The Public Speaking of John Taylor: Champion of Liberty

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THE PUBLIC SPEAKING OF JOHN TAYLOR
CHAMPION OF LIBERTY

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Finally, the author honors John Taylor—primus inter pares.
Table of Contents

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION. .................................... 1
  Importance of Study .................................. 3
  Purpose of Study .................................. 5
  Statement of Problem ............................... 6
  Scope of Study .................................. 7
  Selection of Speeches .............................. 8
  Review of Literature .............................. 10

CHAPTER II. LIFE OF JOHN TAYLOR. ....................... 15

CHAPTER III. CHARACTERISTICS OF SPEAKING .......... 42

CHAPTER IV. SPEECH ANALYSIS. ........................ 52
  Procedure and Criteria ............................. 52
  "Rights of Mormonism" Speech ...................... 54
  "Kingdom of God or Nothing" Speech ............... 70
  "Vox Populi, Vox Dei" Speech ..................... 85
  "Ideas Nationale" Speech .......................... 100

CHAPTER V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION .................. 119
  Summary ........................................... 119
  General Findings .................................. 120
  Conclusion ....................................... 121
  Recommendations ................................... 123

APPENDIX ............................................. 125
  Speech Texts:
    "Rights of Mormonism" .......................... 126
    "Kingdom of God or Nothing" .................... 137
    "Vox Populi, Vox Dei" .......................... 146
    "Ideas Nationale" .............................. 154

BIBLIOGRAPHY ....................................... 163
CHAPTER I.
INTRODUCTION

"Times of eloquence are times of terror."
---Emerson

In early summer of 1838, John Taylor was traveling to join the saints and the First Presidency in Missouri who had left the distress and persecution of the once prosperous city of Kirtland. Taylor stopped to preach in a town near Columbus, Ohio. Because there were no covered facilities, he was to speak in the open air. The meeting was "noised about" until most of the people in the area were expected to attend.

Shortly before the meeting was to commence, the Saints residing in the area came to Brother Taylor with word of an inflamed gathering of men. It had been confirmed that they had in their possession tar and feathers to use in an attack if Taylor undertook to speak. Unable to offer protection, the Brethren strongly advised him to cancel the meeting. After a moment's thought, he responded that he had made up his mind to speak; that they could accompany him if they chose; otherwise, he would go alone.

A large assembly had gathered for the meeting including the ominous group of men. From B. H. Robert's account, Taylor began:

Gentlemen, I now stand among men whose fathers fought for and obtained one of the
greatest blessings ever conferred upon the human family— the right to speak, to write, the right to say who shall govern them, and the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences—all of them sacred, human rights, and now guaranteed by the American Constitution. I see around me the sons of those noble sires, who rather than bow to the behests of a tyrant pledged their lives, fortunes and sacred honors to burst those fetters, enjoy freedom themselves, bequeath it to their posterity, or die in the attempt. They nobly fought and nobly conquered, and now the cap of liberty is elevated on the tops of your liberty poles throughout the land, and the flag of freedom waves from Wisconsin to Louisiana—from Maine to Missouri. Not only so, but your vessels sail over oceans, seas and bays visiting every nation and wherever those vessels go your flag flutters in the breeze, a hope is inspired among the downtrodden millions, that they, perchance, if they cannot find liberty in their own land, may find it with you.

Taylor continued:

Gentlemen, with you liberty is more than a name; it is incorporated in your system; it is proclaimed by your senators, thundered by your cannon, it echoes from mountain to mountain, reverberates through your valleys, and is whispered by every breeze. But, by the by, I have been informed that you propose to tar and feather me, for my religious opinions. Is this the boon you have inherited from your fathers? Is this the blessing they purchased with their dearest hearts' blood—this your liberty? If so, you now have a victim, and we will have an offering to the goddess of liberty.

At this point he tore open his vest and said:

GENTLEMEN COME ON WITH YOUR TAR AND FEATHERS, YOUR VICTIM IS READY; YE SHADES OF THE VENERABLE PATRIOTS, GAZE UPON THE DEEDS OF YOUR DEGENERATE SONS! COME ON, GENTLEMEN! COME ON, I SAY, I AM READY!

The crowd was silent. There stood Taylor waiting in the open air of the American frontier amidst people whose
intentions could have been carried out without recourse. After some moments, John Taylor continued with his sermon for about three hours.

For Taylor, this was just the first of many discourses in the defense of liberty--this time his own, later an entire people's.

**Importance of study**

The primary focus of the major works on American public address is often on the more famous speakers and speeches. Many less known American speakers have contributed much to public address. Studies on these people can enhance our perspective of history. In Thonsen's *Speech Criticism*, Merle Curti affirms this position:

> Historians of ideas in America have too largely based their conclusions on the study of formal treatises. But formal treatises do not tell the whole story. In fact, they sometimes give a quite false impression, for such writings are only a fraction of the records of intellectual history...The student of the vitality and modification of ideas may well direct his attention, then toward out-of-the-way sermons, academic addresses, fourth of July orations, and casual guides and essays.²

To most of the world, John Taylor's role as a public speaker in American history is unknown. His ideas on liberty are not generally known to the public. Even most present day members of the church he headed, The Church of Jesus Chist of Latter-day Saints (often referred to in this
study as Latter-day Saints or Mormons), are generally unfamiliar with his contributions as a "Champion of Liberty." This was not always the case. B. H. Roberts, an authority on his life and speaking, said the following of Taylor:

   It will be as a preacher of righteousness that President Taylor will be best remembered by the generation who heard him. His published sermons would make several large volumes if collected; but those published would be insignificant with the number he delivered. The Saints who listened to him for half a century will remember as long as they live his commanding presence, his personal magnetism, the vigor and power of his discourse and the grand principles of which they treated.³

For decades, Taylor was one of Mormonisms foremost spokesmen. His writings are still the object of study by many. Studying his speaking and ideas on liberty will serve three purposes:

1. It will provide additional information on Western American history.

2. It will give perspective on Latter-day Saint history and doctrine.

3. It will demonstrate how Taylor used speaking to promulgate LDS values.

If a study of the public speaking of a great LDS orator could give non-members a better understanding of this people, and help members improve their ability to communicate, then there is no better place to start than
with the speeches of John Taylor.

**Purpose of Study**

From the many impressions left to us of John Taylor, the three most notable are from his discourses on:

1. the personal relationship between man and God,
2. the establishment of the kingdom of God on the earth, and
3. religious and political liberty.

Any of these areas could merit individual study, as his speaking and writings are voluminous. This investigation will concern itself primarily with the last of the three, religious and political liberty in his speeches during the years 1857 and 1867.

John Taylor had very strong convictions about liberty.

B. H. Roberts once wrote about Taylor:

> The most prominent feature of his character, doubtless, was his ardent love of liberty. For this he was distinguished even among his brethren who as a group were remarkable for their love of and devotion to freedom. To other men the love of liberty was a principle; with him it was not only a principle but a passion: others may have been educated to love it; he loved it instinctively. ⁴

This study will:

1. Investigate the ideas on liberty which Taylor used in his speeches.
2. Present the events in his life which may have influenced those ideas.
3. Evaluate how the ideas were presented in his speaking.

4. Examine the factors which influenced his speaking style.

**Statement of the Problem**

The influence of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has grown immeasurably since the church was organized in 1830. Yet the problems which threatened to stifle the Church in its very beginning were enormous. There arose during these times of difficulty articulate and determined leaders whose defense of the Church had tremendous impact. Certain men and their speeches have been given direct credit for the changing the path of an oncoming army. Their speeches offered the people guidance and direction.

Still after more than a century and a half of important orations, relatively little study has been done to bring them to better light. R. Wayne Pace wrote in 1957:

The history of public speaking in early Utah was the history of the Mormon Church and its leaders. But, peculiar as it may appear, the speaking of very few early Church leaders has been investigated. Volumes of materials are available for use in research in the Church Historian's Library and in various Church publications. Seldom does one find such a collection of complete and accurate reports of speeches from which to glean adequate projects. In view of this, the small number of evaluations and studies of Utah and Mormon
speakers is appalling. Some of the men whose speaking could be studied advantageously and in wonderful perspective are John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, Joseph F. Smith, and Heber J. Grant, all of whom were past presidents of the Mormon Church.6

Of course, that list could continue with the many effective speakers from the ranks of apostles, seventies, and other leaders. As it stands today, there are studies on only four of the twelve church presidents: Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, George A. Smith, and David O. McKay; three of the many apostles: Parley P. Pratt, Hugh B. Brown, and Ezra Taft Benson; and on one of the seventies: B. H. Roberts. One study was found on the public speaking of Latter-day Saint women.7 Clearly, many additional studies are needed on the speaking of Mormon leaders.

Scope of Study

This thesis will investigate the public speaking of John Taylor between 1857 and 1867, with special emphasis on his treatment of issues surrounding religious and political liberty. The primary source for evaluation will be from four selected speeches. The parameters of this study are: (1.) that all material under consideration must directly relate to Taylor's public speaking or ideas, and (2.) that only those aspects of liberty which Taylor introduces will be evaluated. In Speech Criticism, Thonsen gives the reasons for limiting the scope of rhetorical studies:
"Instead of attempting to evaluate an entire speaking career covering a lifetime and hundreds of appearances, the critic may limit his investigation of a man's oratory to a period, a phase, a line of thought or even a single characteristic. . . It is evident that several such studies in depth are needed to embrace an extensive career or to understand a complex issue. . . The perceptive critic lets the characteristics of his speaker guide him in deciding how to approach his analysis. . . In all cases his principal concern is to learn how the speaker attempted to move his listeners."³

John Taylor spoke so many times, in so many circumstances, on so many topics, and with so much impact on his listeners and the Church, that it is necessary to confine this study to a limited scope.

Though this study will limit the scope of study, it will make use of a wide array of information to reach valid conclusions. Again from Thonsen's Speech Criticism we read:

"The rhetorical critic must be able to put together many historical elements and facts; he must search out the relationships among data, making of them all a meaningful pattern which Whipple ascribed to Macaulay: an eye that 'is both microscopic and telescopic,' conversant at once with the smaller matters as well as the larger objects of human nature."⁹

Selection of Speeches

The four speeches to be analyzed were selected by the author based upon several standards. First, the general theme of each speech had to address issues regarding the LDS Church and its people. Second, in each speech, Taylor had to use principles of liberty as an argument in favor of
his position. Third, the speeches had to be delivered
between 1857 and 1867. This period represents the
beginning of Taylor's prominence as a spokesman to and for
the Latter-day Saints. It was a period in which Taylor's
rhetoric on liberty was distinguishing. Fourth, they had
to be presented to audiences of similar composition. As it
turned out, all four speeches were delivered in the main
assembly hall of the LDS Church in Salt Lake City. Over
the years, there were three such buildings—the bowery, the
old tabernacle, and the new tabernacle. And fifth,
sufficient background information had to be available on
each speech in order to reconstruct a reasonably authentic
setting. During the time period covered by these speeches,
historical records were kept providing comprehensive and
accurate information on the speech settings. The scribes
who recorded these speeches were proficient, having
reported on literally hundreds of such occasions. They are
readily available in the Journal of Discourses. Still, it
cannot be expected that these accounts give every word
Taylor spoke. It is known that many speeches in those
volumes have been subject to editing. Brigham Young said:

"Brother Heber says that the music is taken
out of his sermons when brother Carrington clips
out his words here and there;...let men use
language like brother Heber has today, and many
would apostatize from the true faith. In
printing my remarks, I often omit the sharp
words, though they are perfectly understood and
applicable here...Let my remarks go to the world
in a way the prejudices of the people can
bear."10
Whether or not Taylor's speeches were edited it is difficult to say. First of all, his natural demeanor was such that he would not want to be censured. Secondly, as an editor, he had shown a strong tendency for acute rhetoric, both in his speeches and writings. And lastly, the accounts of each speech found in the local papers are identical with the copies in the Journal of Discourses.

Overall, these evidences give much confidence that the speeches are representative of Taylor's actual words, ideas, and intent.

Review of Literature

The three types of resources pertinent to this study concern: 1. the biographies of John Taylor, 2. the histories of Mormonism and 19th century America, and 3. speech and rhetorical criticism.

Literature on the life of John Taylor is adequate, but much information is yet to be compiled into one reference.

Three general biographies exist:


In addition to these works, many excerpts from Taylor's writings and speeches are found in:

Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1943.


John Taylor wrote many articles himself in the five newspapers he, at one time, edited. The three with the most numerous articles are:

*Milennial Star* (Liverpool, England), 1852-56.

*Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Ill.), 1842-46.


Also, of primary importance to this study were his many speeches found in the *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vol. 1854-86, Lithographic reprint, Salt Lake City, 1966.

The second area of concern to this study is the historical and background information associated with the speeches. This essentially includes:


Newspapers such as the *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), and the *Salt Lake Tribune* provide detailed updates on specific events. Historical insight concerning the LDS role in 19th century America would be found in:


The third area of consideration for this study is speech and rhetorical criticism. The literature from the first two areas gives us background information on the speeches. The literature on rhetorical criticism helps the author establish reasonable and consistent criteria for evaluating the speeches themselves. This includes:


This review indicates that ample resources are readily
available in all the areas concerned with this study.
Notes: Chapter I.

1B. H. Roberts, Life of John Taylor (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon, 1892), pp. 53-55.


3Roberts, Life, p. 431.

4Ibid., p. 424.


7Milton V. Backman, "Selected Bibliography of LDS Church History." (Brigham Young University Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1983).

8Thonsen, p. 312.

9Ibid., p. 362.

CHAPTER II

BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN TAYLOR.¹

"One man with courage makes a majority."

--Andrew Jackson

1808-1837

John Taylor was born November 1, 1808 in Milnthorpe, Westmoreland county, England. The son of James and Agnes Taylor, John was second of eight sons and two daughters. In addition to schooling, John spent his early years "mixed up," as he later wrote, "with ploughing, sowing, reaping, hay-making and other farm work." By the age of sixteen he had apprenticed as a cooper and turner.²

As his parents were members of the Church of England, his earliest recollections of religion are of reciting the catechism "week after week..." In his seventeenth year he left the Church of England and became a member of the Methodist Church. The following year, he was appointed as a preacher for the local congregation. While walking with a companion to his first speaking engagement, young Taylor stopped in the road and exclaimed, "I have a strong impression on my mind, that I have to go to America to
preach the gospel!" In 1830, a few years later, he sailed with his parents and family to upper Canada. They settled in Toronto where John was employed as a turner. He became involved with the Methodists of the area. In their company he met Lenora Cannon, whom he married in January 1833. Lenora was daughter of Captain George Cannon. She was educated in England and lived for a time as a guest with the family of Governor Smelt of the Isle of Man. (John later traveled there, and taught the gospel to Lenora's family and friends.)

The young couple spent a great deal of time devoted to religious study and preaching. Weekly meetings with other biblical students brought out doctrinal contradictions to the extent that Taylor disassociated himself with formal creeds and churches. During this time of investigation, the Taylors met Parley Parker Pratt, a young missionary from the recently founded Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Taylor was, at first, quite skeptical of Pratt. Eventually, John invited him to explain his position to the weekly investigation meetings. Taylor hoped that others would join in the investigation; "but if no one will unite with me, be assured I shall make the investigation alone." He said further that if he found the religion was true, he would "accept it, no matter what the consequences may be..." This was an indication of Taylor's independent nature and devotion to freedom. Taylor's
subsequent scrutiny led to his baptism on May 9, 1836. It led to an life-enduring brotherhood with Parley; and it led to the fulfillment of Taylor's earlier prediction to preach the gospel in America. Speaking of the whole affair, Talyor later said:

I have travelled to preach these doctrines in most of the United States and in the Canadas; I have preached them in England, in Scotland, in Wales, in the Isles of Man and the Jerseys, in France, Germany, in the principal cities of America and Europe, and to many prominent men in the world; and I have not yet found a man that could controvert one principle of 'Mormonism' upon scriptural grounds.4

Such was the background, character, and conviction which Taylor would display in his leadership of the Church.

1837-1846

In 1837, Taylor was ordained an elder and was given charge of the ministry in upper Canada. The following spring he set out for Kirtland, Ohio to meet Joseph Smith, the leader of the Church. Taylor's impressions of the Prophet were "that he was a good, honorable, virtuous man--that his doctrines were good, scriptural, and wholesome--that his precepts were such as become a man of God--that his private and public character was unimpeachable..."5

In July of 1838, Taylor was called to become an apostle.6 By this time, the persecution of the Saints was wide-spread. Taylor was witness to numerous scenes of
injustice which included mobbings, beatings, burnings, thefts, and even murders. Unfortunately, the times when the injustices were prevented were few. B. H. Roberts described the scene:

Mob violence was of almost daily occurrence; property was destroyed, men were tied up and beaten until blood streamed down their backs; the chastity of women was forcibly outraged; cattle and hogs were wantonly shot down; houses were ruthlessly burned in the presence of their owners; fields of grain destroyed— but this was not the worst—helpless women and children were brutally murdered together with defenseless old men.  

From Taylor’s account in *Life of John Taylor*, we read:

My mind wanders back some thirty years ago when in the state of Missouri, Mr. McBrude, a gray-haired, venerable veteran of the [American] Revolution, with feeble frame and tottering steps, cried to a Missouri patriot: 'Spare my life, I am a revolutionary soldier, I fought for liberty, would you murder me? What is my offense? I believe in God and revelation?' This frenzied disciple of a misplaced faith said, 'Take that you God d___d Mormon,' and with the butt of his gun he dashed his brains out, and he lay quivering there, his white locks clotted with his own brains and gore, on the soil that he had heretofore shed his blood to redeem—a sacrifice at the shrine of liberty!

In the midst of securing the safety and means for himself and his family, Taylor was called on a mission to England. On August 8, 1839, he began the journey to New York on foot with Wilford Woodruff. Taylor went without "purse or script," and left his wife and children in a "miserable old log barracks" in Montrose, Iowa Territory. They made sail from New York City on the 10th of
December. They arrived in Liverpool on January 11, 1840. Taylor often made initial contact with investigators by speaking at the meetings of various religions. Obtaining permission from the leaders of other faiths to speak required no small effort. Gradually, he aroused sufficient interest with his speaking to fill halls around England, Ireland, and Scotland. It must have seemed peculiar that in the space of only a few months Taylor would go from the oppressions of "free" America to being "surrounded by a multitude of friends, anxious to administer to his necessities and willing to assist him in his mission, while few men...were more sought for, or filled a larger space in public attention."9 New members were continually being added to the Church and branches were being formed.

As was so often the case, the increase in converts brought with it opposition from local church leaders. It came primarily in the form of verbal and written opposition. Taylor had known much worse, and had been undaunted. He, therefore, commenced to accept the challenges of several exhorters to debate religious doctrine.

One such discussion took place in Douglas on the Isle of Man. The controversy began as he was interrupted by a party of preachers during one of Taylor's sermons. They would not permit the meeting to continue until Taylor agreed to a public debate. The Millennial Star reads:
...[Taylor] was also opposed by Rev. Thomas Hamilton, whom he met in a public debate and easily vanquished. 'No great honor, however,' says Elder Taylor in his account of the affair, 'as he was a very ignorant man.'

The debates were attended by audiences of over six hundred. Before leaving Douglas, he had baptized about seventy persons.

By April 1841, Taylor was preparing to return to America. Later he wrote of the accomplishments which he and his companions attained:

It truly seemed a miracle to look upon the contrast between our landing and departing from Liverpool. We landed in the spring of 1840, as strangers in a strange land and penniless, but through the mercy of God we have gained many friends, established churches in almost every noted town and city of the kingdom of Great Britain, baptized between seven and eight thousand, printed 5,000 Books of Mormon, 3,000 hymn books, 2,500 volumes of the Millennial Star, and 60,000 tracts; and emigrated to Zion 1,000 souls, established a permanent shipping agency, which will be a great blessing to the Saints, and have left sown in the hearts of many thousands the seeds of eternal truth.

Elder Taylor arrived in Nauvoo, Illinois on the 1st of July. He found his friends and family in vastly improved circumstances over when he had left. The Saints were once again beginning to flourish.

Along with temporal changes, the Church had a number of doctrinal developments. Among those, Joseph Smith had begun to teach the doctrines regarding Celestial Marriage. Celestial Marriage involves the eternal nature of marriage, and includes the issue of plurality of wives.
controversy surrounding plural marriage would offer the greatest excuse of all to persecute the Saints. Just as the prospects of living unmolested in a prosperous community began looking bright, this doctrine was to become the catalyst for decades of oppression. It would directly lead to the deaths of Joseph Smith and John Taylor, as well as the indirect deaths and suffering of many.

Some historians assert that the Mormons brought this trouble upon themselves. Many Latter-day Saints believe the difficulties surrounding polygamy to be a test of faith similar to that of Abraham as he was commanded to sacrifice Issac at the altar. Leonard Arrington wrote regarding polygamy that:

\[\ldots\text{it appears to have been an effective device for gauging and assuring loyalty. As those who entered polygamy learned at the very beginning, it brought such a difficult clash with general moral assumptions that accepting it was a declaration of irrevocable commitment to the Prophet and his movement...Social psychologists have recognized that there is nothing so effective as outside pressure to create a sense of group identity and cohesiveness.}\]

Still the delicate nature of this doctrine made it difficult for even the most devout Saints to abide. John Taylor's initial reaction to the principle was that of dismay. He said of it:

\[\text{It was a thing calculated to stir up feelings from the innermost depths of the human soul. I had always entertained the strictest regard of chastity...Hence, with the feelings I had entertained, nothing but a knowledge of God, and the revelations of God, and the truth of them, could have induced me to embrace such a}\]
principle as this. 15

Taylor avoided the issue for some time until Joseph reprimanded him for delaying the purposes of God. Within the following two years he married Elizabeth Haigham, Jane B. Ballantyne, and Mary A. Oakley. Later in Utah, he married others. Speaking of the burden this placed upon Taylor, B. H. Roberts wrote:

By tongue and pen, as well as by the force of example, he defended this celestial order of marriage against all who assailed it; and among all who have advocated it in the face of the fierce opposition it provoked, or who spoke out in its defense both at home and abroad, there was not one whose arguments carried more weight than did his. 16

Defending the right to practice this principle would now demand from Taylor his best persuasive efforts.

Living with his family in Nauvoo, Taylor was again given greater responsibilities. He was elected a member of the city council, made a member of the Board of Regents of the Nauvoo University, and chosen to be Judge Advocate in the Nauvoo Legion (a militia numbering at one time nearly five thousand.) In February 1842, he was made editor of the church sponsored paper Times and Seasons. 18 He also edited The Wasp (later called the Nauvoo Neighbor.) 19

Although John was innately well-suited to the task, any new endeavor has its complexities. Smith told Taylor, "We have no one else we can trust the paper with, and hardly with you, for you suffer the paper to come out with so many mistakes." 20 He remained editor of these papers until the
Mormons were driven from the United States in 1846. With this medium, the impact of his powerful rhetoric for justice and truth was enhanced.

By 1844, the attitudes and actions of those against the Church were inflamed beyond reason. The event known as "The Martyrdom" was about to take place. In it, Taylor played a principal role. Excerpts from his account will tell the story as he saw it. Others may have a different point of view, still Taylor's version, though it may have been edited, is recounted to illustrate the life-long influence the events had upon him. It reads:

In the year 1844, a very great excitement prevailed in some parts of Hancock, Brown, and other neighboring counties of Illinois, in relation to the 'Mormons', and a spirit of vindictive hatred and persecution was exhibited among the people, which was manifested in the most bitter and acrimonious language, as well as by acts of hostility and violence, frequently threatening the destruction of the citizens of Nauvoo and vicinity, and utter annihilation of the Mormons and Mormonism, and is in some instances breaking out in the most violent acts of ruffian barbarity...21

In June of 1844, Joseph Smith was illegally detained in the Carthage jail. Taylor visited the jail and said to Joseph, "If you will permit it; and say the word, I will have you out of this prison in five hours, if the jail has to come down to do it."22 He further said, "My idea was to go to Nauvoo, and collect a force sufficient, as I considered the whole affair a legal farce, and a flagrant
outrage upon our liberty." Such actions indicated Taylor felt oncoming demise. Smith refused.

On June 27, 1844, the prisoners included Joseph's brother Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, and Dr. Willard Richards.

The account continues that afternoon in Carthage jail:

...I was sitting at one of the front windows [there were no bars], when I saw a number of men [about 200], with painted faces, coming around the corner of the jail, and aiming towards the stairs. The other brethren had seen the same, for as I went to the door, I found Brother Hyrum Smith and Dr. Richards already leaning against it. They both pressed against the door with their shoulders to prevent its being opened, as the lock and latch were comparatively useless. While in this position, the mob, who had come upstairs, and tried to open the door, probably thought it was locked, and fired a ball through the keyhole...almost instantly another ball passed through the panel of the door, and struck Brother Hyrum on the left side of the nose, entering his face and head...Immediately, when the ball struck him, he fell flat on his back, crying as he fell, 'I am a dead man!' I shall never forget the deep feeling of sympathy and regard manifested in the countenance of Brother Joseph as he drew nigh to Hyrum, and, leaning over him, exclaimed, 'Oh, my poor, dear brother Hyrum!'

...they [the mob] pushed the door some distance open, and protruded and discharged their guns into the room, when I parried them off with my stick [a strong hickory cane], giving another direction to the balls. It certainly was a terrible scene: streams of fire as thick as my arm passed by me as these men fired, and, unarmed as we were, it looked like certain death. I remember feeling as though my time had come, but I do not know when, in any critical position, I was more calm, unruffled, energetic, and acted with more promptness and decision.23

More muskets, belching deadly balls, crowded the doorway as the mob pressed up the stairs. All the while, Taylor fought them off with the cane. Then came the last
words he was to hear the Prophet speak to him in life: "Brother Taylor, parry them off as well as you can." These words became symbolic of the rest of Taylor's life. For Joseph Smith, the battle would end. In later years, Taylor would often refer to this event in his speeches as an example of the lengths which Saints should be willing to go to uphold their beliefs.

Eventually the mob fled. Joseph and Hyrum were dead; amazingly Richards was unscathed; and Taylor was shot five times. The first ball entered his thigh, struck the bone flattening out to the size of a quarter and passed through until it lodged near the opposite side of his leg. It left him incapacitated, and falling out of the window. Ironically, the second shot saved his life. It was fired from outside the window, aimed at his chest, but impacted in his pocket watch. Furthermore, it provided a blow which knocked him back into the room and kept him from falling to the frenzy mob below. He later spoke of the incident, "I felt the Lord had preserved me by a special act of mercy, that my time had not yet come, and that I still had a work to perform." The third bullet entered just below the left knee and was never removed. The fourth passed through his forearm and wrist to lodge in the fleshy part of his palm. It was later removed by "sawing for some time with a dull pen knife, and prying and pulling with the carpenter's compasses." The fifth blasted flesh the
size of his hand onto the wall from off his left hip. After a few days, the dead and wounded had been returned to family and friends in grief-stricken Nauvoo.

