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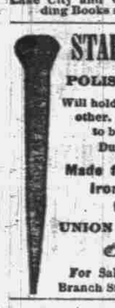

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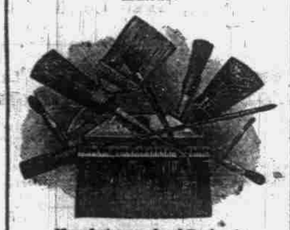

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"OUR MORMON BROTHER."

A Discourse by James Kay Applebee, to the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society, Boston, Sunday Morning, Feb. 7, 1886.

It is a rare thing to find a *man* living up to his own highest professions of what is true and right; but it is a much rarer thing to find a nation capable of reaching the same sublime height of heroism. I am afraid that the American nation must be ranked with most other nations in having failed to carry out its own principles. In the American constitution there is a clause prohibiting congress from making any law for the establishment of religion. This clause of the constitution is

CONSTANTLY VIOLATED

in a thousand ways. It is violated in the recognition of God and of Christianity which are made in many state constitutions; it is violated when any sort of religious exercise is practiced in any common school; it is violated whenever a religious test-oath is taken in any court of justice; it is violated when, either directly or indirectly, any public money is used for any sort of sectarian purpose; it is violated in every existing Sabbatarian law; it is violated whenever a chaplain is newly appointed to the army or navy; it is violated whenever a president or a state governor issues a Fast or a Thanksgiving proclamation; it is most grossly violated in the exemption of church property from taxation. It is in process of violation in other and more invidious ways than these and specified. In many states of the union there are criminal reformatory establishments which are supported out of the public funds. Protestant clergymen are only allowed to visit these establishments on one day in the week, and are then only allowed to indulge in a sort of colorless unsectarian moral talk. Roman Catholic priests, on the contrary, are allowed to visit these establishments on other days, on Friday, and on saint's days, and then to celebrate mass at the expense of the American tax-payer. The Roman Catholic church has the misfortune to furnish our jails with the majority of their inhabitants. If the state is keeping people out of jail, it is altogether too much to expect the American tax-payer to contribute towards soloacing rascals *with* the mass when they get in jail. The idea of a fellow who knocked you down in a lonely place on a dark night, last week, now that he is sent to the penitentiary for his crimes, declaring himself to be of such or such religion, and demanding such or such sort of religious consolation. If his religion could not keep him out of jail, he had better be, for a time, without his religion now that he finds himself behind the prison bars. Let the state take him into exclusive hands, and see what a little wholesome secular training may do for him! Just as surely as the prison doors close on the thief, just so surely ought they to close against the admission of the priest. If the priest has failed in keeping the man out of jail, the priest has certainly no right to be permitted officially to meddle with the man now that he is there.

It is a fact, as significant as it is singular, that while the American people do thus, in practice, so much towards uniting religion with the state, and so violate that clause in their Constitution which prohibits an establishment of religion, one of the main arguments they are accustomed to use in favor of anti-Mormon legislation is based on the supposed fact that under Mormon rule in the Territory of Utah a

UNION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

is maintained. Mormonism must be suppressed, it is said, because Mormons violate that clause of the constitution which prohibits an establishment of religion. It would be very easy to show that there is, and always has been, far less of a union between church and state in the Territory of Utah than in many States of the Union. It is true that the Mormons seem to dream of a grand coming time when everybody will be a Mormon, and when, of course, their church because there will be no power to oppose it, will be supreme—the one theocracy of the world. But, then, the Mormons are not the only religionists who have indulged, and who do still indulge, in such a dream. If Mormonism is to be suppressed because Mormons cherish the belief that their religion is destined to be universal, why should not other religions be suppressed on the same ground? The adherents of pretty well all religions, so far as I know, cherish exactly the same fond conceit. It would be quite easy to quote in profusion from Mormon writers passages to show that the suppression of all state and national governments by the universally triumphant church is the ultimate object at which Mormonism aims. It would, however, be most unjust to take those passages as proofs that all Mormons living to day are rebels to the government under which they happen to live. It would be just as sensible to say that all Adventists—all persons who believe in the second coming of Christ to rule over a regenerated earth—are, of necessity, rebels to their respective governments. While believing in that coming time when the Saints will rule, because everybody will then be a saint, the Mormons as it seems to me, desire to set an example, in the meantime, of loyalty and obedience to government as it at present exists.

