

CHAPTER XXII.<sup>1</sup>

REDEEMING AGENCIES.

*The Church—First attempt—Rev. Norman McLeod—Dr. J.K. Robinson—Second attempt, Father Kelly—Last attempt—The Episcopal Mission, success and progress—Sabbath School—Grammar School of St. Marks—A building needed—Mission of Rev. George W. Foote—Difficulties of the situation—Number and occupation of Gentiles—Political prospects—Gentile newspapers—The Valley Tan—The Vedette—The UTAH REPORTER—S.S. Saul, the founder—Messrs. Aulbach and Barrett—The author's experience—Principles advocated—Courtesy of the Gentiles—Conclusion.*

**THE** Christian Church, the school and the newspaper are but just established, with fair prospects in Utah; but already they have accomplished considerable. It is somewhat surprising that such a field for missionary labor was neglected so completely and so long. For at least fifteen years the voice of the Christian minister was never heard in Salt Lake City.

If there were Chaplains among the troops of Johnston's army, they seem to have left no record of their presence, or made any attempt to work among the Mormons. The first missionary effort was by the Rev. Norman McLeod, Chaplain of the California volunteers, at Camp Douglas. Late in 1863 he began to preach in a room on Main Street, and afterwards raised money to build Independence Hall. A large part of the funds was advanced by a literary society then existing among the Gentiles, and that building has never been considered so much a church as a lecture and assembly room; it is, however, held by trustees for "The First Congregational Church of Utah." It is still burdened, I believe, by a debt of near \$2,000. Rev. McLeod established a Sabbath School, of which Dr. J.K. Robinson was for some time Superintendent; he also delivered a series of lectures on various subjects, particularly polygamy, which excited great interest. The bent of Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> Original chapter page numbers: 527-540.

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McLeod's mind seems to have been towards controversy, and many of his lectures and sermons were highly polemic in character, exciting no little wrath among the Mormons and some discussion among the Gentiles. Whether this aggressive policy, or one more mild and persuasive, would better reach the case, is still a debatable question. In the autumn of 1866, Mr. McLeod went east to raise funds for building a church; during his absence Dr. Robinson was assassinated, and as McLeod's life was openly threatened, he deemed it best not to return.

The second attempt to found a mission was by Father Kelly, a Roman Catholic, in the summer of 1866. He spent some time in Salt Lake City, managed to keep on good terms with the Mormons and from various sources raised money enough to purchase a lot, which is still owned by the Catholic Church; but he found few Catholics in the district, formed no church and left little permanent record.

The third and last missionary effort was under the auspices of Bishop Tuttle, in charge of the Diocese, including Utah. In April, 1867, at his request, Reverends George W. Foote and Thomas W. Haskins set out for Salt Lake City, where they arrived in May and commenced services at once. They found but two communicants of their own faith—Episcopal—and only twenty of all other Christian denominations. From that day to this regular services have been held in Independence Hall, and a flourishing church established. During the two and a half years of their ministry a hundred and one persons have been baptized by them, of whom thirty-four were adults, and many of Mormon antecedents. Ninety communicants have been admitted as regular members, of whom sixty-six still retain their standing in Salt Lake City; the others have either removed or died. All denominations have united to a great extent in support of this Church and Sabbath-school; the Jews also attend and contribute, probably the only place in America where such is the case.

The Sabbath-school was begun with a few members, and, in consequence of orders from the authorities of the Mormon Church, some of this small number were soon after withdrawn. But others soon took their place, and, in spite of open hostility and private malice, the school increased and spread, a powerful

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lever for good. At different times a little over three hundred children have been instructed in the school, and the teaching, whether in the case of Mormon or Gentile youth, has been attended with marked and beneficent results. This school is still growing, and its light of Christian knowledge is a bright spot in the centre of polygamic heathenism.

The Grammar School of St. Mark's Associate Mission, the first Gentile school in Utah, was opened in July, 1867, by Rev. Thomas W. Haskins and Miss Foote, sister of the minister, with sixteen scholars. The Mormon leaders again forbade their people to allow their children to attend, but the attractions of free tuition prevailed with many; the school has steadily increased, both in numbers and scholarship, till it now has a hundred and forty pupils, and is compelled to refuse all others until enlarged accommodations can be secured. From first to last four hundred children have been instructed in the school. It is now purposed to provide more teachers, and steadily raise the grade of scholarship until young men can take a regular collegiate, or at least a regular academic, course. A fixed rate of tuition is charged, but all unable to pay are received as free pupils, of whom there are sixty in the school. This is the nearest approach to a free school at present in Utah.