Within the following year and a half, the faithful Saints had endured a change of leadership, apostate efforts to overtake the Church, and continually intensified persecution. It led once again to an exodus from their homes and lands.26 During this time, Taylor both motivated the Saints from the pulpit on several occasions. To his oppressors, he was an unequivocal voice against injustice. To the Church, Taylor was the voice of optimism, control, and purpose. He never stopped telling the Saints "that our persecutions will prove a blessing to many."27 On February 11, 1846, Taylor loaded his family and a few belongings onto wagons. They joined the many Saints who were fleeing over the frozen Mississippi River toward the West. Taylor left to the plunders his two-story brick house with its furnishings, a barn, a store, a printing and book binding establishment, and nearly 200 acres of land. Taylor would later recall in his speeches such events as this as examples breaches of liberties.

On the 17th of June, the Taylors arrived with many others at Council Bluffs in the Iowa Territory. Within weeks, he was to leave his family in the care of the Saints, and begin his journey on another mission to England. He completed his mission and returned to his
family by the Spring of 1847. By September, he had crossed the territories by wagon, and entered the Salt Lake Valley. In just more than eighteen months he had travelled over fifteen thousand miles by foot, wagon, canoe, or ocean craft.

From his entry into the valley until 1849, Taylor spent much of his time with the physical labors of building a community. He built houses, fenced fields, gardened, and farmed. He labored day after day in a saw-pit, making lumber by hand with a whip-saw. He constructed the first bridge over the Jordan River. He, Parley P. Pratt, and others explored Utah Valley and Utah Lake. John built the first boat to sail its waters. His wives spun a hundred foot net with which fish were caught. This helped to relieve the hunger problem of the early pioneers.

Taylor spent many of his evenings and Sundays speaking to the Saints. B.H. Roberts wrote:

In all these anxieties, labors, fears, hopes, and rejoicings, Elder Taylor took part. Many leaned on his strength in those days. When despair settled over the colony he infused it with hope; when the weak faltered, he strengthened them; when the fearful trembled, he encouraged them; those cast down with sorrow, he comforted and cheered them.

Despite the poor condition of the pioneers, and the difficulties which a wilderness put upon them, the Saints had much to show from their efforts.

In 1849, Taylor was called again on a mission—this time to France. And as Roberts put it, Taylor went "from a
city of adobe huts, log cabins and board shanties, to the glittering splendors and sumptuous palaces of splendid Paris! From the saw-pit to the pulpit, and lecture-platform--such is the life of an apostle!"\(^{30}\)

Taylor soon had enough converts to organize a branch in Paris. His speaking ability led to his becoming an attraction in the country. He took part in well publicized discussions with several of France's philosophers, religionists, and social reformers. Eventually the government disallowed him from preaching in the whole country. He was then sent by Brigham Young to Germany. Before returning to America, he finished his book entitled *Government of God*, supervised the translation of the *Book of Mormon* into French and German, had fine busts made of the martyred Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and purchased much needed textile and sugar manufacturing machinery for the Church. When he left Salt Lake City, he was so poor that he had to leave his family in the care of Church members. When he returned, he had to hire about sixty wagons and 600 oxen to carry all the goods he was bringing back for the Saints.\(^{31}\)

He was heartily welcomed into Salt Lake City by his family, and the Saints on August 20, 1852. The following April of 1853, he took part in laying the cornerstones of the Salt Lake Temple. In 1854, he was elected a member of the Territorial Legislature, but he resigned because of
another mission call. That winter, Taylor had made his way once again to New York City.

In the East, Taylor found attitudes towards the Mormons were being agitated for political gain. Reports from federally appointed officers, suggested that the Mormons would not submit to United State control. Taylor decided to combat the many circulating rumors about the far-away Saints by publishing a paper. Typical of his straight forward nature, he located the paper between the offices of the New York Herald and the New York Tribune.

The first issue came out on February 17, 1855. It soon led to their shouts all over the city of, "Get yer Mormon! Here's yer Mormon."32 The experience Taylor had previously gained as an editor helped allow him to use his knowledge and persuasive abilities to defend the Church to the Nation. He defied the belligerent writers and opinion-makers. Roberts quotes Taylor:

> We have said before and say now, that we defy all the editors and writers in the United States to prove that Mormonism is less moral, scriptural, philosophical; or that there is less patriotism in Utah than in any other part of the United States. We call for proof; bring on your reasons, gentlemen, if you have any; we shrink not from the investigation, and dare you to the encounter. If you don't do it, and you publish any more of your stuff, we shall brand you as poor, mean, cowardly liars; as men publishing falsehoods knowing them to be so, and shrinking from the light of truth and investigation.33

It was Taylor's intense and frank rhetoric which was reason for Brigham Young calling the paper the strongest
edited paper on earth.\textsuperscript{34}

In the meantime, troubles between federal appointees to Utah and the Church grew. President Buchanan's apparent solution was to send an armed force to bring the Mormons "under control." After learning that the army was enroute to Utah, Taylor immediately left for home.

\textbf{1857-1867}

Taylor arrived in Salt Lake on the 7th of August, 1857. The territory had faced several difficulties. A two year drought, grasshopper plagues, and their isolation from manufacturing centers had placed heavy economic burdens on the communities. Further, a hostile force was now on its way to Utah. Church leaders rose to the occasion to offer decisive guidance and encouragement. Roberts said of Taylor's role:

Among the brave band of men who had the courage to thus proclaim their rights, and dared to maintain them even against the United States, none were more bold or fearless than John Taylor. In speech and action he went as far as he who went farthest. In the council chamber and in the field he was in the front rank; shoulder to shoulder he stood with President Young and his brethren, and his public discourses in those times glow with a soul stirring eloquence that reminds one of the spirit of the Revolutionary patriots of '76.\textsuperscript{35}

The prompt action and resolve which the Saints took on in these times led to a quick, peaceful end to the Utah War.

Between 1857 and 1867, Apostle Taylor was involved with preaching to the Saints in Utah. He annually traveled
with Brigham Young throughout the settlements on preaching
tours. He was a member of the Utah Territorial Legislature
from 1857 until 1876. He was speaker of the House for five
successive sessions. As speaker "he won the esteem of the
members by his uniform courtesy and fairness."\textsuperscript{36} Perhaps
the greatest reward for his labors was the chance to be
with his family, whom he had been apart from for so long.

\textbf{1867-1887}

Throughout the Civil War, Utah was essentially left to
its own management. Still there was dissension between
federally appointed bureaucrats and the Mormons. Brigham
Young once said of the antagonistic officials: "I think
hereafter that we will take such men up gently and carry
them out of the territory and tell them not to come
back."\textsuperscript{37} Many law suits and criminal charges were brought
against Church leaders. In 1868, John Taylor was elected
as Probate of Utah County. In this position, he put into
practice the ideas about justice and liberty on which he
had so often spoken.

In October 1869, Vice-president of the United States,
Schuyler Colfax, visited Utah. He delivered an address in
Salt Lake City which attacked the LDS religion. He stated
that polygamy could not be a religious doctrine, and that
the recently enacted laws to prohibit it were proper.\textsuperscript{38} He
argued that, "...our country is governed by laws, and no
assumed revelation justifies any one in trampling on the law."\(39\) His speech was widely reprinted in the East. Elder Taylor wrote a rebuttal which was printed in the New York Tribune. As recounted in Comprehensive History of the Church, it began:

With all due reference, I do think that if Mr. Colfax had carefully examined our religious faith he would have arrived at other conclusions. In the absence of this I might ask, who constituted Mr. Colfax a judge of my religious faith? I think he has stated that 'The faith of every man is a matter between himself and God alone.' Mr. Colfax has a perfect right to state and feel that he does not believe in the revelation on which my religious faith is based, nor in my faith at all; but has he the right to dictate my religious faith? I think not...\(40\)

After six weeks preparation, Colfax responded with a lengthy letter to Taylor's rebuttal. Taylor then replied again to his accusations. It became known as the Taylor-Colfax debate.

One of Colfax's assertions was that the United States' opposition to polygamy was similar to Britain's attempt in India to stop the practice of suttee.\(41\) Taylor responded: "Hold! not so fast; let us state facts as they are and remove the dust. The British suppressed the suttee, but tolerated eighty-three millions of polygamists in India."\(42\)

In this same manner, Taylor dealt with all the arguments Colfax presented. B. H. Roberts said of the debate:

Taking it all in all, this is doubtless the most important discussion in the history of the Church. The great reputation of Colfax as a speaker and writer; the fact that he had for many years been a member of Congress and accustomed to
Maugre [despite] the experience and learning and position of his opponent, he [Taylor] surpassed him not only in the force of argument, but in the literary style, in the elegance, ease and beauty of his diction...42

The years 1870-1875 in Utah were noted for the admittedly overt attempts to debase the Church through the courts. James B. Mckean arrived in Salt Lake City in the spring of 1871 as the newly appointed Chief Justice of the Territory. He immediately issued indictments against several Mormons on violating anti-polygamy laws. The most noted recipient was President Brigham Young. The community disgust was such that Mckean was not permitted to use any public building for a court. He finally was given a room above a horse and cattle stable. John Taylor wrote five articles in the Deseret News Weekly on the incidents. In the last article, he gave counsel to the enraged Saints. As recalled in The Kingdom or Nothing, Taylor wrote:

The big boy is strutting about with a chip on his shoulder, daring you to knock it off. Some pretext is needed. Don't give it to them...Be quiet! 'But other aggressions are contemplated. They are bent on provoking a quarrel and mischief.' No matter; it takes two to make a quarrel. Don't you be one of them. 'They offer themselves to be kicked.' Don't do it; have some respect for your boots...

[Note the symbolic reference between the proceedings and their location.] If they take you to the stable, close your nostril to the stench. If they can stand it always, you can stand it for a short time. If your ears are offended at their ribald exordums, put cotton in them. If they send you to prison, rejoice. Let them have their full swing, and they will hang
themselves.43

Eventually, the charges were dropped, the convictions overturned, and McKean was dismissed from office. Subsequent federal officers were found more compatible by the Saints. Utah enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity, confirming the wisdom in Apostle Taylor's counsel to "Be quiet."

In 1877, President Brigham Young died. The policies regarding succession to the Presidency had not been fully developed. As President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Taylor directed the apostolic presidency which led the Church for three years. In 1880, the quorum decided that the Lord wanted the First Presidency organized again. That October, during the Church's General Conference, the apostles unanimously selected John Taylor as the next Prophet, Seer and Revelator, and President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The quorums and members of the Church voted likewise.

A great mantle of responsibility on earth had passed to John Taylor. B. H. Roberts wrote on Taylor's approach to his added responsibilities:

Although President Taylor, at the time he became President of the Church, was two years past the three score years and ten alloted by the Psalmist as the life of man, he was not bowed down by their weight. His form was erect and his step elastic; and he entered upon the performance of his high duties with a zeal and vigor only to be expected of a younger man. He visited the Stakes of Zion in Utah and the surrounding territories, setting them in order, teaching,
counseling, and encouraging the Saints with all
the energy and kindness of his great soul." 44

He greatly added to the development of the Priesthood
organization. The Church published two of the revelations
he received on this subject. 45 Taylor alluded to the goals
of the Priesthood when he said:

These things are given to us for what? To
gratify our ambition? to enable us to ride over
and trample under foot our fellow-creatures? to
place power and authority over us? No; not for
any man's emolument or aggrandizement. Although
there is nothing more honorable, nothing more
dignified, nothing to which a man ought so much
to aspire to as to be a servant of the living
God, and to be commissioned by Him to do his work
upon the earth. And what for? To spread correct
principles among men; to combat priestcraft,
statecraft, oppression, fraud and iniquity of all
kinds; and to introduce among men those pure and
holy principles by which the Gods are governed in
the Eternal worlds. 46

In 1882, the nation began again with, as Taylor called
it, "the same old ditty" on polygamy. The Edmunds Bill was
passed by the U. S. Congress. For to be guilty of its
statutes required only that a person believe in the right
to a polygamous marriage. Such a person could not vote,
hold public office, or participate on a jury--these
restrictions were in addition to a prison sentence. Many
Mormon public officials were not permitted to keep their
public offices; many men were cast into prison; many fled
to Canada or Mexico where polygamy was not considered a
crime.

Taylor was again called upon to protect the rights of
the Saints. During the April 1882 General Conference, he
gave counsel to the oppressed:

We covet no man's possessions. But we expect to maintain our own rights. If we are crowded upon by unprincipled men or inimical legislation, we shall not take the course pursued by the lawless, the dissolute and unprincipled. We shall not have recourse to the dynamite of the Russian Nihilists, the secret plans and machinations of the communists, the boycotting and threats of the Fenians, the force and disorder of the Jayhawkers, the regulators or the Molly Maguires, nor any other secret or illegal combination; but we expect to possess and maintain our rights; but to obtain them in a legal peaceful and constitutional manner...and no matter what action may be taken by mobocratic influence, by excited and unreasonable men, or by inimical legislation, we shall contend inch by inch for our freedom and rights, as well as the freedom of all Americans and of all mankind. 47

The speech he gave in the Tabernacle had such an effect upon his congregation that the walls trembled with the unified voice of over ten thousand giving the Hosanna shout. Roberts recounts a reporter's description of one such event for the New York World. The report said:

...I set Mormon enthusiasm on one side, as being altogether of a different character; for it not only astonishes by its fervor, but commands respect by its sincere sobriety...Nor could anything exceed the impressiveness of the response which the people gave instantaneously to the appeal of their President for the support of their voices. The great Tabernacle was filled with waves of sound as the 'Amens' of the congreagation burst out. The shout of men going into battle was not more stirring than the closing words of this memorable conference, spoken as if by one cast vote. 48

By 1884, the judicial storm was beyond reason. The gathering and sentencing of polygamists by federal agents was so general, that Taylor was in danger of being
apprehended. John Taylor felt he had committed no crime against the United States. Rather, he felt the government had continuously wronged him and his people. His character was such that he would have gladly continued to fight, regardless of personal cost, for principles he considered divine. He could, however, see the inevitable hardship it would impose upon the ones he loved. Therefore, he concluded to go into hiding.

On February 1, 1885, he made his last public appearance. In a speech that day, he counseled the Saints:

> What would you do? Would you resent these outrages and break the heads of the men engaged in them, and spill their blood? No; avoid them as much as you possibly can—just as you would wolves, or hyenas, or crocodiles, or snakes, or any of these beasts or reptiles. Avoid them as best you can, and see that they do not bite you...But no breaking of heads, no bloodshed, rendering evil for evil. Let us cultivate the spirit of the gospel and adhere to principles of truth.49

Living in hiding instead of fighting, gave Taylor a way to lead the Church, have contact with his family, and offer passive resistance at the same time. With the help of faithful friends, and church members, he would move from house to house and town to town without being captured. This often took place virtually "under the noses" of the federal agents. Still it must have been heart wrenching for him at times. On July 25, 1887, Taylor died at a home in Kaysville, Utah. Several of his family and friends were at his side. The announcement from the church leaders
read, in part:

In communicating this sad intelligence to the Church, over which he has so worthily presided for nearly ten years past, we are filled with emotion too deep for utterance... Steadfast to and immovable in the truth, few men have ever lived who have manifested such integrity and such unflinching moral and physical courage as our beloved President...He met every issue squarely, boldly and in a way to call forth the admiration of all who saw and heard him. Undaunted courage, unyielding firmness were among his most prominent characteristics, giving him distinction among men who were distinguished for the same qualities. With these were combined an intense love of freedom and hatred of oppression...50

Taylor was once given the title of "Living Martyr" because of his miraculous escape from death at Carthage Jail. He would now be called the "Double Martyr." The announcement of his death by his counselors said, "President John Taylor has been killed by the cruelty of officials...of the United States."

Despite dying while in hiding, Taylor’s funeral was public. Tens of thousands of mourners came to his viewing in the Tabernacle. Near the casket was a wreath enscribed—"CHAMPION OF LIBERTY."
Notes: Chapter II.

1The primary resource for this biography is B. H. Roberts, Life of John Taylor (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon Pub., 1892).

2A cooper is a maker of flasks, barrels, and coops. A turner operates a wood-turning lathe.


4Discourses, vol. 5, p. 239.

5Taylor, p. 19.

6"Doctrine and Covenants." (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), sec. 132.


8Roberts, Life p. 62.

9Ibid., p. 85.


12To obtain a greater understanding of Celestial Marriage see:
Hyrum Andrus, Doctrines of the Kingdom (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1973), vol. 2, pp. 439-488.


14Ibid., p. 204.
A whip-saw is a large, long saw with handles on both ends. A man on each end would alternately pull the saw through the wood. A saw-pit consists of a pit about three feet deep between two sturdy sawhorses. With a man in the pit and a man on the log, the whip-saw between them, they could cut lumber—a chiropractor's delight!

15Taylor, p. 57-58.
17Ibid., p. 102.
18Joseph Smith, History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978), vol. 4, p. 513.
19Ibid., vol. 5, p. 204.
20Ibid., vol. 5, p. 367.
21Ibid., vol. 7, pp. 551-96.
22Ibid., vol. 7, p. 100.
24Taylor, p. 86.
26Arrington, pp. 93-94.
sutee is the act in the Hindu faith of a widow cremating herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

37Smith, vol. 5, p. 282, footnote only.

38The first anti-polygamy act was the Morill Bill of 1862. It disfranchised the LDS Church and confiscated much of its property.


41Sutee is the act in the Hindu faith of a widow cremating herself on her husband's funeral pyre.


46Ibid., p. 348.

47Ibid., p. 361.

48Ibid., p. 366.


50*Deseret News Weekly*, July 26, 1887, p. 9.
"With regard to brother John Taylor, I will say that he has one of the strongest intellects of any man that can be found."

--Brigham Young

John Taylor was a prolific and ardent communicator. He was an editor of countless articles; he was a poet and lyricist of many pieces; he was an author of texts; and above all--he was an orator.

B. H. Roberts said the following of Taylor public speaking:

    It will be as a preacher of righteousness that President Taylor will be best remembered by the generation who heard him...and while his discourses may lack the polish, the faultless rhetoric, the studied climax to be found in the set speeches of the learned orators of the world, they are full of great thoughts and the inspiration of God--an excellence which more than repays for the want of smoothness and the fine finish that a carping criticism demands.

    He was deliberate in speech, almost slow, but not more so than the great principles he was wont to treat of required. His voice was clear, strong, resonant, and of wonderful compass; and whether it sank, as it often did, to the tender tones which give expression to the deep pathos that sometimes moved his soul, or calmly reasoned upon some heavenly doctrine, or was raised to its grandest swell or thunder tones to denounce injustice or oppression, no one could grow weary of listening..."
quite passionate. His ability to reason put any challenger at an unsurmountable disadvantage. He often could not resist engaging in pointed sarcasm and ridicule. Roberts credited this to his "keen sense of the ridiculous." Many of these traits are revealed in a debate he took part in while on his mission to France in 1850.3

As was so often the case, local ministers instigated the event. One such minister interrupted one of Taylor's meetings, accusing the Mormons and Joseph Smith of being impostors. Taylor told the Reverend that he would not permit anyone to interfere with his meeting, and desired no more conversation with him. However, a challenge to a public debate was soon published in the local paper. Taylor felt a refusal would discredit his efforts; he therefore agreed. It was decided that the ministers, C. W. Cleeve, a Methodist; Philip Cater, a Baptist; and James Robertson, an Independent, would challenge Elder John Taylor.

The discussion began July 6th at No. 15 Rue de la Lampe, Boulogne-sur-mer. Present were the speakers, a chairman, two assistants, the Mormon Elders, a reporter for the Bolulogne Interpreter, and an audience. The Reverends initiated the discussion with incessant attacks upon the character of Joseph Smith. Taylor rebutted them and gave his testimony of Smith based on his personal acquaintance with him. By the second night, Taylor had the challengers on the defensive. And since he got little meaningful
dialogue from them, he produced, in one segment, the
dialogue for himself, as follows:

Now, I will speak a little about the
position of my opponents...Suppose we transplant
them to Hindostan or China. What evidence would
they have to present before the people:
They present the scriptures, and tell the
people that they are true. But how are we to
know it, say the people. We tell you so...Well,
we do not put much confidence in your remarks;
but we will read your book. Having read it, they
say, I perceive that certain signs are to follow
them that believe--the sick are to be healed,
devils cast out, they are to speak in other
tongues, have the gift of prophecy, &c. Do these
signs follow you? Oh, no!...Oh, I see you have a
friend here who is also a Christian minister. Do
you believe in the same book, sir? Yes. Do you
believe in the same doctrine? No. But do you
get yours from the same book? Yes! And does it
teach you differently? We believe differently.
But you have, we perceive, another friend here;
is he also a minister? Yes. Which of your
doctrines does he believe? Neither. Do you all
believe the Bible? Yes. Do you believe it to be
true or false? True. Does a true book teach
different ways? Those are our opinions.
Oh, I thought you had come to teach truth; if
opinions are all, we have plenty of them already,
and can dispense with your services.4

At this, Reverend Cleeve refused to speak again in the
discussion. He said that he would not degrade himself with
a reply. Reverends Cater and Robertson continued on with
their accusations against Joseph Smith. To this, Taylor
responded:

Gentlemen, you sit down very quietly with
the appellation of false teachers; of course, we
must believe that you are such, unless you prove
to the contrary. Mr. Robertson, indeed, honestly
says that he has no authority. Then God has
nothing to do with him or his calling. He, of
course, acknowledges that he is administering in
the name of one who never sent him. We shall
take him at his word, and set him down as a
teacher whom God has not sent... We shall set Mr. Cater on the stool as Mr. Robertson.

Mr. Cleeve will not degrade himself by investigating this matter! Will he tell me why he, as a gentleman, undertook to discuss a subject, and published that engagement, which he is now disgusted with? and why he did not express his feelings of disgust before he heard the arguments? I presume a criminal would express his disgust at an executioner for being so unpolite as to put a noose round a gentleman's neck. But it is there, and there it must remain, Mr. Cleeve, until you remove it; and we shall still say that you have no authority, that you are a false teacher, and that God has not sent you until you can show some reason to the contrary." (confusion in the hall.)

Throughout that evening and the next, Taylor countered every accusation. The Boulogne Interpreter reported of those two nights and Mr. Robertson's befuddlement that, "Robertson had been anxious to get something to answer, but he really and seriously could find nothing worthy of a reply. It was clear from the words of the challenge, that he and his friends could not prove a negative." By the third night, Taylor had been so completely persuasive and had turned the discussion so much in his favor that all three men refused to respond to his questions. Indeed, they denied their church affiliations! On this night, Robertson was the first to be silenced. The conversation went:

TAYLOR: ...Thus Mr. Cleeve would--
MR. CLEEVE: I am not a Methodist, sir.
TAYLOR: I certainly understood you were a Wesleyan Methodist.
MR. CLEEVE: I have nothing to do with the Wesleyan Methodists either directly of indirectly.
TAYLOR: Then I must say that I am labouring
under a mistake; this was certainly my understanding. I will therefore turn to Mr. Cater. I understand that he is a Baptist minister.

MR. CATER: I am not a member of the Baptist Association.

TAYLOR: I was certainly told and understood until now, that you were, sir. Pray, gentlemen, what are you? (Great laughter, and no answer.)

Taylor commenced nonetheless to expound upon their doctrines. Finally, he was interrupted:

CHAIRMAN: (To Taylor) Do you wish to continue, the gentlemen on the opposite side are satisfied that it rests here?

TAYLOR: I certainly did not anticipate this. I expected to investigate their principles further, according to agreement.

CHAIRMAN: They do not wish to say any more.

TAYLOR: If they have no reply to make, of course I must let it rest.

Later, more than 16,000 copies of the debate were published by Taylor and his associates. What began as an attempt to demean his efforts, worked for their benefit. If anyone desired a battle against Taylor, it had best not be a battle of words.

Unfortunately, those who opposed the Church often went beyond verbal attacks against the Saints. It was about those attacks that Taylor often spoke. When on the subject of liberties and rights, John seemed to take on a different, more intense character. Roberts wrote:

"If, as it often chanced, his theme was the wrongs of the Saints, or defense of the broad principles of liberty and the rights of man, he then had a theme which called forth all his power. His denunciations of injustice and tyranny were terrible. At such times his brow...grew dark as the coming storm approached. The form was drawn up to its full height, the gestures were majestic...with the love of liberty
burning like consuming fire in his bones, [he] poured out impassioned utterances against tyranny in all forms...Yet in these bursts of eloquence he never seemed to put forth all his strength. He always appeared to have still more force in reserve that he could have used had he so minded.º

Taylor's New England background in preaching lent itself to passionate rhetoric. His fervence is clearly felt in one such discourse delivered in 1882. Roberts again quotes Taylor:

I was not born a slave. I would not be slave to God! I'd be his servant, friend. His son. I'd go to His behest; but would not be his slave. I'd rather be extinct than be a slave. His friend I feel I am, and He is mine:--a Slave!

THE MANACLES WOULD PIERCE MY VERY BONES--THE CLANKING CHAINS WOULD GRATE UPON MY SOUL...But stop! I'm God's free man: I will not, cannot be a slave! Living, I'll be free here, or free in life above--free with the Gods, for they are free: and if I'm in the way on earth, I'll ask my God to take me to my friends above.⁹

There were also many occasions where his thoughts on liberty were more than words--they were literal acts of liberty. The following is an example of how Taylor used oratory to defend the Saints from real harm and injustice. It occurred in 1845 in Nauvoo. The Saints had been subject again to persecutions at the hands of legalized and vigilante groups. Major Warren, of the State Militia, was sympathetic to that effort. It was during an interview with Warren and others that Taylor delivered the following speech, as found in The Life of John Taylor:

Major Warren, I stand before you as a man who has received deep injury from the citizens of this state and consequently have some
feels...Where is the spirit of '76? Where is the fire that burned in the bosoms of those who fought and bled for liberty? Is there no one who will stand up in defense of the oppressed? If a man had the least spark of humanity burning in his bosom—if he were not hardened and desperate, he would be ashamed to oppress a people already goaded by a yoke too intolerable to be borne, and that, too, in a boasted land of liberty. Talk about law! Sir, I stand before you as a victim of law. I feel warm on this subject—who would not? I have seen by best friends shot down while under legal protection.

What are we? Are we beasts? I tell you for one, sir, I shall protect myself, law or no law, judge or no judge, governor or no governor. I will not stand such infernal rascality, and if I have to fight it out, I will sell my life as dearly as I can. 10

Perhaps, Taylor spoke to his foes with quite intentionally heated language. He had, after all, exhausted the possibility of redress through years of rational pleas. He had also learned from many experiences the inherent cowardice of men without moral fortitude. Under these circumstances, his bold manner kept his opponents at bay.