Here, I think, is the great mistake that writers against Mormonism have committed. They have quoted those high-flown descriptions, of which Mormon writers have, perhaps, been a trifle too prolific, of the supreme powers conferred on "the Saints" and then they have triumphantly asked: "Can men who teach and who believe such doctrines by any possibility be loyal to any government whatever?" This is just the mistake which a writer in the Andover *Review* has fallen into,

REV. D. L. LEONARD.

He quotes, for instance, a Mormon writer, Spencer, as saying: "The priesthood is that order of authoritative intelligences by which God regulates, controls, enlightens, saves or condemns all beings. By means of this order God teaches and governs all things. Out of the line of this order there is no power whatever that is acknowledged and approved of God. Magistrates, rulers, kings, potentates and principalities, if not legitimately ordained and clothed with the authority of this priestly order are usurpers. Jesus exercises all power through a delegation of it to the different order of his priesthood. The command to obey is imperative on all men. Hence, whatever orders of civil government, or of domestic compact, or of business or commercial transactions may contravene the established order of priesthood, the same must bow to the requisition of the inspired priesthood of God. All other forms of government have proved a complete failure. By means of this order the kingdoms of this world, whether temporal or spiritual, Pagan or Christian, are all to be merged in one luniversal kingdom, which will embrace politics, arts, war, merchandise, science and religion; kings and rulers of all grades will then be chosen of God through the priesthood, of which rulers will be a part and portion, and without being ordained to the priesthood, no man can even rule in this kingdom. Jesus Christ came to establish a temporal kingdom fully as much as a spiritual kingdom. It is strange, indeed, that a sectarian clergy should borrow the idea that His kingdom was not temporal as well as spiritual."

Of course this is all exceedingly tall talk; but it is not taller talk than thousands of good Christians, from the Pope of Rome downwards, or from the Pope of Rome upwards, take it as you like, have for centuries been accustomed to indulge in. The same reverend gentleman quotes from Parley P. Pratt to this effect: "The priesthood holds the power and right to give laws and commands to individuals, churches, rulers, nations, the world; to appoint kings, presidents, governors, judges; and to ordain or anoint them to their several holy callings; also to instruct, warn or reprove them by the word of the Lord. These are the representatives or ambassadors of the Son of God to mankind. To receive them, to obey their instruction, to feed, clothe and aid them is counted the same as if all had been done to the Son of God in person." This last sentence is simply a paraphrase of what Jesus said: "He that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me; and he that receiveth me receiveth Him that sent me." And I do not see why the Mormon priesthood should not take a bit of comforting scripture to itself, seeing that all other priesthoods are in the habit of quite gluttonously taking to themselves a great deal.

Mr. Leonard quotes Orson Pratt as making the "startling allegation:" "The kingdom of God is the only legal government that can exist in any part of the universe." Well, and isn't that true? Can any other sort of government, say the devil's, legally exist in any part of the universe? "Any people attempting to govern themselves by laws of their own making, and by officers of their own choice, are in direct rebellion against God. For 1700 years (from A. D. 1830 backward) the nations were entirely destitute of a true and legal government. (True again!) All the emperors, kings, princes, presidents and lords acted without authority. Not one of them was called or anointed by the God of heaven, not one has received revelations or laws from Him. Their authority is all assumed. Their laws are but the productions of their own false governments, and the whole superstructure, from first to last, is a heterogeneous mass of discordant elements, in direct opposition to the kingdom of God. The Almighty has decreed to rend and break in pieces all such governments, to cast down their thrones, to turn, overturn and break up the nations, and make a way for the establishment of an everlasting kingdom, to which all others must yield, or be prostrated never more to rise." For myself I am profoundly ignorant of Mormon literature. I have read none of it, except extracts printed in Orthodox Christian books to show its baseness. I presume, therefore, that I have read the worst things it contains. The Rev. D. L. Leonard, in the "Andover Review," quotes the passages just noticed by way of showing Mormon infamy. To my thinking

THEY SHOW THE EXACT CONTRARY.

