforms from within it. These desired reforms were numerous and of varying importance. Foremost among them was a reversal of the economic policy being counselled by the leadership of the Church. This economic policy was the first thing which brought out the reformers in open opposition to the policies of President Brigham Young.

Economic Grievance. The Godbeite leaders were merchants who would be forced to revolutionize their business practices in order to be in step with the newly announced economic policies of the Church. On the basis of their understanding of economic principles they found themselves in radical disagreement with the leadership of the Church. Godbe, in explaining his position, said:

> I have responded to the requisitions of the authorities frequently, because I have seen their utility and felt myself interested in their accomplishment; but sometimes I have done so at the cost of thousands of dollars, when I was of opinion that the measures were not wisely planned, and the results have proved that my judgment was not at fault. I obeyed, in those cases, to preserve unity of action, believing then as now, that our union is worth more than money, that it should be maintained at the cost of individual interests. Indeed, I regard union as a gem of such worth that we should do everything but wrong to maintain it; that we must not do even to preserve us from disunion; and a man does wrong when he acts contrary to the dictates of conscience, God's

> monitor in the soul, for then he violates the divine part of his nature and sins against light and truth.[1]

Tullidge explains why the break came with Church leaders.

> It was in 1868 that the Apostles made their first attempt to establish the Order of Enoch 'through, ever and anon, it had been talked of for years at Conference times under the name of 'consecration.' Its introduction, now, was to be attempted under the guise of 'Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution,' and the Order of Enoch was to follow when the preparation had been made.[2]

The Godbeites had endured the doctrine of economic self-sufficiency to preserve the peace; but in their hearts they hoped that the railroad would end this outmoded economic ideal and allow the Mormon community to be joined with the national economy. Instead, Church leaders used even more rigid controls to achieve this defensive economy.

The basis of the Godbeite's disagreement was that they felt the Church was now strong enough to stand its own, even with a "Gentile" rush to the mines. The Church had withstood a general gold rush in 1849, famine in the mid-fifties and a Federal army led by Johnston and consequently felt that the Mormons would not be overrun or corrupted by mining. They felt that Zion had fled to the mountains to gain strength and that it was now, after twenty-two years, prepared to come out of the mountains and go forward in its mission of carrying its ideology to the world. As will be shown, it was at this juncture--when the Church was nearing the last stages of putting its economic policies into force that the Godbeites came out in open opposition to the economic policies of the leaders of the Church--especially those of President Brigham Young.

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[1] "The Godbeite Movement," p. 40.

[2] Ibid., p. 16.

In a lengthy and brilliantly argued editorial on the "True Development of the Territory" Harrison said that Utah's prosperity didn't depend on manufacturers, but on the development of mining. Any commonwealth or nation, he said, should find and "devote its labors in developing those resources which will command the largest outside market, and thus establish a basis for obtaining the money that it needs." Those regions or countries that do not develop a specialty for export "must fall back to a greater or less extent upon the miserable and cumbrous system of trade, as money will be out of the question." "The reason why we have had so little cash in Utah for so long a period and have had to depend so much upon the hateful trade system is simply because we have, as yet, developed no specialty." Harrison then explores export specialty possibilities for the Utah territory. Utah cannot compete in agriculture because of her high cost irrigation, which Iowa, California and other states are not confronted with. Livestock grazing and sheep raising for wool were not Utah's salient resource. Manufacturing in Utah could do little more than supply local limited needs. Harrison then said that "common sense would seem to say, develop that first which will bring money from other territories and states, and then those factories and home industries which supply ourselves will have something to lean upon." Harrison goes on to say:

> The question then arises--Have we a specialty of the kind in this Territory that will bring us the money we need? . . . the answer comes back from all parts of the Territory, that it is in MINERALS! We are one of Nature's vast minerals storehouses--a mineral Territory in fact. From one end to the other we walk over worlds of mineral wealth awaiting development. We have mountains of coal, iron, and lead, and enough copper and silver to supply the world--to say nothing of more precious metals. Here, then, is our specialty writ-

> ten on the face of the country--a department in which we can compete with almost any part of the world, and keep alive all our other industries as well. Here is the opening for our enterprise. Here nature needs no forcing to produce us what we need, she groans with profusion. To strain our souls out in fruitless endeavors to bend the climate and soil of the Territory in matching other countries in departments where we were evidently never intended to equal them, much more to excell, while our grand specialty lies almost untouched, is to turn our backs on the open hand of God. . . .
>
> Summed up in a few words--we live in a country destitute of the rich advantages of other lands--a country with few natural facilities beyond the great mass of minerals in its bowels. These are its main financial hopes. To this our future factories must look for their life, our farmers, our stock, wool, and cotton raisers for their sale, and our mechanics for suitable wages. Let these resources be developed, and we have a future before us as bright as any country beneath the sun, because we shall be working in harmony with the indications of Nature around us.[3]

This was the Godbeites gripe and solution to the economic crisis emphasized by the coming of the transcontinental railroad in 1869.

Temporal Control. It would be historically inaccurate to state that the Godbeite reforms were economic only. The Church's claim to dictate in all things both temporal and spiritual was also irritating. These two grievances reveal and are absorbed by a more fundamental grievance--a desire for a complete separation of Church and state. It is difficult to say when the reformers formally isolated the various points of "error" they detected in Mormonism as practiced during the administration of President Brigham Young. During the early part of the organized movement, most of these points were carefully outlined in the Manifesto issued shortly after the breach of these men from official Mormondom.[4]

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[3] E. L. T. Harrison, "The True Development of the Territory," Utah Magazine, III (October 16, 1869), pp. 376-378. See Appendix B.

[4] See Appendix A.

Irritating to the Godbeites was the "encroachment of power" being made by the ruling Priesthood of the Church. The Godbeites felt that the priesthood was being mis-used and abused. Quoting from the Doctrine and Covenants, they said "No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the priesthood, only by persuasion, by long suffering, by gentleness, by meekness and by love unfeigned."[5] Referring to Brigham Young, they said that when a man begins to ". . . exercise control or dominion or compulsion over the souls of men [it is] . . . amen to the priesthood or authority of that man."[6] The Godbeites felt that Brigham Young and other general authorities were using dictatorial control and exercising prerogatives that didn't rightly belong to them and that were not connected with the "powers of heaven." In Godbeite thinking, the Priesthood didn't have the right to tell one how to vote, neither did the Church authorities have the right to reduce wages[7] or control one's temporal life and affairs. Speaking of the Church hierarchy, Godbe wrote:

> For it is well known that they claim the prerogative of absolutely dictating the people as to where they shall live, and what they shall do, what they shall eat and what they shall drink, what they accept as true and what they shall reject as false and this assumption of priestly power goes as far as to determine what we shall think in regard to things temporal as well as things spiritual, as much as with reference to where we shall purchase our goods, as to the most cardinal points in our most holy faith; in a word, in regard to everything that interests us here or hereafter that pertains to time now or time to come.[8]

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[5] Doctrine and Covenants 122:41.

[6] Ibid., 122:37.

[7] This is mentioned on page 17.

[8] "The Godbeite Movement," p. 38.

The Godbeites also protested against members being told to watch one another and "observing how each acts." This was done primarily through the interrogation tactics of teachers who made periodic visits. The Godbeites maintained that the Saints always gave the appropriate answers for many feared to think differently from the "appointed way" for fear of being cut off from the Church. To the Godbeites "domination" and "compulsion" had replaced "gentleness, meekness, and love unfeigned."[9]

Church leaders for a period of sixty years (1830-1890) felt they had authority in both spiritual and temporal affairs. During this period the Godbeites were not the first to balk over temporal control. In connection with the excommunication trial of Oliver Cowdery in Far West on April 11, 1838, charges were made by Bishop Edward Partridge among other things against Cowdery "for virtually denying the faith by declaring that he would not be governed by any ecclesiastical authority or revelation whatever in his temporal affairs."[10] In answering this charge, Cowdery, in a letter to Partridge, said that:

> The very principle of . . . [ecclesiastical authority in temporal affairs] I conceive to be couched in an attempt to set up a kind of petty government, controlled and dictated by ecclesiastical influence, in the midst of this national and state government. You will, no doubt, say this is not correct; but the bare notice of these charges, over which you assume a right to decide, is, in my opinion, a direct attempt to make the secular power subserviant to Church direction-to the correctness of which I cannot in conscience subscribe. I believe that the principle never did fail to produce anarchy and confusion.

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[9] More detail about this grievance can be read in Appendix B, "Steadying the Ark."

[10] B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), I, 431. Hereafter cited as A Comprehensive History of the Church.

> This attempt to control me in my temporal interests, I conceive to be a disposition to take from me a portion of my Constitutional privileges and inherent rights - I only, respectfully, ask leave, therefore, to withdraw from a society assuming they have such a right.[11]

As already discussed, temporal control during 1869-1870 was especially strong. With the coming of the railroad, Church leaders increased their control in temporal affairs. As Leonard Arrington has remarked, "Mormon economic policy in 1869 and immediately thereafter was devoted almost fanatically to the preservation of the tightly-reined independent theocratic commonwealth."[12]

The Godbeites, by advocating that Utah's economic policies become a part of the national laissez-faire philosophy, found themselves in opposition to Church policy. Twentieth century Mormon leaders do not feel they have control over temporal affairs, but only in ecclesiastical functions. This trend away from jurisdiction in temporal affairs is seen by Joseph F. Smith's testimony before the investigating committee where he declared:

> Our people are given the largest possible latitude for their convictions, and if a man rejects a message that I may give him but is still moral and believes in the main principles of the gospel and desires to continue in his membership, he is permitted to remain and is not unchurched.[13]

Note the similarity of ideas between what Joseph F. Smith said and

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[11]Ibid., p. 432. This charge, however, was subsequently dropped by the High Council, p. 433.

[12]Arrington, op. cit., p. 244.

[13]Proceedings before the committee on privileges and elections of the United States Senate in the matter of the protests against the right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah to hold his seat. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1906), I, pp. 97-98.

Harrison and Godbe said on October 23, 1869, during their excommunication proceedings.

> We believe that it is the right of all persons, so long as they obey the ordinances of the gospel, and live pure and moral lives, to retain a standing in this Church, whether they can see the propriety of all of the measures of the leaders of the Church or not.[14]

To Brigham Young these statements would have sounded like rank heresy. The question put to Godbe by Wilford Woodruff at his trial reveals this. "Do you support Brigham Young in all things temporal and spiritual."[15] Answering no, we then ". . . inquired whether it was not possible for us to honestly differ from the presiding priesthood, and we were answered that such a thing was impossible." They were told that they "might as well ask whether we could honestly differ from the Almighty."[16]

Separation of Church and State. The Mormon concept of the temporal Kingdom of God included within its definition the establishment of a political organization. Early statements by Joseph Smith and other leaders revealed that the Church organization was to be separate from this political kingdom.[17] To be a part of the Church required membership, but the political kingdom welcomed non-members to join them; however, few joined. Theoretically then, the two organizations were to be separate, but the leaders were the same in both.[18] In practical operation

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[14] "The Godbeite Movement," p. 34.

[15] Ibid., p. 32.

[16] Ibid.

[17] B. H. Roberts, The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo, (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1900), p. 130.

[18] Klaus J. Hansen, Quest for Empire, (Michigan State University Press, 1967), pp. 36-41.

the ecclesiastical and political functions were combined and administered by the Church. The administrative arm of this Kingdom was a Council of Fifty or General Council which was organized March 11, 1844, by Joseph Smith.[19] John D. Lee, a member of the Council of Fifty, recorded in his diary one of the important functions of this Council.

> This council aluded to is the Municipal department of the Kingdom of God set up on the Earth, from which all law eminates, for the rule, government & controle of all Nations Kingdoms & toungs and People under the whole Heavens. . .[20]

Theoretically the goals of the Council of Fifty and the Kingdom of God were to remain secret.[21] It was this secrecy and mystery that gave rise to the suspected activities of the Council and became the major cause of conflict between the Saints and Gentiles.[22] Nevertheless, Church leaders occasionally hinted strongly at the existence of the political Kingdom.[23] After the Saints made their exodus to the Great Basin, feeling security in their isolation, their statements were much more open. Orson Pratt, speaking about the Kingdom, said:

> The Kingdom of God . . . is the only legal government that can exist in any part of the universe. All other governments are illegal

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[19] "History of Brigham Young," Millennial Star, XXVI (1864), 328; B. H. Roberts (ed.), History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period I, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1950), VI, pp. 260-261. Hereafter cited as DHC.

[20] Robert Glass and Juanita Brooks, (ed.), A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876, 2 Vols. (San Marino, California: 1955), Vol. I, p. 80.

[21] Hansen, op. cit., p. 33.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., p. 34.

> and unauthorized. God, having made all beings and worlds, has the supreme right to govern them by his own laws, and by officers of his own appointment. Any people attempting to govern themselves by laws of their own making, and by officers of their own appointment, are in direct rebellion against the kingdom of God.[24]

Revealing the goals of the political kingdom, Parley P. Pratt said, "The day will come when the United States government, and all others, will be uprooted, and the kingdoms of this world will be united in one, and the kingdom of our God will govern the whole earth.[25]

There is little doubt that a political kingdom was organized which was to grow and expand and eventually absorb all other governments and kingdoms. According to Joseph Smith this Kingdom was to be established in a peaceful way.[26] The Gentiles, however, viewed the situation differently. They were alarmed by the militia - Nauvoo Legion - being groomed by Joseph Smith. The constant emigration of the Saints from England to Nauvoo gave evidency that the Kingdom was being expanded. Apostate accounts concerning the Council of Fifty and the political government also influenced their belief that the Kingdom was to be established by force.

There was little question that the Gentiles and apostates knew of Smith's plan to establish a temporal Kingdom of God, but whether it was to be established by peace or force mattered little to them for a theocratic rule was unAmerican. Indeed, the major bone of contention between the Gentiles and the Saints in the nineteenth century was the estab-

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[24]Orson Pratt, "The Kingdom of God," (Liverpool, 1851), p. 1.

[25]Journal of Discourses, Vol. III, pp. 71-72.

[26]DHC, Vol. VI, p. 365. Joseph Smith said "It will not be by the sword or gun that this Kingdom will roll on."

lishment of the temporal Kingdom of God. Thomas B. Marsh, a former apostle, who was later reinstated in the Church in Utah, testified:

> The plan of said Smith, the prophet, is to take this State; and he professes to his people to intend taking the United States, and ultimately the whole world. This is the belief of the Church, and my own opinion of the prophet's plans and intentions.[27]

Governor Thomas Ford reveals in his book History of Illinois much the same sentiments as Marsh:

> The Mormons openly denounced the government of the United States as utterly corrupt, and as being about to pass away, and to be replaced by the government of God, to be administered by his servant Joseph.[28]

Thomas C. Sharp, anit-Mormon editor of the Warsaw Signal, came right out and accussed Smith of treason.

> That you and your clan did consider yourselves a separate nation as much so; as any foreign nation. . . . you and your followers cast off all allegiance to the General or states government and assumed a new one for yourselves, and that act, we consider no less than high treason--[29]

The Utah Gentiles also found themselves in opposition to this ideology. They felt that a theocratic kingdom dominated in Utah and was intending to spread. Several radical statements made by Brigham Young against government officials[30] coupled with the visual evidence of a ghost government headed by Brigham Young convinced them of this.[31]

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[27]Hansen, op. cit., p. 153.

[28]Thomas Ford, History of Illinois, (Chicago, 1854), pp. 321-322.

[29]Hansen, op. cit., p. 156.

[30]Journal History, September 8, 1851, p. 4; Journal of Discourses, V, 232, (1858) and Vol. VI, p. 344 (1859).

[31]James Duane Doty, Gentile governor of the territory (1863-65), in a letter to Secretary of State William Seward, explained the ghost

Failure to obey Federal legislation in polygamy matters made these officials extremely suspicious of Utah's intentions. Flaunting the laws only convinced the Gentiles and government officials that the Church regarded itself as a government of God, which was not responsible to any other government on earth when in conflict with it. The government consequently felt it their duty to disband this Mormon government within the government. It is understandable that viewing the Mormon question in this light brought many charges of treason and disloyalty against the Saints. William Law, brother of Joseph and former member of the Council of Fifty, in an attempt to keep Utah from statehood said:

> . . . Salt Lake Mormonism is diametrically in opposition . . . [to] our government. They entertain treasonable designs . . . Their intention is to unite church and state and whist the political power of the Roman pontiff is passing away, the American tyrant is endeavoring to establish a new order of political popery in the recesses of the mountains of America.[32]

Major Jacob H. Holeman, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, also found much the same problem in Utah. In one of his first letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs he said that Young's "power and influence is so great, that no officer either of the Territory or the Government, who is a Mormon, will dare to disobey his will."[33] General Shaffer, writing to Congressman

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government of Deseret. Doty said that it was an "an Independent government called the State of Deseret whose boundaries include Utah and portion of Nevada and Arizona. This form of government is preserved by annual elections of all of the State officers; the Legislature being composed of the same men who are elected to the Territorial Legislature, and who by resolution, re-enact the same Laws for the 'State,' which have been enacted for the Territory of Utah. . . ."

[32] Hansen, op. cit., p. 162.

[33] Nels Anderson, Desert Saints, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 107.

Cullom [author of the controversial Cullom bill], said:

> I find that my office is no mere sinecure. By the artful legislation of the dominant power, a most miserable skeleton of it only remains. As affairs now stand, the oath of office I have taken to execute the laws is nothing more than a useless form, a mockery, a farce, For without the enactment by Congress of a statute containing the main features of the bill which you introduced on the subject of utah, I am rendered most powerless, and the laws, for all that I or other officers of the government can do to prevent it, may continue to be violated with impunity, and the federal authority openly defied and ridiculed. It is hard to be nominally the governor of Utah if Brigham Young is permitted to exercise the power of law-giver and autocrat of the Territory. As the leader of the Mormon Church, he arrogates to himself power and control of spiritual, temporal and political affairs.[34]

Another typical statement made by a Federal official is the following by Judge McKean who was a Federal judge in Utah.

> It is therefore proper to say that while the case at bar is called The People versus Brigham Young, its other and real title is Federal Authority versus Polygamic Theocracy. The government of the United States, founded upon a written Constitution, finds within its jurisdiction another government--claiming to come from God . . . --whose policy and practice in grave particulars, are at variance with its own. . . .[35]

Practically every Federally-appointed official from 1865 to 1890 charged the Mormons with disloyalty to the government.[36]

However treasonous and disloyal Mormon statements may have seemed, the record shows the loyalty of the Church by their frequent attempts to become a state. In fact, while the South was trying to leave the Union, Utah sought admission.[37]

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[34] Ibid., p. 266.

[35] Deseret News, October 18, 1871.

[36] Anderson, op. cit., p. 261.

[37] However, it is difficult to ascertain the motives of the Church in joining the Union. They could have sought statehood because of a

The Church didn't deny that the Kingdom was to eventually be a world government. But it did resent the misrepresentation spread by Gentiles who claimed that a conspiritorial plot was afoot to overthrow the government by force. This claim appears to be groundless. In all probability the Church leaders taught that in event the United States government should fail, the Church would then step in and save the Constitution. Until it failed, and the Saints believed the government would fail,[38] the Kingdom would prepare itself for this responsibility. Heber C. Kimball declared:

> . . . We shall never secede from the Constitution of the United States. We shall not stop on the way of progress, but we shall make preparations for future events. The south will secede from the North, and the North will secede from us, and God will make the people free as fast as we are able to bear it.[39]

This prepardness idea is also found in Brigham Young's remarks to the ghost government of Deseret of 1863.