If his communications with the "outside" world seem to carry an air of desperation, his words to those within the Church are the opposite. When speaking to the Saints, Taylor gave the impression that persecutions and trials would not hurt them a bit. He would cast ironic humor upon their most threatening circumstances. During the Utah War in 1857, he spoke of the Saints' agreement to burn their homes rather than submit to outside rule. He said:

What if we are driven to the mountains? What if we have to burn our houses? Why, set fire to
them with a good grace, and dance a jig around them while they burn. What do I care about these things? We are in the hands of God, and all is right.11

The issue was not that it was easy for Mormons to burn their houses; it was that they were controlling their own destiny. Many Mormons were robbed of property in Illinois and Missouri. And, if it was going to happen again, it would at least be by their own choosing.

Taylor always spoke with confidence about the future of the Church. He exuded great optimism to the Saints. In October 1844, Taylor spoke at the first General Conference of the Church since Joseph Smith's death. He gave great encouragement concerning the destiny of those who remained steadfast. He said, in part:

When I look at the many difficulties and severe trials we have passed through it fills me with peculiar feelings. I feel happy to see that the people still seem determined to hold on to those principles which have been given to us through revelation...I know there is not a better set of men than these by which I am surrounded: I know there is not a more virtuous set of people on earth, and yet all manner of evil is spoken against you. Shall we cry and go mourning all day long? No, we will rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is our reward in heaven. I feel to rejoice; we have cause to rejoice...12

Taylor recognized that simply knowing one is in the right is not always sufficient motivation to endure hardship. He used emotion, passion, optimism, and reward in his speeches to lift hopes.

Apostle Taylor said that speaking to the Saints was more fruitful than preaching "to the world."13 We can be
certain that he could see the impact he had upon the Saints in their many trying circumstances. For Taylor, the statement once quoted is true in reverse—times of terror are times of eloquence.

Summary

From the great amount of available information, general assumptions can be made on Taylor's style of speech. The aspects which cannot be gleaned from a written copy of a speech such as gestures, facial expressions, pitch, intensity, etc. are verified through B. H. Roberts' account of Taylor. Those opinions are based upon his personal acquaintance and first-hand witness of Taylor's speaking. Reliable generalizations on his speaking can also be formed through evaluating the speeches themselves. Many traits are clearly illustrated. Taylor's typical speech would likely include:

--sound logic, often reasoned even further than the demands of his listeners.
--extemporaneous delivery, plain and pointed language, seeking impact rather than exact meaning.
--organization coming more from familiarity with subject than deliberate planning.
--satirical and sarcastic with his opponents and their arguments.
--encouraging and untiringly optimistic with the
Saints.

--capable of exhibiting a wide range of emotions. But based upon his clear, consistent style, they are easily recognized, and should hold true throughout this study.

Notes: Chapter III.

1Roberts, Life, pp. 431-33.

2Ibid., p. 433.

3Three Nights Discussion, (Liverpool: John Taylor, 1850)

4Ibid., p. 16.

5Ibid., p. 33.

6Ibid., p. 36.

7Ibid., p. 36.

8Roberts, Life, p. 433-34.

9Ibid., p. 424.

10Ibid., pp. 163-66.

11Discourses, vol. 6, p. 114.


CHAPTER IV.

SPEECH ANALYSIS

"...We must be philosophers too, and make it appear that our philosophy is better than theirs and then show them that religion is at the bottom of it."

--John Taylor

Procedure and Criteria

The initial analysis of each speech will include:

1. A background investigation.
2. A speech outline.
3. A speech analysis.
4. A summary.

Background: The background investigation will help to recreate the events which led up to the speaking engagement. Much of what Taylor expresses on liberty cannot be understood outside the context of his milieu. It will include the relevant actions of himself, the Church, government, and others.

Outline: To allow a complete view on Taylor's speeches, each speech is printed in its entirety in the Appendix. This speech analysis requires, however, that the speeches are broken down into outline form. Doing so, assists in recognizing speech content and organization. An outline is necessary to avoid getting sidetracked.
Speech Analysis: The analysis contains two major elements. First is the evaluation of Taylor's ideas on liberty. For an idea to fit this category, it need not be directly referred to as such; it needs only the effect of having been referred to. These ideas will be verified with excerpts from the speech. The second element is the analysis of Taylor's style. Here we determine how he used delivery and argument to bolster his ideas. The factors which may have influenced his style such as past experiences, audience expectations, position of leadership, age, etc. will be examined. This also includes outside influences such as legal and physical threats.

Summary: Each analysis will contain a brief summary of the highlights and peculiarities of the speaking event as a whole. The final summary will do the same for this entire period in Taylor's life. From Speech Criticism, we read:

Surely the accuracy of an orator's vision should figure in the critic's final evaluation of the speeches. Acuity of intellect, as revealed through the orator's ability to foresee the consequence of political action, is a laudable possession. If history confirms an orator's judgement, if future events prove the accuracy of the speaker's ideas, then the critic must be impressed by the weight of such public address. The integrity of an idea can hardly be subjected to a more severe test than the practical fact that it worked, and in conformity with the speaker's predictions.¹

Furthermore, the conclusion will make recommendations based upon the outcome of this study as to what direction future investigations might most profitably take.
"Rights of Mormonism" Speech
Delivered to the Latter-day Saints in the Salt Lake Bowery August 9, 1857.

Background

When the Mormon communities fled the persecutions in Illinois and Missouri in 1846, they left in hopes of finding a remote place to settle. The Great Basin region was viewed as both so remote and undesirable that it would not be subject to the interests and designs of outside parties. They were anxious to form a constitutional government and be admitted into the Union as a State. The popular interpretation of the U. S. Constitution had always supported State, rather than Federal, control of most matters. (This had always included marriage regulations.) Statehood would provide rights which would insure that no power could interfere with the practice of their religion.

However, in 1850 the U. S. Congress refused to admit into the Union as a state this region called Deseret, but did claim it as a territory. It became apparent to many LDS that further confrontations with Congress were inevitable. That sentiment was expressed in the comments of John Bernhisel when he spoke of the "risk of having a set of whippersnappers or broken-down politicians to tyrannize over us...for I have every reason to apprehend that we should be brought into collision with the central
government."³ This certainly could happen, in part out of the Federal government's policy of appointing men to control territories rather than having them elected. Mormon concern was, for a time, pacified by President Fillmore's appointment of Brigham Young as Governor of the Territory.

But by 1855, several of the executive and judicial offices had been given to men who invoked great distrust and contempt from the primarily Latter-day Saint populace. The attitude of the Mormons is revealed in a speech given by John Taylor in Salt Lake on August 9, 1857. He said:

> When a President is elected, a crowd of men press around him, like so many hungry dogs, for a division of the spoils, saying, "Mr. President...here is Mr. So-an-so...we want such a one in such an office. And, finally, after worryings and teasings, and whining and begging, some of those little men, mean, contemptible pups, doggery men, broken-down lawyers, or common, dirty, political hacks, bring up the rear, swelled up like swill barrels; they come to the table for the fragments, and, with a hungry maw and not very delicate stomach, whine out, 'Won't you give me a place, if it is only in Utah?...' and he comes out a great big 'United States officer,' dressed in a lion's garb, it is true, but with the bray of an ass. He comes out here, carrying out his grogery and whoring operations, and seeking to introduce among us eastern civilization.

> The people here, however, feel a little astonished...and when they look at him, they say in their simplicity, 'Why, that man is acting like a beast.' His majesty, however, swells up, struts and puffs, and blows, and says, 'You must not insult me: I am a United States officer; you are disloyal. I am a United States officer; don't speak to me.' Of course you are, and a glorious representative you are.⁴

A few officers, who were most disgruntled, sent derogatory reports back to the federal government. They
claimed that the loyalty of the Saints to their leader, Brigham Young, had undermined their authority, and demonstrated the unwillingness of the people to submit to United States rule. The Saints saw the issue as being the same which was faced by earlier Americans—"that the people had rulers placed over them, and they had no voice in their election... to lord over the Territories, the same as the British used to [do] over their colonies." Still, Eastern American's opinion was that the Mormons were treasonists.

In 1856, the Republican national platform included polygamy with slavery as the "twin relics of barbarism."

Arrington wrote of the time:

> The Mormons had picked an awkward time to establish their semi-independent kingdom in the West. The issue of slavery and states's rights were already dividing the nation. Northerners wanted to make an example out of Mormon rebelliousness, while some Southerners hoped an anti-Mormon campaign might relieve the pressure on them... A stream of newspaper articles, pamphlets, novels, and public speeches enumerated supposed Mormon treacheries and called for reprisals as extreme as a holy war of extermination.6

Little national sentiment could be found in favor of leaving the Saints alone.

John Taylor was at this time in New York attempting to explain and defend the positions of the Church to the nation with his paper— the Mormon. It was here where he learned that President James Buchanan had secretly replaced Brigham Young as Governor with a man unknown to the Saints—Alfred Cummings, and was sending an army with
sealed orders to Utah. Taylor immediately set out to return to Salt Lake, where he arrived on August 7, 1857. In the next few months he offered strength and counsel to the Saints many times.

The community met together often to hear from their leaders. At this time, the central meeting place was either the Old Tabernacle or the Bowery. Both buildings were situated on Temple Square. Unfortunately, the Old Tabernacle seated only 2,200 people. Even in its first year of operation, 1852, it was too small for a general gathering of the Saints. The original Bowery was contracted two months after Mormons entered the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. It consisted of a "forest of tall posts set into the ground to support a roof of brush, boughs, and dirt." By 1853, it had been enlarged to a capacity of 8,000.

These meetings were opened to all, but naturally were comprised almost totally of Mormons. They usually filled the Bowery to its capacity. It was during one of these occasions on August 30th, when Apostle Taylor was called to give an impromptu speech on "The Rights of Mormonism." An outline and analysis of that speech follows:

Outline
Introduction:

A. I did not expect to speak.
B. [Thesis statement:] "Brother Kimball said he would like to hear me say something about the rights of Mormonism."

Body:

I. Rights are varied and extensive.

A. To eat, to drink--to live.

B. To think, to express thoughts.

C. To worship God.

D. To practice matrimony.

E. To have rights as citizens of God's kingdom.
   1. In heaven and on earth.
   2. Which affect our posterity.
   3. Some rights man cannot interfere with.

F. To have individual, Social, and Political rights.

II. Look at the foundation of government.

A. Why were they formed?

B. How were they formed?

C. Powers began to be abused by leaders.
   1. They placed physical restraints on people.
   2. Then, restraints on the mind.

D. Oppression forced people to America.
   1. Europe tried to control America, too.
   2. Kings' power was kicked out.

III. Mormons are oppressed by United States government.

A. Driven from the States.

B. Not offered legal protection.
C. Have not interfered with anyone.

D. What right have they to interfere with us?

1. God led us here.

2. How did the U. S. get the West?
   a. They took it from Mexico.
   b. Mexico took it from the Indians.

3. The powerful always make claims.

4. They did not bring us here.
   a. Nor cultivate our farms.
   b. Nor give aid or protection.
   c. Nor can they give us anything.

5. Nobody else wanted to even live in this land.

6. Any other people would have starved here.

E. They use polygamy as an excuse to take our rights.

F. They send unelected officers to rule us.

IV. There are rights in the kingdom of God.

A. We are God's legitimate heirs to His kingdom.

1. His Priesthood.

2. His Authority.

3. His government.

4. His laws.

B. Rights of the Kingdom are exalted, higher rights.

C. We are God's leaders on earth.

V. What nation or people acknowledge God as their ruler?

A. Only God has the right to rule the earth.

B. Man has ruled by virtue of the sword.
1. This is true with England, France, Germany, etc.
2. They call it divine will and annoint Kings.
C. They pass laws which make men violate their religion.
D. U. S. is a thousand times better than others, but still bad.

VI. Saints have additional knowledge, rights, and duties.
A. The LDS know principles of which the world is ignorant.
B. It is our right to establish the kingdom of God.
   1. It is the greatest boon of a people can have.
   2. Salvation is had through us.
   3. We cannot dodge the responsibility.
   4. It brings on us great trials.
C. We are the foundation of liberty for the world.
D. Our duty is to sacrifice everything if required.
   1. In this life or the next.
   2. Others have gone before us.
E. He whose right it is to rule, will rule.

Conclusion:
A. Follow God's Prophet, Brigham Young.
B. All will be well.
C. We will maintain our rights.

Speech Analysis
His ideas on Liberty:
the initial scan of this speech reveals that Taylor sees liberty as having more than one meaning. His speech alludes to two distinct aspects of liberty: (1.) a right to act in a manner of one's own choosing; and (2.) the permission to do a specific thing; a privilege. The distinctions between the two are not obvious at first. The degree to which they are emphasized in this and other speeches is an indication of how essential the distinction is to Taylor.

This first idea is noticed in the very title of the speech: "Rights of Mormonism." Note that it does not say rights of "Mormons," rather rights of "Mormonism." If this was deliberate, it may refer to a distinction between the rights which come to Mormons because they are human beings and the rights which come to Mormons because of their religion. If Taylor would have had time to prepare, he may have better clarified his thesis with something similar to: "The rights of the people in Mormonism are different from any other peoples' rights."

The first rights he claims the Mormon people have are the basic, inalienable human rights. These are the same for all people, and refer to the first definition of liberty. Taylor said in his opening remarks:

We have the right to live...We have the right to eat and drink, and to pursue the course that we think proper, so long as we do not interfere with other person's rights. We have the right to live free and unmolested; and their is no law, human or divine, that rightfully has a
right, if you please, to interfere with us. We have a right to think, and we have a right, after we have thought, to express our thoughts, and to write them, and to publish them. We possess as many rights and as much liberty in relation to this as any other persons...

Taylor first speaks of rights in their most elementary state e.g. "the right to live...to eat and drink." He will later show that even these liberties are routinely violated. These rights are not privileges; they are not granted by men, God, or governments. Taylor stated above, and later again, "...there is no law human or divine, that can rightfully rob us of those liberties or trample upon those rights." Taylor's concept is quite unique to practicing civilization. It is that some rights are so very basic to every human being that not even deity can (should it want to) interfere with those liberties. To the Latter-day Saints, this is a doctrine called free agency.

Though God will not violate these fundamental liberties, it does not infer that men and governments will not. Taylor remarked that governments have often trampled on human rights in their attempts to get power:

Who has ruled the earth? Who has borne sway? Man, who, by the power of the sword, has got possession of thrones, powers, and dominions, and has waded through a sea of blood.

You read history, and what is it? A history of the depopulation of the nations, brought on by the overthrow of empires, and through the tyranny and ambition of wicked men, who have waded through seas of blood in order to possess themselves of that power which they now enjoy.

Taylor says that governments were originally intended
to be the vehicle to protect liberty, but soon became a primary force against it. He said that the governments of men were organized "to protect themselves against those who may have injured them, that would rob them of their labour, of their cattle, of their grain, or of anything they might have." When those societies grew large, they sent proxies to represent them. These representatives would often contrive to "get the reins of power into their own hands; and through the cunning of priestcraft and kingcraft, they have managed to bring the people under their feet and to trample their rights...This is, in fact the history of the world." Apostle Taylor said their excuse in doing so was often religion:

...you will find that they obtain their authority by the sword; and then, when they have obtained, they go to work and sanctify it; they appoint and anoint kings by the "grace of God" and through the agency of priests. That is the way they get their authority, and that is all the authority they have.

When the Pope was going to put the crown upon the head of Napoleon, he said, "Here, let me put that on; I won it myself." But they generally want the priests to put it on.

Taylor explained that these leaders carried the process further by systematically restricting the physical actions of their constituents. He continued:

It is the governors of the people that bring them into subjection in this manner, until the people think that kings and priests have rights--and they [the people] have no rights--until they think that presidents, governors, and kings are the persons who possess certain inalienable rights, and that no one has a right to interfere with them.
Taylor then states a remarkably contemporary viewpoint:

Kings, presidents, and priests combined govern men--body and soul. They first fetter them in their bodies and liberties, and then later, in their minds and consciences; and the human family, instead of being free, are literally and almost universally in a state of vassalage.

He says every government will, in varying degrees, violate human liberty because their authority comes from power to govern rather than from right to govern. He proclaimed that only God has a right to rule the earth, and that man's tenure as ruler is temporary. Yet, no nation on earth acknowledges him and his authority. This is akin to a parking valet who, in his moment behind the wheel, believes the car to be his own. As is taught by most Christian faiths, Taylor proclaimed, "...he whose right it is, shall come and take the kingdom, and possess it for ever and ever."

This leads us to the second definition of liberty--the permission to do a specific thing; a privilege. It is that God has begun to establish His kingdom and rightful reign on earth, and that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormonism) is his foundation. Taylor asserts that God had "revealed the fulness of the everlasting gospel;...he has established his kingdom upon the earth, and we are the legitimate heirs and inheritors of his kingdom." Noting the differences of the two types of rights, he said:
When we talk over those other things, we are under a lesser law... To speak of our rights as citizens of the kingdom of God, we then speak of another law, we then move into a more exalted sphere...[we] have been put in possession of principles that all the kings, potentates, and powers upon the earth are entirely ignorant of...

Taylor pointed out that the elements necessary to the establishment of God's kingdom on earth are: his authority, his government, his gospel, and his "keys, powers and oracles." He then asserts that these are all found in the Priesthood of the Church, not after the traditions of men, but "according to the pattern that exists in the heavens." He, therefore, concluded:

...we are standing in a peculiar position; we are standing here as the representatives of God, and the only true representatives he has upon the earth...have we not a right to the privileges which we enjoy?

What are we going to do then? We are going to establish the kingdom of God upon the earth. This is our privilege--our right, if you please. But I consider it a high privilege--the greatest boon that can be bestowed upon mortals on the earth, to be the representatives of God.

He spoke of special liberties coming to the Saints in added: 1. knowledge, 2. responsibility, 3. authority, and 4. protection. These are indeed privileges, grantable and revocable by their source.

Whereas, the basic human rights are often violated, a person to whom the greater privileges are awarded possesses "rights which no man can interfere with." This is true liberty.

His speaking style:
As mentioned in the biography, Taylor's style of speaking to the Saints is different than when speaking to the outside world. This speech to the Saints is consistent with that observation. He did not use as intense language. He did not refer so often to the specific persecutions committed against the Saints. And he exhibited a more optimistic demeanor toward his listeners.

It is true that he would sometimes address the "Gentiles" during a speech to the Saints. In those cases, he might revert to his more intimidating style. When doing so, he often directly states to whom he is referring. In this speech, it is apparent that he intended to address only the audience which was present.

Another factor which may have influenced his style was the impromptu assignment of the topic. He reminded the congregation of this fact in an interesting, yet utilitarian way by beginning:

I did not expect to be called upon to address you this afternoon; but I always feel ready to speak of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, whenever I am called upon.

Brother Kimball said he would like to hear me say something about the Rights of 'Mormonism.' The rights of 'Mormonism' are so varied and extensive, that it would be very difficult to speak of them all in one discourse.

By so doing, Taylor may have relieved some of the burden of delivering the type of speech his listeners had grown to expect from him. This might allow for more spontaneity of thought and expression. In this speech, the
price of spontaneity is a weak organizational arrangement. The act of thinking ahead while speaking may also have led to a less passionate delivery.

When mentioning that Taylor was less passionate, less intense, etc., it means only that he did not seek his usually high levels in those areas. He still called certain United States's officials "wicked and corrupt usurpers that are oppressing us." His analogies put them in the position of the "bullies in the land," and "highwaymen." He has called them worse. And he still pointed at them his common flavor of sarcasm:

...They cannot let us alone. This is their greatness--this their magnanimity, and this is the compassion manifested by the fathers of our great country. Of course we must feel patriotic; we cannot but feel strongly attached to such a kind, such a benevolent, such a merciful government as we have got! How can we feel otherwise? They would take from us the right to live, and then it would be in their hearts to sweep us from the face of the earth; but they cannot not do it.

By this point in Taylor's speaking career, Taylor's sarcastic verbal afronts to the Church's enemies were common. Of the Saints, however, Taylor always spoke acutely forthright of things--in this life and the one to come. This was not unusual for him. Invariably, it was in connection with being willing to defend the kingdom of God. He said:

All that I said to my son Joseph, after blessing him, before he went out, was, 'Joseph, do not be found with a hole in you back.' I do not want any cowardice--any tremblings or
feelings of that kind. 
I have seen the time I could have died as easily as to have turned my hand over; but I did not feel like it. Supposing I live, I have got a work to do; and if I die, I shall still be engaged in the cause of Zion. Why great conscience! What difference does it make? They can only kill the body. And do not we know that we have an interest beyond the grave?

If a person was willing to give his life, anything else should be easier. Such were the convictions Taylor tried to instill in his people.

Summary

This speech was somewhat of a departure from the avid defenses he was so frequently giving in New York. It more resembled an instructional lecture. Not having to reason with his oppressors, plus having a specific assignment, gave him an opportunity to depart from his pat arguments for more philosophical expression.

The arguments Taylor brought out in the Speech are:

1. Some human rights are basic to human existence. These are the right to live, think, express thoughts, and choose one's action. Even God will not interfere with those rights; but mankind certainly will.

2. Some rights are privileges which are granted by God. They are knowledge, authority, protection, etc. They are revokable by God, and contingent upon worthiness. It is impossible for mankind or government to take these rights form a person.
3. A person must have all these rights to have complete liberty.

4. When God rules on earth, those rights will be honored.

   The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has the right to reign in that kingdom.

   Taken together, he says Mormonism offers special liberties found among no other faith or people.
"Kingdom of God or Nothing" Speech
Delivered to the Saints in the Salt Lake City Bowery on November 1, 1857.

Background
[Because this speech was delivered only two months after the "Rights of Mormonism" speech, much pertinent information is found in that Background.]

In 1857, communication between the United States government and Church leaders was nominal at best. Though no communique had been sent of the action, President Buchanan had sent someone to replace Brigham Young as Governor. In June, U. S. mail service was suddenly stopped. This, together with attempts to keep secret the intentions of an army which was being sent to Utah, greatly increased the anxiety and distrust held by the Saints. B. H. Roberts wrote:

The great misfortune in the whole matter of this 'Utah Expedition' was, that the purpose of the administration in sending it to Utah was not known by the Latter-day Saint Church leaders...Neither did the 'Expedition have any clear understanding of its mission. Even Colonel Alexander, leading the advance division...knew nothing of its purpose; he knew only its destination.11

The advancing army had been discovered only by the chance passing of an LDS mail courier. It was reported that the force numbered about three thousand, with additional wagons coming from California. Mormon scouts
infiltrated their camps in an attempt to learn more. Taylor remarked on this:

We had men in all the camps and knew what was intended. There was a continued boast among the men and officers...of what they intended to do with the 'Mormons.' The houses were picked out that certain persons were to inhabit; farms, property, and women were to be distributed. 'Beauty and Booty' were their watchword. We were to have another grand 'Mormon' conquest, and our houses, gardens, orchards, vineyards, fields, wives and daughters were to be the spoils.12

President Brigham Young decided on a policy of controlled resistance. It centered on cutting off the army's supplies. Several supply trains were burned, grazing areas ahead of the army were scorched, and the two winter refuges, Fort Supply and Fort Bridger, were burned. While there were practically no casualties on either side, Young's policy tremendously impeded the army's ability to sustain itself or continue.

The force had reached Ham's Fork, Wyoming in Autumn of 1857. On the 8th of September, a representative of the party, Captain Van Vliet, arrived in Salt Lake City. His mission was to convince the Mormons that the army's intentions were peaceful. He failed in both regards. On the 13th of September, Van Vliet attended Sabbath meeting with the Saints in the Bowery. There he learned of the courage and dedication the Mormons had for their cause. During a speech by John Taylor that day, Van Vliet was to hear:

What would be your feelings if the United
States wanted to have the honor of driving us from our homes, and bringing us subject to their depraved standard of moral and religious truth? Would you, if necessary, brethren, put the torch to your buildings and lay them in ashes and wander houseless into these mountains? I know what you would say and what you would do."

Brigham Young: "Try the Vote."

Elder Taylor: "All you that are willing to set fire to your property and lay it in ashes rather than submit to their military rule and oppression, manifest it by raising your hands."

[The congregation unanimously raised their hands.] I know what your feelings are. We have been persecuted and robbed long enough; and, in the name of Israel's God, we will be free!13

Captain Van Vliet was to become an advocate for the Saints. It was reported to the East that when the troops enter "they will find Utah a desert; every house will be burned to the ground; every tree cut down and every field laid waste."14 Brigham Young sent an epistle to Colonel Alexander asking that he not bring his detachment into Utah.

This was the scenario and attitude that existed when John Taylor delivered a speech in the Bowery on the 1st of November called "The Kingdom of God or Nothing." An outline and analysis of that speech follows.

Outline

Introduction:

A. I refer to Brigham's letter to Colonel Alexander.
B. It is "The kingdom of God or nothing."
C. Words from modern prophets are just as important.
D. [Thesis statement:] "We believe in adapting our
lives...as those who are destined to lay the foundation of that kingdom which shall stand forever.

Body:

I. What is the kingdom of God?

A. The Saints shall have their rights in it.

B. The kingdom is a rule, government, authority, and power.

C. The Church is only temporarily subject to the governments of men.

II. If we obey the laws of God, we need not break the laws of men.

A. We have obeyed the laws of man.
   1. We organized a territorial government.
   2. We sought the sanction of Congress.
   3. All our transactions, laws, and constitution, were approved and considered right.

B. Still, we are accused of transgressing the law.
   1. They appointed our governor and judges.
   2. They are slandering and abusing us.
   3. They are illegally sending an army here.

C. The President is using this to serve his political interests.

III. What should we do?

A. Shall we let them cut our throats?
   1. There is a difference between treason and
submission to the will of a tyrant.

2. We are only protecting ourselves and families.

B. We will act the part of freemen, and not submit.

IV. Why are we being persecuted?

A. Because we say God has established his kingdom.

B. Because our principles expose their deeds.

C. Because there is goodness, truth, and holiness here, not because there is evil.

D. Because there has always been a struggle between darkness and light.

V. God has a certain design to accomplish

A. The time for the righteous to reign is not yet.

B. When that time comes, no man will be oppressed.

C. The ideas of men must change.

VI. What is the kingdom?

A. It is a church and a state, to rule both temporarily and spiritually.

1. Where is the nation, or church, that recognizes his rule? Only the LDS do

2. That is the cause of all misery in the world.

B. Only God has the right to rule.

1. He is a father with ungrateful children.

2. He will not let them continue this way forever; they will be chastised.

C. He must have a people to establish his kingdom.

1. He raised up a prophet.
2. He then gathered a people willing to follow the word of the Lord through his prophet.

D. The kingdom of God is his government on earth.

1. Our Priesthood is that government.

2. It will be the only rule on heaven and earth.

3. When every man will subject himself to that rule, the kingdom will be in full effect.
   a. Man will not boast in his might.
   b. Man will acknowledge God in all things.