I know, and every unprejudiced reader of history knows, that we have never yet had a true kingdom of God on earth; that through all the desolate middle ages the nations were "destitute of a true and legal government;" and that what governments the nations then had were "a heterogeneous mass of discordant elements, in direct opposition to the kingdom of God." As to whether Mormonism is destined to be the force to give us "the everlasting kingdom to which all others must yield," that is a point open to debate. Mormons themselves are eager to debate the point; and they are slowest of all men in cursing people who are unable to come to the Mormon conclusion.

How essentially unfair it is to denounce people as disloyal and traitorous to all existing governments because they dare to cherish such dreams of what government ought to be. If the Mormons are disloyal and traitorous for this reason, the members of every church in Christendom are disloyal and traitorous, too. All churches believe in a millennium of some kind, and the Mormon church does no more.

You will have seen that all the extracts I have given, and for which I am indebted to Rev. Mr. Leonard—who quoted them for a quite other purpose than that to which I have put them—refer to the *future*. They refer to what the government of the world will be when the Mormon Church shall have become the dominant power by virtue of everybody having become a Mormon. They do not refer—they are not intended to refer—to the present state of things when the Mormon Church is but a drop as it were in the great ocean of humanity.

John Taylor, quoted also by the Rev. Mr. Leonard—and the reverend gentleman quotes the words as though they were peculiarly atrocious—said, in 1853, "the priesthood is the only legitimate rule on earth, and all the nations *will have to submit to it*." This submission to the priesthood is, for all people who are not Mormons, a thing of the future. There can be no reasonable objections to Mormons indulging in these dreams as to what they think is surely coming to pass. It hurts nobody. All religionists have indulged, and do indulge, in just such dreams.

THE ONLY PRACTICAL QUESTIONS

that need concern us Gentiles are these: "How are we to be treated by the Mormons the while they are busy in leavening the entire lump of humanity with their Mormon leaven? Have we anything to fear from them? In proportion as they establish their right to worship in *their* way, will they modify, curtail, destroy *our* right to worship in our way?" If we went by precedent—assuming the impossible the Mormon dream to be capable of realization—if we went by precedent there would be much to fear. Unfortunately for the world hardly any religious sect or church yet dreaming its own dream of future triumph and glory, has when it has possessed the power, been able to refrain from persecuting another sect or church differing from it somewhat differently. The Mormons have had the power to persecute, but they have never yet persecuted. They are largely and sweetly tolerant of other views than their own. Any Mormon elder would be completely at home on a free religious platform. Their creed says, among other things more particularly doctrinal:

"We claim the privilege of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where and what they may.

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

"We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul. We believe all things, we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek after these things."

These are great and

NOBLE PROFESSIONS

for any set of men to make; and I think it must be admitted that, great and noble as these professions are, the Mormon people, as a whole, do not belie them in their practice. Considering the peculiar circumstances under which the Mormon people have come together—the persecutions and hardships they have been made to endure—how they have been gathered together from the lowest and most ignorant of the populations of the old world—it is a marvel that they should have done so well. They are not the lustful brutes and greedy knaves that irate religious editors delight in picturing them. They have a morality superior to the ordinary morality of Christendom. They are loyal to the American Constitution. "The Constitution that we revere," says John Taylor, "and that ought to be cherished and maintained by every citizen of the United States, the Prophet Joseph said was written by the inspiration of God." By what right do orthodox Christian writers characterize such utterances as "fulsome praise?" Why is it fulsome in the mouth of a Mormon and not fulsome in the mouth of anybody else? The Mormons were among the first of the anti-slavery men. "Pray Congress," said Joseph Smith, in 1844, "to pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands, and from the deduction of the pay of members of Congress. Break off the shackles from the poor black man and hire him to labor like other human beings, for an hour of virtuous liberty on earth is worth a whole eternity of bondage." Years before these noble sentiments were uttered, says T. W. Curtis, "one of the complaints against the Mormons in Missouri was that they brought free colored people with them into the state! And the same people drove them out of Missouri who afterward sought to fasten slavery on the new state of Kansas, and still later strove in arms against the Union!" At the time when the orthodox Christian churches, and even many of the heretical Christian churches were so many unclean dens in which the traffickers in human flesh and blood sought their last shelter, the Mormon church, weak as it then was, stood alone in its protest against slavery. Even if Joseph Smith were the fanatical imposter he is described as being, I yet believe that God was with the Mormons of that time far more than he was with the orthodox and other Christians of the time who defended or condoned slavery.