> Many may not be able to tell why we are in this capacity. I do not think that you see this things as it is. Our organization will be kept up. We may not do much at present in this capacity, yet what we have done or shall do will have its effect. . . . This body of men will give laws to the nations of the earth. We meet here in our second Annual Legislature, and I do not care whether you pass any laws this Session or not, but I do not wish you to lose one inch of ground you have gained in your organization, but hold fast to it, for this is the Kingdom of God, . . . We are called the State Legislature, but when the time comes, we shall be called the Kingdom of God. Our government is going to pieces, and it will be like water that is spilt upon the ground that cannot be gathered. . . . I do not care whether you sit one day or not. But I do not want you to lose any part of this Government which you have

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possibility of more control over political affairs and to be freer to further the temporal Kingdom of God.

[38]Statements that the government was faltering are numerous. See DHC, I, 36; Journal of Discourses, III, pp. 71.73.

[39]Deseret News, May 1, 1861, p. 65. (My italics)

organized. For the time will come when we will give laws to the nations of the earth. Joseph Smith organized this government before, in Nauvoo, and he said if we did our duty, we should prevail over all our enemies. We should get all things ready, and when the time comes, we should let the water on to the wheel and start the machine in motion.[40]

Despite the motives of the Saints, the Gentiles were convinced that the Church was disloyal and unAmerican. Church statements of the government's imminent destruction only heightened Gentile fears of the Church's intentions. Theocratic control in temporal affairs was regarded as dangerous. The Godbeites also concurred in this analysis. The New Movement leaders in this belief could well have quoted Oliver Cowdery's statement about a combination of Church and state: "I believe that the principle never did fail to produce anarchy and confusion." The Godbeites sensed the real difficulty of Church versus state and saw the inevitable outcome. The Church could not change the mind of the nation. The dye was cast to break the Church's theocratic control. In Godbeite thinking it was senseless to continue this struggle. To end this useless persecution they advocated obedience to the laws of the government.

In their "platform" the New Movement leaders revealed the way to end temporal control. The National government, they held, was to be supreme in civil matters. A complete division between Church and state spiritual and temporal was advocated.[41] In reality what the Godbeites were dissenting against was the Mormon concept of the temporal Kingdom of God. Tullidge, two days after the excommunication of Godbe, Harrison

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[40] Journal History, op. cit., January 19, 1863. (My italics.)

[41] This reform was frequently mentioned after their excommunication.

and Kelsey, wrote to Brigham Young asking that his relationship with the Church also be severed. Tullidge revealed his real grievance by saying, "For years I have tried to shun the issue of this day, for theoretically, I have always been a believer in Republican institutions and not in a temporal theocracy."[42] In an article entitled "The Kingdom of God vs. the United States," Tullidge pinpointed the reason for difficulty between Mormonism and the world.

> [43]The motto which closes the line of argument of apostle John Taylor against Vice-President Colfax, is not a Church but a state proposition. It is not religious but political in its aims. There can be no mis-taking the cardinal policy therein embodied, nor the direction of all its intentions. It is nothing more or less than the prophecy of an independent nationality and a grand supremacy of the Church above the state. In the case of the Mormons it would not merely dominate over a territory, but claim supremacy higher than that of the whole United States. This, indeed, is the exact case at issue between the general government and the hierarchy of Utah, as understood not only by President Colfax and Grant, but by the nation at large. It is this assumption of the absolute supremacy of the Mormon priesthood over all states, not only on this but on every other land, which has principally brought us into difficulties from the beginning. Our polygamy has had but little to do with it.[44]

Harrison echoing this sentiment several years later said:

> Theocratic ideas and policies still exist here, which make union and concord of action between the Mormon people and the government utterly impossible; . . . and prevents the people of Utah from taking their place as an independent, and truly Republican State, within the American Union.[45]

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[42]"The Godbeite Movement," p. 42.

[43]In answer to a statement made by Colfax, John Taylor in October, 1869, said, "Our motto today is, as it ever has been, and I hope ever will be, the Kingdom of God or nothing." Quoted in Mormon Tribune, February 19, 1870.

[44]Mormon Tribune, February 19, 1870.

[45]E. L. T. Harrison, "The Question of the Hour," Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine, I (October, 1880), p. 130.

The Godbeite leaders felt that one of the movement's most important missions was to free Utah from theocratic control.[46] They sought reform of this fundamental problem by appealing to the Mormon people in hopes of gaining enough converts and sympathizers to force the Mormon hierarchy to relinquish this power. This appeal was to be through the written word, and their church organization, called the Church of Zion (established January 24, 1870). Tullidge, in an article called the "Church of Zion," expressed the philosophy of the movement.

> We therefore announce that a great and divine movement is at hand, when the Church will find a second birth, and commence a new era in her career. She will return to her true order - the guidance of prophets, seers and revelators, the administration of angels, and the manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Having learned the evils of the one man power, she will never again surrender her liberties unto human keeping. She will disentangle her hands for alliance with commerce and the civil power, and move onward to her true destiny - to be the great spiritual and intellectual power of the earth.[47]

They claimed their church was a republican one for they upheld the laws of the United States government. For example, they supported and agreed to abide by the anti-polygamy act of 1862.[48] They also agreed that anyone holding a high spiritual office could not run for public office. Between January and June of 1870 a host of articles appeared in the Mormon Tribune pointing up the problem of the hour and urging support

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[46]Edward W. Tullidge, "Saved from a Collision with the United States," Mormon Tribune, June 22, 1870. This mission is readily seen in Godbe's visit to Washington to avert a second Utah War, and his labors in modifying the Cullom Bill.

[47]Edward W. Tullidge, "Church of Zion," Mormon Tribune, January 1, 1870.

[48]See page 78.

and loyalty to the policies of the Federal government. The titles of these articles reveal this: "Union of Church and State;" "The Government and Utah;" "Church and State;" "The Government of God;" "Loyalty to God and the Government;" "Laws of the United States;" "Saved from a Collision with the United States;" "Utah's Loyalty, Her Greatest Safety" and others.

Miscellaneous Grievances. Another irksome grievance to the Godbeites was the existence of "a wall of bitterness and hate" between the members of the Church and the rest of the world. The Godbeites felt that the fanatical zeal of the Church to maintain self-sufficiency and economic isolation from the world stimulated retaliation by the Gentiles. Brigham Young, speaking in September of 1868, suggested that the Mormon people should not "trade another cent" with a man "who does not pay his tithing and help gather the poor, and pray in his family."[49] By October, 1868, The School of the Prophets voted that "Those who dealt with outsiders should be cut off from the Church."[50] This boycott of Gentile merchants was generally withstood by the larger firms, but the smaller enterprizes were put out of business. That the larger firms had an economic struggle is indicated by the Walker Brothers income dropping from 60,000 to 5,000 dollars per month in 1868-1869. The Auerbach Brothers also experienced a similar drop in income.[51] This

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[49] Journal History, September 19, 1868.

[50] Ibid., October 3, 1868.

[51] Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Utah (San Francisco: The History Company, 1884), p. 654; Arrington, op. cit., p. 307. Arrington claims that the tax lists of the period do not show this drop in income.

general boycott of "Gentile" merchants, in Godbeite thinking, simply increased bitterness and antipathy. The Godbeites, to de-escalate this bitterness, sought friendship and cooperation with all "good men." Furthermore, the worth of all religion was to be recognized. The word "Gentile" was to be abolished and they were to be given better treatment even though they professed a different creed.

This "wall of bitterness" between the territory of Utah and the world was also being caused by the hyperbole of Brigham Young and others in their denouncement of government officials. This antagonized the world attitude towards the Saints, thinking of them as disloyal and traitors. Brigham Young said, "I love the government and the Constitution of the United States, but I do not love the damned rascals who administer it."[52]

Another grievance was the materialistic nature of trends in the Church. Harrison, the "Mormon Luther," writing in the Utah Magazine on the subject "We are Nothing, If Not Spiritual" said:

> For a number of years we have been marching almost entirely in the direction of temporalities, until they are the all-absorbing theme. It is temporalities upon the street, in the garden, in the meeting and in the council - temporalities from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, and from one year's end to another. We have but one kind of a subject - houses, fences, dry goods and money, worlds without ends.[53]

The Godbeites wanted a revival of spiritual gifts as they existed in

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[52] Journal History, September 8, 1851, p. 4. For further expressions of this attitude see Ibid., September 12, 1857; Journal of Discourses, V (1858), 232; Ibid., VI (1859), 344.

[53] Excerpts from this article are in the Appendix B. "We are Nothing, If Not Spiritual."

Joseph Smith's day.

The Godbeites also wanted to encourage freedom of thought. Harrison, reminiscing about his own excommunication, said;

> . . . there is no freedom to think and speak within the limits of the Church. What a farce to say, 'Brethren, you have all the freedom to speak and publish what you please,' and in the next breath remark, 'But I shall cut you off from the Church and send you down to hell if you do. Brethren, use your privileges.' What freedom is this? Who, among even despots, does not give as much? All monarchs say, 'Think and speak as you please; but we will imprison and punish you notwithstanding.' President Young says, we are free to differ from him, but he will cut us off from the society of God and holy beings; separate us from all we held dear in the Church, and wither up all our hopes of eternal life if we attempt it. Who uses the greater amount of compulsion or intimidation? There is no force or coercion like that applied to men's hopes and fears of a future life, and this is the lack of freedom we complain of.[54]

More specific greivances can be detected in the following suggested reforms: (1) Priesthood offices were not to be used to elevate persons. (2) Men were not to be sent on missions unless they had the spirit of the calling. (3) Tithing was to be levied on the clear profits or gain during the year - not a tenth of one's entire labor or the results of labor, as at present enforced. (4) The leading quorums of the Church, such as the apostles and seventies, were to be given more responsibilities in making decisions. This greater influence would play down a "one man rule." (5) The priesthood was not to be a dictatorial power in temporal affairs but a teaching organ which would promote man's individuality. Man's professions, employment, talents and means were not to be tampered with. (6) Unity in the Church was to be a unity of oneness,

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[54]"The Godbeite Movement," p. 36.

not a unity brought about by the leadership of the Church aiming to direct the lives of the members in the "petty details of life." (7) Plural marriage was to be placed on the highest grounds. It was to be entered into through pure affection, not through a "cold sense of religious duty." By July of 1870 apparently the Godbeites shifted their position. They now advocated obedience to the Federal laws calling for an end to the extension of plural marriages. (8) Revelation was to be placed at the feet of judgment. "We believe in testing the prophet by his revelations and not the revelations by the prophet." No man was to be regarded as infallible. (9) The reformers also would have done away with the interrogation tactics of the teachers who made periodic visits to their homes.[55]

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[55] All grievances appearing in this chapter can be found in the Manifesto, Appendix A.

CHAPTER V

ORIGIN AND COURSE OF THE MOVEMENT

The Utah Magazine was the key to Godbeite thinking. It spelled out in more detail the grievances and suggested reforms that the Manifesto synthesized.[1] The original purpose of the Magazine was "devoted to literature, science, art, and education."[2] It received the blessing of President Brigham Young and during the first six months of circulation of 1868 received commendation from the Deseret News several times. The first note of discord with the Mormons' "way of life" was struck during the Fall of 1868 when Tullidge was managing the Magazine while Godbe and Harrison were away on a business trip in New York. During October and November, Tullidge wrote a number of editorials which suggested changes in Utah. The first, which was entitled "Brigham and His Problem" (October 24, 1868), pointed up the social and economic problems faced by the coming of the railroad. He suggested that there was a need for commercialism on a national level. In his article "The Era of Isolation" (November 14, 1868), he discussed the effect the railroad was to have on Utah. Tullidge's concluding article called "Universal Man" stressed that Utahans must be Americans first, not Mormons or Gentiles. In these few

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[1]It is important to realize that the "Manifesto" appeared November 27, 1869, after their excommunication. The Godbeites were cut off primarily for their economic opposition to Brigham Young.

[2]For more information of the history of the Utah Magazine, see Luther L. Heller, "A Study of the Utah Newspaper War, 1870-1900" (unpub. Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1966).

articles Tullidge revealed his dissent to the Church's economic policy and his belief in separation of Church and state.

It is reasonable to assume that Godbe and Harrison also held similar views as Tullidge prior to going to New York in 1868. According to Stenhouse who wrote later as a bitter anti-Mormon:

> Both of them had struggled to preserve their faith in Mormonism, but the contents of the Book of Mormon, critically viewed, was a terrible test of credulity, and many of the revelations of the Lord savored too much of Joseph Smith, and abounded with contradictions, and were very human at that. As for Brigham, he was a hopeless case; many of his measures were utterly devoid of even commercial sense, and far less were they clothed with divine wisdom. In all his ways, he was destitute of the magnanimity of a great soul, and was intensely selfish. To their developed intellects now, Mormonism seemed a crude jargon of sense and non-sense, honesty and fraud, devotion and cant, hopeless poverty to the many, overflowing wealth to the favored few--a religion as unlike their conceptions of the teachings of Christ as darkness is to light.[3]

What Stenhouse ascribes to Godbe and Harrison is his own bitterness. More competent statements reveal that Godbe and Harrison had doubts, but were not as harsh as Stenhouse suggests. Tullidge, speaking of Stenhouse's account of the Godbeite movement, says that the views held in his Rocky Mountain Saints "are those of our friend, rather than our own."[4] In the Godbeite Manifesto it clearly reveals that the doctrines were to remain intact, Joseph Smith was thought highly of. The Godbeite disenchantment seems to be primarily over Brigham Young's political and economic (temporal control) policies. In this frame of mind, Godbe, during the Fall of 1868, made his usual purchasing trip to the East. Accompanying him on this particular journey was Harrison who was using

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[3]Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, The Rocky Mountain Saints, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873), p. 630.

[4]"The Godbeite Movement," p. 15.

Godbe's invitation as an excuse to take a long over-due vacation from his struggle to make his Utah Magazine a paying concern. Enroute to the East by stage coach, these two friends found time to compare attitudes relative to the Church and its policies. In their discussions of these ecclesiastical and economic policies they felt that they could not with good conscience pretend that Brigham Young was inspired in his policies. Both men knew, however, that to declare their disbelief meant disfellowship which neither of the men wanted. This would mean strained relationship with the Saints and would ruin them financially. To express themselves and yet remain in the faith only led to "terrible mental anguish." After arriving in New York and securing a hotel, they concluded to pray that evening for guidance. They either wanted these doubts removed or a confirmation that they should follow their convictions. It was under this condition that the men claimed they had an "extraordinary experience." While praying earnestly, a voice spoke to them and told them something that strengthened their disbelief. For the next three weeks, while Godbe was purchasing goods, Harrison was sitting in the hotel thinking up questions on every subject of religion and philosophy and writing them down. During the evening, by previous appointment, "a band of spirits" came to them and held conversation with them. One by one the questions that Harrison had written during the day were read and the spirits would give them answers, which answers were recorded by Godbe and Harrison. These communications were not table rappings, but conversations carried on much like two friends would converse. According to Godbe and Harrison these seances lasted about two hours every evening during the three week period. The voices were perfectly audible, but

only on one occasion could they see the forms of their visitors, and these were indistinct in detail.[5]

Stenhouse, in relating this account, omits details but did report that Harrison was said to have received intelligence "given him by Humboldt that will some day or other upset the Darwinian theory and which is as much beyond the speculations of Mr. Darwin as the latter gentlemen supposes his theory to be beyond the Genesis of Moses."[6] The testimony of Stenhouse is confirmed by a visit later made to these two principle Godbeites by Elder Orson Pratt. He related the details concerning his visit in General Conference, December 19, 1869.

> I went to see Mr. Godbe, but he was not at home. I was invited to take a seat in the presence of Mr. E. L. T. Harrison and heard him, for an hour or two, relate his spiritual manifestations. Mr. Godbe, hearing that I had been to see him, sent me a letter requesting me to meet again with them. I met with him in a private room, separate from any of the rest, and I had a long conversation with him. . . . They told me they had had interviews, by hearing a voice without seeing any person, with Heber C. Kimball, who taught them a great many things which, according to my ideas, conflicted with the instructions contained in the Doctrine and Covenants, such as sending men on missions, etc. The tenor of the instructions he received on this subject was that no person, when called on a mission, need go unless he got the light of the Spirit thereon in his own heart, to tell him whether it was right that he should go; in other words they need not go because of being appointed by the voice of the Priesthood or the General Conference of the Latter-day Saints.
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> . . . . . .
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> They said that Joseph Smith came to them; that Peter, James and John came to them; they also said that Jesus, himself came to them, and that Solomon came to them, and he was rather against the idea, recorded in the Book of Mormon, about his concubines; he said he never had any concubines, but that all his women, so far as he understood the subject, were wives. This repudiates not only the Book of Mormon but the Scriptures also, . . . but the record, contained there, seemed to touch the feelings of the old gentleman,

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[5]Stenhouse, op. cit., pp. 631-632.

[6]Ibid.

> and he desired to get out of it and to explain the matter. He said the things contained in the Book of Mormon and Scriptures were not to be received just as they were spoken, and that he felt himself justified in contradicting that saying of Jacob in the Book of Mormon. . . .
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> They also said that James, in connection with Peter and John, gave them many instructions, which Mr. Godbe read to me; he also read to me many instructions purported to have come from Heber C. Kimball and Joseph Smith, and he told me there was a great deal more that they did not let me see.
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> . . . . . .
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> . . . he told me that the spirits had manifested that it (the Book of Doctrine and Covenants) was not to be relied upon in the fullest sense of the word, in our present state of light and knowledge; that those revelations and commandments were given in our weakness; but that God had greater light to give us now, hence we must not take them exactly as they are.
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> . . . . . .
>
> Did they see any of these personages? Both of them say they saw none of them; it was merely a voice that they heard. They pretended to have seen a light when Jesus came; after he had talked a little while they say they saw a little light, but no personage.[7]

This series of "revelations" is important to the Godbeite movement in that they served primarily as an initial motivating force. In fact, Godbe himself claimed that the movement never would have come to light had he not received these revelations. "Were it not for the knowledge that God has required me to do what I have done, believe me, I would not have dared to have assumed the great responsibility that now rests upon me."[8] Tullidge in his later account of the movement (written in 1880) almost completely ignores this spiritual origin. In his record he simply states, "Away from Salt Lake City, these Elders did find leisure to compare notes; but it was not with a spirit of unbelief

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[7] Journal of Discourses, Vol. XIII, pp. 71-74.