VII. God is testing us to see if we are that people.

A. All are tried--some in different ways.

B. We are laying a foundation for countless ages.

C. God is teaching us the principles of salvation.

Conclusion:

I. Shall we let anyone infringe upon our rights?

A. It shall be the kingdom of God or nothing.

B. It shall roll onward, onward, onward.

C. Are we afraid of them? Let them come on, or stay and wiggle!

II. We are the Saints of God, and we shall be saved!

Speech Analysis

His Ideas on Liberty:

Whereas Taylor's previous speech--"Rights of Mormonism" was an explanation of rights and liberties, this speech is a defense of them. The advancing armed force
against the Saints had put them in a dilemma. Taylor remarked, "...it was told us by the Lord, that if we observe the laws of God, we need not break the laws of the land." Yet, if they submitted to outside control, they would not fulfill their obligations in the kingdom of God.

Taylor concluded it must be--"The kingdom of God or nothing." This infers that course of natural mankind and the course of divine man may not be reconcilable after all.

Taylor put the conflict into a clearer perspective. He said:

There have been from the foundation of the world two principles and powers--the principles of darkness and the principles of light, the principles of truth and the principles of error, the Spirit of the God and the spirit of the Devil;--and there has been a mighty struggle between these two principles and powers

Hitherto the good, the virtuous, the pure and upright, the men of God, the Saints of the Most high have been trampled under foot and cast out...the spirit and power of darkness have prevailed over the powers of light...so much so, that truth, equity, and righteousness have always been at a discount, and men of God have been deprived of their rights and robbed of their inheritances.

This simplification of the situation shows that conflict will follow the righteous (those who are in the right) until:

...a time when a certain power would exist on the earth, that would be more powerful than the powers of darkness, when the righteous should no more be trodden under foot, cast out, and oppressed.

This freedom from oppression included all mankind.

Taylor reasoned that this time of liberty for all would be
brought about by "adapting our lives and actions to the position that we now occupy...as those who are destined to lay the foundation of that kingdom which shall stand forever...It is the will of God we are trying to do at the present time...not in one little item, but in every action of our lives..." Taylor clearly wanted to impress upon his listeners that they must see the consequences of their actions in an eternal rather than immediate perspective.

Any unrightful attempt to hinder the Saints should be seen as an attempt to hinder the work of God. They could, therfore, rightfully oppose a law or force, if it could be demonstrated: (1.) that the law or force was being used specifically to interfere with their human or religious liberties, and (2.) that the Saints were doing all in their power to conform to constitutional requirements. Taylor uses the bulk of this speech to verify that both assertions were occurring.

For many persons outside of the Church, Taylor's arguments based upon the special privileges and assignments of Mormons, would be anything but convincing. Perhaps, realizing this, he uses more acceptable proof to show that Mormons were honoring the U. S. Constitution, and the proper laws of the land. He said:

It is true we have a Church government, Church laws, Church discipline, and by the holy Priesthood associated with this Church we have governed the people. Still we have been subject to another government, power, and authority...to which we have been willingly subject; and it was
told us by the Lord, that if we observed the laws of God, we need not break the laws of man.

The laws of men we have kept faithfully, adhering tenaciously to the principles of the Constitution of the Government, under which we have lived. We have not transgressed them in one iota, but have maintained our relationship honourably with the nation we have been associated.

He then lists the several steps taken by the Church to insure a proper allegiance to the country, e.g., organized a local government, wrote a local constitution, petitioned to be recognized as a Territory and State, and sought the sanction of Congress. These actions were "approved gladly, considered right, and according to the usages and laws of the United States." Taylor then attempts to show that the actions against the Saints are totally unjust:

We came out here because we were disfranchised, exiled, robbed or out rights as American citizens, and forced to wander in the wilderness to seek among the savages of the forest [for] that freedom denied us by Christianity...

What next? Why on the back of this, afterlying, about us, slandering, abusing, and imposing upon us, trampling upon our rights, and sending the meanest curses among us that ever disgraced the footstool of God—men they are ashamed of themselves, they have now sent an armed force contrary to law and right and to the principles that ought to prevail inthe United States. They have no more right to do this than I have to cut any of your throats.

Furthermore, Taylor proclaims that the true reason for their actions are either for personal gain or still yet, deliberate religious persecution. He went on:

Why is it that we are persecuted? It is because we believe in the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth...because the principles of righteousness are introduced among the
children of men, and they expose the evils corruption, priestcraft, political craft, and the abominations that evrywhere exist. They lay naked before all men the abominable acts of the human family. It is not because there is evil among us, but because there is truth and holiness...

If we had corruption, grog-holes, rowdyism, and every kind of pollution among us, and were this place permitted to sink of iniquity, where the gambler, horse-racer, blackleg, and every evil character would be tolerated, then we should be hail fellows, well met, with our enemies. The wicked would bow and scrape to us all over the earth: they would call us gentlemen everywhere, and should be respected.

Taylor's intense views of the wrongness of his enemies, and the rightness of his people, do indeed, make detente impossible. Having established this stance, he next discussed how the Mormons should respond to the present situation.

In evaluating the alternatives, Taylor first speaks to the very basic human liberties. He said:

Shall we lie down and let those scoundrels cut our throats? Is the first question. Shall we untie our neckcloths and tell them to come on and cut and carve away as they please, and knock down, drag out, and introduce their abominations among us their cursed Christian institutions\textsuperscript{15} to prostitute our women and lay low our best men? Shall we suffer it, I say?

If they have a mind to cut each other's throats,\textsuperscript{16} we have no objections. We say, success to both parties. But when they come to cut our, without ceremony, we say, hands off gentlemen. We are not so religious as to sit down meekly and tamely submit to such things.

He remarked that the Saints knew the difference between advocating treason, and "base submission to the will of a tyrant, who would seek to bring us into servile chains..."
He said that they were only protecting themselves and their families. But beyond this, he alluded, as he often did, that their actions had even greater impact.

There are certain things that are sacred to us and to every man and woman. If we submit to a thing of that sort, we submit to see the very institutions of our own nation trampled under foot—the Constitution of our country desecrated and rent into pieces...

We are trying to lay a foundation for ourselves, for our progenitors, and for our posterity, that will endure and extend while countless ages roll.

After looking to the consequences of their actions, Taylor had a plain and clear message to direct to their enemies. He decreed:

If you, our enemies, are determined to invade our rights, trample upon our liberties, snatch from us the boon we have inherited from our fathers, to make us bow in vile subservience to your will, we will resist you: we will not submit to it. We will say, Stand back and give us our rights. We will act the part of freemen and say it shall be the kingdom of God or nothing!

His Style:

The differences in arrangement, delivery, and proofs between this speech and the first are significant. The time between the two events is only two months. The likelihood is, therefore, small that these differences are a result of a major change in Taylor's style. Some of their causes may be evident.

One of the first differences may come as a result of Taylor knowing that the Army officers were in attendance at the meeting. This may have lead to Taylor's exhibition of
great emotional appeal in this speech. He mentions the threat of their approach to the valley:

"Are you not afraid of being killed?" you may ask me. No. Great conscience! Who cares about being killed...Who would be afraid of a poor, miserable soldier--a man who gets eight dollars a month for killing people...Who is afraid of them? Let them come on or stay and wiggle...

Furthermore, emotional and passionate dedication was required of the Saints to accomplish the extreme actions which they would be forced to take against their enemies. This is illustrated in some of the previous excerpts. And from portions of Taylor's conclusion, we read:

...after all this, and more, I say, shall we suffer those poor, miserable, damned, infernal scoundrels to come here and infringe upon our rights?

["No!" resounded throughout the Tabernacle, making the walls of the building tremble.]

No! It shall be the kingdom of God or nothing. That is my text, I believe; and we will stick to it--we will maintain it; and, in the name of Israel's God, the kingdom of God shall roll on, and all the powers of earth and hell cannot stop its progress. It is onward, onward, ONWARD, from this time henceforth, to all eternity!

It is impossible for us to know today how impassionate was his plea. It is, however, safe to assume from that style of language and the audience response that his delivery was heated.

In addition to the real threat of the oncoming army and presence of their officers, events from the past may have charged his thinking. The Deseret News Weekly had been running a series of excerpts from LDS history. The
October 28, 1857 issue printed, by chance, the events surrounding mob violence just prior to the Martydom. It included remarks from Joseph Smith that "There is no mercy here," and "if taken again we should be massacred, or I was not a prophet of God."17 It is no wonder that John Taylor's words were "warm" during his speech. His ideas were more systematically arranged in this speech.

This can be attributed to several factors: first, he had given many speeches on the same topic over many years; second, though he did not use a text, he had fashioned those ideas on paper numerous times as an editor; and third, he had known in advance on what subject he would speak. One of the ways he helped his listeners to follow his reasoning was with the use of repetitive phrases. During one argument he began his points with: "We have," "We came," "We applied," "We petitioned," etc. On another occasion he used: "They..." "They..." "They..." Also, when leading to a new major idea, he usually began it with a question.

For his proofs and argument he utilized two methods. When he referred to rights and abuses, he used true historical events e. g. Mormon, Anti-Mormon, and United States actions. When referring to the God and his kingdom, he used analogies such as: "the father and his ungrateful children," and "the farmer with disobedient workers."

Overall, this speech seems more in line, than the
first, with the style typically found in a Taylor speech defending the principles of liberty.

Summary

By today's standards, this speech may seem extreme. Considering the pressing circumstances, it was a speech to call people to action—extreme action. Taylor's views and arguments were that:

1. The course of natural man and divine man are not reconcilable. There has always been a struggle between good and evil. The righteous will eventually triumph. When evil is overcome, liberty will abound.

2. Only God has a right to rule. The Church of Jesus of Latter-day Saints is God's foundation of his reign. Any attempt to hinder the Saints, is an attempt to hinder God's efforts on earth. The Saints oppressors are in the hands of God.

3. The laws of God are higher than the laws of man. The Saints should obey the laws of man so long as those laws do not interfere with religious principles. If nations would acknowledge God, they would govern better.

4. Latter-day Saints must struggle for justice and liberty for themselves and all people. If Saints allow their freedoms to be trampled on, it will impact the liberties of their progenitors and all the world.
Persecution of the Saints is only a test from God.

5. Nothing can stop the progress of the kingdom of God.

The Latter-day Saints enjoy the same destiny.

The result of the arguments and ideas was two-fold. It led to greater cohesion among the Saints. And, it helped to give the Eastern decision makers and people an understanding of Mormon dedication.

An ironic quote was reprinted in the same *Deseret News* Weekly edition which carried the text of Taylor's speech.

It was written by an American writer in the East, and reads:

Modern Sermon--Rev. Mr. Ryle, the well known author thus describes a modern sermon: "A modern sermon is to open a dull, tame, pointless religious essay full of measured, round sentences, Johnsonian English, bald platitudes, timid statements and elaborately connected milk and water. It is a leaden sword, without edge or point--a heavy weapon, and little likely to do much execution." 116

Surely, Rev. Mr. Ryle never heard John Taylor speak!
"Vox Populi, Vox Dei." Speech

Delivered to the Latter-day Saints in the "Old" Tabernacle in Salt Lake City during the General Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on April 6, 1861.

Background

During the winter of 1857-58, Johnston's army was hampered in their travel. They were unable to pass through the Rocky Mountains into Utah as they had planned. It was with great difficulty that they even survived. The lack of shelter exposed them to bitter cold. The lack of supplies necessitated drastic action, which included eating many of their mule teams. It is unfortunate that the soldiers suffered, but this delay allowed valuable time to settle the issue without bloodshed. As was a hallmark with Taylor, he saw the hand of God in the affair. He later wrote on the subject that:

...the Lord put a hook in their jaws, and instead of revelling in sacked towns and cities and glutting their libidinous and riotous desires in ravishing, destroying and laying waste, they gnawed dead mules' legs at Bridger, rendered palatable by the ice, frost and snow of a mountain winter, seasoned by their pestiferous exhalations of hecatobs of dead animals, the debris of a ruined army...We had reason to say then "The Lord reigns, let the earth be glad."20

This was another proof to the Saints that the Lord will fight the battles of the Church.

Word was soon circulating in the East that the Mormons were willing to burn their homes and property rather than submit to the encroaching force. This led to national
sympathy for the Saints.21

By the spring of 1858, the demands of the Church that
the army not occupy any land closer than forty miles from
Salt Lake City was granted. Still, the distrust of the
army by the Saints was evident. When the troops entered
Salt Lake City, they found it abandoned. Only a sufficient
number of Mormons were present to ignite the straw left in
the buildings in case the soldiers attempted to stop. The
30,000 Saints had loaded their belongings into wagons and
traveled south of Salt Lake County until the event was
completed. Fortunately, the army passed quietly, and
established their camp forty miles south of Salt Lake. The
Mormons then moved back to their homes. Arrington wrote of
the whole affair:

The peaceable march of the army through Salt
Lake City, the unopposed installation of Cumming
as governor, and the subsequent return of the
Mormons to their abandoned farms and homes ended
a confrontation that had been heralded as
apocalyptic but had something of the incongruity
of comic opera. The President of the United
States had dispatched the largest peacetime army
in the nation's history to oversee the
installation of half a dozen officials in a minor
territory. He had done so without thorough
investigation...He had neglected to notify the
Mormons or to inquire after their viewpoint until
nearly a year after the expedition was sent. The
Mormons, in turn, had once more been uprooted
from their homes, interrupted in their
development of the territory, and labeled a
rebellious people.22

John Taylor was involved with every phase of the
conflict. He defended the Church in New York with his paper
the Mormon; he defended it at the podium in Utah; he took
part in negotiations with federal representatives; he
supported Brigham Young's decision to hinder the oncoming army and evacuate the Salt Lake Valley; and he offered unceasing guidance and encouragement to the Saints.

In all his expressions, Apostle Taylor acknowledged God as the director of the course of the Saints. He said,

I do not remember having read in any history, or had related to me any circumstance where an army has been subjugated so easily, and their power wasted away so effectually without bloodshed, as this in our borders. If this is not the manifestation of the power of God to us, I do not know what is.  

The predictions of the Mormon leaders were fullfilled in amazing detail. (At least, the Saints saw it that way in even the smallest happenings.) In an off-hand remark in a speech delivered in 1857, Taylor said:

Some of you are tried because you do not have many things you like to have. If you had those things, you would not be tried in that point, and it is therefore necessary you should be placed in that position. It may be necessary, after awhile, that you should be tried with more of the things of this life than you know what to do with.  

Following the army were many supply trains loaded with tools, utensils, cloth, herbs, cash, and other goods which were scarce in the territory. The contractors and soldiers provided a valuable market for the Saints to exchange eggs, butter, milk, and wheat for these goods. When the army was being removed at the start of the Civil War in 1861, the Church purchased from them $4,000,000 worth of property for $100,000. To some this is of little consequence, to others it shows the extent to which Taylor related the acts
of men with the purposes of God. All along, the army
officers confessed that they did not know their reason for
coming to Utah; Taylor could cite many.

By 1861, the economy, strength and unity of the Saints
had markedly improved. The opposite was true with the
nation. This was the situation which was happening during
the April 6, 1861 General Conference of the LDS Church.
During that conference, John Taylor delivered the
speech—"Vox Populi, Vox Dei." An outline and analysis of
that speech follows.

Outline

Introduction:

A. We have just presented our leaders to be sustained.
B. There is greater unanimity here than anywhere in
   the world.
C. We have among us a strong feeling of unity.
D. Our opposition readily acquiesces from its effect.

Body:

I. No man is perfect.

   A. We cannot expect others to be perfect.
   B. With the same judgement we judge, God shall judge
      us.
   C. We should yield to our leaders.
      1. If we are uncertain about their views, we should
         follow the majority.
      2. It is all voluntary.

II. [Thesis statement] "There is a little difference
between our principles...the principles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and what are called democratic principles."

A. Democracy governs by the people alone.
   1. When the people are righteous, this is one of the best governments on earth.
   2. When the people are corrupt, it is one of the worst.

B. We do not feel people are capable of governing themselves.

C. Most governments have ruled by force.
   1. Thus the many submit to the few.
   2. Most people have had little to say in the matter.

D. We have always supposed that a republican government is the best.
   1. An American motto is "Vox populi, vox Dei."
      a. I do not think that the voice of the people is always the voice of God.
      b. The Northern and Southern States are republics. Which of them is guided by the Lord? Neither.

E. Humans have not the wisdom to govern others.

F. Governments have within themselves the elements which lead to their downfall.

III. Only God can govern men effectively.

A. He has the proper form of government.
1. First God gives us his counsel.
2. Then people use their liberty to choose their actions.
3. It is not a priestcraft. Everyone has their voice, agency, and perfect freedom.

B. No man or set of men has the talent to rule properly.
1. God will not confer that ability to wicked men.
2. It requires the same intelligence which governs the universe.

IV. God will rule the earth.
A. He has organized a medium through which his will can be made known.
1. People are free to decide whether to accept that medium.
2. That medium is the LDS Priesthood.

B. The leaders in that organization are subject to more scrutiny than any government on earth.
1. Twice each year they are subject to the vote of the people they lead.
2. They are taught that their very leader to whom they are responsible is God.

C. When God dictates his will through this channel, it is given through the Holy Ghost to those whose right it is to know.

V. Are we trying to revolutionize the world?
A. By force, power, or overthrow; no.
B. Why are people so jealous of us?

1. We have not injured anyone, even when provoked
2. We wish to bless this nation; it is unwilling

VI. Our greatest task is to learn to govern ourselves.

A. We are from different backgrounds, and we must
   come together, learn to bend, and bow to the
   Priesthood of God.

B. Use your freedom to follow the Lord.

1. Forget your imaginary rights, and seek for
   wisdom.
2. We don't need more liberties; we need to
   be more responsible with those we have.

C. Do not think you have to get involved with
   everyone's problems.

1. Let the appointed leaders take care of it.
2. Mind your own business.
3. Everything will be righted in time.

D. Concentrate on doing good.

Conclusion:

A. The spirit of unity is the spirit of power,
   energy, and life.

B. Unity will make us rich and strong.

C. It will give us peace in our bosoms.

D. Let us become co-workers with our leaders, and all
   will be well.

Speech Analysis
His ideas on liberty:

This speech differs from the others in one important way. It was not intentionally given to support or defend liberty. Clearly, Taylor's purpose was to encourage unity among the Saints. Although, unity was his major thesis, he indirectly alluded to aspects on liberty critical to the success of Latter-day Saints as individuals and as a people. That idea is: Liberty can lead to your salvation or your downfall. He affirms that idea when he said:

> When you feel like talking about your rights, let me advise you to go into your closet, forget your imaginary rights, and ask the Lord to give you wisdom to guide you aright, that you may act before him as children of the light, and not be the means of throwing a stumblingblock in the way of others.

Perhaps, through the many years of Taylor's seeking for and defense of liberty, some people thought that liberty must be had at any cost.

Until the present, Taylor had always spoke of liberty in terms of the Mormons' right to freedoms. It must be remembered that many of those speeches and writings were directed to the enemies of the Church who would like nothing better than to hamper the Saints in any way. History concretely shows, however, that the Saints chose time after time to sacrifice their rights rather than infringe upon anyone. In this speech, Taylor addresses this issue. He said:

Never mind if somebody is trying to encroach [upon you]; never mind your independence and your rights. I was talking to a man, the other day, who
I must have my rights.' I replied to him, 'I have no rights only those that God gives me.' But I have been imposed upon upon, said the man. Well, what if you have? It is a great deal better if you had imposed upon somebody else. Just say, Why, that man don't know any better; if he can stand it, I can.

This does not sound like Taylor at all! Here is the very man who had several times threatened to "sell his life as dearly" as he could if anyone attempted to take away his rights. Now he says, "...never mind your independence and your rights." Looking at it merely on the surface would lead one to believe Taylor's words were at odds with each other. A brief investigation into the setting which those remarks were made, shows that they are quite compatible.

He was not speaking to people who were interested in hindering the Church. He was trying the encourage the Saints to have unity with each other. If a person mistakenly felt that liberty was paramount, then he would not tolerate the occasional intrusions and mistakes which invariably occur in a society so diversified. Taylor said:

We are assembled here from different nations, having a variety of prejudices, different kinds of education, having imbibed different feelings, notions, and ideas; and we have now come together to learn to bend our minds to yield our opinions, and not to follow our own notions, not to cling to our peculiar whims and practices.

Taken with his other ideas on liberty, this would suggest a very interesting concept. It is that the Latter-day Saints, like all people, must have their rights, and when they have them, they should exercise them together as a unified body. To some, this may seem like Mormons
give up their rights. A common complaint among those who disapprove of the Church is that the Church exercises excessive control over its members. Taylor explained the necessity of yielding one's positions, when he said:

...we think that those who dictate matters ought to have the Spirit of the Lord to guide them, and consequently yield our judgement to theirs...It is all voluntary on the part of the people...Although we may feel an uncertainty in regard to the views of some, yet with those feelings we act in unison, to a certain extent, and we yield to the judgment of the majority, and to that of those whose right it is to nominate and dictate in the kingdom of God.

Here arises the great distinction between the citizens of Mormonism and the citizens of many other governments. Taylor asserts that their leaders are directed by God. Church members can, therefore, subordinate themselves to their leaders without fear of having those rights abused. Taylor states:

We can acquiesce generally in the guidance of the Lord, and with pleasure obey the dictation of his servants...[for] when God dictates through the channel that he has placed upon the earth, he directs through the gift and power of the Holy Ghost, and this way manifiests his will to those whose right it is to know it.

He says that this does not infringe upon anyone's freedom. Certainly, liberties can come simply as a result of community unity. Taylor continued:

...there will be a feeling of unity in our small districts; and instead of its being, 'Tom wants to do this, and Jim wants to do the other,' it will be, 'I don't want my way. but I want the mind and will of God.'...By pursuing this course, you will get along much easier, and there will
not be near so much grumbling and complaining. Additionally, there are even greater liberties which come from knowing the right path to choose. Taylor said, "In this way he [God] makes known the things of his kingdom and the principles that are necessary to the salvation of the people." Aligning oneself to this counsel will bring "the most perfect freedom." It is equally clear that a person who is unwilling to subordinate any of his liberties to anyone simply for liberty's sake will have only his own strength to rely on--thus causing his own downfall.

As the Saints unitedly ally their freedoms under divine rule, "then the voice of the people is the voice of God."--Vox populi, vox Dei.

His style of speaking:

There are numerous speeches by John Taylor in which his hallmarks of a fiery delivery and eloquent language are evident. This is not one of them. It is not to say, however, that he did not fulfill his objective. In fact, his lack of fire and eloquence is an indication of factors which will: (1.) Give credence to his ideas, (2.) Prove his intellectual powers, (3.) Affirm his love of liberty, and (4.) Demonstrate his support of church leaders.

These assertions can be largely attributed to Taylor's extemporaneous delivery. It may have led, in this case, to his creating or at least altering his speech while listening to the speakers who preceeded him. The first
speaker was President Brigham Young. He spoke at length on the importance of the Saints being willing to be counseled by their leaders. Young said, in part:

Be ready to receive the truth. If it is contrary to our feelings--let it be ever so opposite to our own feelings or affections--receive the words of counsel from those who are appointed to lead us.26

Heber C. Kimball spoke next, and offered some remarks on the same topic. He said:

President Young is our leader, and has been all the time since the death of Joseph Smith the Prophet. He can govern this people with his hands in his pockets, and they are not governed one whit by the men that are sent here. We are going to be ruled by our Father in Heaven, and the agents he sends and appoints for us, from this day henceforth and forever.27

Apostle Kimball was followed by Taylor. It would be reasonable to assume that he was somewhat influenced by their speeches. Perhaps he felt the importance of addressing the same issue. Had Taylor been at all at odds with his leaders, he would not have been so inclined. Indeed, it would have been peculiar for a man who disagreed with his leaders to advocate unity with them. Perhaps, the Saints reasoned that if Taylor can submit, so can we. These things would both show his support for his leaders and give credence to his ideas.

Even though Taylor organized his speech on unity only moments before, his ideas were nonetheless complex and well-stated. One such impromptu statement reads\
The Priesthood is placed in the Church for this purpose, to dig, to plant, to nourish, to teach correct principles, and to develop the order of the kingdom of God, to fight the devils, and maintain and support the authorities of the Church of Christ upon the earth. It is our duty all to act together to form one great unit one great united phalanx, having sworn allegiance to the kingdom of God; then everything will move quietly, peaceably, and easily, and then there will be very little trouble.

Few people could speak so eloquently on such lofty, complex issues even with adequate preparation. This, Taylor did on a moment notice. It is an indication of his intellectual power.

Having taking the subject of unity, Taylor still connected it with principles on liberty. By doing so, he explained the distinctions between submitting to the tyranny of men and submitting to divinely inspired leaders, and between using liberty as a ploy to escape responsibility and using it to do the will of God. To Taylor, principles of liberty apply to every area of life.

Summary

This address is important in the study of John Taylor's public speaking for two very essential reasons: (1.) It shows how important the background and setting are to reach reliable conclusions on Taylor's rhetoric, and (2.) It reveals the precedence Taylor feels obedience has over liberty.

On the first point, if some of his statements were
taken strictly at face value, they would contradict statements given in other speeches. Unfortunately, taking words out of context is the favorite pastime of some. It is, therefore, necessary that the complete story is made available. On the second point, if one were to focus only on the speeches Taylor gave in defense of liberty, one could easily get the mistaken impression that he felt liberty was paramount to anything else in life. This speech clearly explains areas in which liberties should be subordinated.

In brief, Taylor's arguments were:

1. There are great benefits available to those who unite. It will make a people strong. It will bring community peace and cooperation.

2. Do not demand liberty at the expense of your salvation. It is better for you to be infringed upon than you to infringe upon someone else. God will right things. Seek for wisdom, not rights. We don't need more liberties; we need to be more responsible with those we already have.

3. Only God has the capacity to govern properly. Human governments have within themselves the elements for their own destruction. God has commenced his rule on earth with his Priesthood.

4. If we are united in submitting to God's will we will gain in knowledge and power. Our liberties will
grow, not diminish. We must be willing to follow our appointed leaders. When the Saints unite and do this, then it will be—Vox populi, vox Dei.

While the first speech focused on what rights are, and the second on how to defend them; this speech explains what to do with them once they are obtained.
"Ideas Nationale" Speech

Delivered to the Latter-day Saints in the "Old"
Tabernacle in Salt Lake City on January 18, 1865.