In every generation of men there are always certain questions before the people for solution, and which may serve as tests for determining the moral growth of the time. There are just such questions before us to-day. I take them to be these: the Indian question; the temperance question; the labor question; the education question; the religious liberal question; and the woman-suffrage question. I put the last last not because, in importance, I consider it to *be* last, but because it must be discussed in its relation to the Mormon problem when I come to speak, as I have not time to do this morning, on Mormon polygamy. If, however, leaving the woman suffrage question out, we take the other five, we shall find that the Mormons, if not ahead, are at least quite abreast of us in dealing with those living issues of this time.

THE INDIAN QUESTION:

The Mormons have never yet defrauded a red-skin. They have reproduced the justice of William Penn in their treatment of and dealings with the Indian. Since a Mormon has been able proudly to write: "We are taught to treat the Indians with kindness and consideration, and never to take advantage of their ignorance in purchasing their land claims, robes, buckskins or furs. Our course has always been to feed, clothe and teach them the arts of civilization, and to school their children; no half-breed Mormon Indian children are found in all our borders." There would to-day be no Indian problem pressing for solution if the government of the United States had treated the red man with that justice and fairness which the Mormons have always manifested.

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION:

In his "Word of Wisdom" Joseph Smith teaches that it is "not good to drink wine or strong drinks, excepting in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and then it should be home-made grape wine; that it is not good to drink hot drinks, or chew or smoke tobacco; that strong drinks are for the washing of the body, and that tobacco is an herb for bruises and sick cattle; that herbs and fruits are for the food of man; that grain is for the food of man, and beasts and fowls; and that flesh is not to be eaten by man except in times of winter, cold, and famine." It is not pretended by the Mormons that this "Word of Wisdom" is to be regarded as a divine commandment, but simply as a revelation showing forth the will of God, and "suited to the conditions of all saints, young or old, male or female, without distinction." Anyhow it has had its effect on the Mormon people, so that, next to being the thriftiest, they are the soberest people on this continent. Mr. T. W. Curtis says of Utah—and his statements can be amply confirmed not only by Mormon but by Gentile testimony—"Of its one hundred and seventy-five thousand population, twenty-five thousand only are Gentile. But this minority is distinguished in certain ways. It fills nearly every position of influence and emolument from the governorship down, this being one of the phases of civil service reform in Utah. Of the two hundred saloons, billiard rooms and bowling alleys, a dozen are Mormon or profess to be. All of the bagnios and other disreputable concerns are run and sustained by anti-Mormons. Ninety-eight per cent. of the gamblers are of the same element, as are ninety-five per cent of the lawyers. Eighty per cent. of the litigation is from the same source. Ninety per cent. of the suicides are non-Mormon, as are also eighty per cent. of the homicides and infanticides. Of the one thousand arrests in Salt Lake City for the year 1881, one hundred and fifty were Mormons, eight hundred and fifty were anti-Mormons. In 1878 it could be said that out of the twenty counties of the territory, most of which are populous, thirteen were without a dramshop, brewery, gambling-house, billiard room, or brothel, lawyer, doctor, parson, beggar or politician."

THE LABOR QUESTION.