[8] Letter from William S. Godbe to Brigham Young, November 9, 1869 (Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City).

concerning the original Divine intentions of Mormonism, but of its outcome."[9]

Initially, however, the experience in the East seems to have been a motivating force which served to open another vital way for the New Movement to attack the Church. In an article which appeared in the Utah Magazine the day of their trial before the School of the Prophets, the "Reformers" wrote:

> Where is this close intercommunication with heavenly things today? Where the evidence of the nearness of the invisible worlds to our hearts? It is years upon years since many of us have heard even a gift of tongues, or felt the inspiration of a prophecy; and as to angels, we know many who talk of them as a weakness of the past. Supposing a Divine Hand has taken us off this pathway of spiritualities for its own great ends, must we not return before we can accomplish our destiny as a people? Let any man put this question to his soul, and the answer must be that we must return, and that speedily, and become a greater church of spiritualities than ever, or stand confessed before the world a grand and monstrous failure.[10]

Using the experiences of Godbe and Harrison in the East the Godbeites undoubtedly felt they could justifiably point an accusing finger at the Church with the assurance that the powers of heaven were on the side of the New Movement. In a spirit of confidence and self-assurance relative to spiritual direction the leading lights of the Godbeites could state in their Manifesto:

> During all these times we sought earnestly for light from above, our first and last prayer being that we might never be allowed to oppose the truth, and earnestly, and continually examined ourselves to see whether pride, selfishness, selfwill, or any impurity of thought or deed prevented our seeing the wisdom of President Young's

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[9] "The Godbeite Movement," p. 16.

[10] Ibid., p. 30.

measures, or receiving a testimony of their divinity. At last the light came, and by the voice of angelic beings accompanied by most holy influences--and other evidences that witnessed to all our faculties that their communications were authorized of God--we were, each of us, given personally to know that. . . . President Young was truly called by the direct providences of God to preside over our people, . . . but that his course in building up a despotic priestly rule in the Church was contrary to the will of Heaven.[11]

Returning from their trip to the East, Godbe and Harrison gathered around them the other men who were later to become the leaders of the New Movement and related to them in confidence the account of the "spiritual manifestations" of the East. Following this New York experience the movement underwent a year's "intellectual incubation" before it came into the open. During this time the leading lights of the Godbeites formulated their philosophy of Brigham Young and his mission in the world. Tullidge, writing in behalf of the movement, said;

In the main, our views justified Brigham Young, notwithstanding we were playing intellectual antagonists to some of his policies.

It is the philosophy of Ralph Waldo Emerson that he who lives up to his nature is justified. So, also, may it be said of the man born to be a leader and a society-founder. If he lives up, both to his nature and his mission, in his day and generation, he shall be abundantly justified both of Nature and in history. Brigham Young did this. He was a society-founder by nature and mission. He was as faithful to his mission as was Moses to his; but the "Godbeites" were about to enter upon a social and an intellectual war against a further Mosaic performance in this age and country. Were it possible for the veritable Moses of ancient times to return to earth with his Israel to found his theocracy in America and to play his part again as recorded in his Books, all America would rise up against him and his Israel. And yet all Christendom reads Moses with admiration. So did Brigham Young read him and copy him, and the extraordinary circumstances of his life as the leader of the Mormon people in their exodus from civilization, justified his copy. No other man in his age may be justified in doing what Brigham Young did in his lifetime.

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[11] "The Godbeite Movement," p. 47.

> This was his own view of himself and life-work. We had no controversy with his view; but we had a controversy against a further Mosaic performance. The age is not fitted for it. The Mormons were also not fitted for it. They had not come up out of Egypt and from a four hundred year's bondage. They were Americans and English. Their forefathers had taken part in religious reforms and Protestant revolutions. Brigham Young was justified in his life and mission, for his life and mission were Mosaic by a strange "manifest destiny." So were we justified in our lives and mission. . . . Providence was moving to demolish the worst part of Brigham's work that the better part might be preserved.[12]

The Godbeites now sought an approach to oppose Brigham Young's economic or temporal policies. The course finally decided upon was one in which Brigham would be supported as a prophet while his theories of economics and history would be subtly undermined through articles appearing in the Utah Magazine. At first the undermining was extremely subtle--for example, when the Church leaders spoke of the increasing wickedness of the people of the earth, the Utah Magazine would run a series of articles illustrating how conditions on the earth were slowly getting better--and it is doubtful that many of the Mormons caught the implications, or even made any connection between the articles in the magazine and the statements of the Church leaders in Conference. Gradually the tenor of the opposition in the articles increased. When the sons of Joseph Smith, Alexander and David, toured Utah in behalf of the cause of the Reorganized Church, the magazine spoke against religious dynasties based on a patriarchal order. This was done because many feared that Brigham Young was in the process of grooming "young Briggie" (Brigham Young, Jr.) to be his successor.

In speaking of the Reorganite missionaries and their cause the

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[12]"The Godbeite Movement," pp. 17-18.

Godbeites wrote:

> If we know the true feelings of our brethren, it is that they never intend Joseph Smith's nor any man's son to preside over them simply because of their sonship. The principle of heirship has cursed the world for ages, and with our brethren we expect to fight it till, with every relic of tyranny, it is trodden under foot.[13]

Later in the year, August, 1869, when the School of the Prophets was talking of encouraging the tradesmen to lower the salaries of the laborers to one dollar a day and that of the mechanics to one and one-half dollars a day, the magazine came out with the strongest article thus far--"Our Work-men's Wages." To justify their right to criticize, the editors followed the above article with two very thought-provoking classics entitled, "Steadying the Ark," (an appeal for intellectual freedom) and "The True Development of the Territory," (written in open opposition to the economic policies decided upon by School of the Prophets)--the latter article being prompted by the fact that the Godbeites foresaw in the step-up of the cooperative movement an attempt by Brigham Young to lead the Church into the Order of Enoch. The struggle for control between Mormon and non-Mormon merchants was becoming more intense. Small merchants who attempted to compete with the co-operative movement were being wiped out.

Kelsey, in reminiscing on this part of the history of the movement wrote that he was surprised to find that Brigham Young felt:

> That it was his right to dictate to the Church in all things, either spiritual or temporal--even to the ribbons the women wear; and was still more startled when he gave a definition to his views of the Order of Enoch and to the Law of Consecration. When the

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[13] Bancroft, op. cit., p. 647.

policy of a coercive system of co-operation was inaugerated, and the faithful everywhere commanded to trade only with the orthodox establishments of Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institutions upon pain of excommunication, I then fully opened my eyes to the fact that I must make a stand for liberty or be forever in bondage; that the Order of Enoch and the Law of Consecration, as he interprets them, were calculated in their combined results to reduce the people to the conditions of "Tenants at Will!" and thus render them utterly powerless to resist the most oppressive conditions that it might be thought wisdom to heap upon them.[14]

Thus was the dye cast and the intentions of the editors of the Utah Magazine made crystal clear. On Saturday, October 16, 1869, the article, "The True Development of the Territory," made its appearance on the streets of Salt Lake City. That day the School of the Prophets met and the "Protestant Elders" were not there. Noting their absence, Brigham Young called for their disfellowshipping and the following note was sent to each:

Dear Brother:

I hereby inform you that a motion was made, seconded, and carried by a unanimous vote of the School of the Prophets today, that you be disfellowshipped from the Church until you appear in the School and give satisfactory reasons for your irregular attendance there.

Your brother in the Gospel,
(signed) George Goddard, Sec.[15]

That Godbe and Harrison were not being disfellowshipped for their "irregular attendance" at the School is verified by a notation in Wilford Woodruff's journal.[16] A committee composed of Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff and others was appointed to visit the "Protestant Elders" and get them

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[14]"The Godbeite Movement," p. 41.

[15]Ibid., p. 28.

[16]Wilford Woodruff's Journal, October 17, 1869. Original at Church Historian's Office (Salt Lake City.)

to see the folly of their course in opposing the Church.[17] When the committee failed in this effort, the following Saturday, October 23, 1869, Godbe and Harrison were brought before the School to account for their absence. However, as mentioned, the real motive was to have them repent of their dissent from Brigham Young's economic policies. The first question put to Godbe by Wilford Woodruff went right to the heart of the controversy--"Do you believe that Brigham Young has the right to dictate to you in all things, temporal and spiritual."[18] Godbe, in response, answered that:

> He did not believe in the extraordinary right claimed for President Young; (Godbe) deemed it wise, in commerce, to be guided by commercial experience and the circumstances of the case; (and) had, till then, followed the President in his mercantile schemes, often against his own judgement; and he instanced the failures. (Then he states further that) The light of God in each individual soul was the proper guide (in these matters) and not the intelligence of one human mind in the life of every rightly cultured man, dictating for all God's creatures.[19]

Harrison then took the stand and instead of addressing his remarks to the audience, directly spoke to Brigham Young. He bluntly protested against "his rule."[20] As a result of this apparent defiance, President Young severly denounced Godbe, Harrison and the Utah Magazine and an excommunication trial before the Salt Lake High Council was set for the following Monday at City Hall, ten o'clock a. m.

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[17]This is when Pratt was told of their spiritual manifestations received in the East.

[18]"The Godbeite Movement," p. 31.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid.

At the conclusion of this first trial at the School of the Prophets, a vote called to denounce the Utah Magazine. All those who voted to sustain the Magazine--Godbe, Harrison, Lawrence, Kelsey, Tullidge, Fred T. Perris, and John Tullidge--were required to surrender their tickets to the School.[21]

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[21]Only Godbe and Harrison, the leaders, were to be tried for excommunication. Cutting the leaders off would silence the revolt, it was thought.

CHAPTER VI

EXCOMMUNICATION

At the trial for excommunication, George Q. Cannon appeared as the prosecutor and Orson Pratt with Wilford Woodruff served as witnesses. No defense was provided. After the roll call George Q. Cannon made the charge against Godbe and Harrison. They were charged with "harboring the spirit of apostacy."[1] Cannon then made a speech to clarify and substantiate this charge. He referred to several articles in the Utah Magazine, "Our Workmen's Wages," "True Development of the Territory," "We are Nothing, If Not Spiritual," etc. Then continuing he said, "These writings contain sentiments directly antagonistic to the teachings of the First Presidency and the general policy" . . . the Church policy had been established for months and years argued Cannon, and Godbe and Harrison were clearly manifesting an intention to destroy it. Consequently, Cannon felt they were giving way to a "spirit of apostacy."[2]

The committee that interviewed Godbe and Harrison earlier in the week was then called upon to relate to the High Council the questions put to Godbe and Harrison and their answers.[3] The committee had asked if they lived the Word of Wisdom, including abstinence from coffee and tea. Godbe and Harrison answered yes. They were then asked if they would settle in

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[1]Excommunication minutes at the Godbe - Harrison trial at Church Historian's Office (Salt Lake City), p. 51.

[2]Ibid., p. 52.

[3]This committee was composed of Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff and two local ward teachers.

a remote part of the territory if called. Godbe and Harrison answered that it would depend upon the circumstances and their position of life at the time called. Next they were asked how many times they prayed each day and did they pray for the President of the Church. They answered that they prayed and for Brigham Young, but they didn't believe in praying at any set time. The interview ended with the dissenters holding their ground in opposition to Brigham Young's temporal policies.[4]

Orson Pratt then gave a speech concerning his observations during the interview.

> The main thing that I saw on that occasion in relation to the feelings of those brethren was that spirit that is manifested in the Utah Magazine, to ignore in some measure the authority of the right of the Presidency of this Church and the authorities thereof to council and dictate in all matters whether they be temporal or spiritual.[5]

George Q. Cannon then read lengthy extracts from the Utah Magazine showing they did not support the Church's policies.[6] Cannon concluded by saying that these articles "had a tendency to darkness and helped create opposition."[7]

Godbe and Harrison were now permitted to speak. Godbe began by emphasizing his love for the brethren assembled in the room. He then told of his honest disagreement and said this was not apostacy. Harrison

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[4]Excommunication minutes at the Godbe - Harrison trial at Church Historian's Office (Salt Lake City), p. 54.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Extracts of these articles read by Cannon to the High Council appear in Appendix B.

[7]Excommunication minutes, op. cit., p. 58.

then spoke and declared his position regarding control over temporal affairs and his objections to it. He did not believe in the infalliability of Brigham Young.[8] Harrison asked to be judged in the way Joseph Smith would have judged him. He closed by bearing his testimony. "I bear my testimony that Mormonism is true as a divine institution. I bear my testimony that Joseph Smith was called of God. I bear my testimony that polygamy is true and eternal . . ."[9] Harrison then read a document protesting Church control in temporal matters.

> We, the undersigned, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, temporarily suspended from fellowship, on a charge of irregular attendance at the "School of the Prophets," before any further action is taken on our case, do present the following declaration of our faith, on the subject of Church control:
>
> We hold that it is the right of all members of this Church to refuse to accept any principle or measure, presented to them by the Priesthood, further than the light of God within them bears witness to the same.
>
> We believe that it is the right of all persons, so long as they obey the ordinances of the Gospel, and live pure and moral lives, to retain a standing in this Church, whether they can see the propriety of all the measures of the leaders of the Church or not.
>
> We also believe that it is the right of all members of the Church to discuss, in the pulpit or through the press, in public or private, all measures presented to them by the Priesthood, providing that they do it in the spirit of moderation, and with due regard to the sentiments of others.
>
> We, therefore, hold that it is an illegal and an unrighteous use of the Holy Priesthood to expel any persons from the Church,

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[8]Harrison's speech that was given here was much the same as it appeared in the Utah Magazine. See Utah Magazine, No. 26, Vol. III, Published October 3, 1867, pp. 406-407.

[9]Excommunication minutes, op. cit., p. 67.

because they cannot conscientiously admit the divinity of any measure presented by the Priesthood.

We protest against counsel for the members of this Church to watch one another and observe how each votes or acts, as calculated to breed suspicion, coldness and distrust between our brethren; and as opposed to that voluntary spirit which is the greatest beauty and glory of the gospel of Christ.

We also protest against the inquisitorial practise of catechising the members of this Church, through the teachers, as to their private views respecting Church measures.

And, finally, we protest against the spirit of compulion in every form, as well as against the irresponsible investment of power in any person holding the Priesthood.

We claim the right of, respectfully but freely, discussing all measures upon which we are called to act. And, if we are cut off from this Church for asserting this right, while our standing is dear to us, we will suffer it to be taken from us sooner than resign the liberties of thought and speech to which the gospel entitles us; and against any such expulsion we present our solemn protest before God and Angels.[10]

After Harrison read this protest document George Q. Cannon, George A. Smith, and Brigham Young gave long speeches regarding past apostates. They bore their testimonies and revealed their feelings about the course that Godbe and Harrison were taking.[11] After these speeches Godbe and Harrison were cut off from the Church. Orson Pratt, a witness at the trial, said they were "expelled because of teaching and publishing things contrary to the order of this (Mormon) Church."[12] Eli B. Kelsey felt that by not allowing these men to print their convictions jeopardized the freedom of the press. He dissented against their excommu-

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[10] Ibid., pp. 67-68. Also in "The Godbeite Movement," pp. 34-35.

[11] Ibid., pp. 76-92.

[12] Deseret News, December 19, 1869.

nication and was also cut off.

The day after the excommunication (October 26, 1869), appeared the following statement in the Deseret News.

> Our attention has been called of late to several articles which have appeared in the Utah Magazine, a weekly periodical published in this city. An examination of them has convinced us that they are erroneous, opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, and calculated to do injury. According to the practice in the Church, teachers (Orson Pratt and others) were sent to labour with the editor and publishers, to point out to them the evil results which would follow a persistence in the course they were pursuing. This did not have the desired effect, and they have since been tried before the High Council, and after a thorough and patient investigation of the case, it was found they had imbibed the spirit of apostacy to that degree that they could not any longer be fellowshipped, and they were cut off from the Church.
>
> The Utah Magazine is a periodical that, in its spirit and teachings, is directly opposed to the work of God. Instead of building up Zion, and uniting the people, its teachings, if carried out would destroy Zion, divide the people asunder, and drive the Holy Priesthood from the earth. Therefore, we say to our brethren and sisters in every place, the Utah Magazine is not a periodical suitable for circulation among or persual by them, and should not be sustained by Latter-day Saints.
>
> We hope this will be sufficient, without ever having to refer to it again.[13]
>
> Your Brethren,
>
> Brigham Young
> George A. Smith
> Daniel H. Wells
> Orson Pratt
> Wilford Woodruff
> George Q. Cannon
> Joseph F. Smith

The Deseret News also the same day carried this statement:

> To whom it may concern - This certifies that Wm. S. Godbe, E. T. L. Harrison and Eli B. Kelsey, were cut off from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, on Monday the 25th of October, 1869, by the High Council of Salt Lake City, for harboring and

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[13] Deseret News, October 26, 1869

spreading the spirit of apostasy.

Wm. Dunford
Clerk of Council

The other leaders of the New Movement, though not excommunicated at this trial, later withdrew from the Church. The Church hierarchy had attempted to forestall these excommunications--especially in the case of Lawrence. Sensing that problems were ahead, the Church leaders previously (before the open split) had called Harrison to England on a mission, Kelsey to the Eastern states, and Shearman also to the mission field. Each of the men had turned down his call.

Now the rift was open and the formal battle of ideology begun. No one knew what lay ahead--except that stormy times were certain. It is doubtful that any of the Church membership realized what manner of men they were--no apostates of this kind had appeared before. Apostasy was not new to the Church but this type apostate was. No one completely understood the Godbeites, initially. George A. Smith said at the excommunication trial that "A blacker spirit never reigned in the heart of mortals than reigns in those two men" (Harrison and Godbe).[14] Smith compared them to William Law and other apostates and he predicted that if their course wasn't altered that within a few weeks their hands would be "bloody with the blood of the Saints."[15] This had been the pattern of apostates of the past. Knowing the fate of previous apostates, Godbe realized that it would only be a matter of time until charges of immorality would start appearing

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[14]Excommunication minutes, p. 77.

[15]*Ibid.*, p. 78.

from the grass roots level of the Church. In an attempt to stem this, Godbe asked if any charges of immorality were being leveled against them. When the clerk began to answer in the negative, Brigham Young is quoted to have said, "Stop, stop, Brother Wallace, none that we know of--none that we know of--but they must have committed some secret crime,or they would not now be found opposing the policies of the servants of God."[16] Again, the "reformers" were being pre-judged by the standard of the past. To their credit it should be recorded that none of these prophecies or accusations proved to be the case.

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[16] "The Godbeite Movement," p. 32.

CHAPTER VII

BATTLE OF IDEOLOGY

The struggle to exist as a legitimate voice in Utah was begun by the Godbeites in earnest. Their cause was plead weekly through their organ, the Utah Magazine. It is doubtful if the battle could have been conducted on a higher plain than it was. On the mast-head of the November 6th edition of the magazine there appeared notice that all articles that appeared in the magazine from that point forward would bear the name of their authors. Then the notice went further to state:

> We are on the eve of a great and important crisis in our history, for the great question of conditional or "unconditional obedience" has to be decided. We shall open our columns only to such articles as are written in a spirit of kindness and moderation. No intemperate or personal articles will be allowed to appear.

As stated above, the major problem in which the schism centered was the question of the role of the Prophet of the Church in temporal affairs. Both sides were unwilling to yield the least bit of ground in their argument. The Godbeites began by expressing their understanding that the Church leaders taught that a person could not disagree in any way with the hierarchy of the Church.