Background

After the breakdown of President Buchanan's policy
toward the Mormons, and the peaceful triumph of the Saints
during the Utah war of 1857-58, the Church was left
relatively unmolested for a number of years. The troubles
between the North and South over slavery and state
sovereignty had the nation's attention. John Taylor
remarked that "They have now got the difficulties at home
which they intended to create among us."28

Newly elected Abraham Lincoln may have assumed that
after all the Mormons had been put through at the hands of
the United States that Mormons would have little sympathy
for the North-South problem. He had the following to say,
in 1863, about the Mormon situation:

...when I was a boy on the farm in Illinois
there was a great deal of timber on the farm
which we had to clear away. Occasionally we
would come to a log which had fallen down. It
was too hard to split, too wet to burn, and too
heavy to move, so we plowed around it...tell
Brigham Young that if he will let me alone I will
let him alone.29

The mere offer to leave the Mormons alone was about as
philanthropic as any gesture ever made toward the Saints.
Without questioning Lincoln's intent, it can be said that
he now needed the support of the Church. It was through Utah that western stage and supply lines traveled during the Civil War. Also, the trancontinental telegraph, built in part by the Mormons, passed through Utah. It would have been quite disadvantageous to the Union to continue the earlier harrassment of the Saints. Other than a annual "War Tax" of $26,000 and a small detachment to guard the telegraph, which the Mormons gladly supplied, the Saints were involved little in the war.30

The largest impact on Utah came as an indirect result of the war and a direct result of rise of mining in the Great Basin. Both situations brought thousands of immigrants to the territory. Many were fleeing the war, others looking for fortune. Brigham Young said that most of the immigrants were good and honorable people.31 Still, there were those of a questionable character. General P. Edward Connor, an avid anti-Mormon stationed in Salt Lake, deliberately sought to bring in miners to overwhelm the influence of the Church. In a letter to his superiors he overtly told of his plan. He wrote:

...on the subject of the difficulties which have considerably excited the Mormons for the past ten days, it is perhaps proper that I should report more fully by letter relative to the real causes which have rendered collision possible. 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...to put a check on the Mormon authorities.32
The threat never showed itself at the ballot box, but did show in the pocket book. In many instances, the Saints and Gentiles patronized only their own establishments. Finally, at the October General Conference, President Brigham Young stated the following:

...cease to to give the wealth which the Lord has given us to those who would destroy the kingdom of God and scatter us over the four winds, if they had the power. Cease to buy from them the gewgews and frivolous things they bring here to sell to us for our money and means--means that we should have to bring the poor here, to build our temples, our towers, ornament our public grounds, and buildings, and to beautify our cities. For, as merchandising has been generally conducted here, instead of having our means to perform these public works, it has been borne away by our enemies by the millions. 33

In addition to the separation which existed between the Mormons and Gentiles, other factors led to the Saints being accused of being exclusive.

One such incident in which a small apostate Mormon faction defied laws ended in bloodshed. It began in 1863, when a Mormon named Joseph Morris claimed to be the new prophet of the Church and denounced Brigham Young as a failure. John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff were sent to interview the man. It ended in his excommunication from the Church. Morris convinced a small group of Mormons to follow him. They built a fort and lived with all things in common. Contentions soon arose in some members toward Morris. The Morrisites, as they had become known, refused to allow some of their discontented members to leave their
Non-Mormon Governor Frank Fuller sent a posse of one hundred and fifty Utah militia to rescue the detainees. The Morrisites refused to comply. The militia was fired upon from within the fort, and two of the posse were killed. In the end, Morris and three others were killed in their attempt to resist. This affair was, in various forms, made known throughout the country. The common perception was that Mormons would resist anyone who disagreed with them.

The effects of the Morris affair, anti-Mormon propaganda, and the gentile problem, together with past prejudices, gave the nation the impression that Mormons were intolerant and exclusive. This was the atmosphere when John Taylor delivered his speech to the Saints in the Tabernacle on January 18, 1865 entitled, "Ideas Nationale."

An outline and analysis of that speech follows.

Outline

Introduction:

A. We are gathered out from the world to be a distinct and separate people.

B. [Thesis Statement] "I would like to show you in what respect that separation exists; what relation we sustain to God, to his church and kingdom, and to the world."

C. We are unlike any other people.
Body:

I. The nations of the world have become amalgamated.
   A. Their systems have been codified as ideas nationale.
      1. Their mediums in which ideas flow have become nationalized.
   2. Their languages add to this amalgamation.
   3. Their governments are purely political.
   B. They often control and regulate the consciences of their people.
      1. They use religion to accomplish this.
      3. It is not done this way in the United States.

II. We differ from all nations.
   A. We have come together on religious principles.
      1. God has commenced to organize his kingdom.
      2. We are being assembled to administer it.
   B. We are composed of many nationalities.
      1. The Elders went to many nations to bring you the gospel.
      2. Then you gathered here.
   C. Here, we submit to the United States rule.

III. God will introduce a rule and government of his own.
   A. All nations and powers will submit to his rule.
   B. We believe all nations will be overthrown.
   C. Many religious parties say this will happen, but we differ by saying that we are that people and
this is his kingdom.

D. That kingdom will rule both religiously and politically.

1. Some say this is treason.
2. God does not think it is.
3. No man or power can control the will of God.

E. God will bring his purposes to pass is his own way.

1. We will not interfere with anyone.
   a. We obey this nation's laws and honor the constitution.
   b. Mr. Krolikeski asked if we "...propose to bring about a revolution in the world through religious principles?" Yes.

2. We expect to continue to progress and advance in religious and political intelligence and power.

3. These principles we learn will spread and increase over all the world.

IV. Some say of us that we are exclusive.

A. We have exhibited greater philanthropy than any other group of people.

1. We have sent Elders throughout the world to promote happiness

2. We are cosmopolitans--citizens of the world.

3. We do not do it for wealth or fame.

B. We have sought to do good to everybody.
C. Had this nation listened to Joseph Smith, they would not be in their present position.

1. It reminds me of Christ speaking to Jerusalem. That he would have gathered them in, but they would not.

2. Is it exclusive to try to save a people who are rushing to the brink of a precipice?

D. We cannot help those who will not listen.

V. They may say, "Then why do you not associate with everybody?"

A. There is a difference between taking the gospel to others, and allowing evil to be brought to us.

1. There is a great difference between associating with honorable people, than with the opposite class of men.

2. We have a right to choose what company we keep.

B. We have been forced to tolerate acts which would not be tolerated other places.

C. We will not tolerate a man pushing and crowding himself on our families.

1. Before anyone is permitted to mix with my family, I must know something about them.

2. I have a right to know which influences are brought around my house.

3. Independent of religion, I have a social right to know what kind of people are coming here.
D. Americans have even suggested sending people here to corrupt us.

E. Turn the tables. Have you ever seen any of the Elders of this Church try to crowd themselves on any people or nation? No, never.
1. We claim the same kind of treatment from you.
2. If we want your company, we will ask for it.

F. We do not mean to say that all gentiles are bad.
1. There are a great many honorable, high-minded people.
2. We wish to treat all good men as brothers.

VI. Let us look at our position.

A. We are in the midst of the mountains; the nation is at war.

B. All kinds of characters are flocking here. We do not know who they are.
1. Many of them are cut-throats, blacklegs, and murderers.
2. Other communities have resorted to hanging them.

C. We are an honest, industrious people, and will not associate with them until we know who they are.

Conclusion:

A. We have a perfect right to do as we are doing.

B. Our purpose is to serve God and let truth rule.

C. We mean to take care of ourselves and maintain right.
Speech Analysis

His ideas on liberty:

In this analysis, it is important to understand Taylor's meaning of the term--nation. Today's common association is that of being a country. In this speech he refers to a nation as "a distinct people." A nation would have "...their own peculiar theories, customs, and ideas of religion and politics, and their own notions and standards of a social system." These things together, he calls--ideas nationale.

There are many examples throughout the world where separate and distinct nations exist within one country. For example, in the United States sovereign rights have been given to the Indian, the Eskimo, Polynesian, and the Amish peoples. It is not unreasonable for a nation to be distinguished within a country on the basis of religion.

From 1850 to about 1870, the Mormons had all the characteristics of a distinct nation within the country of the United States. They had common customs and beliefs; they comprised almost all of the area's population; and they largely governed and financed themselves. Taylor said:

We are really a peculiar people, that is, our views differ from those of the rest of the world generally, and that is not confined alone to our religion, but to our social system, to our politics, and to most of the affairs associated with human life.
At the very least, they expected to have the liberty to continue their self-determination in these areas.

Beyond this, the Church had taught for some time that only God had a right to rule the earth, and that his kingdom would overthrow all governments. Taylor explained:

> We believe it; we believe, too, that it will be literally fulfilled; that all nations will be overthrown; that these kingdoms, and governments, and powers, and authorities that exist on the earth, will be broken and destroyed, and that God will introduce a government and rule and dominion of his own.

These doctrines are common to many faiths, but the Saints took them one step farther. Taylor said:

> There are many people that have believed in these things, many religious parties have written about them; they have expected them, and believed in them; they have been part and parcel of their faith: there is nothing remarkable, therefore, about this. But when we go a little further and say, we believe that we are the people, then it places things in another position.

If this divine calling was valid, it would give the Latter-day Saints special rights and authority. The Saints certainly believed it was true. It seemed quite reasonable and justified to feel "distinct and separate" from the world. Their religious and social requirements were more restrictive than many societies. Additionally, they expected those requirements would eventually encompass all people. Taylor said that the kingdom has the right to "not only govern all people in a religious capacity, but also in a political capacity."

There is no wonder why outsiders took great concern
about the Mormon situation. For years, the Mormons had claimed the authority and right from God to rule the earth. Ancient, modern, and present history is filled with examples of how a people's claim to divine appointment led to tyranny or genocide. Latter-day Saint leaders had proclaimed numerous times that these events would be brought about by the Lord and not by the Church. Taylor continued:

...who do we interfere with politically, whose rights are proscribed by us, or what law is broken? None. We respect, honor and obey the Constitution and laws of the nation with which we are associated.

Without being able to substantiate any rebellion among the Saints, anti-Mormons still called them treasonous. Taylor argued:

I do not know that it is; it is not treason against the Lord, and I do not know that it is treason against the government of the United States, or any other government. I have yet to learn that I or any other person, or nation have power or authority to control the Almighty in his acts. I think that when he has a mind to, he will turn and overturn, and revolutionize, and bring to pass his purposes without asking me or any other person or power on the earth...

Not being able to prove treason against the Mormons, the next accusation was that they were exclusive. Taylor faces this charge in two ways. First he illustrates how philanthropic the Saints really have been. Next, he argues that the Saints have a right to choose the persons with whom they associate. He began:

I very much question whether greater
philanthropy has been developed among any other people under the face of the heavens than among this people... Can you point out another people who have exhibited the same degree of intelligence, earnestness, and zeal in travelling from nation to nation, from city to city, by land and sea, over mighty oceans and desert wastes, even to the ends of the earth in order to promote the happiness and well being of their fellow men?...

...we have sought to benefit everybody that would be benefited by us, we have sought to benefit them every way in regard to their circumstances---in regard to their politics, and in regard to their bodies, to their souls, in regard to time and eternity.

He stated that our Elders went to all nations, not for wealth of fame, but to seek for the welfare of the human family. He said that the Saints have sent out teams by the thousands and assisted economically to bring thousands of persons to Utah who would "never have owned a foot of land anywhere else." He said further that if the nation would have listened to the counsel of the prophets of God, it would not be in the predicament it was then in. Taylor stated:

Can we in justice be called niggardly and contracted in our feelings? Can it be said that we have not shown liberality? It would be folly and madness to talk so...

Is it wrong, cruel and oppressive to try and save a people when you see that people or nation rushing headlong to the brink of a precipice? Is it wrong to tell them to hold on or they will be destroyed? You would rather call it a voice of a friend.

The next accusation against the Saints was that if they truly were concerned about all mankind, why do they not mix and associate with everybody? Taylor said that
people have a right to associate with whomever they please
and that:

You can worship what you please—a donkey or
a red dog—but you must not bring that worship
into my house; I do not believe in your
gods...if you are living in a house here, you can
be a worshipper of Buddha if you please; but I do
not want it in my house...

Note that he claimed that people living in Utah had the
right to worship whatever they wanted. This would not be
the policy in a fanatic religious crusade. Not only did
the Saints not intend on dominating the world, they allowed
for free expression of belief right in the heart of Mormon
country.

This allowance for individual freedom did not mean the
Saints would tolerate anything. There was with the Saints,
as there is with all people, a reasonable level of
exclusiveness. Taylor explained:

I wish this people to understand one thing,
that there is a very material difference between
treating men with courtesy and kindness, acting
in a spirit of civilization, and trying to
introduce correct principles among them, and
permitting them to introduce their devilism among
us...we think there is a great difference between
building up the kingdom of God and submitting to
the power of the devil.

Taylor continued:

Let us look at our position for a little
while if you please. We are here in the midst of
the mountains; there is a dreadful war raging in
the east, and all kinds of charcters are flocking
here from that war, good and bad, and who knows
who they are? We know one thing; vigilant
committees in neighboing mining settlements are
cutting the throats of some and hanging others.
How do we know who we have here? Very likely
cutthroats, blacklegs, gamblers, guerillas, and muderrers, and all gathered here together; and here is an honest, industrious people, and we do not choose to associate with strangers until we know who they are, and we think we are perfectly right in so doing.

It must have seemed peculiar for a people who believed their religious, political, and social standards to be the most philanthropical on earth, yet be accused of being exclusive.

His style of speaking:

Of the four speeches, this one is the best illustration of Taylor's ability to present arguments in an organized and logical fashion. One technique he incorporated was beginning his major points with an accusation against the Saints e. g. "Some people will say, 'You are harsh, you are exclusive, you do not mix with others.'" or "'But you do not allow liberty of conscience?'' or "'Do you mean to say that all the gentiles are bad men?''

Also, he often began a new idea in the form of a question. The same technique was incorporated in two of the three previous speeches, in his debate in Boulogne, France in 1850, in his discourse with Major Warren, and his newspaper rebutals to Schyuler Colfax. Unquestionably, this must have been one of his most used methods in organizing and delivering his speeches and writings. The benefits from this method are numerous. As he used no text
or notes, he may have reviewed in his mind the questions he wished to answer during a speech. This would help keep him from wondering off his main subject, and help him move more smoothly from point to point. It would help his delivery in that it would give his listeners an easier grasp of the points he wished to cover, and would lend itself to a more conversational tone.

It is difficult to determine why he would show a marked improvement of organization in this speech over the others. There were two significant differences in the setting from the other speeches: (1.) His was the only speech recorded that day. This indicates that either he was the only speaker, or if there were others, they were not general leaders in the Church; and (2.) There is little from LDS history that suggests any major crisis or problem occurred that winter.

These factors give an indication that the attitude of the Saints in attendance was more relaxed than those in the other speeches. With only one speaker of import, less tension in the community, not being the Sabbath, plus being a winter day in January, it is quite likely that the Tabernacle was not completely filled. In smaller gatherings, speakers invariably use less passion, speak in a more conversational tone, slow down, and become more deliberate. Perhaps, only when a threatening situation requires it, does Taylor resort to passionate, strong
orations.

When in a more conventional setting, his organization might well match his lofty ideas and polished reason; his delivery might more resemble the philosopher and sage he was reputed to be, rather than the fiery, staunch defender and advocate we have seen in the previous speeches and writings.

Summary

In each of Taylor's speeches more aspects of his ideas and abilities are brought to light. This speech shows how he responded to the setting by modifying his delivery. It would be awkward, at best, if the same delivery from his speech "The Kingdom or Nothing" would have been given to this audience or this speech to the other group. It almost discredits any attempt at categorizing the man's speaking. Still, we have discovered how he might respond in a given circumstance.

One thing Taylor does not alter is his ideas on liberty. Despite the calm of his delivery, he still had important issues to communicate to the Saints and to the world. In this speech his main claims are:

1. The Saints are a separate and distinct people.
   They want to be free of outside controls. They came here strictly for religious reasons. They take care of each other.
2. The social, political and religious systems of the Saints are from God. It is part of establishing the kingdom of God on earth. We expect to be free to exercise it fully.

3. The Saints have done much to promote happiness throughout the world. We wish to do good for all who will allow it. We have not injured anyone.

4. We reserve the right to keep evil out of our homes. We can keep the company we choose. Our intention is not to exclude others, but to protect ourselves.
Notes: Chapter IV.

1 Thonsen, op. cit., p. 412.

2 Deseret was a term which referred to the honey-bee and represented industriousness. It is from the Book of Mormon.


4 Discourses, vol. 5, p. 120.

5 Ibid., vol. 5, p. 155-56.

6 Arrington, p. 165-66.

7 Only after the construction of the present tabernacle did the 1852 building become known as the "old" tabernacle.

8 Arrington, p. 116.


10 Inalienable means incapable of transferring ownership to or from its owner.


12 Ibid., vol. 4, p. 259.


14 Roberts, Life, p. 281.

15 Taylor refers to the companions of monogamy—adultery, prostitution, etc.

16 This refers to the North-South problem which led to the Civil War.

17 Reprinted from Joseph Smith, History of the Church vol. 6, p. 546.


19 Rich, op. cit., 256.

20 Roberts, History vol. 4, p. 259.
22Arrington, p. 169.
23Discourses, vol. 6, p. 112.
26Discourses, vol. 9, p. 3.
27Ibid., vol. 9, p. 7.
28Ibid., vol. 9, p. 12.
29Arrington, p. 170.
33Discourses, vol. 11, p. 139.
CHAPTER V.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

"A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pitchers of silver."

--Solomon

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the public speaking of John Taylor between 1857 and 1867. Specifically, it was to:

1. Investigate the ideas on liberty which Taylor used in his speeches.

2. Present the events in his life which influenced those ideas.

3. Evaluate how the ideas were presented.

4. Examine the factors which influenced his speaking style.

By reconstructing the elements of the speech setting and background, two major benefits can be derived from this study. They are: (1.) To enhance, clarify, and justify the ideas found in Taylor's speeches, and (2.) To show how arguments, reason and methods are used in differing circumstances to defend a people's liberty.

Method of Study

In order to show what events in Taylor's life helped to shape his ideas, an abridged biography was provided. A
separate chapter was devoted to Taylor's characteristics of speaking to help make reliable assumptions of his style of speech. The analysis of each of the four selected speeches was performed in the following manner:

1. The background of the events and issues pertinent to the speech was investigated.

2. An outline of the speech was developed to help clarify Taylor's arrangement and ideas.

3. An analysis of the speech included a study of his ideas on liberty and his speaking style.

4. A summary reviewed his major arguments and pointed out the highlights and peculiarities of the speech.

**General Findings**

The findings on Taylor's speaking style are:

1. Taylor often spoke with sarcasm, ridicule, and pessimism when addressing those who were against the Church.

2. Taylor spoke to the Saints with untiring optimism, encouragement, and adoration.

3. When Taylor used more reason, he used less passion; and conversely, when he used more emotion, there was less reasoning. Some of both aspects were always present.

4. Taylor often referred to past events when reasoning with non-Mormons, and referred to future events when reasoning with the Saints.
5. Taylor always spoke extemporaneously.

6. Taylor was well rehearsed in the arguments he employed.

The conclusions which were reached on Taylor's ideas on liberty are:

1. Taylor's fervent convictions on liberty were distinguishing.

2. Taylor's ideas on liberty were based upon religious concepts.

3. The persecutions Taylor faced made his convictions even more intense.

4. Taylor believed that injustices and abuses of liberties would greatly increase in the world.

5. Taylor believed that God would overthrow all powers and governments to establish a just government on earth.

6. Taylor believed that some human rights are inalienable, and others are contingent upon righteousness.

7. Taylor believed the Latter-day Saints were given special liberties in connection with their call and authority as administrators of the kingdom of God.

Conclusions

John Taylor was a rousing orator with lofty ideals—not common for any age. Still the real rhetorical intrigue is found more in seeing that time in overall perspective. Taylor's efforts were not dissimilar to
others of those days in America. Robert T. Oliver wrote of the years 1831 thru 1865 that:

Amidst a fresh conviction that the universe itself is run by moral law and that progress is to be earned by goodness and brotherly love, a spirit of renovation swept the United States, making its way into every cranny of institutional and individual life.

...a newly revealed religion for the Latter-day Saints, abolitionism, women's rights, anti-war enthusiasm, crusades against tobacco, and prohibitionism all helped to give form to the burgeoning determination to bring paradise down to earth, rather than wait passively for 'pie in the sky' to be served up in an uncertain heaven.¹

On one hand, the American people were generally seen involved in a common effort. On the other hand, Oliver classified the Latter-day Saints as one of the unique aspects of mid-nineteenth century America. So while Taylor and the Saints were allied with Americans of the day to do good, there must have been misunderstanding of each others methods of reaching that goal. Oliver continues:

What we cannot be indifferent to [as rhetoricians] is the very evident fact that every culture, by definition, constitutes a unique value system, with its own mode of thought. A Hindu cannot think as an American does; he cannot be similarly motivated; he cannot follow the same mental processes...If it is true that every culture has its own typical mode of thinking, this fact must inevitably demand a renunciation of the concept of rhetoric, in favor of the idea of a cluster of rhetorics.²

An essential conclusion of this study is that Taylor's speaking represents a distinctive rhetoric, namely: early-Mormon rhetoric. That rhetoric is likely to be understood only in context of early-Mormonism.
Recommendations

The speaking of John Taylor influenced the lives of Latter-day Saints for five decade. He delivered between two and three thousand addresses. In those addresses he promulgated a wide diversity of principles concerning the kingdom of God.

This study has investigated only four of those speeches, and only on one topic. It is quite apparent that the majority of the valuable information on John Taylor is still unresearched. That being the case, it would take much more work to encompass Taylor's entire career as a speaker.

It was also made very clear that many other outstanding Mormon speakers have yet to be studied. The fact that so few studies have been done on LDS speakers makes it difficult to even begin to name those upon whom a study would be of value. The very minimum would include the Church Presidents. Also, studies on the public speaking of Latter-day Saint women is much needed.

Another approach which may shed interesting light on Latter-day Saint rhetoric would be to undertake a comparison study of the speaking of a Mormon leader and his anti-Mormon counterpart, viz. Orson Pratt and Dr. J. P. Newman, or Daniel H. Wells and Gov. Eli H. Murray, or Heber C. Kimball and Judge James P. McKean, or John Taylor and Vice-president Schuyler Colfax.
Very much needed is a study on what the Latter-day Saint Church has done and is doing to improve the speaking ability of its local leaders, members, and missionaries. Additionally, a study on how changing societies have influenced LDS meetings would be interesting.

Overall, the basic feeling which has come about from this study is the benefit of combining the study of Latter-day Saint history with the field of communication.

Notes: Summary


"Rights of Mormonism." Speech--1857.

I did not expect to be called upon to address you this afternoon; but I always feel ready to speak of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, whenever I am called upon.

Brother Kimball said he would like to hear me say something about the Right of "Mormonism." The rights of "Mormonism" are so varied and extensive, that it would be very difficult to speak of them all in one discourse. We have the right to live. That is "Mormonism." We have the right to eat and drink, and to pursue that course that we may think proper, so long as we do not interfere with other persons' rights. We have a right to live free and unmolested; and there is no law, human or divine, that rightfully has a right, if you please, to interfere with us. We have a right to think, and we have a right, after we have thought, to express our thoughts, and to write them, and to publish them. We possess as many rights and as much liberty in relation to this as any other persons; and there is no law, human or divine, that can rightfully rob us of those liberties or trample upon our rights. We have a right to worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience; and no man, legally, in this land, has a right to interfere with us for so doing. We have a right to believe in and practise as we please in relation to matrimony. We have a right to choose whether we will have one wife or twenty; and there is no law of the land that can legally interfere with us; neither is there a man that I have met with, that professed to be a man at all, that can say that we are acting illegally. We have a right to secure the favour of God, and we have rights as the citizens of the kingdom of God. We have rights upon earth, and we have rights in heaven; we have rights that affect us and our posterity and progenitors, worlds without end; and they are rights that no man can interfere with. We have a right to our own Governor, as brother Kimball says; we have a right to our own Judges; we have a right to make our own laws and to regulate our own affairs.

These are some of the rights that belong to us; but when you come to talk about rights, they are so various, complicated, and extensive, that it is difficult, without reflection, to enumerate them. They exist with us here and all around us, and they are rights that affect us, our progenitors, and posterity, worlds without end. But in regard to some of the things with which we are more intimately connected, we have our individual, our social, and political rights, so far as existing here as a people is concerned. I do not know but that you will think that I am for sticking to my text pretty well; however, I will try, as well as I can, to do justice to it.

If we look at the very foundation of government, we may enquire, How were governments formed? Who organized them? and whence did they obtain their power? It is a subject for deep thought and reflection, and
one that very few have understood; nor is it very easy to define, definitely, the rights of man politically, socially, and nationally.

Now, I will suppose there was no government in the world, but that we were thrown right back into the primitive state, and that we had to form a government to regulate ourselves; what would be the position? Why, the strong man would intrude upon the weak, even as a strong animal intrudes upon a weaker, taking from it its rights; for that is a natural animal propensity that exists in all the creatures, as well as in man.

How was society organized? Upon natural principles. I am not now speaking about God and his government, but upon the rights of man. If there were a few bullies in the land, and we had to organize the government anew, the people would combine to protect themselves against them—to protect themselves against those who had injured them, that would rob them of their labour, of their cattle, of their grain, or of anything they might have.

What would be the result of this course? It would be that a combination would exist that would organize to protect themselves, that the weak might be protected in his rights, that the feeble might not be trampled under foot. This would be the natural construction and organization of society.

Very well; when society became large and extensive, and could not convene in a general assembly to represent themselves, they would send their representatives, who would combine to represent their interests by delegation, or proxy.

Who would those individuals represent? They would represent the parties of that neighbourhood, of that state, of that country or district of country that sent them; would they not? And what would you think of those men that were sent, if they attempted to rule over those who sent them? Why, you would say, "Come back here, you rascals, and we will send others; we sent you to represent us, and now you are combining to put your feet upon our necks.

This has been the case ever since governments were organized; and hence have arisen governors, kings, and emperors. They have generally contrived to get the reins of power into their own hands; and, through the cunning of priestcraft and kingcraft, they have generally managed to bring the people under their feet and to trample upon their rights. Such has been the case in the nations of Europe and Asia. It is, in fact, the history of the world.

By what right have any kings obtained their dominions? Has it been from God? No. Has it been from the people? No. How did they get in possession of their kingdoms? How was France organized? How England? How Germany? And how were other states and nations organized? They have been organized because men usurped power, brought into subjection other men, trampled under foot their rights, and made slaves of them, and made them carry out their laws, and do their pleasure without any peculiar interest in the things that were done. And those men, instead of governing the people according to the principles of righteousness and truth, have generally made yokes and put them on their necks, and trampled them in the dust—so much so, that in many of the countries of Europe you cannot travel but you must have a passport; and every little upstart has a right to examine it and to stop you, if he likes.