As yet there is no Christian church edifice erected in Salt Lake City; but it is hoped there soon will be a building worthy of the cause, with ample accommodations for a school, and Rev. Geo. W. Foote is now in the East raising funds to that end. The mission and school have also had the assisting care of Rev. Henry Foote, who has lately removed to Boise City, Idaho. The gentlemen in charge of this mission have thought it best to raise no personal controversy. Whether it was an outgrowth of their personal disposition, or of the conservative policy of their Church, or that they hoped to avoid the bitter animosity which existed against Rev. McLeod, they have steadily refrained from aught like personal controversy or a direct attack upon the Mormon leaders, contenting themselves with "preaching Christ and Him crucified," and planting principles which should in the hearts of hearers work out in a love and desire for the truth. It was but reasonable to suppose such a policy would at least disarm personal hostil-

ity, and that men would not curse though they might not agree. But vainly would one hope by fair words to neutralize the venom of the serpent's fang; the blind adder will strike, simply because it is his nature, though charmed "never so wisely," and Mormonism when opposed flies to weapons of slander and vituperation, as well as against the persuasive reasoner as the fierce polemic. If these gentlemen hoped to be spared McLeod's experience, they have been disappointed; every epithet a vile fancy could suggest has been heaped upon them from the Mormon press and pulpit, and the madness of bigotry has not hesitated at slandering the ladies who assisted at their noble work. It was perhaps as well that this should be so; Christian ladies of such character could receive no stain from such a source, and this action merely made plain the inherent blackness of the real Mormon heart. But surely, if there be one deep, dark pit in the regions of the damned, which Divine Justice has reserved as too awful for the fate of common sinners, it is in waiting for those who have used the priestly profession to attack the reputation of woman.

Preaching was begun at Corinne early in 1869, earnest endeavors were made to secure funds for a building, which was completed and dedicated in July of the same year. Neat and unpretentious, not large but commodious, it is an ornament to the city and worthy of note as the first Christian church edifice in Utah. Sabbath-school has been established and regularly continued, while a day school, as a branch of the Salt Lake Grammar School, was established last autumn and continued during the winter, to be resumed at an early day. It is taught in the Church, by Miss Nellie Wells, formerly an assistant in the Salt Lake City School; it numbers some forty scholars, and as the first entirely Gentile school in Utah, deserves a place in history.

The residence and occupation of the Gentiles are not such as to encourage either schools or churches, they being miners, herders, scattered traders, or transient residents.

The mines of Utah develop slowly, but it is reasonably certain there is mineral wealth there, if they can find it or properly get at it. Utah is in the mineral belt, there are paying mines all around it, the formation of the country corresponds exactly with those where immense wealth of gold and silver is found; some im-

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portant discoveries have been made, and more will be. Sevier, Bingham, Cottonwood, Rush Valley and Stockton mines have not, altogether, developed enough as yet to create a "rush," or make any one suddenly rich; but in several places steady industry has been found profitable, and with better facilities for transporting ore and machinery, with more experience and further discoveries, the latter will come in time.

Any present estimate of the number of Gentiles in Utah, is necessarily somewhat conjectural. As they are practically disfranchised, they run no ticket and record no vote; they have but one organized church society, and very few are within reach of that; they have never held a convention *en masse*, or had an efficient organization to give us any *data*; and finally, they are scattered over half the Territory, with very imperfect understanding or communication. From the best evidence at hand, I estimate as follows:

Corinne.....	1,000
Ogden, Uintah, Echo, Wasatch and Bear River, (100 each).....	500
Salt Lake City.....	500
Camp Douglas.....	400
Bingham, Cottonwood and Rush Valley (100 each)	300
Sevier mining district.....	300
Scattering.....	500
Total	<hr/> 3,500

Deducting soldiers and U.S. officials, this would leave three thousand citizens. Of the entire number, at least two-thirds are voters, nearly all the non-voters being in Corinne and Salt Lake City. With the lowest increase we may reasonably expect in the coming summer, with the least settlement of railroad men absolutely necessary at the Junction, with no increase among the miners, and with little, perhaps very little, help from those of the Josephites, and other recusant Mormons who dare say their souls are their own, the Liberals ought to cast a vote of at least four thousand at the coming August election. They will do so, if a proper organization is effected.