> Not a single argument was used by the authorities at the trial to exhibit the unreasonableness of any principle published in the magazine. We were arbitrarily told that our statements differed from the views of the heads of the Church and that was sufficient. On this ground alone, we were required to take them back or be excommunicated. No chance was given us to maintain our standing except on condition that we denied or repudiated principles which to our minds, were the absolute truth. This we refused to do. We inquired whether it was not possible for us to honestly differ from the presiding priesthood, and were answered that such a thing was impossible. We might as well ask whether we could honestly differ

from the Almighty![1]

George Q. Cannon replied to this in an editorial in the Deseret News.

> A friend . . . wished to know whether we had said that we considered an honest difference of opinion between a member of the Church and the authorities of the Church was apostasy, as he said, we had been credited with having made a statement to this effect. We replied that we had not stated that an honest difference of opinion between a member of the Church and the authorities constituted apostasy; for we could conceive of a man honestly differing in opinion from the authorities of the Church and yet not be an apostate; but we could not conceive of a man publishing those differences of opinion, and seeking by arguments, sophistry and special pleading to enforce them upon the people to produce division and strife, and to place the acts and counsels of the authorities of the Church, if possible, in a wrong light, and not be an apostate; for such conduct was apostasy as we understood the term.[2]

William H. Shearman taking issue with Cannon said:

> It has been urged that all persons have the privilege of entertaining what views they please and may still retain their membership in the Church, provided they will not make public sentiments opposed to the views of the authorities thereof. But this is not liberty at all. It is simply what no power on earth can either give or take away. Every individual is required to obey, irrespective of his own convictions, or eventually lose his standing in the Church. It would therefore, be far more consistent to prohibit thought, were it possible, than to deny the free but respectfuly expression of that thought . . . There are but two paths left open for all who differ from any Church measures: hypocritical submission, or an open avowal of one's belief, with a liability to excommunication. I prefer the latter, with all its consequences, to the course of hundreds who feel as I do, but who, owing to their peculiar position, dare not give utterance to their sentiments.[3]

Whether or not the Church leaders were correct in excommunicating

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[1] "The Godbeite Movement," p. 32.

[2] George Q. Cannon, Deseret News Editorial, November 3, 1869. (Underlining mine.)

[3] "The Godbeite Movement," p. 79.

these men was not for lay members to decide. Right or wrong, the Church leaders had the right to excommunicate these men. A theocratic system makes this possible. The Godbeites' defense didn't satisfy Brigham Young; hence they were cut off. Thirty years before or after this era, their cause would probably have seen a different outcome.

Pursuing their ideology, the Godbeites carried on an extensive campaign to put their ideas before the public through a barrage of articles appearing from November 6 to the end of the magazine on December 25, 1869--at which time the magazine was abandoned in favor of the Mormon Tribune.

Below are listed the important articles which appeared in the Utah Magazine during this time. The articles are listed by author and emphasize the previously discussed grievances.

Harrison
- Limits of Priesthood (Nov. 6)
- The Question of "Unconditional Obedience" (Nov. 13)
- Manifesto (Nov. 27)
- Reply to Orson Hyde on Apostasy (Dec. 11)
- Reply to George Q. Cannon on Authority (Dec. 18)
- Church of Zion (Dec. 25)

Godbe
- Divine Authority (Nov. 20)
- Manifesto (Nov. 27)
- Can Delusion Come From God? (Dec. 4)
- How History Repeats Itself (Dec. 25)

Kelsey
- Who are the Called (Nov. 13)
- Keys and Priesthood; Or the True Division of Power (Nov. 20)
- Tithing and Consecration (Dec. 11)
- The Order of Enoch; or the Law of Equality (Dec. 18)
- A Testimony (Dec. 25)

Tullidge
- Our Family Difficulty (Nov. 6)
- The Schism in Utah (Nov. 13)
- Do We Fear Civilization? (Nov. 20)
- Joseph Smith and His Work (Nov. 27)
- Is the Manifesto of God? (Dec. 4)

The Manifesto--A Review of the Testimony (Dec. 11)
The Oracles Speak (Review of the Manifesto) (Dec. 18)
Apostates (Dec. 25)

Shearman
Value of Church Organization (Nov. 6)
W. H. Shearman of Factories, Minerals, Etc. (Nov. 13)
How Shall We Become United? (Nov. 20)
Has God a Favored People? (Nov. 27)
Liberty in Heaven and On Earth (Dec. 4)
Mineral Developments and Their Tendencies (Dec. 11)
Tendencies of Our System to Despotism (Dec. 18)
Is Unthinking Obedience Required? (Dec. 25)

After the initial denouncement of the magazine the Deseret News, following its usual policy of not entering into argument, avoided mention of the New Movement except for articles which appeared on November 25, December 8, and December 11. True to form in Utah the gauntlet was picked up by a smaller newspaper championing the cause of the Church. Because of the New Movement one of the most interesting little newspapers of Utah was given birth--The Keepapitchinin. This was advertised as a "Semi-Occasional Paper Devoted to Cents, Scents, Sense and Nonsense." Edited by Uno Hoo (George J. Taylor) it lampooned the New Movement mercilessly.

Typical of its style is the following:

Owed to the New Movement

Our 'Peep O'Day' it petered out,
Our Magazine got stuck,
Our "Close O' Day" Diagones
Has also "run a muck,"

Our Tribulation, weakly still
With voice so thin and hollow,
'Tis said has sunk ten thousand now,
It may expire to-morrow.

We've nothing good to offer you,
Nothing to which to tie;
Except our most unbounded stock
Of concentrated lye.

We'll change our platform if you wish,
  As we have done before;
We want you all to join with us,
  Lest we should run ashore.

Come "Riff-Raff," from Nevada, come,
  And help us hate the Church;
As this is all we yet can do,
  Don't leave us in the lurch![4]

Rather than answer such a minor voice in the Tribune, members of the New Movement originated a small paper of their own called Diagones, edited by James Bond.

The grievances and suggested reforms presented inthe Utah Magazine in 1868-69 received little enthusiasm from the Mormon community. The Church's admonition to the members to leave the publication alone was effective. With the demise of the magazine in December, 1869, Godbe had lost over ten thousand dollars.[5] The New Movement leaders felt the time had come to put their ideology into action. The Godbeites first met December 19, 1869, in an attempt to return to the spiritual ideals suggested in their reforms. The early meetings were held in the Salt Lake Thirteenth Ward assembly rooms. This was done with the permission of President Young since Godbe had liberally donated several thousand dollars' worth of stock in the building which he threatened to withdraw if permission was not granted.[6] Shortly thereafter the group met in Walker's old store. They eventually erected a building and dedicated it to the

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[4]The Keepapitchinin, July 4, 1870.

[5]Later when the Salt Lake Tribune was sold in April of 1871, Godbe claimed to have lost over one hundred thousand dollars. Some of this debt, however, was from the loss of trade with Mormons since his excommunication.

[6]Stenhouse, op. cit., pp. 642-43.

Church of Zion. After the movement lost momentum, they changed the name of the building to the Liberal Institute. This building was located on Second East between First and Second South in Salt Lake City.

On January 24, 1870, the Church of Zion was officially organized and named. At this meeting a preliminary draft of their constitution was presented. Final approval was to be given at the group's first conference in April.[7] By the time of this first conference the Godbeites had converted a small following.[8] About two hundred members were present at the Church organization. Through democratic processes, Lawrence was elected Trustee-in-trust for the Church. Harrison and Godbe constituted the first presidency. A spiritual head was eventually to appear, but never did. Kelsey and Shearman were appointed to be apostles. Tullidge and others were elected Seventies. Also a bishop for Salt Lake City was chosen and missionary appointments were made. The Godbeites conducted missionary work in nearby communities, with a great deal of emphasis on the Ogden area. The spiritual part of this movement generated very little enthusiasm and was virtually dead by Spring. The spiritual was swallowed up in the temporal, for it was through politics and political means that the New Movement had its greatest influence--oddly enough for the benefit of the Mormon Church.

January 1, 1870, marked the transition from a literary magazine to a religious newspaper with the first issue of the Mormon Tribune.[9] Ex-

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[7]The Constitution can be studied in Appendix C.

[8]Membership lists are not available, but it appears that Church defectors throughout the Territory made up this convention.

[9]The Godbeite leaders owned the Mormon Tribune.

cept for the front pages, the articles in the Tribune were written with the Godbeite movement in mind. Of the fifteen stories carried on the inside pages, twelve were of a religious nature; while nine were directly related to the movement.

Tullidge wrote a detailed account of "The Church of Zion: Its Philosophy and Platform;"[10] Kelsey explained in "The Tribune of the People" that the objective was to oppose the undue exercise of priestly authority; while other articles included "Government Policy," "Personal Freedom," "Platform of the Movement" and "Record of the Movement." The last story traced the history of the movement to January 1, 1870. Until the Mormon Tribune became the Salt Lake Tribune in July, 1870, the emphasis was on the Church of Zion, its platform, philosophy, and detailed accounts of their weekly meetings. The Mormon Tribune plead the Godbeite's cause much as the Utah Magazine had previously done. The essential difference was the new emphasis placed on political matters. Numerous articles advocating separation between Church and state appeared during this six month period.[11] Considerable stress was placed on loyalty to the Federal government. They pointed to the inevitable consequences that would follow the current Church stand on polygamy and theocracy.

By May, 1870, the emphasis on the movement started to taper off, and the Tribune devoted more and more space to straight news on a local, national and international basis. When the first issue of the Salt Lake

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[10]See Appendix A for "Platform of the Movement."

[11]See chapter on Grievances, subtitle Separation of Church and State, page 39.

Tribune appeared on July 2, 1870, there were only three stories connected with the movement. By this time the Church of Zion had lost its momentum. On this date Harrison relinquished his editorial charge to Oscar G. Sawyer, a Gentile who previously worked on the staff of the New York Herald. Under these circumstances Godbe and Harrison remained the publishers, and Tullidge, Shearman and Kelsey continued as staff members. Under Sawyer's direction, the paper became the organ of the Liberal Party. Gradually the tenor of the paper changed, becoming more agressive toward the Mormon Church. This led to Sawyer's dismissal. Fred T. Perris, a Godbeite, seceeded Sawyer until the paper was sold on April 15, 1871, to three experienced journalists from Kansas.[12] During Sawyer's editorial supervision, Kelsey, Shearman and Tullidge all left the Salt Lake Tribune. They had all given trivial excuses. Kelsey plead ill health; Tullidge left to engage in the production of a play-"Oliver Cromwell;" and Shearman said he was retiring from the newspaper business. In 1871, the Salt Lake Tribune became a daily and without the Godbeite influence became a bitter anti-Mormon newspaper until the turn of the century.

On July second the Salt Lake Tribune printed a notice for a convention to be held at Corinne, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the post of delegate to Congress.[13] It called for citizens opposed to despotism and tyranny in Utah, and in favor of freedom, liberty,

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[12] Mr. George F. Prescott, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Fred Lockley owned the Tribune until September 9, 1883. It was under their direction that the Tribune became bitter anti-Mormon.

[13] The Liberal Party was organized in February, 1870, in Salt Lake City. Edward W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1886), p. 429.

progress to attend the session. R. N. Baskin, a leading Gentile light, and later acting United States Attorney for Utah, said the primary purpose of the convention was still more fundamental.

> The issue, in the form in which it presents itself in this territory, is democratic American principles against a union in th most obnoxious form of Church and State. Between these antagonistic principles there is an irrepressible conflict which will end only by the triumph of the former. The existence of such anomalous issues in the nineteenth century, within the jurisdiction of the greatest and freest republic on the face of the earth, is due to the failure of Congress in the exercise of its revisory legislative power over the territories to disappear the numerous laws which have remained in force on the statute books of the territory for many years, and which were enacted by the ecclesiastical legislature of Utah for the purpose of fostering theocratic rule and defeating the execution of all laws which in any way interfere with such rule. . . In common with the Liberal Party I desire the establishment of the supramacy of law, freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of action in Utah as it exists in other states and territories of the Union. . . . a system which will put an end to Church business monopolies and Church aristocracy, restore the natural laws of trade and social intercourse, and allow without question every man to manage his own affairs . . .[14]

The Godbeites, finding much in common with these views, attended the convention, but were disappointed with the results of the mass meeting. The prevailing attitude, they felt, was not one of reform, but belligerence toward Mormonism and all it stood for. The Godbeites were willing to see the Mormon hierarchy humbled, but they were not in acquiescence with the extreme measures proposed. Eli B. Kelsey wrote to the Tribune editor that:

> . . . the spirit of the proceedings in the mass meeting of the Liberal Party . . . convinced me that a portion of those who assume the lead are bent upon a war upon the people of the territory on social and religious grounds. . . . I oppose the absurd assumptions of the Mormon priesthood . . . but because Brigham Young has shorn

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[14]Robert N. Baskin, Reminiscences of Early Utah (Salt Lake City: 1914), pp. 24-25.

> the flock, I do not, therefore, think we are justified in taking their hides also. . . . If there are individuals who aspire to the leadership of a Liberal Party in Utah, I hope they will have the wisdom to avoid the framing of an iron bedstead upon which to measure the people. . . . I trust that they will remember that the Mormons are a hundred thousand strong in Utah.[15]

The Corinne Journal, organ of the radicals, made prompt reply:

> With . . . hope and expectation, we have said many kind words for the Mormon Protestants. It seems that it was a false hope and we must part company. The personal convenience of three or four of these men is of more consequence to them than the cause of reform in Utah, or they imagine that the cause doesn't involve the abolition of polygamy. In either case there is enough said. It is a bad egg, and won't hatch our style of chicken at all.[16]

The Cullom bill had earlier in the year included a similar measure that was now suggested by the radicals, that of disrupting polygamous homes already established.[17] The Godbeites advocated a separation between Church and state and consequently wanted the Church to stop the performance of plural marriages, but they were not willing to abolish existing relationships; hence the coalition came to an end.[18] With the Godbeites withdrawing support, much of the temperate approach to reform vanished.

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[15] Salt Lake Tribune, July 25, 1870.

[16] Corinne Journal, July 29, 1870.

[17] A Comprehensive History of the Church, Vol. V, p. 309.

[18] Godbe, Lawrence and Kelsey were polygamists themselves.

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

The anti-polygamy act of 1862 passed during the Civil War received little attention while Lincoln occupied the White House. Lincoln's "let-alone" policy, however, did not find much support in Congress after the Civil War. The legislation being considered by the national Congress bears this out.

> Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio in June, 1866, offered a bill which aimed at certain basic changes, including (a) placing the Nauvoo Legion under full control of the governor, who would appoint its officers (this would have deprived the militia units of the traditional right to choose their officers); (b) forbidding officers of the Mormon Church to solemnize marriages; (c) giving authority to the United States marshal to select all jurors and the authority to the governor to appoint county judges; and (d) taxing all church property in excess of $20,000. The Wade bill failed, but most of its features were incorporated in a bill presented by Senator Aaron H. Cragin of New Hampshire in December, 1867. The Cragin bill also included a provision for hearing polygamy cases without a jury.
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> While the Cragin bill was being debated and delayed in the Senate, Congressman Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois proposed a bill which was given precedence in both houses. This measure proposed to place in the hands of the United States marshal ad the United States attorney all responsibility for selecting jurors--an important change, since these officials were usually Gentiles. Moreover, polygamy cases would have been confined to the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal judges. Plural wives wouldhave been deprived of immunity as witnesses in cases involving their husbands. The bill proposed a definition of cohabitation, distinguishing that offense, as a misdemeanor, from polygamy, the felony, defined in the Morrill bill of 1862. The Cullom bill also proposed to abolish Utah's "marked ballot," by which it was possible to determine how each person voted.
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> There was still another bill being considered at the time the Cullom bill was being debated. This was a measure offered in January, 1869, by Congressman James M. Ashley of Ohio, proposing that slices of Utah be transferred to Nevada, to Wyoming, and to Colorado. These territorial deletions would have deprived Utah of about thirty-five thousand people and no less than half of her present area.

While none of these bills became law, they indicated popular feeling on the Mormon question.[1]

In 1869, anti-Mormon sentiment was at its highest point since the Utah War. Prior to any of this legislation in connection with the Utah question, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Schuyler Colfax had visited Utah in 1865. He had come with a friendly, praiseworthy spirit, hoping to achieve a compromise on the polygamy-theocracy question. To have achieved a satisfactory compromise would have given Colfax a great political advantage. Being known as the solver of the Mormon question would greatly enhance his political chances for the presidency in the future. Colfax, thinking he was giving some wise advice to the Mormons on this occasion, expressed the hope that "the Prophets of the Church would have a new revelation on the subject which would put a stop to the polygamy practice."[2] He went on to say that until polygamy was abandoned Utah could never become a state for the "government could not continue to look indifferently upon the enlargement of so offensive a practice."[3] The Deseret News responded with its answer in August, 1865, which rebuked Colfax for suggesting that a new revelation was forthcoming and that polygamy be abandoned. This unwillingness to compromise at this time left Colfax with an unfavorable attitude.

In 1869, Colfax, now Vice President, again visited Utah at the

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[1]Anderson, op. cit., pp. 236-64.

[2]Stenhouse, op. cit., p. 613.

[3]Ibid.

request of President Grant. Orson F. Whitney relates the purpose of this second visit.

> His object in again visiting the metropolis of the saints was to feel the Mormon pulse and survey once more the local situation prior to rendering another and a final report to President Grant and other heads of the government . . . That he occupied the position of arbiter to decide whether peace or war should be Utah's portion at this period, there is little room to doubt.[4]

When Colfax arrived in Utah in October 3, 1869, he found the Jewish and Gentile merchants in consternation over Brigham Young's policy of cooperation. The Federal officers were frustrated and felt they could do nothing to solve the problem unless the military intervened. The whole Gentile population saw themselves as about to be "out in the cold." Even the Walker Brothers were almost inclined to leave the territory. But Colfax gave the Gentile element hope by pledging government support for their cause.[5]

Still finding the Church unwilling to separate Church and state and obey the polygamy laws, Colfax reported to "President Grant that Mormonism was nothing less than a standing rebellion which hurled . . . insult and defiance in the face of the general government; and that Brigham Young had been at the head and front of it for over a quarter of a century."[6] Colfax on another occasion said:

> It is time to understand whether the authority of the nation or the authority of Brigham Young is the supreme power in Utah; whether

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[4]Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah, p. 327.

[5]Edward W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, p. 399.

[6]"The Godbeite Movement," p. 55.

> the laws of the United States or the laws of the Mormon Church have precedence within its limits.[7]

President Grant regarded Colfax as his key representative on the Utah question. Hearing Colfax's report meant action to the President. Grant's central role in crushing the rebellious South had brought him great personal popularity and had given him the Presidency in the election of 1868. Having assisted in the eradication of one of the "twin relics of barbarism;" he was determined to solve the other. If not by legislation, then possibly by the sword.

After sending his report to the President, Colfax heard of the friction and the possibility of a schism within the Church. Seeking out T. B. H. Stenhouse, Colfax posed this question to him: "Will Brigham Young fight?" Taking Colfax into his confidence, Stenhouse said:

> For God's sake, Mr. Colfax! Keep the United States off. If the Government interferes and sends troops, you will spoil the opportunity, and drive the thousands back into the arms of Brigham Young, who are ready to rebel against the "One-Man Power." Leave the Mormon elders alone to solve their own problems. We can do it; the Government cannot. If you give another Mormon war, we shall heal up the breach, go back into full fellowship with the church and stand by the brethren. What else could we do? Our families, friends, and life-companions are all with the Mormon people. Mr. Colfax, take my word for it, the Mormons will fight the United States, if driven to it in defense of their faith, as conscientious religionists always have fought. The Mormons are naturally a loyal people. They only need to be broken off from the influence of Brigham Young. Depend upon it, Mr. Colfax, the Government had better let us alone with this business, simply giving its protection to the "New Movement men."[8]

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[7] Mormon Tribune, February 19, 1870.