You have to ask a right to stop in cities, and they will prevent you when they please, and not only strangers, but their own citizens; and there are many European cities now, where, if a father was to receive his own son into
his house, if he had been absent without the permission of the police, he would be subject to a heavy fine.

It is the governors of the people that bring them into subjection in this manner, until the people think that kings and priests have rights—and they have no rights—until they think that presidents, governors, and kings are the persons who possess certain inalienable rights, and that no one has a right to interfere with them.

Kings, presidents, and priests combined govern men, body and soul. The first fetter them in their bodies and liberties, and the latter in their minds and consciences; and the human family, instead of being free, are literally and almost universally in a state of vassalage.

At the time of the Reformation, men began to break off their political fetters and to claim their rights, both politically and religiously. Many people talk of that event as a church concern alone: it was as much a political matter as anything else. The causes that prompted them to take the steps they did were both religious and political, the benefits accruing only very limited and partial; still it was a resistance to tyranny and oppression. The kings that sustained the Reformers did so merely upon political grounds, and not that they cared for their religion.

What made people come from the old countries to this land? It was because they were oppressed in England, in Germany, and in other states, and they fled from that power which sought to bind chains upon their necks. And why were they determined to flee from that government into this country? Because the mother country tried to make them subject to institutions and laws that they were unwilling to submit to, and because she wanted to put yokes upon their necks. Then the mother country sent armed men over here, and sought to enforce their armed minions upon the people; but they would not submit to it; for it was on that very account that they had fled from their mother country.

Such were the feelings of your fathers, and these were the things they talked about, a few years ago; and on account of the encroachments of the parent government, they took up the sword, and declared that they would live or die free men.

What was that freedom for which they contended? Just what; I said a few minutes ago; it was the right to think, the right to speak, the right to act, the right to legislate, and the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and the right to do their own business without being interfered with.

We have come here to this land as citizens of the United States; and why have we come? Because there were men who sought to rob of us our rights, and because there was not sufficient purity and justice in the Government to protect us in our rights—because magistrates, constables, judges, governors, presidents, and officers of state, either directly or indirectly drove us, or suffered us to be driven—suffered us to be dispossessed of that which legally belonged to us.

Who are we? We are men made in the image of God, possessing the rights of other men. We have turned this desert into a flourishing field, and the desert has blossomed as the rose, and God has blessed our labours. And whom have we interfered with? Have we gone over to the States and interfered with them? Have we gone over to California and interfered with them? Have we gone to Oregon? Have we gone to New Mexico? Have we gone to any State and interfered with their rights, their laws, their immunities, or their privileges? I say we have not.

Well, then, what right has anybody
to interfere with us? Oh, because they have got the power! That is, there is no right to it; there is no legal authority to it; there is no right to it than there is in a bully and a blackguard insulting a little, weak man, because he has the power to do so. They have just the same authority that a large ox has to goad a small one, because he has the power.

They dare not interfere with some nations as they are doing with us; they dare not interfere with England or France, for fear of the consequences; and it is nothing but a principle of nasty little meanness that would try to interfere with us, and try to make you believe that they are the lords of creation. Great God! who are they? Poor, pusillanimous curses, that have not manhood nor gentility enough about them to be gentlemen. They have just the same right that the highwayman has to put his hands into your pockets and take out your money.

Who led us here? Not the Christians of the United States, nor their governors, legislators, nor presidents. Who provided for us? Did the Government of the United States? Verily, no. Who built the houses in this city? Who made the improvements around it and through this Territory? Did the inhabitants of the United States? No. But they have done all that lay in their power to discourage us in every possible way. Who have fed you and clothed you? Your own right hands—your own energy and industry, by the blessing of the Almighty.

Then by what right, and by what authority, in the name of God, and in the name of every principle of right, honor, and integrity, have they a right to interfere with us?

"Oh," say they, "the land belongs to us." Ah! indeed; and I wonder where you got it from? "Oh, we got it by right of treaty with Mexico."

And whence did the Mexicans obtain it? Who treated with those Indians? Did they pay them for it? No; but they are good Christians, and the Indians are poor savages; and what right have savages to land?" Where are their deeds and their right of possession? Will anybody tell me? "Oh, we took it because we had the power, and the United States took it from Mexico, because they had power."

It is just like a lot of boys playing together, and one of them steals the other's marbles because he has the power; and then another steals them, and calls them his, because he is a little more powerful than the other: or, when one man meets another and robs him of what he has, then two more go and take from him what he has stolen from the first one.

The simple fact in the case is, they say, "You are left upon our land, and therefore you must be in subjection to us, and we must rule over you. But even on this principle they are at fault; for we, if there is any glory in the conquest, sent five hundred men, and possess equal rights with them as American citizens."

In speaking upon this subject once before, I showed you that, by the Constitution and the very genius of our Government, they had no right to interfere with us. Again, on the common principle of justice, where did they get their rights to interfere with us? They did not bring us here, nor cultivate our farms; they did not send us either schoolmasters or priests to teach us, and we are not indebted to them for anything else. I would like to know what right they had to interfere with us? They have not a right upon religious grounds: for they kicked us out because of our religion; and, consequently, they have nothing to do with that. It is not because we have learned any morals of them; for we got our morals from a superior
source. We have not learned either our religion or morality from them. We have not had them to cultivate our farms nor to build our houses. They have not done anything for us.

In relation to the land, I will suppose they did steal it, which they did. They obtained it because they had the power, and Mexico obtained it upon the same principle: the United States made a quarrel with the latter nation, because they knew they could bring them into subjection, and they intended to capitulate for California before they began the quarrel, and they took it upon those grounds. But that is righteousness—that is purity, truth and holiness, in the eyes of a corrupt and mighty nation.

We have got a little place that nobody else would live upon; and I will warrant that if any other people had been here, half of them would have died, the last two years, of starvation. But they cannot let us alone. This is their greatness—this their magnanimity, and this is the compassion manifested by the fathers of our great country. Of course we must feel patriotic; we cannot but feel strongly attached to such a kind, such a benevolent, such a merciful Government as we have got! How can we feel otherwise? They would take from us the right to live, and then it would be in their hearts to sweep us from the face of the earth; but they cannot do it.

There is no right associated with this matter; there is no justice about it. There are old rights and privileges the people used to have, and we have our rights. In the first place, we have a God that lives, and He will help us to take care of them, to maintain and preserve them. Then look at this in whichever light you please, you cannot change it: we are citizens of the United States, and have a right to the soil, if they did steal it.

I am ashamed of being associated with such things, but we cannot help ourselves; we are a part of the people, and we had to partake of their evil deeds.

When we came here, we came as American citizens; and we had just as much right to be here as any other American citizens in the United States.

They have made a religious pretext to rob us of the right of pre-emption,—that is because we have more wives than one. This is the course they have pursued towards us.

Have they a right to force upon us judges and send officers under a military escort? The very act says they are afraid of something. Have they a right to send those men to rule over us, without our having a voice in the matter? I say they have not, according to the laws which exist among men; they have not according to the principles upon which this Government is established: but they want to rule over us contrary to the principles of the Government; and, as you have expressed it, you have a right to withstand it.

God be thanked, there are not as many sneaks here as there are in the old country: men here dare think and speak.

Well, these are our feelings and some of our rights; but I will speak to you of other rights; for we have greater rights, that I have not yet touched upon.

[Blessed the sacramental cup.] I speak of those other things because they are inalienable rights that belong to men— to us as American citizens—to us as citizens of the world; but there are other rights, other grounds upon which we claim these rights.

The Lord God has spoken in these last days; he has revealed the fulness of the everlasting Gospel: he has restored that Gospel in all its fulness,
blessings, richness, power, and glory; he has put us in possession of the principles of eternal life; and he has established his kingdom upon the earth, and we are the legitimate heirs and inheritors of this kingdom. He has established his Priesthood, revealed his authority, his government, and his laws; and the grand reason why there is union and power here, and nowhere else, is because it emanated from God.

When we talk over those other things, we are under a lesser law, that we can any of us keep and that we have kept. We are not rebelling against the United States, neither are we resisting the Constitution of the United States; but it is wicked and corrupt usurpers that are oppressing us and that would take our rights from us.

To speak of our rights as citizens of the kingdom of God, we then speak of another law, we then move in a more exalted sphere; and it is of these things we have a right to speak.

God has established his kingdom; he has rolled back that cloud that has overspread the moral horizon of the world; he has opened the heavens, revealed the fulness of the Everlasting Gospel, organized his kingdom according to the pattern that exists in the heavens; and he has placed certain keys, powers, and oracles in our midst; and we are the people of God; we are his government. The Priesthood upon the earth is the legitimate government of God, whether in the heavens or on the earth.

Some people ask, "What is Priesthood?" I answer, "It is the legitimate rule of God, whether in the heavens or on the earth;" and it is the only legitimate power that has a right to rule upon the earth; and when the will of God is done on earth as it is in the heavens, no other power will bear rule.

Then, if we look at it in this point of view, we are standing in a peculiar position; we are standing here as the representatives of God, and the only true representatives he has upon the earth; for there is not another power or government upon the earth that acknowledges God for their ruler, or head, but this: there is not another.

Why did we come here? We came here because the people drove us, and because the Lord would have us come here; for it was necessary we should come into our secret places, and hide ourselves till the indignation of the Lord be past—until the Lord has shaken our enemies by the nape of the neck, as it were, until nations and empires are overthrown. We came to serve our God to a place where we could more fully keep his commandments—where we could fulfil his behests upon the earth. This is the reason why we came here.

Well, then, if we are the only people that God acknowledges as a nation, have not we a right to the privileges which we enjoy? Who owns the gold, the silver, and the cattle upon a thousand hills? God. Who, then, has a right to appoint rulers? None but him, or the man that he appoints.

Who has ruled the earth? Who has borne sway? Man, who, by the power of the sword, has got possession of thrones, powers, and dominions, and has waded through seas of blood.

You read history, and what is it? A history of the depopulation of the nations, brought on by the overthrow of empires, and through the tyranny and ambition of wicked men, who have waded through seas of blood in order to possess themselves of that power which they now enjoy.

If we go to the United States and enquire into their rights, we may ask, have they a right to drive back the Indians, from time to time, and dispossess them of their rights? So long as they purchased them it was
well enough: but when they forced them into a swap, just as the Indians did with some of the traders back here, and made them trade on their own terms, that is something which they have no right to do; and, to use the language of one of the Indian Chiefs, “They have not left room for us to spread our blanket.” Have they purchased this Territory of them? No,—nor made any arrangements to do so; but they have taken possession of it.

What authority has the President of the United States, or the Representatives of the several States? They have no authority but what the people give them, according to the institutions of the United States.

What authority had England over this land before they came here and took possession? None.

By what right, then, do nations and governments rule generally? Do they rule by the grace of God? I will tell you. They rule by the power of the sword.

Read the history of England, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and other nations, and you will find they obtain their authority by their swords; and then, when they have obtained, they go to work and sanctify it; they appoint and anoint kings by the grace of God and through the agency of their priests. That is the way they get their authority, and that is all the authority they have.

When the Pope was going to put the crown upon the head of Napoleon, he said, “Here, let me put that on; I won it myself.” But they generally want the priests to put it on.

You may go into any court in the world and say, “Thus saith the Lord,” and they will kick you out. Try it and see.

[Voices: “You have tried it.”]

No man can go and say, “Thus saith the Lord” amongst them; for they would put a strait jacket on him, if he was a respectable man; if he was not, they would kick him out. Such is the feeling of the people and the condition of the world, and yet they profess to worship God that rules on high.

Where does God rule on earth? Is he listened to in any nation? Is there any that will acknowledge him and his authority? I will tell you the nearest that I ever saw of it. It was Nicholas of Russia: he was an autocrat, you know. Some years ago, when they had the cholera very bad there, a feeling prevailed among the inhabitants that the wells had been poisoned: a mob arose, and they were going to kill many; but Nicholas went in amongst them and said, “My children, this is not so; this is the hand of God. Let us fall on our knees, and acknowledge our sins, and ask him to forgive us.”

That is the nearest to acknowledging God that I have heard of among the nations; but as to their authority, it is not there. Their emperors and rulers have been the most beastly in their conduct and oppressive in their acts of any other nations that rule under heaven.

Now, where can you find a nation that acknowledges God? They are very religious. Why, the Queen of England is said to be “Defender of the Faith.” Then it is not the faith of the Church of America—it is not the faith of the Church of France, nor of Germany, nor anywhere else, except the Church of England. Where did she get her right from? She is the descendant of a line of kings.

Henry the Eighth, some time since, wrote a book against the Protestants, and the Pope gave him the title of “Defender of the Faith,” which faith he afterwards sought to destroy, rebelled against the Pope, and started the Reformation, because the Pope would not allow him to divorce his wife. Hence the Protestant kings
and queens of England have stolen the Roman Catholic title, to rule or defend the faith of the Protestants by kings and queens, whom they now anoint.

How do they anoint them? They anoint them by their Bishops, who declare them to be kings and queens by the grace of God. Go back, however, to their origin, and you will find that their kingdoms were first obtained by the sword; they stole their kingdoms and power, and then got priests to sanctify the theft.

Go back in England to the time of William the Conqueror, and you will find that he was a usurper; he was a Norman and a wholesale robber; and then, when he had subdued the Anglo-Saxons, the priests turned round and anointed him king by the grace of God. That is a fair example of the other European nations, and is all the authority that any of them had.

What is the Government of the United States? It does not profess any religion. There is no religion nor priesthood connected with it nationally, only they allow, or profess to allow, everybody to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; but nationally they are a nation of infidels. They have no national creed, no national religious institutions; and hence the absurdity of interfering with us, when forsooth they have none themselves, and they do not want that we should have any.

Do they seek to acknowledge God in their acts? Or, is there any other nation that profess to acknowledge God? There are the Mahomedsans, they had a Prophet, and professed to be governed by him. There is some talk about his being a false one: he might have been, or he might have been a true one, for aught I know; I leave them in the hands of God.

The Mahomedsans have a certain faith or profession, which is spoken of in the Koran, or Alkoran. They, however, like the rest, obtained their nationality by the sword. We cannot find a nation upon the earth that has obtained its dominion or power to rule from God. If there is any people, except this people, I know them not.

The Lord has said, “If ye observe my law, ye have no need to break the law of the land.” We have not broken the law of the land, and we do not mean to, although he has revealed to us his will and given us certain privileges and immunities that he never gave to any other people. Still, we have not broken the law, and there is not another people who maintain the laws of the United States as faithfully as this people do.

Why, they are in storm and trouble every way in the United States, and here is the most perfect peace and the best morality that can be found in the world by a thousand-fold; yes, it is a thousand-fold better than I have seen in any part of the earth where I have been. There is not a place that can compare with it; and nothing but the very Devil himself could inspire the hearts of the children of men to make war against such a people as this.

What are we engaged in? We are engaged in building up the kingdom of God, and many of you have been ordained by the revelations of the Almighty to hold the power and authority of the Holy Priesthood. Besides this, you have been ordained kings and queens, and priests and priestesses to your Lord; you have been put in possession of principles that all the kings, potentates, and powers upon the earth are entirely ignorant of: they do not understand it; but you have received this from the hands of God.

The kingdom is put upon the shoulders of President Young and this people to carry it out, and by whom? By the Lord God—by him
who holds dominion throughout the universe; by him who created all by the word of his power; by him who said, "Let there be light, and there was light;" by him who spake, and the worlds rolled into existence. By him you received rights that are not of this world—rights that flow from the great Eloheim.

What are we going to do, then? We are going to establish the kingdom of God upon the earth. This is our privilege—our right, if you please. But I consider it a high privilege—the greatest boon that can be bestowed upon mortals on the earth, to be the representatives of God. Let me say another thing. The people of the earth, their legislators, their princes, their kings, and their emperors, if they ever get salvation, have got to have it through us: if they obtain a celestial kingdom, they have got to go through the door that God has appointed, and there is no other way for it.

What are we doing here? We are here to stand up in defence of our individual rights—to stand up for our farms, our families, and our property, if it be necessary. Property! Why great conscience! it is just like the chaff and straw; and I was glad to see when the vote was taken, that if it was necessary to burn every house and all our property, every hand went right up for it. I was glad to see you appreciate these things.

Would we fight for these things? Just so far as I am concerned, they might take what I have got, and go to Gibraltar with it, or to Halifax; and I would say, You poor, miserable, corrupt creatures, take it.

But this is not all. The Lord has put us into a place where we cannot dodge, if we wish. We have asked for the blessing of his kingdom, and he has poured out blessings upon us, and there is no backing out. God has rolled his kingdom upon our shoulders; and now I ask, as a post did some years ago,

"Shall we, for fear of feeble man, The Spirit's course in us restrain?"

Shall we, for fear of those miserable curses, barter away eternal lives? Shall we set at naught those principles that God has imparted to us? Shall we exchange the pearl of great price, the riches of eternity, for the dirt and filth that the Gentiles wallow in? I know we do not feel like it.

Brother Kimball says we have to stand up to what we say, and the Lord will bring us to it; and I will tell you what I heard Joseph say years ago. He said, if God had known any other way that he could have tried Abraham better than he did, he would have put it upon him. And he will try us to see whether we will be faithful to the great and high calling that he has put upon us.

What are we doing? God has seen proper to establish his kingdom upon the earth, and here is that kingdom—that stone which has been cut out of the mountain without hands, and it is rolling forth to fill the whole earth.

A great charge is committed to us as a people: it is for us to walk up to the rack, resist the powers of darkness, and bear off the kingdom of God, that the powers of darkness may be rolled back with all their forces.

We are placed in this position to see if we will let the kingdom of God be trampled under foot of men. It is not a little thing, but it is one that is associated with our progenitors and posterity, as eternal beings, having to do with the past, the present, and the future.

The little stone was to smite the image on the toes; and I would not be surprised if there was to be a monstrous kicking—particularly, as brother Kimball says, if there should be any crows on the toes.

It is not whether we can stop here,
and eat and drink, and say, poor pussy, and put off the evil day. It is not an evil day; it is a day of rejoicing—a day of bursting off the fetters from us; it is a day when every son and daughter of God ought to sing. Hosanna to the God of Israel! We know we used to sing sometimes,

"We'll burst off all our fetters, and break the Gentile yoke,
For long it has been on us, but now it shall be broke;
No more shall Jacob bow his neck; henceforth he shall be free;
In upper California!
O! that's the land for me," &c.

We used to sing that, years ago, and we can sing it now; but we have got to do it. Yes, it is "Yankee doodle do it."

Well, what are we doing? We are laying the foundation for salvation for ourselves, for our progenitors, for our children, and our posterity after us, from generation to generation. The foundation of liberty, whereby the bond that has been on the neck of the nations, shall be burst asunder; for it is here that liberty shall spring from.

Here is a nucleus—a band of brethren inspired from on high, having the oracles of God in their midst,—the only people that are taught by the revelations of God. Here is the place where the standard is to be erected to all nations.

We were talking, some time ago, about our rights: these are our duties; we have got through with our rights. There is an old motto that they have got very conspicuously in England; it is this—"England expects every man to do his duty."

What is a man's duty here? It is obedience to the oracles of God that are in our midst; and so long as we keep the commandments of God, we need not fear any evil; for the Lord will be with us in time and in eternity.

"But," says one, "I have got a son, who has gone out upon the Plains, and perhaps the soldiers will kill him." Let them kill him. [President Kimball, "There can be more made:" I suppose there can.

Did you ever know your sons were in possession of eternal life, and that this is only a probation or a space between time and eternity? We existed before, in eternity that was, and we shall exist in eternity that is to come; and the question only is, whether it is better to die with the harness on, or to be found a poor, miserable coward.

All that I said to my son Joseph, after blessing him, before he went out, was, "Joseph, do not be found with a hole in your back." I do not want any cowardice—any tremblings or feelings of that kind.

What of our friends that have gone behind the veil—are they dead? No; they live, and they move, in a more exalted sphere. Did they fight for the kingdom of God when here? Yes, they did. Are they battling for it now? Yes; and the time is approaching when the wicked nations have to be destroyed; and the time is near when every creature is to be heard saying, "Honour, and power, and might, and majesty, and dominion be ascribed to him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever."

We have got to bring this about, whether we do it in this world or that which is to come. I have seen the time I could have died as easily as to have turned my hand over; but I did not feel like it.

[President H. C. Kimball: "You did not have time."]

Supposing I live, I have got a work to do; and if I die, I shall still be engaged in the cause of Zion. Why, great conscience! what difference does it make? They can only kill the body. And do not we know that we have an interest beyond the grave?—that we have drunk of that fountain
which springs up into eternal lives? Then what difference does it make?

These are my feelings. If it is for life, let it be for life; and if it is for death, let it be for death, that the spirit may move in a more exalted sphere; and then all is well with us. If we live, we live to God; and if we die, we die to God; and we are God's, any way.

We have friends gone behind the vail. There are Joseph, Hyrum, Willard, Jedediah, and many of our friends that are there, and they have been moving and acting there for years; and if any of us are called to go, it is all right: there is a Priesthood there to regulate things, as well as here; and if we have to go there, we might as well go by a ball as by a fever, or any other distressing disease.

I want to go with the harness on; and if others go a little before us, does it make any difference? Do not you know the old Apostle said, "They without us cannot be made perfect?" Could they attend to these ordinances that are being attended to here on earth while they are there? No, they cannot. Can you do what they are doing? No, you cannot; but when you get there you can.

When in the old country you were striving to get here, many of you had friends here; and when you came, they would say, "I am glad to see you, brother William, and sister Jane, or Mary, or Elizabeth." Now, when a person dies, you say, "I am glad to see you go, but still I am sorry that you are going."

I remember saying so to uncle John Smith. When I went to see him, I felt that his time was come, and I said, "I am glad you are going, but still I am sorry to part with you;" and said, "I hope you will carry my respects to our friends behind the vail." He said, "I will."

We have angels that are ministers of salvation; we have Joseph, Hyrum, Willard, Jedediah, and lots of others that are engaged in rolling on the work of the Lord in the upper worlds. What if they want any of us? Why, let us go, old men or young men. What if we are called by a ball, or die by a fever, what difference does it make?

What! are we all going to die together? God has designed and said he would establish his kingdom upon the earth, and that the Devil shall not reign for ever; but he whose right it is shall come and take the kingdom, and possess it for ever and ever.

Now, brother Brigham has said all is right, and he is the representative of the Almighty upon the earth, and it is for us to stand by him and obey him: and he says, "Rejoice, and live your religion, and all shall be well." Is not that the voice of God? It is. Shall we not listen to it? Yes; and we will maintain our rights as citizens of the United States.

I pray that God may bless you, in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.
"The Kingdom of God or Nothing." Speech--1857

A Sermon by Elder John Taylor, delivered in the Tabernacle, Great Salt Lake City, November 1, 1857.

REPORTED BY C. B. WATT.

I shall take the liberty, this afternoon, of selecting a text. In the Second Epistle and last verse of the Gospel according to St. Brigham to Colonel Alexander, will be found the following words:—"We say it is the Kingdom of God or Nothing."

We revere the testimony of ancient men of God, as recorded in what are often termed "the Scriptures of divine truth;" and it is quite common for men to refer to what the Prophets have said, and to reason from their words. Now, I have been of the impression, for some length of time, that the sayings of modern men of God are of as great importance as the sayings of ancient men of God.

and a great deal more applicable to our condition.

In looking at the Epistle to Colonel Alexander, and considering the important things said in it, I was particularly struck with the last words, which compose my text:—"The kingdom of God or nothing."

In other days, men have had their theories and their ideas about Christianity, Paganism, &c., which were referred to this morning. But we believe in living Priesthood—in present revelation—in the Church and kingdom of God as it now exists on the earth, as well as in things that were spoken of by ancient Prophets: consequently we believe in adapting our lives and actions to the position that we now occupy as servants of the true and living God—as God's representatives on the earth—as those who are destined to lay the foundation of that kingdom which shall stand for ever.

What is the kingdom of God? This is a question that is in almost everybody's mouth. Every Saint is interested in this question. We need not go into the nonsense of sectarianism: we will let it go entirely, book and line; for we know enough about it to care nothing about it, nor about the absurd ideas entertained by sectarians of the kingdom of God.

The question is: What is the kingdom of God? How do we stand related to it? What is our position and what are the duties devolving upon us today, to-morrow, and every day of our lives, as servants of the living God?

In the Epistle I have referred to, there is something said about the struggles we have endured, the privations we have suffered, the difficulties we have passed through, the wrongs and indignities that have been heaped upon us continually, and the persecutions that have been multiplied upon us as a people, even from the day of the organization of this Church to the present. There was in it a strong, marked, and determined expression. It gave Colonel Alexander and whomever it concerned to understand that it was time that these things should cease—that this people as well as every other people should have their rights, and these rights they were bent upon having at all events, not fearing the result,—that we, as a people, are determined to be free; for with us it is—"The kingdom of God or nothing."

When we talk about kingdoms, we talk about governments, rule, authority, power; for wherever there is a kingdom, these principles exist to a greater or less extent. The kingdoms of this world have their powers, authorities, rule, regulations, law-givers, &c., according to the kind of government they adopt. Hitherto we, as a people, have been amalgamated to a great extent with other nations. It is true we have had a Church government, Church laws, Church discipline, and by the holy Priesthood associated with this Church we have governed the people. Still we have been subject to another government, power, and authority, to Gentile rule, Gentile dominion, Gentile laws, to Gentile usages and customs, to which we have been willingly subject, so far as they were righteous; and it was told us by the Lord, that if we observed the laws of God, we need not break the laws of the land.

The laws of man we have kept faithfully, adhering tenaciously to the principles of the Constitution of the Government, under which we have lived. We have not transgressed them in one iota, but have maintained our relationship honourably with the nation we have been associated with.

The first thing we did when we came to this land was to organize a government for our protection, which was according to the pattern set us by our neighbours—Oregon, for
instance; then represented our case to the United States.

We came out here because we were disfranchised, exiled, robbed of our rights as American citizens, and forced to wander in the wilderness to seek among the savages of the forest that freedom denied us by Christianity. Did we in this transgress any laws of the United States, depart from any usage, or act contrary to any established custom or law of the Government? We did not. We applied for the sanction of Congress to our doings, and it was a matter of astonishment and surprise that we should take such steps, after the usage we had received. Our cause was applauded by statesmen, senators, members of Congress, and the authorities of the United States generally; and all our transactions, constitution, and laws were approved gladly, considered right, and according to the usages and laws of the United States.

By-and-by we petitioned for a Territorial Government and obtained it. Our enemies have all the time been complaining of us that we have infringed upon the Constitution and laws of the United States. But I ask, Wherein have we done it? Who appointed our Governor? The President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, according to the usage which exists, but indeed contrary to any right they possessed; still he did it. Who appointed our Judges, United States' Marshal, Secretary of State, and Indian Agency? The President of the United States.