It is admitted on all hands that the only possible solution of the labor problem lies in the direction of co-operation. The fact is there has been no labor question yet to vex the Mormons, and why? The answer is found in the testimony of a member of the British Parliament, Jas. W. Barclay, who, writing in the "Nineteenth Century," says: "The Mormon community is an enlarged family bound together by privileges and duties, one principal duty being to care for the helpless and the needy. At the same time every individual has full freedom of action. There is no compulsion on any Mormon beyond the public opinion of his fellows, and none is possible. All are equal. There is no special or privileged class or caste. The people in the fullest sense govern themselves." It is hard to see how anything in the shape of a "labor trouble" could possibly arise in such a community. But the Mormons have developed the co-operative idea, the acknowledged and only cure for "labor troubles," far more completely than it has been developed in any other part of this continent. Co-operation exists among them under the name of the Order of Enoch. It is the object of that order to make Salt Lake, the city of the Saints, fit to be translated to the skies. But they go about this work in an eminently sensible way. A city, they seem to think, is only qualified for translation to the skies when its inhabitants are all well fed, well clad, and well housed. The more of earth men can righteously conquer, the more of heaven, the Mormons seem to think, men therefore deserve. The Mormons are, after all, the least fanatical of all religionists. Their talk about the heavenly Zion results in a very practical and earnest endeavor to establish an earthly Zion—a deity, that is, where there shall be no pauperdom and no poverty, wherein crime shall never lift its ugly head, and disorder shall never be permitted to reign. There is in Utah a Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution which has a cash capital of one million dollars; which pays four hundred thousand dollars for freight, and which does a business the sales of which aggregate to more than four millions of dollars. The word of the president of this splendid co-operative institution is held to be as good as his bond everywhere in the world—except, perhaps, in the Senate of the United States. There are scores of other co-operative institutions, all equally flourishing, scattered throughout Utah Territory.

THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

A very favorite charge against the Mormons is, and one which is commonly supposed to amply justify any amount of anti-Mormon legislation, that they use and abuse the school system of the Territory for the purpose of teaching Mormon doctrines. No charge could possibly be falser than that. Here are Brigham Young's views on education:

"In connection with the education of our children, the importance of training the young of both sexes in regular occupations and habits of industry cannot be too strongly urged upon the people. Every young man and young woman whose physical ability will admit of it should be taught to be skilled workers in those trades adapted to the sex of each. Young men who follow farming and stock-raising should learn these pursuits thoroughly. So also those who become mechanics should spare no pains to become skilful. Young women, besides learning housekeeping in its various branches, should attend to the cultivation of silk, and clothe themselves in, and acquire a knowledge of cutting out and making clothing for themselves and the other sex, and at the same time not neglect those accomplishments which are an ornament to themselves and render home so attractive."

In Article IX. of the constitution of the new State of Utah, the Mormons proposed that, "The Legislature shall provide for a uniform system of public schools, and may establish free schools, provided that no sectarian or denominational doctrines shall be taught in any school supported in whole or in part by public funds. All legislation in regard to education shall be impartial, guaranteeing to all persons, of every race, color and religion, equal rights and privileges. No religious sect or denomination shall ever control or appropriate to its own use any of the public school or university funds of the State."

Mr. T. W. Curtis says: "The last anti-polygamy bill which passed the Senate was a fulmination of the civil power against some of the supposed Mormon heresies, uniting church and state. One of the clauses, for instance, of that bill prohibited the use of church books in the Utah public schools, made the territorial superintendent of schools a United States official, and applied the funds of the Mormon church to the maintenance of a secular school system! A few minutes only before the passage of the bill the sworn testimony of the superintendent of schools in Utah was read in the Senate, at the request of the Mormon Delegate John T. Caine, which made it clear that the Mormon religion was never taught in those schools, and no such practice known as the use of church books. A complete list of the text books in use throughout the territory showed they were perfectly unexceptionable. Senator Hoar, the author of the bill, then moved that the clause be stricken out when but a few moments before he had said: 'I conceive that the mind of the American people whom we represent has been on full discussion, after the most patient forbearance, made up.'"

It was easy to move that the clause should be "stricken out," but the falsehood had done its work. You can hardly take up any religious newspaper to-day, and read therein an article on Mormonism, without finding this old exploded falsehood repeated. No religious tenets of any kind are taught in the schools of Utah; and "the report of the commissioner of education shows that Utah is in advance of the general average of the United States in the enrollment of school population, percentage of daily attendance, and the amount *per capita* invested in school property."