[8] "The Godbeite Movement," pp. 55-56. That the Godbeites would have joined the Mormons in this fight can be seen in Kelsey's statement to Governor Shaffer. Orson F. Whitney, Popular History of Utah, (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1916), p. 248.

It was at this point that the Godbeite leaders interceeded in behalf of the Church and wielded their greatest influence. Sensing the possibility of war, the New Movement leaders sent Godbe to Washington to plead that the Mormons could solve their own problems. Here Godbe and President Grant had an "important chat." Speaking to Godbe, the President said:

> 'I am as soliciticus as you can possibly be to preserve the Mormon people;' and then he magnanimously pledged his honor to the Utah patriot that he would himself save the Mormon people from their dangerous leaders . . .[9]

Godbe was promised that if troops were sent to Utah, they would only be sent as a "moral force" to give the Church to understand that the nation intended to enforce her laws. Tullidge claims that when the President sent General Phillip Sheridan to judge the Utah situation, he was ordered to seek out Godbe for advice.

> Thereupon, a council was called at Shaffer's room, at which were assembled the Governor, General Sheridan and staff, certain other Federal officers and W. S. Godbe and several of his compeers; and than General Sheridan, with his simple directness, observed: 'The President has charged me to do nothing without consulting Mr. Godbe and his friends.'[10]

Following the spirit of Godbe's council at this time, Sheridan concluded that no military expedition was needed except perhaps a few troops "to act as a moral force upon the public mind, convincing the Mormons that the government intended to carry out its policy."[11] It is difficult to know whether troops would have been sent had not Godbe consulted with govern-

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[9]"The Godbeite Movement," p. 58.

[10]*Ibid.*, p. 63.

[11]*Ibid.*

ment officials. There was plenty of war talk in the nation and the Congress.[12] Whitney, at least, felt that the Godbeite influence had helped to avert a second Utah War.[13]

During the Cullom bill debate in Washington, the Godbeites again used their political influence with government officials. Godbe, feeling delighted with the outcome of his chat with President Grant, next made his way to Shelby M. Cullom, author of the polemical Cullom bill.

> Together, these gentlemen went through the 'Cullom Bill,' section by section, Mr. Godbe suggesting revisions and toning it to better suit the peculiar conditions of the Mormon people. At length, half provoked, the Hon. Member from Illinois exclaimed, 'My G-d, Mr. Godbe, you would strike out all the points of my bill!' But the Utah advocate plead the cause of the Mormon people with so much earnestness and feeling that all the animus of prosecution was killed. . . . At that moment, Mr. Cullom was touched with conviction. He perceived that there were events and changes occuring in Mormon society that would, in a reasonable time, accomplish even more than he could hope to be effected by his bill. 'Well, Mr. Godbe,' said he, in closing his interview, 'I shall have to vote for my bill;' but his words bore the interpretation that he would be satisfied with its simple passage in the House. In the sequel, it did pass the House but it was never brought up for action in the Senate, though Senator Cragin had undertaken its passage there.[14]

While Godbe was pacifying the Federal officials, Tullidge attempted to change the attitude of the nation through his articles in the New York Herald. In this Tullidge was temporarily successful. The proclamation of the New Movement to the world was heroic in style.

> . . . we publish now to the whole Gentile world our sentiments upon this subject [viz. Gentile aid in their struggle against the hierarchy of the Church]. We wish them to understand that we have

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[12] Bancroft, op. cit., p. 657.

[13] Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah, II, 334.

[14] "The Godbeite Movement," p. 58.

intelligence, manliness and divinity enough among our people and in our system to correct our own evils where we have any. We gratefully accept, as all men should, the sympathies of our fellow men in every good word and work, but our faith is that God is in our system, and that Zion is perfectly capable of purifying her own fountains, and presenting herself before the world a model of freedom and a center of light and truth.[15]

The New York Herald editors also wrote in accord with Tullidge's view. Many of the leading journals in the country soon picked up the idea and proclaimed "a great Mormon schism" was in progress and therefore the Mormons should be "let alone to solve their own problems."[16] It appears that the non-Mormon element in the United States fully expected a full scale avalanche of Church members to break away and follow the leadership of the "enlightened" Mormon reformers. In this the Gentiles were to be disappointed, but by the time it was discovered that the schism would have little effect in changing Church policy, concessions had already been made to Godbe by Grant and other government officials which had helped to change the course of Utah's history.

The Godbeite influence in defeating the Cullom bill was certainly a factor, but not the only voice. Mormon protests and other newspapers throughout the country felt the Cullom bill to be much too harsh.[17] It was the culmination of all these movements that kept the bill from becoming law.[18]

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[15]"The Godbeite Movement," p. 35.

[16]Ibid., pp. 56-57.

[17]A Comprehensive History of the Church, Vol. V, p. 316.

[18]Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah, Vol. II, p. 439.

CONCLUSIONS

The most salient and recurring theme in this thesis is the fact that the Godbeite leaders were ahead of their times. All of the fundamental reforms suggested by the New Movement leaders eventually received recognition by the Mormon Church. However, it would be erroneous to suggest that the Godbeite influence was responsible for this change in policy. Outside of their political achievements, the movement had little immediate effect upon the Mormon Church. Most of the Godbeites' reforms were not adopted until 1890. The Godbeites, sensing the ultimate outcome between the Kingdom of God and the Federal government, advocated strict obedience to the polygamy laws passed by the national legislature. In 1890 the Church issued the Manifesto suspending polygamy, and in so doing showed recognition to the Federal government as paramount in temporal affairs. With this public statement, Utah experienced a gradual separation of Church and state, spiritual and temporal.

The Godbeites' suggested economic policies also had little immediate effect. Only with the failure of the Mormon-instituted United Orders was mercantilism buried in favor of laissez-faire capitalism. Even though this provided a cash basis for the territorial economy and stimulated competition, Utah did not join the national laissez-faire economy until after 1890. Furthermore, the Church's claims that the opening of the mines would be destructive to the Mormon Church did not materialize. With the development of mining in Utah many new agencies came into existence which strengthened the economy. These enterprizes soon revealed their interest in Utah's welfare and dispelled any fear of possible destruction to

Mormonism. By 1880, Mormon leaders found that an increase in Gentile population and mining activity had a preserving and not a destructive tendency as prophesized. Church leaders eventually recognized this and acknowledged mining activity as a great economic boon to the territory.

By 1880 the Church's attitude toward mining and economics had greatly changed. The Godbeites had ten years earlier been excommunicated for opposing the Church's economic policies; it is doubtful if they would have been "unchurched" in 1880. Speaking of the Church members' new freedom in 1880, Tullidge said, "They do and say, today . . . almost what they please;--they do and say, today, what a decade ago they would have been excommunicated for doing and saying."[1]

The Godbeites' greatest and perhaps only immediate influence was their role played in averting a second Utah War. They wielded a power in the nation far beyond what a group their size would normally be able to wield. It is doubtful, however, they they were the sole moving force in bringing about the concessions given by government officials to the Mormon people. They were just one of several factors. The significance of this movement, however, was not in their influence, but in the issues they raised. Understanding these problems brings clearly into focus the basic problems faced by nineteenth century Mormonism.

As reformers within a theocratic system they were persecuted and regarded as apostates. However, since most of what they advocated has been adopted, they can hardly be called apostates.

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[1] Edward W. Tullidge, "Triumph of Reform," Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine, I (October, 1880), p. 86.

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Interview with William Murray Godbe, III. June, 1967.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

The Manifesto and the Platform of the Movement originally appeared in the Utah Magazine, Volume III, November 27, 1869.

MANIFESTO

Inasmuch as a great variety of rumors have been started with reference to our views concerning the past and future of "Mormonism," we feel that our interests, as well as our duty to the public, require us to make a plain statement of the circumstances which have led to our present relations to the Church, and the reasons that have guided our course in relation to the articles we have published in the UTAH MAGAZINE.

For some years past we have felt that a great encroachment of power was being made by the ruling Priesthood of our Church, beyond that allowed by the spirit and genius of the Gospel. We also perceived that a steady and constant decline was taking place in the manifestation of the spiritual gifts, as well as in the spirituality of our system as a whole, and that as a Church we were fast running into a state of the most complete materialism. We felt that the working out of our system was small and insignificant compared with the grandeur of the programme as announced by Joseph Smith. The broad and liberal system which, in the earnestness of our souls, we had embraced so many years ago, with its grand and universalian invitation to men of every creed and nation to come to Zion for a home in our midst, was being practically ignored, and in the stead thereof was being built a wall of bitterness and hate between ourselves and the rest of the world. The constant growth of such principles as these, and the certainty that under such conditions Mormonism never could fulfill that great destiny of salvation to the world, for which we had prayed and labored, gave us great pain. But, feeling assured of the divinity of our system in its origin, and fearful lest we should ignorantly oppose the will of God as manifested through his servants, we tried from time to time, to close our eyes to the facts before us, and sought earnestly by every kind of argument to convince ourselves that we were wrong. We continuted thus vainly striving to reconcile ourselves to the inconsistencies around us, until the facts forced themselves so overwhelmingly upon our minds, that we were driven from every stronghold and reluctantly compelled to admit the truth of these convictions.

During all these times we sought earnestly for light from above, our first and last prayer being that we might never be allowed to oppose the truth, and earnestly, and continually examined ourselves to see whether pride, selfishness, selfwill, or any impurity of thought or deed, prevented our seeing the wisdom of President Young's measures, or receiving a testimony of their divinity. At last the light came, and by the voice of angelic beings accompanied by most holy influences--and other evidences that witnessed to all our faculties that their communications were authorized

of God--we were, each of us, given personally to know that, notwithstanding some misconceptions and extremes wisely permitted to accomodate it to the weaknesses of mankind, "Mormonism" was inaugurated by the Heavens for a great and divine purpose; its main object being the gathering of an inspirational people, believing in continuous revelations, who, with such channels opened up, could at any period be moulded to any purpose the Heavens might desire; and out of whom, with these opportunities for divine communication, could be developed the grandest and the noblest divilization the world had ever seen. We also learned that the evils we had seen in the Church truly did exist; but that they would pass away before the light of a clearer and greater day of revelation and inspiration which was about to dawn upon our system.

At the same time we learned that President Young was truly called by the direct providences of God to preside over our people; that he was inspired to lead them to these mountains; and, that, so far as his personal bias and character permitted, he had been, from time to time, influenced for the good of this people; but that his course in building up a despotic priestly rule in the Church was contrary to the will of Heaven. We also learned that it was contrary to the laws of divine communication, and impossible for Heavenly beings to influence him or any other man against his will, or to enlighten such of the Priesthood associated with him, so long as they entirely surrendered their judgment and will into his keeping. On which account other channels for communication would be obtained and opened up to the people.

With this understanding came instructions that it was our duty to remain in the Church so long as the policy of the Presiding Priesthood would allow us the privilege, and at the same time our duty to throw out through the MAGAZINE such advanced truths as would elevate the people and prepare them for the changes at hand. Two motives prompted us to do this. One was that as men, independent of the question of divinity, it was our duty to strive for the liberties and advancement of our fellows, and the other, that the will of the Heavens demanded it. We well knew that we should have to fight through a thousand obstacles; that calumny and falsehood would be unsparingly used against us, and that the ruling Priesthood would bring the whole of its gigantic organization to bear, both in public and in private, to crush the MAGAZINE and its sentiments out of existence; and more than all, we knew that but few of the people for whom we were laboring, would--for some time at least--appreciate our motives. There was, however, but one course for men of truth, and that was to face the whole, And thus far we have struggled through regardless of consequences, and expect to do so until we see truth and liberty triumphant.

We were also instructed to respect the legitimate exercise of President Young's authority, and that there might be no righteous cause against us, to sustain it until he should tread upon the last vestige of liberty, and attempt to abolish all rights of thought and speech within the Church.

This he has now done. For daring mildly and respectfully, to reason

upon the inconsistencies of some of his propositions, he has deprived us of our fellowship and standing in the Church, and thus with his own hands has dissolved our allegiance to him. He has declared that his will is supreme and omnipotent in the Church, and that it shall be unquestioningly obeyed; and that to oppose any of his measuresshall be deemed apostacy, and punished with excommunication.

The proper time having now arrived, we are at liberty to bear our message to the members of our church and the world at large. We, therefore, announce to them that a great and Divine Movement is at hand, when the Church will find a second birth, and commence a new era in her career. She will return to her true order--the guidance of Prophets, Seers, and Revelators, the administration of Angels, and the man ifestations of the Holy Spirit. Having learned the evils of the one-man power, she will never again surrender her liberties into human keeping. She will disentangle her hands from alliance with Commerce and the Civil power, and move onward to her true destiny--to be the Great Spiritual and Intellectual power of the earth.

The Movement will be accompanied by manifestations of divine power. The Holy Spirit in the hearts of the Saints throughout the Church will bear witness to its truth. "Israel" in all their abidings, will hear and recognize the voice of the "True Shepherd."

Up to this moment we have started no organization, having hitherto had no authority to do so. As to the question whom God will raise up to lead this people, we will say in the first place, that the Movement will never develop any one man in whom will be centered all the intelligence and wisdom of the people. In this sense there is no "Coming Man," there are, however, Many Coming Men. Light, Truth, Wisdom, and Revelation will, and should be, reflected by the whole body of the Church, as well as by the head. While there must of necessity be an Executive, or presiding head, man-worship of every degree must pass away, and men learn to look with greater reverence to principles than to those who present them. As to whom this head will be, it is not our business to say, further than that God will produce the proper man in due time. It is sufficient for us to know that it will be neither of us. Of this great Movement--far greater than ourselves--we are but the fore-runners. We are as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, 'prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.'" ours is a preparatory mission, and it is our work to arouse the people, and by reasoning, teaching and enlightenment, prepare them for a new order of things. We have no personal cause to establish. We do not pretend to be Seers, nor to possess any wonderful or marvelous gifts. We make no claims to any distinction further than that, in the providence of God, it has been our privilege to be made acquainted with some great truths which it is our duty to make known.

It may be asked by what right we presume to interfere in matters appertaining to the Presiding Priesthood of theChurch. We reply: by the simple right that every man has to utter a truth,--the same right that

the boy Samuel had to deliver his simple message to the Lord's servant, the Great Presiding High Priest of Israel. And, finally by the right which the Heavens reserve to themselves, to speak whenever and by whomsoever they please.

As to how many of the present authorities, or leading men, will or will not work into the new order of things, it is not our business here to inquire. This will depend entirely on the extent to which they suspend a hasty judgment, seek divine guidance, and lay themselves open to the reception of light. To the extend to which they, or any other persons, will lay aside prejudice, and place themselves at the feet of the Truth, determined to accept any principle, however strange or new, which their judgments shall endorse and which God shall bear witness to, God in their whole beings, intellectually and spiritually, shall bear witness that light has come and that a divine indluence accompanies the Movement. The words, the voice, and the spirit of Jesus shall be felt in it, speaking to the heart of the yearning souls of the children of Zion.

And here let us say the object of this Movement will be to preserve, and not to destroy our system. In consequence of the undue exercise of priestly authority, the elements of resistance and division are now silently working in the over-wrought but suppressed feelings of our people. It requires but little more exertion of such arbitrary power to rend asunder the ties which bind us, and scatter us to the four winds. Nothing can save us but the raising of a platform combining liberty of thought and action with all the ancient beauties of our faith--one upon which we can unite. In this way alone can we preserve our existence as a people,--and for this the Heavens have provided.

We will now give a general outline of what we understand will be the governing principles and policy which will characterize the Movement when established.

The Church thenceforth will be known as the CHURCH OF ZION.

The ordinances and principles of the Gospel will remain intact as at present.

The Spiritual gifts will be encouraged in all their forms of manifestation.

The great truth will be emphatically proclaimed, that no priesthood or standing in the church, or ordinances of any kind, in and of themselves, elevate the possessor, or obtain for him any distinction in the sight of God. All outward forms, important as they are in their place, will be considered only as means for our advancement in purity, goodness, and intelligence. Apart from which object it will be understood that they have no power or value. The whole purpose of the gospel being the elevation of man's nature, all its organizations or requirements will be held, therefore, to be but means to tha t end.

Inasmuch as men cannot labor with all the energies of their souls, or work with dignity and influence, unless their hearts are fully engaged in their operations, the movement will oppose the principle of sending men on missions where they are destitute of the spirit of such mission or calling.

On the subject of funds it will be understood that the Church was not instituted as a machine for raising money, and that all wealth which the Church cannot obtain without oppressing the people it will be better without. It will be taught that God has no special object in requiring Tithing, only so far as it tends to the promulgation of truth, the relief of the poor, or the promotion of public improvments. The doctrine will be that Tithing was instituted for man and not man for the Tithing. The Movement will also maintain that the Church's funds are the people's property, and should be regularly accounted for to them; and, further, that the control thereof should belong to the Presiding Bishop, acting under a board of Trustees, elected by the people, and not to the Presidency of the Church, whose minds should be left free to attend to higher duties. Tithing will consist of a tenth of one's increase, or, a tenth of all clear profits, obtained over and above the amount possessed the previous year. Or, in other words, Tithing should be a tenth of the interest (or GAIN) obtained by labor or means, or both, annually, and not a tenth of one's entire labor, or, the results of labor, as at present understood and enforced. Thus throwing the weight of Tithing mainly on the rich, and lightening the burdens of the poor.

The prominence and influence once enjoyed by the Twelve and other quorums will be revived, and the policy will be to repress the principle by which any one quorum has hitherto been made to possess the sole voice in matters, and the entire conduct of the Church.

All quorums of the Church will be understood simply as organizations for the transaction of its business and the promulgation of its principles, and not as vehicles for promoting any set of men above their fellows. The first Presidency of the Church will be recognized as its Executive, who should be chief representatives of the spirit and inspirations of all its quorums--reflecting not only their own light, but the garnered wisdom of the whole people. The first and last lesson to be learned by every quorum will be that neither head nor foot can say to the other,--"I have no need of thee."

The Priesthood will present itself before the world simply as an institution for teaching and propagating truth. It will throw aside all pretensions to dictatorial power, and leave men's professions, their employment, and the entire control of their talents and means to themselves. It will seek to promote the individuality of every man to the utmost. Instead of trying to force the conceptions of one man's brain, or those of twenty, into the million, it will recognize the God, the light and truth that is in the souls of all men, and seek only to develop it and guide it to its true end.

The Church will enlarge her creed so that she can become the nursing mother of millions instead of the controller of a few. So long as men obey the initiatory ordinances of the Gospel and live pure lives, the Church will find a place for them within her borders, whether they can accept on additional principle of truth or a thousand. Like Nature, which rejects nothing from her domain, but from the rudest to the grandest organism, controls all with the same hand, so will the Church embrace all intelligences within her operations, accepting them where they are and leading them up to God.