As to the *legal* vote of the Mormons, it is beyond the power of statistics to determine. At the last election of Hooper their vote amounted to 15,068; it could just as well have amounted to

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1,500,068. It was only a question of a few cyphers, which do not amount to much anyhow. Deducting all those who were under age, all voted for by proxy, all unnaturalized or illegally naturalized by the Probate Court, all those disqualified by the Act of Congress of July 1st, 1862, all the double voting and false ballots, and the cypher would be moved the other way, leaving a *legal* vote of 1,568.

There have been, at different times, three Gentile papers published in Utah.

With Johnston's army came one Kirk Anderson, who soon after established a weekly paper called the *Valley Tan*. It ran through 1858 and all or nearly all of 1859, then failed for want of support. Little is known of this paper, except from the bound files still in the *Reporter* office; but it seems to have been edited a portion of its existence by Mr. Anderson, and at another time by a Mr. McGuire.

The first daily paper, the *Union Vedette*, was established at Camp Douglas late in 1863, with Gen. P.E. Connor as proprietor. At the beginning, the work was done by enlisted men of the California and Nevada volunteers, and the editing by various officers of that command. The main object of the *Vedette* seems to have been to give daily telegraphic reports from the seat of war, which were eagerly sought after by all the Gentiles. The Mormons then had but one paper, the *Weekly Deseret News*, almost as old as the Territory, but much too dull and prosy to meet the new demand for intellectual stimulus. The *Vedette* was established with the concurrence of Gen. Wright, then in command of the Department, with a view to the publication of official orders, and in the hope of disseminating more correct information on the military and civil policy of the Government among the Mormons.

In addition to the old feeling between Mormon and Gentile the *Vedette* had to deal with questions of loyalty, the Volunteers being intensely devoted to American institutions, and the Mormons only differing from Southern rebels in the fact that they were not open in arms. The paper soon became quite popular and obtained a wide circulation in Montana and Idaho, as well as Utah. In the autumn of 1865 it was removed into Salt Lake City and enlarged. Some of the officers still wrote occasionally for it, but

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the editorial control was in the hands of civilians, Rev. Norman McLeod and O.J. Goldrick. The controversial spirit, which was of questionable benefit in Mr. McLeod's sermons, was much more fitting in the columns of the *Vedette*, which increased in popularity and ran well for one year. Several other persons contributed also to its pages during that time. The office then changed hands, and Mr. Shoaff, a printer from California, became nominal owner and editor. But the *Vedette* had passed the height of its prosperity and in five months was reduced one-half in size, receiving but indifferent support at that. Shoaff soon after left, handing over the paper to Judge Daniel McLaughlin and Mr. Adam Aulbach, who again enlarged it to the former size. For a short time the concern flourished; but Judge McLaughlin departed for Cheyenne, after which the paper rapidly declined and soon was compelled to suspend. During Shoaff's administration the financial embarrassment of the concern had increased to such an extent that all the surplus material was sold, and two other offices were mainly outfitted therefrom, viz.: The *Utah Magazine* and the *Sweetwater Mines*.

Early in 1868 Mr[.] S.S. Saul arrived from California and deeming the location favorable purchased the remaining material, and on the 11th of May the same year, issued the first number of the *Salt Lake Reporter*, daily only. The first five months of its existence the paper was very small and but poorly supported; it was edited hap-hazard by several different persons, and regularly by no one. A newspaper more than any other enterprise requires the controlling energy of one directing mind; steady mediocrity is better than variable talent; above all it must have a fixed policy, and one common place worker, a mere plodder though he be, is far better than half a dozen brilliant but irregular geniuses. But it is doubtful if any newspaper could have succeeded during that period, no matter what talent might have been employed.

On the 10th of September, 1868, the writer entered Salt Lake City, and on the 19th of October took editorial charge of the *Reporter*, in which position he continued for eleven months, until September 1869. On the first of December he joined with Messrs. Adam Aulbach and John Barrett in the purchase of the entire office, which partnership continued for eight months, with real

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pleasure to the writer, but with little pecuniary profit. A weekly edition was commenced in February 1869, which is still continued, with increasing circulation and popularity. In the spring of 1869, the office was removed to Corinne and UTAH substituted in the title for *Salt Lake*. Early in September the writer retired, and soon after the office passed into the hands of Messrs. Huyck and Merrick, the present proprietors.