Has there been another Governor appointed? I suppose there has; but he has not yet been qualified. No man has authority to act in the gubernatorial capacity in this Territory at the present time, according to the laws of the United States, but Governor Young. No Governor has a right to act here, although he may have been appointed by the President of the United States, until he comes here and is qualified. No man has ever come yet to be qualified, and consequently Governor Young stands legitimately in that place.

What law have we transgressed? I have tried to find out. We have examined the Constitution of the United States and the laws pertaining to these matters; and if anybody here or elsewhere can point out any law that we have transgressed as American citizens, they know more about it than I have been able to learn; and I should like such a person to put me in possession of that information.

What next? Why, on the back of this, after lying about us, slandering, abusing, and imposing upon us, trampling upon our rights, and sending the meanest curses among us that ever disgraced the footstool of God—men they are ashamed of themselves, they have now sent an armed force contrary to law and right and to the principles that ought to prevail in the United States. They have no more right to do this than I have to cut any of your throats.

There is no authority guaranteed to the President of the United States to perpetrate so diabolical an act as the one he has engaged in. Why is it that this is done? Is it because we are worse than other people? No. After raking up everything they could, before I left the States, the only thing they could find against us as a people was that we had burned some books belonging to the United States' Court; and since that I have seen published affidavits, totally denying any such thing, by the Clerk of that Court.

The President of the United States has now taken upon himself the responsibility of sending into this Territory an armed force to trample upon the rights of 100,000 American freemen, on purpose to subserve a political interest, for the benefit of
his own party. It becomes a serious question with us what to do under these circumstances.

Shall we lie down and let those scoundrels cut our throats? is the first question. Shall we unlace our neckcloths and tell them to come on and cut and carve away as they please, and knock down, drag out, and introduce their abominations among us—our cursed Christian institutions—to prostitute our women and lay low our best men? Shall we suffer it, I say?

There are certain things that are sacred to us and to every man and woman. If we submit to a thing of that sort, we submit to see the very institutions of our own nation trampled under foot—the Constitution of our country desecrated and rent in pieces. We submit to see the bonds severed that have bound this nation together, and blood, anarchy, and confusion prevail.

If they have a mind to cut each other's throats, we have no objections. We say, Success to both parties. But when they come to cut ours, without ceremony, we say, Hands off, gentlemen. We are not so religious as to sit down meekly and tamely submit to these things. We understand something of the difference between what some call treason, or treasonable acts, and base submission to the will of a tyrant, who would seek to bring us into servile chains—into perfect submission to his sway.

We are engaged here in protecting ourselves, our wives, and families—in guarding everything that is sacred and honourable among men from invasion and oppression of some of the most corrupt wretches that ever disgraced the footstool of God.

"This is pretty plain talk," say you. I meant to talk plain; I do not wish to be misunderstood. I have lately been conversant with some of their proceedings, having been in their neighbourhood for some time recently. Some of our brethren, who went among them with messages, have said that such was the filth and obscenity of their language—cursing, swearing, and every meanness, that, rather than stay all night with them, they chose to go off some distance and lie on the ground. If these are the feelings of our brethren, some of whom are rough and uncouth in their manners, we know not how our sisters would feel in such delectable society.

We will not submit to such a state of things for ever. If you, our enemies, are determined to invade our rights, trample upon our liberties, snatch from us the rich boon we have inherited from our fathers, to make us bow in vile subservience to your will, we will resist you: we will not submit to it. We will say, Stand back and give us our rights. We will act the part of freemen, and we say it shall be "The kingdom of God or nothing."

Why is it that we are persecuted? It is because we believe in the establishment of the kingdom of God upon the earth—because we say and know that God has established his kingdom—because the principles of righteousness are introduced among the children of men, and they expose the evils, corruption, priesthood, political craft, and the abominations that everywhere exist. They lay naked before all men the abominable acts of the human family. It is not because there is evil among us, but because there is goodness, truth, holiness. It is because God has spoken, and his word has had effect on our hearts, to govern and influence our conduct.

It is because of these things that the present crusade has been set on foot against us, and no doubt it began to rage at the very time that you were humiliating yourselves before God, when you commenced the reformation and were repeating of your sins and making restoration. At the time the Spirit
of God began to be manifested among you, the spirit of the Devil began to rage among them against you, stirring them up to pluck you down, root you up, and destroy you from the face of the earth.

Why was it that you had the reformation among you, that you were stirred up to repent of your sins and make restitution? It was because you had the holy Priesthood in your midst—the spirit of prophecy and revelation—because you had men among you who could commune with the Most High and contemplate his purposes and designs towards the human family. It was because they saw evils existing among you and dared tell of it, and the Spirit of God pointed the word at your hearts, which brought you to repentance.

If we had corruption, grog-holes, rowdism, and every kind of pollution among us, and were this place permitted to be a perfect sink of iniquity, where the gambler, horse-racer, black-leg, and every evil character would be tolerated, then we should be h ail fellows, well met, with our enemies. The wicked would bow and scrape to us all over the earth: they would call us gentlemen everywhere, and we should be respected. It would be as it was with a few of our brethren who had to play a role upon some of the Missourians. The "Mormon" boys were flying from a mob and had to pass a meeting-house when the people were coming out from their prayers. These pious souls suspected that the brethren were "Mormons."

"You are 'Mormons,' damn you," said they.

"We are not, damn you. Let go of my horse, or I will knock your damned head off."

"Oh, we discover you are not 'Mormons,' gentlemen: we are under a mistake;" and they let them go.

Who is it that is acquainted with this people and does not know that they are better, more pure, more virtuous and true to their God and his laws, and more faithful to the laws and Constitution of their country than any other people? I know the difference, for I have been among others and seen their actions.

What is the cause, then, of the evil planned against us? It is because we are the Church and kingdom of God. Have we ever left our houses to interfere with other people anywhere? Did you ever hear of a crusade by a set of "Mormons" upon any other people? Did the "Mormons," when in Nauvoo, go to Carthage, La Harpe, Warsaw, or to any place, and interfere with the rights of anybody? Have we done it here? Have we gone to Mexico, California, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Minnesota, or to any of the surrounding districts, to interfere with their business or rights?

If there has been such a crusade, I have remained altogether ignorant of it, as to when it took place, who were engaged in it, and how many.

If we do not interfere with anybody else, what right has anybody else to interfere with us? I speak now as an American citizen. I speak, if you please, as a politician. On this ground I ask what right any people or number of people have to come and interfere with us? There is no such right in the catalogue, gentlemen.

They, however, do interfere with us; and what is the cause of it? It is because of the kingdom of God—because of the truth of God—because of the Spirit of God and certain principles that exist among this people. And what are they? It is polygamy that they are so incensed against. They need not draw down such a long face about that, for they themselves do a thousand times worse than that, were it even as heinous a crime as they say it is.

It is not polygamy that they are so horrified at. I know their meanness
and abominations, and have told them of them scores of times. There have been from the foundation of the world two principles and powers—the principles of darkness and the principles of light, the principles of truth and the principles of error, the Spirit of God and the spirit of the Devil;—and there has been a mighty struggle between these two principles and powers.

Hitherto the good, the virtuous, the pure and upright, the men of God, the Saints of the Most High have been trampled under foot and cast out—have wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, dwelt in deserts, dens, holes, and caves of the earth, of whom the world was not worthy; and the spirit and power of darkness have prevailed over the powers of light, error over truth, and the spirit of the Wicked One over the Spirit of God, to a certain extent; so much so, that truth, equity, and righteousness have always been at a discount, and men of God have been deprived of their rights and robbed of their inheritances.

God has had a certain design to accomplish, associated with the human family; and I suppose that everything which has taken place has been just. I am not going to find fault with God or the Devil. I suppose the Devil is as necessary as any other being; or he would not have been.

The righteous have been trampled under foot, but it is well with them. It was not their day. The time for them to reign and have dominion was not come. While wrapt in prophetic vision, they could view the events that were to transpire in the last days, and prophesied of a kingdom that should be set up and stand for ever. They looked with joyful anticipation to this day. They expected a time when a certain power would exist on the earth, that would be more powerful than the powers of darkness, when the righteous should no more be trodden under foot, cast out; and oppressed,—when the kingdoms of this world should become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ, over which he should rule for ever.

Men in our day have got hold of many odd ideas. The Millarites, for instance, have talked about Christ's coming to reign on the earth at a certain time; and they were all going to be transfigured, changed, caught up, &c. In France and elsewhere, they had their social systems; but they knew no more about God, Christ, or anything of this kind than the Devil. I was going to say; but they did not begin to know as much as the Devil about God and his ways. These Socialists talked about a great millennium, and people went to them, expecting them to be a very righteous, praying people. They were something like the man whom the Indian thought was a "Mormon." but when the Indian found out that he did not pray, that convinced him to the contrary. They did not regard God or his laws, but took up a little twig of Christianity and planted it on to their infidelity. They were going to ameliorate the condition of the human family and bring about the millennium.

In relation to the kingdom of God, what is it? Is it a spiritual kingdom? Yes. Is it a temporal kingdom? Yes. Does it relate to the spiritual affairs of men? Yes. Does it relate to the temporal affairs of men? Yes. And when it is fully established upon the earth, the will of God will be done upon the earth precisely as it is done in heaven.

It is the will of God we are trying to do at the present time, in trying to fulfill his law, submit to his ordinances, and obey his commandments—not in one little item, but in every action of our lives, seeking to be perfectly submissive to the admonitions of the Almighty.
Was the kingdom that the Prophets talked about, that should be set up in the latter times, going to be a Church? Yes. And a State? Yes, it was going to be both Church and State, to rule both temporally and spiritually. It may be asked, How can we live under the dominion and laws of the United States and be subjects of another kingdom? Because the kingdom of God is higher, and its laws are so much more exalted than those of any other nation, that it is the easiest thing in life for a servant of God to keep any of their laws; and, as I have said before, this we have uniformly done.

Who made this earth? The Lord. Who sustains it? The Lord. Who feeds and clothes the millions of the human family that exist upon it, both Saint and sinner? The Lord. Who upholds everything in the universe? The Lord. Who provides for the myriads of cattle, fish, and fowl that inhabit the sea, earth, and air? The Lord. Who has implanted in them that instinct which causes them to take care of their young, and that power by which to propagate their species? The Lord. Who has given to man understanding? The Lord. Who has given to the Gentile philosopher, machinist, &c., every particle of intelligence they have with regard to the electric telegraph, the power and application of steam to the wants of the human family, and every kind of invention that has been brought to light during the last century? The Lord.

Who sets up the kings, emperors, and potentates that rule and govern the universe? The Lord. And who is there that acknowledges his hand? Where is the nation, the people, the church even, or other power that does it? You may wander east, west, north, and south, and you cannot find it in any church or government on the earth, except the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

What is the cause of all the darkness, confusion, and misery that abound, the imprisonment and chains, and the thousand evils that afflict mankind, embracing all the wars, bloodshed, and distress of nations? It is because they do not acknowledge the hand of the Lord in all things, nor understand his will. They pursue their own course, and do not seek the wisdom and intelligence of God.

Why is it that thrones will be cast down, empires dissolved, nations destroyed, and confusion and distress cover all people, as the Prophets have spoken? Because the Spirit of the Lord will be withdrawn from the nations in consequence of their wickedness, and they will be left to their own folly.

Who has a right to rule the nations, to control kingdoms, and govern all the people of the earth? Are you a father? Have you wives and children? Do you feed, clothe, and provide for them? Yes. Have they a right to rebel against you? If they did, what would you think of such children?

Such is the position of the whole human family; such is the position of the whole world—of every society, religious, political, social, or otherwise; and none of them acknowledge God or are obedient to his laws.

Now, then, suppose you had a farm, and you put people on it to work—you fed and clothed them, and expected them to be obedient to you; but instead of that, while you were feeding, clothing, and taking care of them, they were abusing you, departing from your laws, transgressing your precepts, and listening to somebody else who was your enemy, instead of listening to you;—would you let them remain for ever on your farm, or would...
you by-and-by put somebody else in their place that would be more faithful to you?

The transactions of men are even more outrageous against the Lord, and the only excuse for them is their ignorance. What! are Christians ignorant? Yes, as ignorant of the things of God as the brute beast.

Let us look at it a little further. If you wished the welfare of your family, would you not chastise them? You would, if they did wrong. Would you not try to make them submit to your law? You certainly would; and if they would not, after you had pleaded with them and chastised them, you would disinherit them. The Lord said of Abraham, "I know he will fear me and command his children after him to do it." It was this principle that recommended him to the favour of God.

What would you think of the conduct of a God who would let the human family continue for ever to transgress his law without interfering? You would think he was getting foolish and in his dotage—that he did not understand himself nor correct principles in allowing a lot of bad boys to rise up and increase around him, letting evil principles exist instead of righteous ones, and the wicked afflict and persecute the good with impunity.

The time was to come, and is now, that God has set up his kingdom upon the earth, and he is determined that men shall be in subjection to his laws. Can the Lord go to any other people but this and declare his will? He cannot. There is not a nation, kingdom, power, or people,—there is not a political, moral, social, philosophical, or religious society in the world that would receive the word of God, except this people.

If there cannot be a people anywhere found that will listen to the word of God and receive instructions from him, how can his kingdom ever be established? It is impossible? What is the first thing necessary to the establishment of his kingdom? It is to raise up a Prophet and have him declare the will of God: the next is to have people yield obedience to the word of the Lord through that Prophet. If you cannot have these, you never can establish the kingdom of God upon the earth.

What is the kingdom of God? It is God's government upon the earth and in heaven.

What is his Priesthood? It is the rule, authority, administration, if you please, of the government of God on the earth or in the heavens; for the same Priesthood that exists upon the earth exists in the heavens, and that Priesthood holds the keys of the mysteries of the revelations of God; and the legitimate head of that Priesthood, who has communion with God, is the Prophet, Seer, and Revelator to his Church and people on the earth.

When the will of God is done on earth as it is in heaven, that Priesthood will be the only legitimate ruling power under the whole heavens; for every other power and influence will be subject to it. When the millennium which we have been speaking of is introduced, all potentates, powers, and authorities—every man, woman, and child will be in subjection to the kingdom of God; they will be under the power and dominion of the Priesthood of God: then the will of God will be done on the earth as it is done in heaven.

This places man in his true relationship to the Most High; and while others are boasting of their own intelligence, powers, authority, rule, greatness, and might, our boast, glory, might, strength, and power are in the Lord. Do we have any temporal blessings? We acknowledge the hand of God in it. Do we have spiritual
blessings? We acknowledge the hand of God in it. Do we do wrong and receive chastisement? We acknowledge his hand in it, and consider it a blessing. Are we in difficulties? We acknowledge the hand of God therein, and consider that it is necessary we should be tried and proved in all things, that we may be counted worthy to associate with the intelligences that surround the throne of God. Do we have prosperity? We acknowledge the hand of God in it, and pray him for wisdom to use properly what he has put in our hands.

Do we possess scientific knowledge—knowledge on agriculture or any other kind of knowledge? We acknowledge his hand in it. Are we here in these mountains, surrounded, as a people, by the barriers of the everlasting hills, brought out from our enemies to inherit these valleys? We acknowledge the hand of God in it. Does an army come to make war on us? We acknowledge the hand of God in it. We feel that we are in his hands, and say, "It is the Lord; let him do what seemeth good unto him, and we will seek to do what is right on our part. Have we to go to war? We will acknowledge the hand of God in it. If we are told not to kill our enemies, we will not kill them, but cultivate a spirit of meekness and humility, doing what the Priesthood of God dictates—what the servants of the living God tell us. In peace and prosperity, war and adversity, we will lean on the hand of God, and acknowledge it, and say, "Hallelujah! the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth."

What is it we are seeking to do? Is it to get a farm, a house, or a possession of any kind? Who is anxious about such things, which are here to-day and gone to-morrow? They are well enough in their place.

Some of you are tried because you do not have many things you would like to have. If you had those things, you would not be tried in that point, and it is therefore necessary you should be placed in that position. It may be necessary, after awhile, that you should be tried with more of the things of this life than you know what to do with.

With none is the Lord God angry except those who do not acknowledge his hand in all things. What does it matter whether we are farming, building, planting, fighting, or anything else, if we are doing as we are told? Who cares? I do not. Let matters come in whatever way they have a mind to, it is all right, if we do right.

As eternal beings, associated with eternity that was and with eternity that is to come—beings that dwelt in eternal light before we came here, we are now seeking for salvation, preparing for celestial inheritances in the eternal worlds. This is what we are after: we are trying to lay a foundation for ourselves, for our progenitors, and for our posterity, that will endure and extend while countless ages roll; and we are taught the principles by which we may obtain this salvation by the holy Priesthood—by the revelations of God communicated to us through that Priesthood.

And now, having been forced from the United States, after having been driven time and time again from our homes by our murderous enemies—having fulfilled all the requirements that God or man could require of us, and kept every law necessary for us to observe,—after all this, and more, I say, shall we suffer those poor, miserable, damned, infernal scoundrels to come here and infringe upon our sacred rights?

["NO!" resounded throughout the Tabernacle, making the walls of the building tremble.]

NO! It shall be "The kingdom of God or nothing" with us. That is my text, I believe; and we will stick
“Are you not afraid of being killed?” you may ask me. No.
Great conscience! who cares about being killed? They cannot kill you.
They may shoot a ball into you, and your body may fall; but you will live.
Who cares about dying? We are associated with eternal principles:
they are within us as a well springing up to eternal life. We have begun to
live for ever.

Who would be afraid of a poor, miserable soldier—a man that gets
eight dollars a month for killing people, and a miserable butcher at that—
one of the poorest curses in creation? Mean as the Americans are, they will
not, many of them, hire for soldiers.
But the Government must hire foreigners for eight dollars a month to
come out here to kill us! Who is afraid of them? Let them come
on or stay and wiggle, it is all right.

We are the Saints of God; we have the kingdom of God, and the devils in
hell and all the wicked men on the earth cannot take it from us. We
shall rule and have dominion in the earth, and they cannot help them-
selves. They can take their own course. They may fight against us, if
they like, or they can back out and leave us; but the kingdom will go on.
They may take what course they please: the kingdom is ours, and we
are Christ’s, and Christ is God’s.

It is for us to live our religion, keep God’s commandments, and we
shall be saved: we shall thus have the honour of doing something for the
kingdom of God, in rolling back the flood of darkness that is enveloping
the universe, and preparing ourselves for dominion on the earth and eternal
exaltation in the kingdom of God for ever.

God bless you and preserve you in purity and holiness before him, that
you may inherit all you anticipate, I pray in the name of Jesus Christ!
Amen.
We have got through presenting the various Quorums comprising the authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It has seemed to be a little difficult to get some of the names right, and also to get them in their proper places; but we have now got them straight, and I believe there has been a unanimous feeling to sustain all those officers presented in their respective positions.

The question very naturally occurs to me, Would there be the same unanimity of feeling in sustaining the same number of officers anywhere else in the world? I do not think there would. In fact, I know there would not. There is a principle of union with us; at least, in outside show we are united; and in our actions, to a certain extent, far more so than any other people; for other communities cannot even be persuaded to vote alike. If there are those among us that feel a little crossways, thinking that some other way might be better; yet there is so much of the feeling to the contrary that the opposition is readily brought to acquiesce in the popular vote, whether they really feel so or not; but they generally feel like it. But still there is a lesson that we have been learning that none of us are perfect in. Our judgment is not perfect; and as we are not perfect in
our sphere, we need not expect to find others perfect in theirs; and as we are not perfect ourselves, we may have need to come to the throne of mercy and ask for wisdom and support, and we can come to the Lord with faith and full assurance. If we have need to come to the Lord, so have you. Be careful, then, how you judge. We can say to all, With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure, ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

In regard to our criticism on the acts of public men, whatever we may feel in regard to their acts, it is best to let it be laid aside for the general good of all; or, in other words, we do not think, or should not think, we are, the smartest men in the world. It appears natural to us to think that we are as competent to judge as anybody else, and yet we think that those who dictate matters ought to have the Spirit of the Lord to guide them, and consequently yield our judgments to theirs, and we strive to carry out the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in our actions. We do it to a great extent, but not so fully as we might do. It is all voluntary on the part of the people; but generally, out of respect to the superior intelligence of those that are associated with the dictation of affairs, we act with them. Although we may feel an uncertainty in regard to the views of some, yet with those feelings we act in unison to a certain extent, and we yield to the judgment of the majority, and to that of those whose right it is to nominate and dictate in the kingdom of God.

So far, then, as we have made progress in those things, so far have we advanced in the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ, and so far have we become strong and powerful as a people upon the earth.

There is a little difference between our principles, or, I should say, the principles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and what are called democratic principles. Democracy governs by the people alone; and, as was stated this morning, where the people are pure and living under the influence of correct principles, and are seeking to do right, it is one of the best governments on the earth. But where the people are wicked and corrupt, that alters the case very materially. It is not with us as it is with democracy. We do not believe that any people are capable of governing themselves. There is no need of entering into an argument upon the matter before this congregation; but it is my opinion that there are no people, under the heavens that now exist, nor are there any that ever did exist, that are capable of governing themselves.

There have been a variety of governments on the earth, and very powerful ones too, have existed in different ages of the world. Those governments have generally been established and maintained by force of arms—by power. Thus many submit to the few, and the majority have had very little to say in the matter. We have generally been in the habit of supposing that our republican institutions are the most perfect of anything can exist among men—the non plus ultra of human government; and hence we have had a very favourite motto ready always upon our tongue’s end—Vox populi, vox Dei. I do not believe that the voice of the people is the voice of God, but would ask, Is it the Northern or Southern States that are governed by the Almighty? We have one of the best human Governments upon the earth governed by the voice of the people; and yet we are divided, torn, and confused, and appear to be on the eve of having two governments, and both republican in their form; but which of them is governed by God?
Neither of them have anything to do with the Lord. They are not under his guidance or direction, and without his dictation it is impossible to govern correctly. The principles of human government, as now practised, are wrong; for what man knows the things of God? What human wisdom can dictate to the inhabitants of a world? Human governments have always been fluctuating and changeable. They have their rise, their progress, and fall, and have always contained within themselves the elements of their own destruction. The proper mode of government is this—God first speaks, and then the people have their action. It is for them to say whether they will have his dictation or not. They are free; they are independent under God. The government of God is not a species of priesthood, after the order of the Church of Rome, where one man dictates and everybody obeys without having a voice in it. We have our voice and agency, and act with the most perfect freedom; still we believe there is a correct order—some wisdom and knowledge somewhere that is superior to ours; that wisdom and knowledge proceeds from God through the medium of the holy Priesthood. We believe that no man or set of men, of their own wisdom and by their own talents, are capable of governing the human family aright.

These are our opinions. We believe that it requires the same wisdom that governs the planetary system, that produces seed time and harvest, day and night, that organised our system, and that implanted intelligence in finite man,—that it needs the same intelligence to govern men and promote their happiness upon the earth that it does to control and keep in order the heavenly bodies; and we believe that that cannot be found with man independently. It is a principle that exists with God, and he will not confer it upon the wicked and ungodly, neither will he sustain those that trample under foot his authority and his laws. Hence he has organised his kingdom with the express intention of governing his children himself according to the wisdom that dwells with him, through the medium that he has appointed; and hence, having appointed a medium, he brings it before the people, that they may have an opportunity of expressing their sentiments. Then, if they do not like the method which he has adopted, or any plans that he may introduce,—if they do not like his officers, they have a voice in it, and can say so. There is no man or government under the heavens that has so strict a scrutiny as we have in the Church of Jesus Christ. All the authorities of this Church have to be acted for twice a year by all the Saints throughout all the world. This is very rigid scrutiny, more searching than that of our democratic rulers; but these men with whom we associate in the kingdom of God do not take it upon themselves alone to dictate and regulate these important matters pertaining to the kingdom of God and the salvation of man, because they do not consider they have got the intelligence. Hence my remarks so far, and hence the course of procedure pursued to-day in the presentation of the authorities of the Church in bringing all leading matters before the people.

We can acquiesce generally in the guidance of the Lord, and with pleasure obey the dictation of his servants. Have we by doing this progressed in a knowledge of the law of God, and the rule and government of his kingdom upon the earth? If we have any intelligence, we shall show that we have learned a great and important lesson—one that we
might have learned some time ago. But I will tell you what it is: When God dictates through the channel that he has placed upon the earth, he directs through the gift and power of the Holy Ghost, and this way manifests his will to those whose right it is to know it. In this way he makes known the things of his kingdom and the principles that are necessary to the salvation of the people. Then all the congregation lift up their hands as a token before God that they sanction what is presented, and then the voice of the people is the voice of God. He first dictates, and then we sustain his nomination. Thus we have the wisdom of God associated with the concurrence of man; and God being governed by the Spirit of truth, and the Saints possessing and being guided by the gift of the Holy Ghost, it is the voice of God and the voice of his people under his direction, and God and his people are one, as Jesus said—"I in them, and thou in me, that we all may be one." This is the way we look at things, and by pursuing this course we have made great progress in the principles of eternal life, and all those things that devolve upon us to attend to.

What is it that we are after? Is it to revolutionize these States of America by force, by physical power, by the sword, and by treading underfoot their rights? No. Are we striving to overthrow the nations, and to put our feet upon the necks of men? No: we care but very little about them or their concerns. But is there not a kingdom that God should set up? Yes. Is not this the stone hewn out of the mountain without hands, that is to grow into a great kingdom and fill the whole earth? It is. Then how are you going to accomplish this great work? We answer, Precisely as the Lord tells us. We have existed for thirty years, and we have used a great deal of our time and labour for the promotion of this kingdom. But have we at any time interfered with the rights of others? We have been outraged and abused in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois; but whom have we interfered with? We are at the defiance of the world to point out a single instance. Have we attempted to overrun Texas or New Mexico—to trample underfoot the people of Nebraska and Kansas, and make everybody tremble and succumb by the power of the sword? Have we interfered with California, Oregon, or Washington Territory? No, we have not.

Then what have we done to cause people to be so jealous of us? Why, we have just let everybody else alone; we have preached peace and salvation, built up Zion, and proclaimed the kingdom of God. They would not, however, let us alone; but we could not help that. The very move that they have made, and all the steps that we have taken have brought us before the nations, and manifested the power of God in a way that never could have been done otherwise. They may say what they will, but this is the result of it. We did not kill them when we had a chance. They came upon us and sought to destroy us, and why did they do this? It was because the Lord was with us. We could not help them doing as they did, and I suppose they could not resist the power that prompted them to do as they have done. However, it is all right; the hand of God is in it and has been from the beginning.

Do we rejoice at the present time over the difficulties of our enemies in the States? No, we would be glad to do them good, if they would only let us; but they are unwilling to receive the truth.