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY:

According to all precedent the Mormons ought to be persecutors. The early Christians began to persecute just as soon as they were able to do it. Mohammed founded his new religious empire by means of the sword. Mormonism claims to be a new revelation from God. It claims to gather in the Lord's saints, and it calls people who do not enter its fold Gentiles. Well, hard words break no bones. I have no objection to being called a Gentile, providing the people who so designate me leave me free to think as I like, speak as I like, and act as I like, so long as my thinking, speaking and acting do not unrighteously interfere with the thinking, speaking and acting of somebody else. Mormonism is a theocracy; so is Roman Catholicism; but is it to be legislated against on that account? In all stages of their career, when they were harried and hunted from New York to Missouri, from Missouri to Illinois, from Illinois to Utah, the Mormons have held fast to the principle of absolute religious freedom. George Q. Cannon says: "The orthodox and the heterodox, the popular and the unpopular, the McCloskys, the Chapins, the Frothinghams, the Simpsons, the Beechers, the Talmages, the Collyers, the Cooks, of every denomination, aye, even the worshippers of Pagan deities, the Ingersolls and the Mormons, have perfect liberty of worship in faith and works, so long as their belief and practice do not interfere with the rights of their fellowmen." Again he says: "From the day the valleys of Utah were settled, there never has been a time a reputable man, of any denomination, could not get a place in which to preach and a congregation to listen to him." When a Roman Catholic church was in course of erection at Salt Lake City, the Mormon authorities granted the Catholics the use of the council chamber for their worship, *free of charge*, until the Catholic building could be completed.

I hardly know of anything more brutal or more uncalled for than the

LEGISLATION AGAINST THE MORMONS

which seems now to be so popular in these United States. It violates the constitution which guarantees to all men freedom in the exercise of their religion. It violates the dearest, fondest, noblest traditions of the American people. Here we are, a great nation of some sixty millions; here are people, at most a quarter of a million strong, living in a region which they found out for themselves, a region which they have cultivated from a desert into a garden, and this without any aid from anything or anybody, except what aid they got from their own mother wit and their own right arms; and yet the nation of sixty millions, vaunting itself in the universe of God as "Liberty enlightening the world," can't leave this poor quarter of a million of honest folk alone—can't leave them free to work out their own spiritual and social salvation in their own way! They don't interfere with anybody, these Mormons. Their intelligence is equal to the average of the United States intelligence. Their morality, as manifested in chastity, temperance, and honesty of dealing, is superior to the average of United States morality. Yet they must be "put down;" and for no other reason, as it seems to me, except this—that they have a revelation of their own which, if it has done nothing else for them, has made them decent, honest, law-abiding citizens. Well, I suppose there is another reason. They have marriage laws, of which by the way, 90 per cent. of the quarter of a million are careful not to avail themselves, which differ from the marriage laws of the United States. What then? There is nothing so chaotic as the marriage laws of the United States. Each state has marriage laws which differ from those of every other state. Let the United States first agree as to what the marriage law is, and then, with some consistency, albeit with some tyranny, they may enforce their agreement on the Territory of Utah. At present the United States government is at once tyrannical and inconsistent.

It is the fashion to denounce Mormonism. It is the surest way of winning popular applause. Well, I don't care for fashion, and I don't care for popular applause. It is the glory of this Twenty-eighth Congregational Society that to its platform the socially and religiously banned of all peoples are made welcome. The more they are religiously and socially banned the greater is their welcome. I believe in humanity; and I refuse to believe that there can be congregated on any spot of this earth, a quarter of a million of human beings who do not deserve respectful consideration, and who ought not to have extended toward them freedom and fair play. In this belief I have spoken this morning a word for "Our Mormon Brother," and I hope to be able to do it once or twice again.—*The Boston Commonwealth.*

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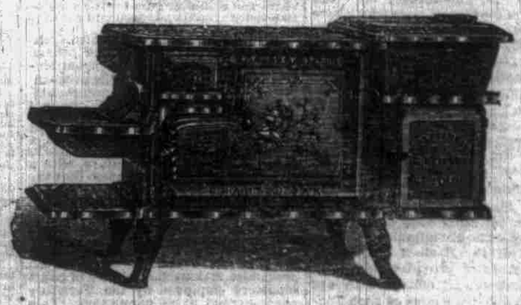

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