The unity which the Church will aim for, will be the unity of oneness in all great principles of truth. It will seek to harmonize the sentiments of mankind, leaving all free to follow the bent of their organization, and to work out their own individuality, instead of aiming to direct their action in the petty details of life. This is the unity and harmony manifested in the universe, in which all elements are united in obeying the great general laws, which each manifests its peculiar qualities in its own way. This, therefore, is God's unity, and life and intelligence can be controlled on no other principle. All other unity is the soulless unity of the drill sergeant, and as destructive of human intelligence as it is beneath the aims of a God.

All religions will be recognized as having been wisely developed in the providences of God to meet the varied conditions of the different races and classes of mankind.

It will be understood that any creed which is above the understanding of a man cannot be divine to him, while a lower creed, which comes within his conceptions of what is divine, will touch his heart and develop more good in his nature. All creeds, therefore, will be respected in Zion as fulfilling a great and a useful mission in God's hand.

In the wide creed of this Divine Movement, Zion's motto will be: "Charity for all." She will view the wicked or corrupt as men morally diseased, that simply need to be cured. She will ascribe all wickedness to ignorance, false education, unfortunate surroundings, and more than all to inherent tendencies to good or evil derived from parentage at birth. While she will teach that all are responsible for making the best use of such intelligence and perceptions of good as they do possess, she will contend that tendencies to good or evil are not equally strong in all men--that with some it is far easier to do right than it is for others, and that the wicked should be viewed as the unfortunate, who require more love and care than "those that are whole and need not a physician."

The policy of the Movement will be to make Zion, that place, of all others on the face of the earth, where mere difference of creed has the least power to separate man from his fellow man. Zion's policy will be to abolish all distinctions which build up hatred and division in the hearts of men, and to draw all men so near to her that she can reach their affections and do them good. The term "Gentile" will, therefore, pass away.

Entrenched in the strength of the broadest, most liberal, and most philosophical principles the world has evern known, and backed by the invisible influences of a higher world, she will fear no rivalry and need no petty external arrangements to shield her from the influence of inferior faiths, or from intermixture with the bad. All wholesale measures for separation and non-association between classes and creeds are artifical, and require, as we well know, the watchman and the inquisitor to keep them going--and then they fail. There is no true safeguard from corruption but that of higher education and intelligence. The good and the pure, the intellectually and spiritually developed, need no division between themselves and the ignorant and depraved. Their own natures and higher conditions are a sufficient division and protection.

All trading or social relations with people, in or out of the Church, will decide themselves upon grounds of acquaintance, experience and individual judgment. All wholesale prohibitions of classes or creeds, commercially or religiously, are opposed to the spirit of the age and must cease.

On the great question of Civil rule, the Movement will recognize the National Government as supreme in its sphere. It will, therefore, practically sustain its laws and seek, by constitutional means, to change those which it considers opposed to religious or civil liberty.

Another point in the movement will be to place the practice of plural marriage on the highest grounds. It will only maintain or encourage it so far as it is practised within the highest conditions of purity, delicacy and refinement. It will assert that pure affection on all sides can alone sanctify this or any other kind of marriage. It will, therefore, oppose all marriage from a cold sense of religious duty, as it will all marrying for the mere accumulation of families.

It will teach the highest principles--the strict laws and conditions which alone can render this order of life successful, and then leave it--like the question of being called to preach the gospel--to every man's light and intuitions to determine when, or whether, it will be right in his case or not.

Above all things the movement will strongly assert the highest appreciation of woman, and of her highest development and culture, as the only basis of a high civilization.

The foregoing constitutes in brief, a general outline of the policy and character of the coming institutions, which are about to be inaugerated. To our judgment, the principles referred to speak for themselves. If any do not appear to do so, we ask all to suspend a hasty judgment until we shall further explain or amplify through the columns of our paper. We will here say, however, that the principles enumerated are but the very simplest elements of a grand chain of truths which will widen illimitably as the movement progresses. * * * *

We now submit our case to the public. To the intelligent mind,

God is seen in all that is natural, simple, and heavenly in its character. What amount of light and truth we possess, this announcement, and our past and future articles in the MAGAZINE will best show--and each must decide for himself. We exhort all to be calm and judge dispassionately, and look for light to its great fountain, and a testimony will spring up in their minds that God is moving for the blessing and redemption of His people.

We shall seek to take that course which will give no cause for reproach. But all may make up their minds to this fact, that no course we can take will be allowed to be right by such as are interested in silencing our voices. If we speak boldly and bluntly, we shall be charged with being defiant and malicious. If we speak mildly and kindly, we shall be said to be hypocritical. If we reason, we shall be guilty of sophistry--we shall be wrong anyway. A tree, however, is known by its fruit, and an impure fountain will not send forth pure water, and, trusting in God, we shall fearlessly await the trial.

And now let us say, a Revolution is at our doors; not one of bloodshed or strife; but a peaceful revolution of ideas. An intellectual battle has to be fought, and Truth will prevail; but Moderation and Kindness must be the battle cry. The object of the Movement will be that a more Heavenly Zion may be established, the spirit of Jesus must, therefore, govern all, or our great object will be defeated. Insults, taunts, ridicule and false accusations, will, of course, prevail, but they must not be on our side. Let us dispel darkness with light, harshness with kindness, and move calmly on. And, as sure as to-morrow's sun will rise, the light will break, the truth will go forth in its majesty, and thousands of voices will soon echo our testimony.

E. L. T. Harrison
W. S. Godbe

PLATFORM OF THE MOVEMENT.

Our creed is ALL TRUTH. We follow no man living or dead. We believe in the beauty and divinity of many inspirations that have been given by prophets and apostles in times past, but we are limited by none. We view them all as vehicles, more or less imperfect, through whom truth has come. We are prepared, as truth is developed to our minds, to go by them all, accepting their truths and honoring their missions as beneficial to the world though more particularly to their own times. But, while honoring the past, we cannot be bound by it and held in its swaddling clothes for ever.

We have faith in the doctrine of present revelation, but we believe in placing it at the feet of our judgment. We believe in testing the prophet by his revelations and not the revelations by the prophet.

We believe in "spiritual gifts," but we hold that the development of spirituality and intellectuality in the nature is an infinitely superior result to the reception of manifestations of any kind.

We believe in a church organization, but solely as a means for the more speedy propagation of truth, and simply as an educational institution. We believe in no priestly authority to control or dictate the judgment in any respect.

We believe in a complete division between temporal and spiritual affairs, and consequently in the separation of Church and State.

We reserve to the members of the Movement the right to accept or reject their spiritual teachers, and secure the right to vote by ballot.

We believe in being circumscribed by no creed further than by the fundamental principles herewith expressed. All speculative details as to the past or present we leave to individual judgment.

We believe that from eternal ages past, by an irresistible and inevitable law, the Universe and all the works of God therein have been progressing in beauty and perfection, and that the Universe is, and must be, forever one eternally expanding scene of progress and development in which retrogression is impossible.

We hold that man or woman, as constituent parts of the Great Nature, as endlessly progressive in all the faculties and power of their being, and that they can no more recede to destruction or fail of ultimate perfection than the universe itself.

We hold that mankind, in the providence of God, through the experiences of life, are, without exception, being brought out of the darkness into the light.

APPENDIX B

In this Appendix are a few of the excerpts of original articles which appeared in the Utah Magazine. The following article appeared in the Utah Magazine, No. 17, Volume III, on August 28, 1869.

OUR WORKING-MEN'S WAGES.

As part of the people, among whom we class ourselves, we desire to speak a word on the subject of our working-men's wages; and give our opinion as to whether they can be justly reduced at the present time, and how far. The arguments in favor of low wages to which we shall refer, are such as are heard discussed in every workshop and upon every street, and are, therefore, common property; and are not met as the arguments of any particular individual, but simply as abstract theories.

We will say in the start that we believe in any moderate reduction of wages necessary for competition, and proportionate to the reduced prices of such articles as the working-men uses for his support; we simply question the justice of so large a reduction as is now contemplated. * *

As a preliminary argument in favor of the kind of reduction now contemplated, it is commonly said, it cannot hurt anyone, 'because, if all are reduced alike, all will, necessarily, be as well off as before;' but this argument will apply equally to raising everybody's wages as to lowering them. * * * *

But a reduction of wages has also been commonly urged on the ground that the Railroad will bring in produce and manufactured articles, and, not only compete with us in what we would dispose of to each other, but also undersell us in such articles as we may desire to part with to other Territories. That a moderate reduction may be necessary to meet this is perfectly true, and should by all means be made; but the question is--how much should it be? Will the Railroad reduce the price of our products nearly two-thirds, that we should reduce the mechanic's wages to a little over one-third his present price to meet it? We think the Railroad will not reduce our products in any such proportion. Let us ask what will the Railroad bring in to compete with us. It cannot bring in carpenters, masons, plasterers or laborers' work--except in fractional items amounting to nothing. It cannot therefore undersell the largest part of our mechanical labor that should be reduced in wages to meet it. It can only compete with us in produce, boots, shoes, hats, cabinet-work, pottery, and such of the few manufactures as exist in our midst; the prices of which kinds of labor would, of course, have to be reduced to meet that competition, while the prices of the mechanics referred to would have to come down to correspond. *

But it may be very truthfully urged that merchandise and produce being now considerably reduced, the working-man should reduce the price of his labor to correspond with his savings. This we consider only right. The question then is, how much is he likely to save by the cheap importations of the Railroad. * *

And then as to articles of merchandise which, mark it, are now about as low as they are likely to get, they are reduced, perhaps, a little over one third of their average price during the last two years; and we have not heard that our working-men have been grossly overpaid during this slack period. Basing our views then on these facts, we submit, with all respect to better judgment, that a reduction of over one-third would be out of due proportion. And as such must be objectionable: * * * *

The proposition, as we understand it, is to reduce our wages so low that we can work our small factories to compete with the gigantic ones east. Now, we simply ask--Is not this equivalent to a proposition for a man who keeps a shanty in the first ward, and keeps one assistant, to reduce the wages of that assistant to enable him to compete with the "Eagle Emporium?" May we ask how much he would have to reduce that unhappy man's wages before he could sell as low and increase his establishment to the same size? The "Eagle Emporium," which we take merely by way of illustration, can flourish on a profit of a cent a yard, because it can sell yards by the thousand, while the owner of the shanty must have six times as much profit, because he sells six times less than the other. This is the relation one of our little Utah factories would stand in to those abroad. * * *

It may be thought however, that by starting little factories, with low prices, we might grow in time to do as big a business as those abroad. But we put it to the good sense of our readers, would it be wise in order to create big businesses, to reduce prices or wages before we have suitable establishments or the business which alone could compensate us for such reduction? Before we think of doing this, we need a vast market for our goods, for we must sell as much as those in the east before we can sell as low. Such a market neither this nor theadjoining Territories can furnish for years to come. Supposing we even had the factories, and they were to produce as much as those east, which they must do to compete with them in price, in a few months they would glut these Territories for years, and have the bulk of their goods on their shelves. * * *

But not only have we not the market to keep factories of the necessary size running at present; but, with respect to that class of articles, the manufacture of which is specially contemplated, we have not the material in the Territory to keep such extensive factories going. * * *

To reduce wages when we get suitable establishments, sufficient market and material to work them, would be right enough; but to-day we have neither; and while in this condition, shall we reduce wages as the most direct road to gain them? This is a theory which the wisdom of our brethren will doubtless reject as soon as they begin to carry it out, if not before. The rule of commerce--a law which no one can violate without

loss, and which all business men subscribe to,--is always to be PREPARED to do a big business before you reduce your prices! To reduce before you have your establishments sufficiently large, enough material to manufacture all you need, or your market large enough to sell all you can make, is to invite certain and irretrievable ruin, whether applied to an individual or a Territory. And if it be incorrect in principle to reduce prices till all these conditions are fulfilled, there can be no reason why wages should be reduced in anticipation.

Having said so much as to the present prices proposed for labor, we now wish to present what we consider serious objections to the principle of fixing uniform prices for labor or skill of any kind.

Mankind cannot be run into grooves or ticketed off like articles in a wholesale store. There is every variety of value among men of each particular trade. This will apply equally to laboring as to mechanical work. There are scarcely any two men equally valuable to an employer.

Suppose we resolve to declare that, as a community, we can fix prices to suit ourselves, irrespective of the laws of competition, and what is the result? We have one or two difficulties to meet; either we must admit that every man's labor is as valuable as another's--no matter the difference of ability displayed, or we must admit a difference and settle it in every case by the judgment of a third party.

That we must do one of these two things is evident. Let us as a community resolve we can fix arbitrary prices, and immediately every unskilled laborer in the community has a right to say at once, "There is now no cause why I should not have as much for working a whole day as any other man. I need as much to eat, and drink, and wear, and I love to see my wife and children surrounded by luxuries as much as any other man. We are all brethren, therefore give me as much. You can do so for you have no laws of trade or competition in your way to prevent you. If the community can fix prices to suit itself, it can fix prices to suit us all, and I would like as much as any man in the Territory." This is what every man can logically say, and the demand must be complied with; and every man of skill and energy be reduced to the level of the most ignorant and unenterprising in the community.

Suppose, however, we declare a difference of value in labor, we have then the greatest difficulty of all to meet. Once we admit that a difference of value should exist. and conclude to determine that price by officers of some kind, they will not only have to examine and value the workmanship of every man in the community, but they will have to inspect and attach a separate and distinct price to every fresh piece of brainwork, artistic or mechanical skill, as fast as produced. For nothing could, in that case, have any value till they determined it. As all articles and men's skill itself, would incessantly differ from time to time, it would take a committee as large as the community itself, to run round, watch and endlessly compare the value of every article produced--and then they could not do it. Who can satisfactorily determine the comparative value of two

pieces of brainwork or artistic skill? Who can tell the value of one piece of carpentry, plastering or masonry--one piece of sculpture--one piece of carving--one picture--one invention--one architectural design--one piece of musical composition--one piece of acting, one piece of engineering, one piece of poetry, one day's management of a business, or one effort of statesmanship over another, so as to satisfy every soul? No man or men on earch could do it. No wisdom inferior to that of God, himself, in all the plentitude of His knowledge, could do it, so that all could feel that the true, exact point was reached. And where is there even a foretaste of such perfect wisdom now? Less than this perfection of judgment to the senses of men, and the whole plan would break itself up in endless differences of opinion and scenes of confusion; for the divine intellect of man and right of individual judgment, as to the worth of its own labor, cannot be fettered or restrained worlds without end.

On the other hand, to avoid these difficulties, should we decide to have uniform prices for all, and begin to class men at one dollar a day or ten, that moment we shall kill all their ambition and enterprise. Unless an opening is left for men of any trade or profession, to get more than each other, if they are worth more, there is no incentive for the development of skill or intellect. The greatest booby in his calling can claim as much as the man who has toiled day and night, and bent all his energies to obtain excellence and superiority. All are swept into one dead level. Skill, talent, energy, all are covered up, and the very motive power by which the Creator has moved the world from the beginning to perfection in every art and science, is extinguished and dried up for ever.

It may be said, however, that the Gospel is destined to bring us to such a condition, that the motive power of self interest which has hitherto been the main spring of the world's progress, is to be superseded by so much of the love of God in every man's nature, that all will be willing to sink their individuality, and labor for the glory of the community as fervently as they now do for themselves. Assuming this to be true, it will have to be when the present almighty grasp of self is released from our bosoms, and the nature of angels taken in instead. Judging by all we can see of men's conduct to-day, we are a thousand years at least from that blessed period. The writer has searched deep, and searched wide, and, although he has found some who say they are willing to bring themselves to this order of things if God should require it--and commence to work every day of their lives for their neighbor's good and blessing as much as their own--he has found none who are anxious to commence, even at the rate of six hours a day for the same object, until God does command it. From which he concludes that the fear of God in most of us must be rather stronger than the love of man. At any rate, when the nature of angels does so come upon men, that the thousand passions and strivings of the human bosom for wealth and increase to one's self are all hushed and superseded by an equal amount of joy in seeing the balance of that wealth transferred to other hands to possess and enjoy--come when this glorious day will, there is no danger in the world of its overtaking us as a thief in the night; and least of all any reason why we should revolu-

tionize labor or put it at one uniform level expressly to meet such a contingency. That the inhabitants of Zion will, at some distant day attain to such a Godlike condition that they could do all this, if needed, we are perfectly sure; but we are equally sure that to dry up the present sources of ambition before that vast transformation of human nature shall come, would be to kill genius and enterprise, and produce a dead and stagnant community.

In conclusion we will say we wish to go with our brethren and see eye to eye with them in all things that they do for the public good; but these reasons, in a more or less connected form, are floating through the minds of hundreds, who feel them as strongly as we do; but who are too timid to give them expression however oft invited. Such objections should, we consider, be met, and if incorrect, removed for the sake of unity. We therefore collect them together, and present them, that if baseless they may be swept away, or if otherwise, remain and prevail as all truth principles should and will.

The following article appeared in the Utah Magazine, No. 19, Volume III, on September 11, 1869.

STEADYING THE ARK.

There are a few people in our Territory who, whenever an independent idea is expressed on any philosophical or theological subject, immediately call out, alarmed, that the speaker or writer in question in "steadying the ark," meaning thereby that such person is trying to dictate the church. As if--whether the speaker's intention was such or not--the action of independent thought could, by any possibility be dangerous to an imperishable system like ours. It is a fear of having something of this kind said about them that has deterred many a person from expressing conceptions of the truth of which they were assured,--but which did not happen to tally with popular opinion. The existence of such a fear dwarfs and stunts the intellect as well as the spiritual growth of men; and being contrary to "Mormonism" which was offered to us all as a gospel of free thought--and free speech, too-should be broken down.

Why should men, who believe they have a gospel founded on the laws of eternal nature, fear that such an ark should be steadied or jostled? Fancy the architect of the Temple, with its ten-foot granite walls and its thousand-tonned foundation, getting excited and calling out that somebody was trying to "steady" the Temple; and then fancy a gospel, ancient and imperishable as the fixed stars of eternity, being "steadied" by anybody. Men can have but little faith in the sublime immovability of their gospel who talk this way.

Those who feel in their hearts that they are built on final and unalterable truth, can afford to look calmy on at the wildest effort of free thought, knowing that every new scrutiny will only reveal to the truly intelligent mind a new beauty-a new point of harmony with all other facts. Instead of being alarmed or annyoyed, their cry continually is-"steady us if you can." On this point, we feel much as our Delegate, Hooper, expressed himself about the Railroad bringing us to the scrutiny of the world: said he, in effect, "If our system won't bear to be brought face to face with the world, the sooner the miserable thing is broken up the better;" and all proud of their religion will say Amen. But here comes in a curious fact of human nature: the very same men who will say Amen to Brother Hooper's remarks and who will trumpet to all the world their challenge for scrutiny of "Mormonism," and glory in every outside attack, the moment one of their own brethren expresses a thought ahead of their own, will point him out and say--"That's a dangerous kind of thinker--he's trying to steady the ark." And with a whip of this kind--which, of course, is unsanctioned by the spirit of our divine priesthood--they unintentionally crush free thought out of their brethren's souls.