During my editorial labors I frequently had occasion to discuss the action of Mormon Courts, and particularly after our removal to Corinne. Our County Judge was the Bishop Smith, already mentioned as the husband of two of his nieces; in an article on county affairs I alluded to that fact with considerable severity, more, perhaps, than strict equity in journalism would allow. Soon after quitting the editorial position I was summoned to attend court at Brigham City, and while passing from the court room to the street received a violent blow on the back of the head, which prostrated me almost senseless upon the ground. Whether more than one took part I do not know; all I distinctly remember is a confused rush and trampling of heavy boots, and when I revived I was being raised by my friends, who were taking stock of my condition generally. My collar bone was broken in two places, and my scalp badly torn, besides minor injuries; altogether, it was a narrow escape. There were but half a dozen Gentiles present, from whom I learned that the principal assailant was a son of the Judge; but I did not see and could not now identify him. The attack was probably caused by my strictures upon his father and the Probate Courts. There was nothing to be done about it, however; it was one of those incidents to which newspaper men are liable anywhere, which are of frequent occurrence to Gentiles in Utah, and for which there is no remedy there.

Shortly before, a young apostate Mormon in Bear Lake Valley, acting as clerk for Mr. Frederick Kiesel, a Gentile merchant, was killed outright in a way that pretty clearly indicated the direction of the Church authorities; and not long after a Mr. Phelps, a young Gentile in Salt Lake City, was attacked at night by the secret police, shot through the shoulder, and narrowly escaped with his life. He had the good fortune, however, to kill one of his assailants. Such occurrences are rare now, as compared with ten



or fifteen years ago, still they happen often enough to make Gentiles apprehensive and not anxious to remain, which is doubtless the effect desired. The most efficient government could not altogether prevent this, but much more might be done than is.

I was wounded on the 1st of November, but in that healthful air recovered sufficiently to travel by December 1st, when, after fifteen months' residence, I left the Territory, for a short time at least. As editor for one year of the only Gentile paper in Utah, in closing these sketches a few words may be pardoned to one speaking, it may be egotistically, of himself, while occupying a delicate and difficult position.

Of my intercourse with the Gentiles of Utah, I have none but the most pleasant recollections. An utter stranger, quite an invalid, and in a condition where personal friendship was almost a necessity, I received from the first at their hands the most courteous and respectful attentions. My keenest sympathies were enlisted for a people, exiled as it were in the very centre of their country, claiming the name and protection of American citizens but subject to a worse than Russian despotism; practically disfranchised and without representation in any Legislative body. My social intercourse with them has been of the most pleasant character, and if at any time I have complained of an inefficient pecuniary support for my work, I now perceive that it was due to the pressure of adverse circumstances beyond their control. It is a source of pride and deep satisfaction that my editorial management met with the hearty approval of those in whose judgment I most confided, and that the *Reporter* is now upon a footing that renders its continuance reasonably certain; for I shall ever feel a pride that I once directed its policy.

As for the Mormons, I came among them with but few ideas about them, and my first impressions were rather favorable. My first friends were all Mormons, with whom I journeyed across four hundred miles of the plains; and those persons are still my friends; they have extended me courtesies which I duly appreciate; I have "eaten their salt and warmed at their fires." But not all their kindness or personal friendship could blind me to the monstrous defects of their social system, or the odious features of a church tyranny; and if my feelings soon changed towards the

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hierarchy, it was only from the best of evidence. That evidence has constantly accumulated until language fails me to convey my utter detestation of their system. That the people are frugal, industrious or honest will avail them but little, while fanatically devoted to such a power. If, in the bitterness of heated controversy, injustice has inadvertently been done to any private person, none will regret it more or be more ready to make amends, and though some *unpleasant* experiences have fallen to my lot, I am not conscious of special animosity against the body of the people. And when a score of years shall have passed and the principles for which we have contended are seen in their fruition, I am quite sure many who have cursed the writer will at least give him credit for sincerity; and though there still be some who dissent from the measures he has advocated, when the fierce alembic of time has proved which was correct, and the test of experience has shown what was really best for the Territory and the people, I trust they will not remember their wrath forever.

THE END.