Our own opinion is that, when we invite men to use free speech and free thought to get into the Church, we should not call upon them, or ourselves, to "kick down the ladder by which they and we, assended to Mormonism." They should be called upon to think on as before, no matter who has or has not thought in the same direction.

There is one fatal error, however, which possesses the minds of some, and out of which this fear of "steadying the ark" has grown; it is this: that God Almighty intended the priesthood to do our thinking. Hence, if you say to such men, "What do you think on such a subject?" they will answer, "I don't know. What does the Priesthood say about it?" This is an extreme of a true doctrine. It is right to respect the priesthood but never to the crushing out of our own individuality. It is folly to suppose that the priesthood requires this. As far as we understand the spirit of that divine priesthood which rules this and all other worlds, it glories in bringing out the individuality of men to the utmost. Instead of seeking to bring them all to one dead level, and regulate all by one brain or twenty, it throws men back on to themselves to learn God there. It says: "Look within; you are a lens in which God is mirrored; His bright reflection is upon you; His voice is within you, speaking." Priesthood is simply an external organization, instituted for the sake of order, and for the more correct and speedy promulgation of true principles. Its authority is to teach, and help the growth of the individual--not to swallow him up. God has taught more to the individual soul, directly, than he ever has through any external organization He ever instituted. Even when He teaches through the organization, He has to witness it within the soul after all, or it is worthless to the man. Still, it is priesthood that does it even then, for it is the invisible priesthood that is aro und us--" the spirits of the just made perfect," who whisper to the soul the way, the truth, and the light. But they cannot whisper to him who dares not think, for it is in and through thought alone that they can get at us. They work in harmony

with all who truly represent the spirit of the priesthood in this life; and all go on together without discord. Could such fill us with their divine inspiration, their voice would be: "Think freely and think forever; and above all, never fear tha t the 'Ark' of everlasting truth can ever be 'steadied' by mortal hand or shaken."

The following article appeared in the Utah Magazine, No. 25, Volume III, on October 23, 1869.

WE ARE NOTHING, IF NOT SPIRITUAL.

"When Joseph Smith inaugurated our Church, nearly forty years ago, it burst upon the world as a Revelation of spiritual power. The main peculiarity of our system was, that we asserted the necessity of close and constant intercommunication between this and the Heavenly worlds.

While we freely admitted that light and intelligence were continually being imparted by God to mankind through inspiration of an intellectual or mental kind, we strongly protested against the sufficiency of this kind of Revelation.

Our Elders went forth declaring the opening of a dispensation of angelic visitation; an age of Revelation and Prophecy; a new, grand period of Heavenly manifestations. The sick were to be healed henceforth mainly by the laying on of hands. Visions and divinely-given dreams were to be the constant companions of the members of the church; the curtains of Heaven were to be lifted up, and a church established which--to use the language of the Doctrine and Covenants--by the multiplicity of heavenly manifestations poured upon mankind in the flesh, was to prepare them for the fullness of Jehovah's presence in the world of glory, and without the enjoyment of which they could not be so perfected.

As a means to this end a spiritual power was to be built up to be called Zion, whose people should have a constant witness of the presence and association of Heavenly visitors.

SPIRITUAL power was our battle cry! We were 'nothing if not spiritual.' We were founding a kingdom whose glory was not the wealth of its people, the extent of their farms, or the elegance of their homes, but the fire of the Omnipotent spirit and the presence and influence of the great ones of the invisible world; while sweet and holy sentiments, changing hearts and purifying the lives of men were to be distilled through inspired lips upon the church.

This was the programme to which we ha ve given the most vital portion of our existence, and for which we have all borne the scorn of the

world. Some of us travelled for years as poor dependents, over the face of the world, and all of us struggling through hardships innumerable to these desolate valleys, to pursue any and every occupation that might present itself--congenial or otherwise--solely that we might see a gigantic spiritual power rear itself in strength above the nations. For this we suffered, and for this we struggled through poverty and hardships to this land, and for nothing else.

'Abroad among the nations,' we had plentiful corroboration that this theory was no idle dream, but based on facts. Wholesale spiritual manifestations did there attend us. Our sick were then healed by the hundred. During the great cholera-year in England, among about thirty thousand Latter-day Saints, scarcely one succumbed to the disease. We were rich in spiritual manifestations. We felt angelic presence even if unseen. We lived in an atmosphere that made us feel every day very near to God and the heavenly world. All this bore witness to us that there would be established upon the earth a great central reservoir from whence spiritual influence should spread with electric force and kindle the world afar in due time.

Cut this grand design out of the mission of this people, and there is nothing left. To open up the fountains of the Heavenly world--to stand hand in hand--the mortal church with the invisible behind the veil. This was the destiny for which we started as a people, and unless we realize it, we have done nothing worth talking about. We did not congregate together to build up a big nation whose number and might should overawe the world. We needed a distinct existence as a people, of course, and therefore required cities to live in and national influence; but these were but secondary objects-merely means to an end. Our temporal influence was simply to be a kind of bulwarks within which our spiritual powers should be developed. External surroundings, without the divine part of our religion, for which the whole was brought into existence, would, we understood, be nothing but mockery and a sham.

In the providences of God, for a number of years we have been marching almost entirely in the direction of temporalities, until they are the all-absorbing theme. It is temporalities upon the street, in the garden, in the meeting and in the council-temporalities from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, and from one year's end to another. We have but one kind of a subject-houses, fences dry-goods and money, worlds without end. This is how it is at present, and there doubtless is a providential lesson in it, but we cannot remain so forever.

We say this much in calling attention to the true object of our existence as a people, because there is to-day an inspiration resting upon us as a community that we are very near to a day of spiritual power-one that will not only take us back to our old position, but eclipse the past by its brightness. Thousands of hearts in Utah feel that light is coming that will repay us for all, and justify all our grand expectations. It stands to common sense that temporalities without far more spiritual power than we have at present will not build up a heavenly Zion. No temporal

order or system, by itself, can bring this about. The presence of Revelation widely diffused amongst us will alone constitute Zion, and that must depend upon the channels of Revelation in our souls being opened up. Everybody in the church may be wealthy, and the church as a whole, by its grand co-operation, have but one pocket, and thereby be able to out-purchase the world and bring it to our feet, and all this may add to our temporal comfort; but no union of wealth--or disunion either--can create a Zion of spiritual power. Spiritual power should in fact be first, and our union grow out of that and not our spiritual power grow out of our temporal union. The purity of our natures, the spirit of Christ in its self-abnegation and love in our bosoms, can alone bring angels to our homes. They will not come there because we all have our money in one bank, depend upon it. If they find our hearts right, they will come, because they will find their attractions there, and they will come no more, nor as much, if, as a Grand Commercial church, we hold the riches of the world in our hands and can buy or sell it at our pleasure, providing these characteristics are absent.

Supposing, then, as we do, tha t temporalities are useful and necessary in their way, they are not our ultimate destiny; it is not for this that angels left the Heavens and opened up a dispensation to man. Our destiny is to be a great spiritual nation, and all these temporalities are mere accessory aids. We were organized to bring the hosts of the Heavenly world nigh to man, the signs of whose presence in dreams, visions and inspirations, were to be daily and hourly felt--not by one man or a dozen, but by all. Unless we accomplish this sooner or latter, our system is humbug and a delusion. Where is this close intercommunication with heavenly things to-day? Where the evidence of the nearness of the invisible worlds to our hearts? It is years upon years since many of us have heard even a gift of tongues, or felt the inspiration of a prophecy; and as to angels, we know many who talk of them as a weakness of the past. Supposing a Divine Hand has taken us off this pathway of spiritualities for its own great ends, must we not return before we can accomplish our destiny as a people? Let any man put this question to his soul, and the answer must be that we must return, and that speedily, and become a greater church of spiritualities than ever, or stand confessed before the world a grand and monstrous failure."

The following article appeared in the Utah Magazine, No. 24, Volume III, on October 16, 1869.

THE TRUE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERRITORY.

It is a necessary truth, well understood by the commercial world, that any country or district that has sufficient cash or currency in its midst, should, first and foremost, devote its labors in developing those

resources which will command the largest outside market, and thus establish a base for obtaining the money that it needs; and it is further understood, that all home manufactures or products in which such country is not likely to be able to compete to advantage, with other places, and which must, therefore, be confined mainly to internal exchange, are matters of secondary importance as they must draw their sustenance from those products which have a sale in the outside world.

Every country needs a certain amount of money to keep it going, and there are only two ways of obtaining it. It must either be dug out of its mines, and coined, or obtained from other places by the sale of such articles, of which it has a special surplus--which produce or products it should, of course, develop before all others, because upon that the life blood of the rest depends. Internal exchanges are nothing but accessories to prosperity, and not the principal causes thereof, as they flourish on the use of the money drawn into the country by the sale of those specialities, which go abroad. It is, therefore, clear that all localities which do not develop something in large quantities, which will command an outside market, must fall back to a greater or less extent upon the miserable and cumbrous system of "trade," as money will be out of the question.

All countries before they can be rich, must develop some specialty or product of which they have a great surplus for sale, or remain poor. The reason why we have had so little cash in Utah for so long a period, and have had to do so much upon the hateful "trade" system, is simply, because we have, as yet, developed no specialty. We have, therefore, had nothing in any great amount to sell, and consequently no money in exchange; and we must always remain equally poor until we can develop some product of which we have a great surplus. We repeat, the development of "Home-Manufactures" cannot help us in this respect, unless they are of such magnitude as to create us a grand depot of supply to other places, and, as we have shown in our late article on "Our Workmen's Wages," this is not likely to be the case with any of the home manufactures at present engaging our attention. Our Territory is of such a nature that our manufactures must necessarily be extremely limited in material, and consequently in their sale. What we need, is to produce something which we are fitted by nature to supply in large proportions, and by competing with the world, command a constant supply of the money requisite to keep the Territory going. When we have developments of this kind in operation which will put this money in the hands of the community, we can then start all the Factories we please, and keep them going easily enough by internal sale. To start them before we have, is to begin at the wrong end. Home-manufactures are proper things to have amongst us, and should by all means be encouraged, but they will fail to produce the results we desire unless we can insure the case in the Territory necessary to pay their workmen and keep them alive. They are miserable and unprofitable affairs--as many persons have experienced--when the expenses of repairing and replacing machinery, and payment of capitalists and workmen has mainly to be met by exchanging with other home products.

The question then arises--Have we a specialty of the kind in this

Territory that will bring us the money we need, and in what does it consist? In other words, wherein are we specially fitted by Nature to compete with other places. California, Illinois, and Missouri, have their distinct facilities over the rest of the continent. Wherein has Providence fitted us to excel and surpass other localities, as that must be the direction in which our energies should be mainly expended? One glance at our barren mountains and hard benches will answer the question.

Evidently we have not preeminency as a farming country. That is, we are not a farming country of the order formed by Nature to be like Illinois and Missouri, a great grain reservoir to others. We can produce enough for home consumption and a small surplus to sell, but not half enough to get us the money we need. Had we some other product which would bring money into the country so that our farmers could sell for cash within ourselves, farming could, without a doubt, be made a tolerably profitable business in this Territory. But as a special grain-raising country, we dwindle into insignificance alongside even of California with its surplus millions of bushels, to say nothing of Eastern States.

Nor are we preeminently fitted for a grazing country, as all can see--especially those who ha ve once looked on the rich pastures of England and other countries. Still, if carefully managed we have abundant grazing facilities for home supplies; but that is not the point; the idea is, we are not superlatively a grazing country, although, when scientifically gone into as a business (which it is not at present,) many persons will doubtless get rich at stock-raising, providing we can get money from some other source to buy their cattle with.

Neither is our country so remarkably adapted for the raising of sheep for their wool, that we should look to that for the wealth that is to keep our internal industries going. Sheep, of course, can be raised here as they can in many other countries where they do not excel in the business, but Nature does not point our people to sheep raising as she does to the inhabitants of some countries, as that deparpment of enterprise for which they are specially prepared and fitted. There are not self-evident facilities for raising cheaply vast quantities of wool in Utah, so that we can compete with the world at large on that point, any more than we have facilities for raising as cheap as in the south of America large quantities of cotton--an article which we can, doubtless, yet supply sufficiently for home use. We repeat that all of these branches may be profitably followed by individuals in the supply of home consumption; but home consumption brings no money into the Territory, and we imperatively need something that will. And we ask wherein is that something? And the answer comes back from all parts of the Territory, that it is in MINERALS! We are one of Nature's vast mineral store-houses--a mineral Territory in fact. From one end to the other we walk over worlds of mineral wealth awaiting development. We have mountains of coal, iron, and lead, and enough copper and silver to supply the world--to say nothing of more precious metals. Here, then, is our specialty written on the face of the country--a department in which we can compete with almost any part of the world, and keep alive all our industries as well. Here is the opening for an enterprise.

Here nature needs no forcing to produce us what we need, she groans with profusion. To strain our souls out in fruitless endeavors to bend the climate and soil of the Territory in matching other countries in departments where we were evidently never intended to equal them, much less to excel, while our grand specialty lies almost untouched, is to turn our backs on the open hand of God, and shut our eyes to that providential finger and voice, saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it."

While we say this much for our mineral development, we heartily endorse the wise policy of our ecclesiastical leaders which has always been opposed to such mineral developments as gold placer diggings, and the like, calculated, as they are, to flood the Territory with the refuse of society. Gold fevers, doubtless, have their use in the settling of the continent, but we do not need them to settle our Territory. We can do it on a much more peaceable and profitable principle. The mineral development we recommend, is of the more solid and useful kind, which can be worked in a manner to engage only the industrious and the honest.

All that we need for development of these sources of wealth is capital and experience--but experience more particularly. As to experience, or labor skilled in the development of iron, silver or any other of our metals, we should, of course, get what we can from the members of our community, but where they have not sufficient, it will pay to buy it of Jew or Gentile. As President Young said a few Sundays ago: "Let us accept a truth even if it comes from hell;" this is a true principle, and will apply equally to a mining truth as much as any other. It will pay to purchase the necessary skill for so important a purpose at almost any price. We can afford to pay experienced men ten times what they can get elsewhere, and then be monstrous gainers. There are hundreds of men--decent men too--in the United States, who would be glad to sell their knowledge for so long a period as was required, and then go on their way rejoicing if neceeccary. By so doing, we need not identify our movements as a community with any other unless we choose. There need be no more harm or admixture in buying for a few months the judgment and skill of an outsider, than there is in buying Gentile dry-goods in New York.

Outside of this great natural source of wealth, almost ready to our hands, we have no means of getting money into the Territory. Working our proposed factories within ourselves--as we necessarily must, for we can command no large outside market--we must reduce wages very low in price, if we are determined to carry them through. In the development of our mineral riches, therefore, lies the only hope for our mechanics to get decent wages and deliverance from the miserable "trade" system. With the Great Railway at hand, we can ship them to the East and West, get our pay in cash, and the men working them can get the same kind of pay. This will present an opening to our mechanics, and our stock and produce raisers of all kinds, to obtain cash when selling the results of their labors to those engaged in developing our minerals.

Mineral development, of the honest, hard-working kind, is, then, our true starting point because it is in that and that alone of which as a

Territory we have promise of a vast surplus.

We have nothing else that can enrich us except in a petty way. It stands before all other kind of developments in importance because it will alone furnish the capital for their establishment and without which they must be failures in a monetary point of view.

Without something of this kind to bring us money, we must always be a bartering community, and what that is we all know too well. "Barter" sounds very well to the ear in words, but it is a nest of uncleanliness in practice. Every influence of the "trade" system tends to dishonesty. When men have to pay five or a hundred dollars in cash, any complete five or a hundred dollar note is as valuable as another, and there is no motive for their selecting one before the other, but with payment in any particular product or article of manufacture it is not so. When an agreement has been made to pay in such articles, five out of every ten men stop to select the most worthless of the kind agreed upon, or if they have promised to pay in home products without any particular specification as to which kind, they bend the whole force of their minds to discover which of all of such articles that they possess is the most useless to them; and if they have nothing worthless enough to-day, they will stop and wait until they have. Half the debts now due on "trade" bargains are not unpaid, because the debtor is dishonest--certainly not--but simply because he had not yet discovered something he does not want. For keeping alive all the inventive faculties of a man for cheating, the "trade" system is the best in the world. Its evils are numberless. It professes to pay for labor or products at certain prices which are never realized, as from one quarter to two-thirds is lost in the trouble and delays of collection. It deprives the work-man of the privilege of going to the cheapest market for his goods, because it compels him to buy only of the man who engages his labor, and at just such prices as he chooses to charge. It lays the poor man always at the mercy of the rich. It puts a bar in the way of the enjoyment of one half the conveniences of civilized life, because the trouble of effecting an exchange, especially in cumbrous articles, is worth more than the luxury. The rich man, perhaps, does not feel this because he can buy all he needs in large quantities and save two-thirds of the trouble. It effectually stops the growth of all businesses and trades which deal in small amounts. It is also the greatest bar in the way of literature the world ever felt. At this moment, twice as many people in Utah would take papers and magazines, but for the trouble and expense of forwarding this kind of pay. In our agricultural districts we are constantly met with the declaration that the people wish to take this magazine, but they cannot do so because the cost of hauling their pay to our office would eat up the subscription before it got here. Not only does the "trade" system operate in an injurious manner commercially and socially, but ecclesiastically. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of dollars, toiled for so laboriously, and paid so freely by our community in tithing, are wasted--utterly thrown to the winds--not because any body can help it, but because we have no currency, and the cost of hauling eats up a large proportion of the labors and sweat of the people without the cause we love being benefitted one particle thereby.

In a word, the "trade" system is one of the greatest curses that can rest on the progress and comfort of a community, and any free people that can protect themselves from it by any development which will command them the use of a currency, should expel it from their midst.

Our only hope of redemption from these evils lies in our mineral development. We have tried the establishment of almost everything else and have failed to obtain money, for the simple reason that the exchange of home-manufactures never can create money--money must come from the outside world. There must be something to bring it, and at present we have nothing that will. The little driblets of grain and other products we have to spare are not worth a moment's consideration, in view of the necessities of a great Territory. We have tried with laudable energy for years to develop factories and homeindustries, but having no money it has been toil and loss upon loss. Where is the factory or home development that really pays? Common sense would seem to say, develop that first which will bring money from other Territories and States, and then these factories and home industries which supply ourselves will have something to lean upon. We believe in home manufactures. Where we have one now we need a dozen, but we must have money before we can have factories. Factories will not create themselves and support themselves out of nothing. We are in a barren desolate country very thinly settled, with equally meagre and sparsely settled Territories around us and the great world of commerce beyond has a thousand opportunities to our one. Factories in our midst as competitors with the giant establishments of the East is a useless proposition, but the idea of factories for internal supply is reasonable enough provided we develop something that will get us money sufficient to build them in the first place, and furnish them a money market afterwards. Till then it will only be as it has been in the past, labor upon labor and outlay upon outlay without end, and result as to-day in comparative bankruptcy. Summed up in a few words--we live in a country destitute of the rich advantages of other lands--a country with few natural facilities beyond the great mass of minerals in its bowels. These are its main financial hopes. To this our future factories must look for their life, our farmers, our stock, wool, and cotton raisers for their sale, and our mechanics for suitable wages. Let these resources be developed, and we have a future before us as bright as any country beneath the sun, because we shall be working in harmony with the indications of Nature around us.

APPENDIX C

The following Constitution was adopted at the organization of the Church of Zion, January 24, 1870. This article was originally printed in the Mormon Tribune, January 24, 1870.

PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF THE CONSTITUTION

OF THE CHURCH OF ZION.

We, the Members of the Church of Zion, established by the revelation and direction of the Authorities of the Heavenly World, do ordain the following Constitution:

First, we declare as the great elementary truth which underlies the existence of this Church, that the chief object of its establishment is, that direct communication may exist between the Heavens and mankind in their earthly condition, so that the truths practised in the immortal worlds may be transmitted to and acted out upon earth. It is, therefore, to be understood that the Church of Zion on earth cannot exist without continuous revelation from the Church of Zion in Spiritual and Celestial spheres.

This Church shall never limit herself to any particular conceptions of truth, but she shall ever by open to advanced principles. She shall also be ever open to any improvement in the external form of her administration, which the progressed condition of her people may demand. Provided that all such changes in her organization or mode of administration be sanctioned by a vote of three-fourths of the members of the Church.

Membership in the Church

Members shall be admitted by the ordinance of Baptism (by immersion), which shall be understood as the ordinance of induction; and by the laying on of hands, which shall be deemed the ordinance of confirmation.

No members of this Church shall be expelled for difference of opinion so long as they accept the initiatory ordinances of the Gospel, and this Constitution.

All violation of the principles of purity and right shall be held to be in opposition to the teachings of Zion, but her spirit shall be to say to all trespassers on her laws, who wish to reform, "Go and sin no more."

Funds

The funds necessary for the support of the poor and the public expenses of the Church, shall be met by the collection of tithing; which shall consist of one tenth of the clear gain or profit obtained during the year after deducting the absolutely necessary expenses of each person's family or individual support. Every member of the Church shall be thrown entirely upon his or her honor and sense of right to determine how much the amount due from them for tithing may be after making such allowance.

The Church shall be divided into the following ecclesiastical districts. First, into WARDS, corresponding to small settlements or Towns. Secondly, into STAKES, agreeing with Counties or large Cities. Thirdly, into GRAND STAKES, corresponding with Territories, States and Nations, or such divisions of Territories, States or Nations, as expedience or convenience may require.

Every Ward or other division of the Church shall be considered competent for its internal management; but every such division must act in harmony with the general laws which govern the whole Church to constitute it an integral portion of the Church of Zion. Every smaller division must also be goverened by such general arrangements as may be made in the Conferences or Councils of such departments of the Church as they may belong to.

Callings and Duties of Officers

There shall be no irresponsible authority in the Church of Zion. All officers shall be answerable to the people for the proper discharge of their duties.

All Treasurers or Trustees shall regularly account for the disbursement of the funds placed in their care.

The great truth that the "law of force is unknown in the heavens" is hereby declared the principle that shall for ever influence and control the exercise of authority in the Church of Zion.

The Priesthood shall be understood to be simply a divine educational system, whose whole right to authority and rule rests on the love and consent of the people.

The government or management of the Church shall consist of two departments--the Spiritual and the Temporal, which are declared separate and distinct for ever. The duties connected with these departments shall never be blended, so as to be administered by the same hands. Every Ward or larger division of the Church shall, therefore, have its Temporal Managers as well as its Spiritual Presidency, who shall attend solely to their respective departments.

THE SPIRITUAL ORGANIZATION shall consist of a President and two Counsellors over each Ward, Stake, and Grand Stake respectively; together with a President and two Counsellors who shall preside over the whole Church, and constitute the First Presidency. To these shall be added a quorum of Twelve Apostles, with quorums of Seventies and High Priests, and such other quorums as the work of the ministry may demand.

Every Ward Presidency shall be aided by a Council of Teachers selected from the Ward.

Revelation

All men will be entitled to receive such revelation as may be necessary for the discharge of their respective callings, or for their personal enlightenment.

No man will be expected to receive revelation from the First Presidency, or any other source, further than it approves itself to his judgment as divine.

THE FIRST PRESIDENCY, so long as sustained by the people, will be accepted as the chief expounders of the philosophy of Zion. All conceptions of truth must, therefore, receive the sanction of this quorum before they can be proclaimed as the doctrine of the Church.

The First Presidency will be the channels for all such revelation as appertains to the whole Church. They will preside over all General Conferences. They will direct all general missionary operations and appoint the Twelve to their respective spheres of labor. They will see that the organization is kept complete, and extended over fresh ground as opportunity offers. It will be their special duty to see that the spirit of this Constitution is kept inviolate.

THE TWELVE APOSTLES will be the great missionary power of the Church, and chief traveling representatives of the spirit and sentiments of Jesus. They will hold no presidency, but will travel through the Church all over the world, to see that the spirit and genius of its institutions are kept intact.

The Seventies will be the missionary body of the Church, and will constitute its theologic arm.

THE HIGH PRIESTS will not be expected to travel. They will be specially called to administer in the higher ordinances of the Church.

THE TEACHERS, with the President of the Ward at their head, will sit as a council of peace-makers. It will be their duty to visit the members and teach them the principles of the Church and, as far as possible, reconcile all difficulties arising out of the misunderstanding.

THE TEMPORAL ORGANIZATION shall consist of a Bishop and two Counselors over each Ward; a District Bishop and two Counselors over each Stake (where deemed necessary by the members of the Stake); and a Presiding Bishop and two Counselors over the whole Church.

Every Ward shall have six Trustees, who, with the Bishop and his Counselors, shall form a board which shall be presided over by the Bishop, and shall direct the expenditure of such portion of the tithing as shall be disbursed in the Ward, forwarding the surplus to the General Board; and reporting once a year to the Ward, which report shall be certified to by three auditors elected by the Ward for that purpose.

There shall be six Trustees in Trust for the whole Church, to be presided over by the Presiding Bishop, who, with his counselors and the Trustees, shall form a board which shall control the expenditure of all the general funds of the Church, reporting the same at every annual General Conference to the people; which report shall be attested by three General Auditors elected by them for that purpose. The ward Bishops and their Counselors, with the Presiding Bishop and his Counselors, shall be considered as the executives of their respective Boards, disbursing funds according to their directions.

The aids of the Bishops shall consist of their Counselors, and such other assistants as their Boards may determine.

It shall be the duty of every Bishop to establish in his Ward a committee of ladies, consisting of a President, or directress, and such assistants as may volunteer, to be called "The Ladies' Aid Committee," whose duty it shall be to act as the aids of the Bishop, visiting the sick and the needy, and distributing such funds as he may be able to place at their disposal.

It will be the duty of the Bishops to collect the tithing of their Wards, and administer to the poor from such funds as the Board may place in their hands for that purpose.

All disputes concerning property or other matters involving financial questions, where mutual reconcilement is impossible, shall, if the parties are willing, be referred by the Teachers to the Bishop and his Council for decision.

The High Council shall sit as a superior judicial tribunal. They shall also decide all cases of appeal from the Bishops' court.

A proportion of the Tithing raised in every Ward shall be retained by the Trustees of the Ward for the support of the poor, as well as for its Church expenses, which amount shall be determined from year to year by the Trustees of the whole Church.

Election of Officers

The First Presidency and the Twelve will be nominated by revelation; but they, with all spiritual and temporal Presidents or administrators, must be accepted by the members of their respective constituencies through the process of election before they are qualified to act.

The guaranteed principle of all election shall be by vote by ballot. Exceptions may be allowed to this where the nomination is unchallenged.

A majority of votes shall be held to constitute election in every case.

All officers shall hold office until their successors are elected.

Any person known to canvass or use any active means to secure his election to any position in the Church, is hereby declared ineligible to office at such election.

APPENDIX D

Edward Tullidge in an article called "A Review of the Revelations" that appeared in the Mormon Tribune, January 29, 1870, revealed two of the revelations received by Godbe and Harrison in New York.

Joseph Smith's message to Godbe and Harrison

From our standpoint it appears to us that you are fully sensible of the importance of the work you are called to perform. We know the difficulties you will have to encounter, the obstacles that will be in your way - they will be great and numerous.

We know the jealousies that will exist and the slurs that will be thrown out against you: yet we see that, in spite of all this, you will be triumphant; triumphant.

You are instructed and sent on this mission by one that you once knew, (Heber C. Kimball) and he sent to you by others whom they never knew; and so on link after link, until we reach the Highest Authority, all saying unto you: 'Go and redeem Zion. Go and feed the people with the rich, ripe corn in the kernel, instead of the husks with which they have so long been fed.'

James the Apostle's message to Godbe and Harrison

Far, far away beyond the clouds - far beyond your vision, dwell those who are interested in the great and mighty church of our Lord.

On this occasion, sent to you by angelic influences and divine providence, comes James, the Apostle, bringing with him Brother John on the left, Brother Peter on the right.

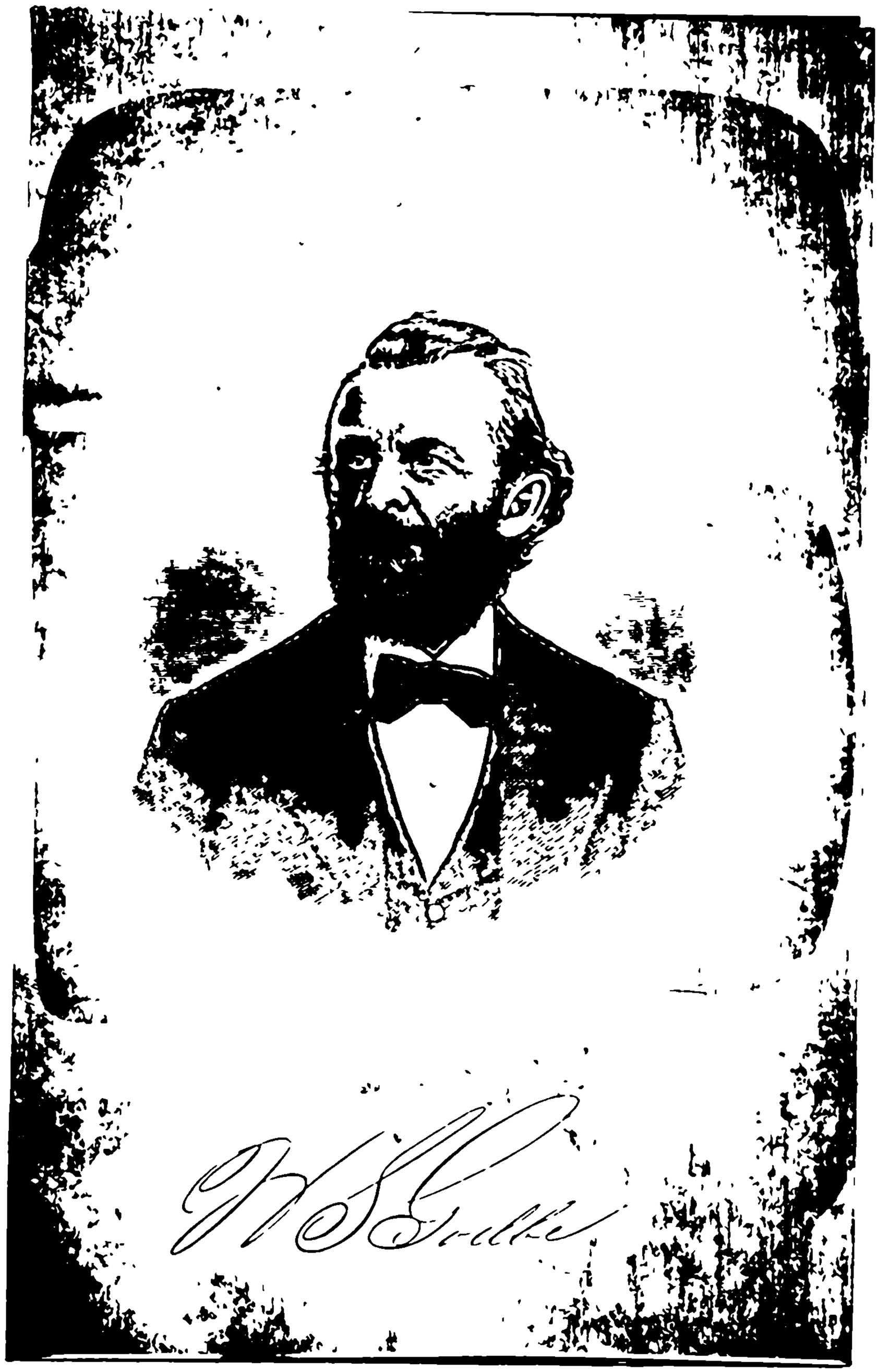
This is the first time I have ever come since I left the earth, and spoken directly with mortal man. But the great interest you take in the improvement of the world and the regeneration of mankind, has brought us here. . . .

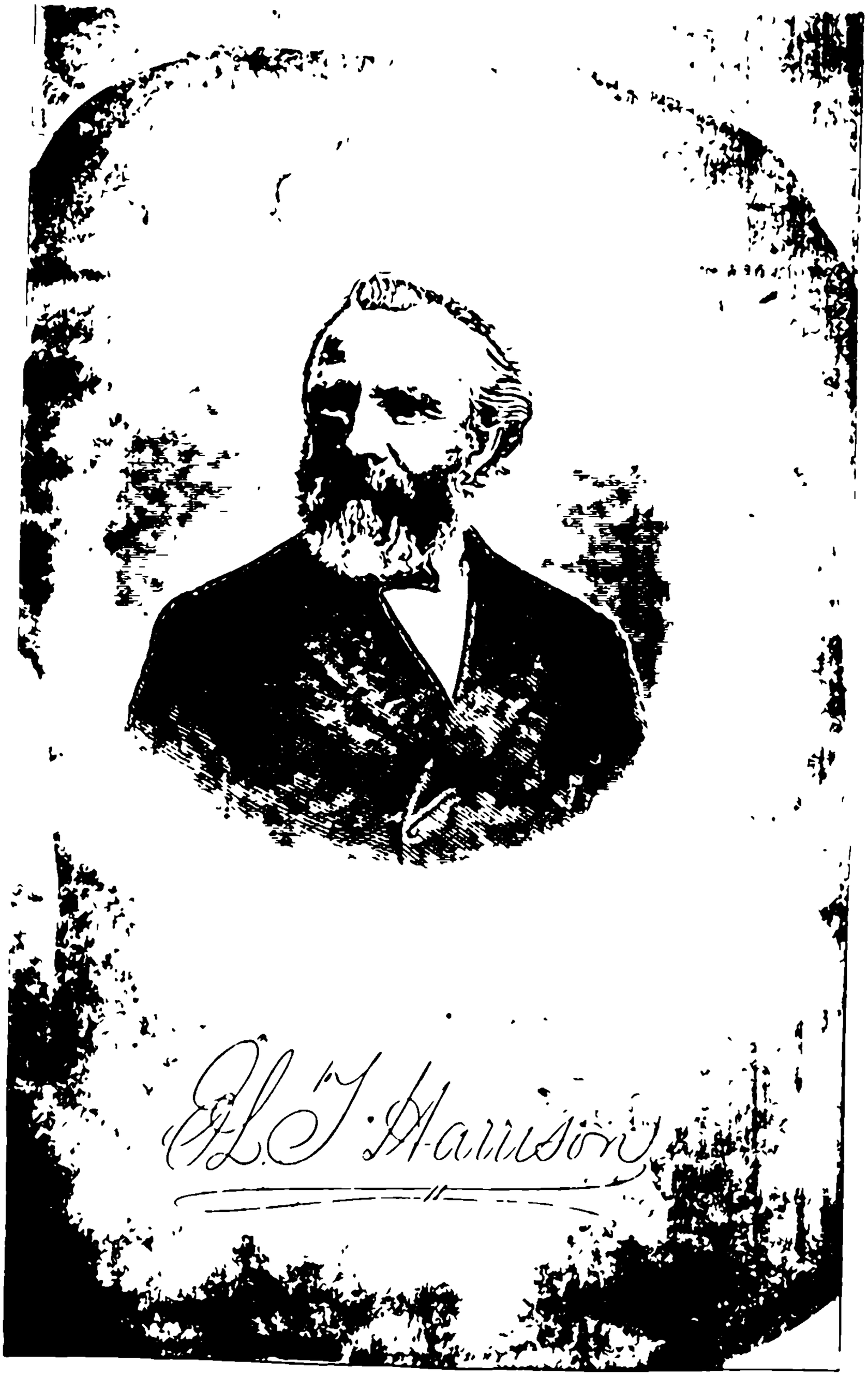
Pray . . . in your inmost being that you may get so much of light, so much of truth from divine spheres, as will enable you to go on your mission liberating human souls who are in bondage waiting to be freed.

You shall go forth, plough up the ground, plant the seed, and beautiful flowers shall grow, upon which the sun of divine light shall shine, whose fragrance shall go out into Zion.

And purity shall reign, and security shall be felt; and all shall be well with thee and thine, and with the chosen people of Zion.

APPENDIX E




E.L.T. Harrison

ABSTRACT

The approach of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 posed several real and imagined threats to the Mormon Kingdom in the Great Basin. The Pacific Railroad ended Mormon geographic isolation and brought economic competition from the States. The railroad also made it possible for miners to get to the gold fields faster and with the heave equipment necessary to make Utah mining profitable. Sensing the political problems and the social and moral evils that would accompany the railroad, the Mormon leaders, in hopes of meeting these problems, counselled to extend their economic goal of self-sufficiency. Through stepped-up cooperation and unity they felt this could be accomplished.

The Godbeites were a group of Mormon merchants of Salt Lake City who opposed the Church's claim to dictate in temporal affairs. This feeling had been smouldering for several years prior to the coming of the Pacific Railroad. When the Church proposed tighter controls to meet the railroad crisis these men broke with the Mormon hierarchy. In Godbeite thinking neither the plan nor the loss of freedom suffered under the plan was of God. The Church, they held, was extending its power and jurisdiction too far in the lives of its members. As an alternative plan, the reformers proposed to end mercantilism by joining the laissez-faire pattern of the nation. To insure more freedom they sought through their organ, the Utah Magazine, to win public support and bring pressure to end Brigham Young's "one man rule." This opposition eventually led to their excommunication from the Church.

The Godbeites in their attempt to separate the spiritual from the

temporal were basically echoing what the Federal government and the Gentiles wanted. With this common interest the Liberal Party was organized in 1870 to break the Kingdom's control in temporal matters. This coalition, however, shortly came to an end when the New Movement leaders felt the Gentile solution to the Mormon question was much too harsh. The Godbeites exerted a political influence far greater than a group their size could normally exercise. Their love of the Mormon people caused the leaders to travel to Washington. Here, through a conversation with President U. S. Grant, they removed what possibility there was of sending Federal troops to Utah to enforce polygamy legislation. Feeling confident, they now approached Shelby M. Cullom, the author of the controversial Cullom bill, and helped to modify his attitude towards it. These efforts plus other influences resulted in the defeat of the Cullom bill and the temporary adoption of a more realistic and sympathetic policy toward the Saints. Aside from political matters, however, the Godbeite movement had little immediate effect on the policies of the Mormon Church. Ironically most of what the reformers advocated and were excommunicated for in 1869 had become Church policy by 1890.