Have we forsaken our covenants? or have they violated the law in their treatment to us? It was shown very clearly this morning, by President
Wells, that they hunted us like the wolves in the desert. They came with their armies fully bent on our destruction, but a barrier stood in their way. The Lord said, “Thus far shall you go, and no farther. You can now stop. You can shiver and shake out there in the mountains, during the cold, chilling blasts of a dreary winter; but touch not my anointed, and do my Prophets no harm.”

They have now got the difficulties at home which they intended to create among us. We have not injured them—we have not hurt a hair of their heads, and we still feel willing to assist them. We feel willing to help to preserve the nation; and our Elders have travelled thousands of miles to bless the people. Yet, we feel to bless everybody; and what will we not do to benefit our fellow-beings?

Brethren, let us try to conquer ourselves. Let us try to understand our own position, to magnify our calling, that we may be prepared to act in that sphere in which God may call us to operate. The Lord has chosen his servants, he has lifted up his standard in Zion, he has proclaimed peace and happiness on earth, he has taught us how to live and how to die; the way is pointed out whereby we can obtain salvation in his kingdom. He has made manifest unto us his will, and we feel glad; we rejoice and sing Hallelujah! the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!

Brethren and sisters, we have a great mission to perform—we have to try to govern ourselves according to the laws of the kingdom of God, and we find it one of the most difficult tasks we ever undertook, to learn to govern ourselves, our appetites, our dispositions, our habits, our feelings, our lives, our spirits, our judgment, and to bring all our desires into subjection to the law of the kingdom of God and to the Spirit of truth. It is a very critical thing to be engaged in the upbuilding of the kingdom of God—a nucleus of which we have here.

Whatever good feelings we have originate from the Spirit of the Lord; and from the light and intelligence that come from the Gospel of Jesus Christ. For all we owe our obligation of thanksgiving to the great Giver of all good.

We are assembled here from different nations, having a variety of prejudices, different kinds of education, having imbued different feelings, notions, and ideas; and we have now come together to learn to bend our minds, to yield our opinions, and not to follow our own notions, not to cling to our peculiar whims and caprices, but to bow to the holy Priesthood, which is the rule of God upon the earth. You should understand that when you have been voting here to sustain the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Twelve Apostles, the High Council, the Bishops, and other Quorums, you have been voting to sustain the legitimate and authorized officers of the Church and kingdom of God, whose right it is to rule and govern whenever and wheretoe the Almighty has a people upon the earth.

Now, then, brethren and sisters, do not go away from here, and run against those very parties whom you have covenanted to sustain; because, the very moment you do, every sensitive man will set you down as hypocrites. You have a free opportunity here of manifesting your choice; and I will here say that so far you have manifested good sense in being united in regard to those principles we have to carry out. Let the principles of union and faith be observed at your homes; and if you are men having families, let there be a daily incense arise from your family altar, and let your constant and daily prayer be, ‘God bless the Presidency of the
Church, God bless the Twelve, the Bishops, and all the constituted authorities of the Church, and the Lord give me wisdom to act according to their dictation; and the Lord bless all those that believe on their words. Then there will be a feeling of union in all our small districts; and instead of its being, “Tom wants to do this, and Jim wants to do the other,” it will be, “I don’t want my way, but I want the mind and will of God. I want to know what my duty is, and then I will pray God to give me grace and power to do it.” This is the feeling of every good, intelligent, Latter-day Saint at the present time, who is seeking to do the will of God upon the earth. Never mind, if somebody is trying to encroach; never mind about your independence and your rights.

I was talking to a man, the other day, who said—“I must have my rights.” I replied to him, “I have no rights only those that God gives me.” But I have been imposed upon,” said the man. Well, what if you have? It is a great deal better than if you had imposed upon somebody else. Just say, Why, that man don’t know any better; and if he can stand it, I can.

These are our feelings in regard to rights. There was a time when I thought I had a great many rights of my own, but now I have got to understand that I have all the rights that God will give me, and I don’t want to have any more. I want to live in the light of his countenance, to ask him to give me his Spirit, and then I know I shall prosper. When you feel like talking about your rights, let me advise you to go into your closet, forget your imaginary rights, and ask the Lord to give you wisdom to guide you aright, that you may act before him as children of the light, and not be the means of throwing a stumblingblock in the way of others. By pursuing this course, you will get along much easier, and there will not be near so much of that spirit of grumbling and complaining.

It would be disastrous for many Latter-day Saints to consider the following sentiment of the poet:

I believe what he has done for me and for this people to be saving in its nature, and to be the best that could have been done for us. Let us all seek to do right, get the Spirit of the Lord, and allow that to govern and dictate to us.

Suppose there are some who do not do exactly right in some places, what of that? There are many things that are not right. Never mind; everything that is wrong will in due time be righted. Permit me to bring a figure before you. A year ago last winter there was a very severe frost, and it injured the fruit trees. Some who professed to be judges thought it best to cut down the peach trees; some thought that if left alone they would still grow, and therefore they left them alone to see how many would live. There was quite a difference of opinion upon the subject, and some adopted one plan, and some another. The general impression was, I believe, that it would be best to cut off those limbs that were frost-bitten and that did not appear to have much sap in them.

Now, my doctrine is, Prune the trees, or, in other words, the branches of the great tree to which we are connected, just at the time when it will do the least injury. It requires great wisdom, however, to prune and regulate the Church of Christ. There were a great many of our people got frost-bitten—a kind of death in their spirits, and some were for going right to work and pruning; but hold on.
Said Jesus, "The wheat and tares must grow together until harvest." Perhaps you would pull up the wheat with the tares, if you were to do it when you think best. If there is nothing good in a man, he will by-and-by develop the evil that is in him, and then everybody will agree that the pruning ought to be done, and the branch ought to be cut off; but if the good preponderates, it would be wrong, because of prejudices or ignorance, to destroy the good. It is best to leave it to the husbandman, and then all the congregation will say, "Amen.

There are a great many things that might be spoken about to further illustrate this subject, but the same principle applies everywhere. For instance, there were two or three of us went up to Salt Creek a few days ago to attend to some business; and by the accounts given and the reports circulated, a stranger would have thought that we had got one of the most mean and contemptible of men for a Bishop; but when the matter came up for investigation, there was not one solitary charge that could be sustained; the man was innocent. Now, I would rather be found at some other business than to be finding fault with and accusing my brethren. If people would leave such things alone a little more than they do, and leave the management of them to the proper authorities, it would be better. Suppose a corrupt man is presiding in a certain place, his corruptions are soon known. People need not strive to turn good into evil because they think that some man does wrong; They need not turn calumniators and defamers, for all will come right in its turn. Then attend to your own business, work the works of righteousness, sustain the constituted authorities of the Church until God removes them, and he will do it in his own time. Bishops, be after such men as speak against the Lord's anointed. The Priesthood is placed in the Church for this purpose, to dig, to plant, to nourish, to teach correct principles, and to develop the order of the kingdom of God, to fight the devils, and maintain and support the authorities of the Church of Christ upon the earth. It is our duty all to act together to form one great unit—one great united phalanx, having sworn allegiance to the kingdom of God; then everything will move on quietly, peaceably, and easily, and then there will be very little trouble. I never want to interfere with anybody else's business: I always find enough to attend to of my own.

There was a man came to me, a short time ago, and wanted me to do something about a decision of High Council. I told him I would have nothing to do with it. It was presumable to me that they had done right—that twelve disinterested men were more likely to judge correctly than one man who was evidently interested. I did not want to be entangled in affairs that did not belong to me. I like people to attend to their own affairs.

Am I an Apostle? I would like to magnify my calling. Am I an Elder, a Bishop, a Priest, a Teacher? If I am, I would like to magnify my calling, that I might secure the honour and glory of God, and promote the welfare of his kingdom, and be a co-worker in the establishment of the principles of righteousness, and become a blessing to my neighbourhood. What do we see our President at? Is he sitting down at ease, allowing the time to pass unimproved? No; he is stimulating us to good works. He is saying to the Elders, Go forth and preach the Gospel, gather the poor, send out your teams and your young men, and thus show that you can do something for the gathering of scattered Israel. Get the
Spirit of life, power, and energy within you, that you may be able to do something to make you feel fit to hold the Priesthood of the Most High God. The poor Saints are watching you, the First Presidency and other authorities are watching you, and they are watching with Argus’ eyes over the interests of the Church and kingdom of God.

Where does this spirit come from? It comes from the Lord. Where does it flow to? It finds access to every man that has the spirit of honesty within him; and hence when the teachings come, “Send your wagons, go here, go there,” the reply is, “Yes,” we are all one in the Church of Christ; we have dedicated ourselves, spirit and body, to the Church and kingdom of God; we are on hand to furnish anything for its advancement. This is the feeling that governs the Latter-day Saints. They all feel to say—“Do you want teams? Do you want wagons? Do you want men, wheat, or corn?”

The response is, “Yes, we are all on hand.” Brethren, this is the way to make ourselves rich and strong, and secure the favour of God and of the holy angels. This is the way to have peace in our own bosoms, to preserve peace and happiness in our own families, by engaging in doing the work of the Lord, by striving to accomplish his purposes upon the earth, and by preparing, as President Young said, for the events that are approaching.

Let us be prepared to become co-workers with our file leaders, and then all will be well. Brethren, God bless you! Amen.
Remarks by Elder John Taylor, made in the Tabernacle, Great Salt Lake City, Jan. 18, 1865.
REPORTED BY G. D. WATT.

We have gathered out from the people of the world into these valleys to be distinct and separate from them as a Church and a people. If I can answer the desires of my mind, in relation to this matter, I should like to show you in what respect that separation consists; what relation we sustain to God, to his Church and kingdom, and to the world. It is a very broad and comprehensive subject, and one that requires our consideration. A good deal has been said lately about our associations with the world, and our being separate from the world, and about many of us being entangled with the world. It is well for us, as events transpire, to try, if we can, to comprehend the position that we occupy in relation to these matters. We are really a peculiar people, that is, our views differ from those of the rest of the world generally, and that is not confined alone to our religion, but to our social system, to our politics, and to most of the affairs associated with human life. As a people, we present to-day a strange anomaly among the nations of the world. Unlike the rest of the nations, we have come out here to be separate from all other people, and we have notions and principles of a religious nature, differing very materially from all the rest of mankind.

The continental nations of Europe are very differently constituted to what we are; they are generally a distinct people, but they have more or less become amalgamated years ago, and at present have assumed a degree of nationality, having their own peculiar theories, customs, and ideas of religion and politics, and their own notions and standards of a social system. Their systems have been codified to a certain extent,—have been taught in their schools, their lyceums, and their churches, and been discussed in their legislative assemblies, and form what is generally termed ideas nationale,—they have been written about, thought about, lectured about, and preached about. There are certain mediums through which the ideas of those nations flow generally, which differ according to the position they occupy politically and religiously, and the kind of government which they are under. These theories and systems are peculiarly influenced and modified by the peculiar languages through which their ideas are conveyed. Those nations are organized under strictly political principles or systems—their organizations are almost exclusively of a political nature, although they have arrangements pertaining to church government which regulate and control in many instances the consciences of their subjects. They have a certain kind of religion in which they
generally are, no doubt, conscientious, and which is sustained by law.

The United States differ from them; for, although organized on political principles, yet, they have no religion which they acknowledge as such, nationally, leaving the people free to worship as they please.

We differ from all the rest. We have come together simply upon religious principles; we believe that God has spoken, that the heavens have been opened, that a connection has been formed between the heavens and the earth in our day. We believe that God has commenced to establish his kingdom upon the earth, and to teach mankind those principles that are calculated to bless and exalt them in time and in eternity. For this reason we have assembled together, and for this reason we build temples and administer ordinances in those temples which have been revealed unto us from the Most High. Now, as there are no other people anywhere under the heavens that have these ideas but ourselves, we may, indeed, be called a peculiar people—a people separate and distinct from all others. We are not composed of one particular family of the human race; we cannot be called Germans, we cannot be called English, we cannot be called Americans, or French, or Italians, Swiss, Portuguese, or Scandinavians. You cannot call us by any nationality, in particular, for we are composed of the whole. The nationality we are now in possession of is brought about simply, in the first place, as I have already stated, upon religious grounds.

The Elders of this Church have gone forth to those different nations and have preached the words of life, and have made known unto the people of those nations the things which the Lord hath communicated unto them, and the people in those nations who have received the principles of truth preached to them, all who could have gathered themselves together as we find ourselves today in this Territory, a distinct, religious brotherhood—if you please, a distinct nationality, differing from all others. True, we are associated with what is called the United States of America, in a territorial capacity, and acknowledge that authority and submit to its rule; we are really under the constitution of the United States. We have among us Federal officers who represent the United States government, and in this respect, so far as submission to law is concerned, and so far as the constitution of the United States is concerned, we are really associated with them, and form part and parcel of that government, and, at the same time, are just as loyal, and just as patriotic as any other portion of the United States; and we are bound always to admit another great fact, which is, that we are under the constitution of the law of Heaven.

There is a theory which has prevailed to a great extent in the United States lately, among what is called the dominant party of the present day, which is denominated the “higher law.” Whether they understand anything about that higher law or not I am not prepared to say; but there is a law that we are placed under that is really and emphatically a higher law. The higher law, of which those parties speak, refers particularly to the liberation of the negro, wherein they conceive that that is paramount to everything else, and that to it all barriers and obstacles, whether of constitution or law, shall give way; but that is a question which I shall not discuss here this afternoon, but leave it to other parties.

The position that we are placed in is very different; we are gathered together here, as I have stated before, on religious principles, which was the
first incitement to our gathering ourselves together. We furthermore believe, that being gathered together, it is our right to worship God according to the dictates of our consciences; we believe other things, also, that have been communicated unto us, that have been spoken and written about very plainly and extensively, viz., that God will establish his kingdom upon the earth, irrespective of what my opinion may be, or yours, or what the opinions of the government of France, of the United States, or any nation of the earth may be; we believe this is a deed that will actually be accomplished, and that God will introduce a rule and government of his own upon this earth, and that all nations, all rule, all power, all government, all authority, will have to submit to that rule, that government, and that authority; that is, this government will spread and extend until "all nations (to use a very familiar expression among all parties) shall bow to the sceptre of King Emmanuel." That expression is very commonly used, and very little understood; still, at the same time, it is in common use throughout the religious world generally. We believe it; we believe, too, that it will be literally fulfilled; that all nations will be overthrown; that these kingdoms, and governments, and powers, and authorities that exist on the earth, will be broken and destroyed, and that God will introduce a government and rule and dominion of his own.

These are some of our views. There are many people that have believed in these things, many religious parties have written about them; they have expected them, and believed in them; they have been part and parcel of their faith: there is nothing, remarkable, therefore, about this. But when we go a little further and say, we believe that we are the people, then it places things in another position.

Theory is one thing in relation to these matters, and the practical part is another thing. We do believe it, and we honestly acknowledge that this is that kingdom which the Lord has commenced to establish upon the earth, and that it will not only govern all people in a religious capacity, but also in a political capacity. "Well," say some, "is not that treason?" I do not know that it is; it is not treason against the Lord, and I do not know that it is treason against the government of the United States, or any other government. I have yet to learn that I, or any other person, or nation have power or authority to control the Almighty in his acts. I think that when he has a mind to, he will turn and overturn, and revolutionize, and bring to pass his purposes without asking me or any other person or power on the earth any odds, and we cannot help ourselves. It is merely a matter of faith with me and others, and it may be of knowledge also in regard to the designs and purposes of God in relation to this earth, and in relation to this people associated with him; but who do we interfere with politically, whose rights are proscribed by us, or what law is broken? None. We respect, honor, and obey the Constitution and laws of the nation with which we are associated. This is simply our faith or knowledge, as the case may be; it is the faith of this community that this is that kingdom that the Lord has commenced to establish upon the earth. The way that he has brought us together is, as stated before, by preached the Gospel unto us through his servants, repentance and the remission of sins through baptism in water in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and the laying on of hands for the impartation of the Holy Ghost.

I remember some years ago being in the city of Paris, in France; there
were a great many reformers there, as well as refugees from different parts of Europe. I had a long conversation with a Mr. Kroliheski, a gentleman from Poland, about the Gospel. He then was associated with a certain portion of the red republican party in France, with that particular branch of them that embraced the doctrines that those people professed that came to Nauvoo when we left—the followers of Mr. Cabot. After talking with him for some time on the principles of the Gospel, and what was calculated to be brought about in the earth, he turned to me and said, "Mr. Taylor, do you propose to bring about a revolution in the earth, and to introduce another state of things through the principle of repentance, of faith, and baptism, etc.?" "Yes, sir, that is the way we understand it." "Well, I wish you every success, but I am afraid you will not be able to accomplish anything."

I suppose he thought that the gate was very straight, and the road there too narrow to accomplish any national purposes, and, as Jesus said, "that few there were that found it."

Said I to him, you are trying to bring in a great reformation and you think you are going to accomplish something; we will compare notes. It is a number of years now since we left the city of Nauvoo; it was a large city then, and surrounded by a rich country, that we cultivated. In consequence of our religious views we could not stay there; we were persecuted and driven, and had to go into the wilderness, had to carry with us our husbandry utensils, seed, grain, tools of every kind, and provisions, a distance of over thirteen hundred miles by land, with ox-teams, into an unknown and unexplored country, among the savages of the desert. You and your people came to your new city, lived in our houses already built for you; you came to gardens and fields, already in a state of cultivation; you had every facility for improvement and progression. Now, sir, what is the difference between the two people? In reading your communications from Nauvoo, which I frequently read, every time you issue your paper you call for more money and means to help them to carry out their plans, and to progress in building up their city. On the other hand, our people, situated far away among the red skins of the forest, are sending out hundreds and thousands of dollars to help to gather the poor there. Now, which is progressing the most, you or they? "Well," says he, "I have nothing to say." I think he will have still less to say to-day than then.

We expect still to continue to progress and to advance in religious intelligence, in political intelligence; in religious power, and in political power; we are still expecting to carry out our social principles, which differ very materially from others. Our marriage system is different from that of others—of that which is called the religious world at the present time—the Christian world, if you please; and this marriage system of ours, at the first sight, appears to them as it did to us at first sight, the most revolting, perhaps, of anything that could be conceived of. Whatever others may have thought about it, I know what was thought about it by those who first embarked in it. If they could have plowed around the log, according to a facetious remark of President Lincoln, or burned it, or done anything else, they would have done it, rather than have entered into it; but they could not, and they had to take it up as the word of the Lord. It was not a matter of their own choice; it was the will and the commandment of the Almighty, for the guidance of his people. In this we differ materially from others; they
think that they are right in their views, we know that we are right in ours, and therefore we are satisfied. We expect, then, that these principles that we have received, and principles that will continue to be imparted unto us by our Heavenly Father, will spread, and increase, and go forth, and obtain the pre-eminence and a position among the nations of the earth. We do not expect that we shall ever be converted to any of their religious systems, or to any of their social systems. We know what we have received emanates from God; and knowing that, we stand upon it, and cleave to it as the rock of ages, knowing that no power under the heavens is able to overturn it, therefore we stand secure. The Lord has a design to speak, to instruct, to guide, to direct us in all our affairs, whether it relates to this world or to the world that is to come, and we are desirous to be taught of Him, and being taught of Him, we are then desirous to communicate the intelligence we receive unto others.

Some people will say, "You are harsh, you are exclusive, you do not wish to associate and to mix with others." To a certain extent we do, and to a certain extent we do not. To a very great extent we feel very much interested in the welfare and happiness of the human family. I very much question whether greater philanthropy has been developed among any other people under the face of the heavens than among this people. I am at the defiance of any body, or class of men, or nation, to show that greater sacrifices, so to speak, have been made anywhere than have been made among the Elders of this Church to promulge among the people that dwell upon all the earth the things that God has revealed unto them. Can you point out another people who have exhibited the same degree of intelligence, earnestness, and zeal in travelling from nation to nation, from city to city, by land and sea, over mighty oceans and desert wastes, even to the ends of the earth in order to promote the happiness and well being of their fellow men? There are no philanthropical societies existing in the world, that have done what the Elders of this Church have done, they cannot be produced. Are we misanthropists? No. We are cosmopolitans, citizens of the world, and have implanted in our bosoms the spirit of the living God, which prompts us to seek for the welfare and happiness of all the human family. All this, and more, we have done, and I very much question whether you can find anybody that would dispute it. They would say we are in error: that they have a right to say, and to think, if they please; but there is not one who can say in truth that we have not done all we claim to have done. We believe that God has spoken, and that he has organized his church and kingdom upon the earth; that he has and does communicate his will to his church; and believing that, we went forth as heralds of life and salvation to proclaim to the nations of the earth the things God has communicated unto us. "Did we go to preach to the people for their gold, for their silver, and for their precious things; for their clothing, or for anything they possess; for honor or for fame? No; but we were pointed at as speckled birds, we were opposed and persecuted in every town where we set our feet, and nothing but the power of God and the power of truth could have sustained the Elders in promulging those principles God gave them to communicate to the world. They had with them the power of God and the power of truth, which prevailed, so far as we see it this day —so far as it has had its influence, and so far as it has operated upon the
human mind—so far as it has gathered the Saints of God, and so far as it has preserved them in the position they now occupy.

This being the case, then, we cannot be charged with being narrow and contracted in our views—we cannot be charged with seeking to injure any class of men, for we have sought to benefit everybody that would be benefited by us, we have sought to benefit them every way in regard to their circumstances—in regard to their faith—in regard to their politics, and in regard to their bodies, to their souls, in regard to time and to eternity. There are thousands in this Territory to-day that are now well off that never would have owned one foot of land in the world anywhere else. What have we done besides? We have helped one another, sent out our teams by the hundreds and by the thousands, and our means, to assist those who could not assist themselves. Why? Because they were desirous to come, and we were willing to help them to come. Millions of dollars have been expended in this thing alone among the people. Can we in justice be called niggardly and contracted in our feelings? Can it be said that we have not shown liberality? It would be folly and madness to talk so; and, to say the least of it, it would show a lack of knowledge of the history of this church and people, and the position they occupy. I say, further, that if this nation had listened to the voice of Joseph Smith in a political capacity, they would have been saved this war that has now overtaken them; but they would not be saved; and I have sometimes been reminded of the position that Jerusalem occupied on a certain occasion when Jesus Christ spake by the spirit of revelation prophesying the events about to take place, he said, “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold your house is left unto you desolate,” etc. He then went on to tell them that Jerusalem should be overthrown and not one stone should be left standing upon another, that it should be trodden down of the Gentiles, etc. Could Joseph Smith or Jesus Christ help being the communicators of such tidings? They could not. Could Jesus Christ prevent the wrath of God overtaking the Jews and plunging them into irreparable ruin? No. Could Joseph Smith, or this people, have hindered anything that has overtaken the nation of the United States? They could not. They have had warning of the approaching evil for the last thirty years, and they had the opportunity of knowing what would have saved them, but they would not be saved. Is it wrong, cruel, and oppressive to try and save a people when you see that people or nation rushing headlong to the brink of a precipice? Is it wrong to tell them to hold on or they will be destroyed? You would rather call it the voice of a friend; all good men would, and, as far as bad men are concerned, we care little about them.

Now, we are here, and those events spoken of are transpiring and will transpire, and we cannot help it, and President Brigham Young cannot help it; these judgments are the decrees of fate, they will roll on—they have got to come and we cannot hinder them. What are we aiming at now? We want to save ourselves if we can, we want to know how to save ourselves as rational independent beings that have got souls to save—beings that are eternal. We want to know how to save ourselves and how to save our families, and, if possible, save our
progenitors, and lay a foundation to save our posterity after us, and also to save all that can be saved of the world—all that are in the reach of salvation, and, if possible, root out the chaos and confusion that everywhere exist in the political world; form and establish correct principles that shall emanate from the great Egoist, and that shall elevate the nations of the earth from the degradation in which they are wallowing to-day, and exalt them on high, that they may be prepared to receive teachings and instructions from God, and, if possible, be saved in his kingdom. These are things that we are trying to accomplish; our hearts are full of blessings, full of kindness, full of consideration, full of long suffering, full of a desire to save, bless, and exalt all that are within the reach of salvation. That is the worst injury that we ever did to any of the human family, and these are the worst desires that we ever had towards any of them. What do we wish to do for ourselves? We wish to purify ourselves from every kind of corruption—from all the leaven of gentilism, so to speak (I make use of that term, because it is generally comprehended among us to mean the leaven of the world of corruption and of evil of every kind), and to try to save ourselves and purify ourselves in our spirits, in our bodies, in our feelings, and to seek for intelligence from God, and from all correct sources, that we may be of a truth representatives of God upon the earth. This is what we are aiming at, and we wish, if we can, to conduct ourselves that God will not be ashamed of us, that holy angels will not be ashamed to associate with us, and that all our communications, doings, and associations may be of that nature that will at all times secure the smile and the approbation of our Heavenly Father, that when we get done with this work, and the world and the affairs of the world, so far as this present existence is concerned, we can say as Paul said, "I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith;" I have done my duty, honored my calling, and now there is a crown laid up for me, and for all who love the appearing of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

These are some of the feelings that throb in our bosoms, and these are the things we wish to accomplish for ourselves and for others. Is there any lack of philanthropy in this, any lack of good feelings towards any of the human family? No. "Then why do you not associate with everybody? Why do you not receive everybody into your houses? Why do you not let everybody do as they please, etc. Why do you not allow everybody to corrupt themselves if they wish to, and corrupt you if they please, and introduce their corruptions among your people?" The reason why we do not do these things is, because we have not a mind to. We think there is a very great distinction between the one and the other—we think there is a great difference between building up the kingdom of God and submitting to the power of the devil; we think there is a very material difference between associating with the Saints of God, or honorable men of the earth, than with the opposite class of persons. We think we have a perfect right always to choose what kind of company we keep and who we associate with. "But Bishop Wooley denounces the gentiles sometimes;" perhaps he has good reason to. I do not know whether ever he denounces any of the folks called Mormons or not; but I know one thing, if he did his duty he would denounce them. I know that there are a great many, both among those that are called gentiles and those that are called Mormons, that do not act as gentle-
men ought to act, much less as Saints of the Most High.

I wish this people to understand one thing, that there is a very material difference between treating men with courtesy and kindness, acting in a spirit of civilization, and trying to introduce correct principles among them, and permitting them to introduce their devilism among us; there are rules of etiquette among other nations and peoples, just as much as there are here. I have seen things practiced here by men, both by saints and sinners, that would not be tolerated in any other nation more than they would be here. I have seen acts in public, and I was going to say in private—although I do not enter much into the private acts of men, and do not wish to—but I have seen acts in public that would not be tolerated upon any consideration in any decent society; but persons committing such acts would be promptly turned out of that society. It is not because a man has a few dollars in his pocket, anywhere that I have been, that he is allowed to push himself and crowd himself into anybody's family he thinks proper, and seek to corrupt that family; no such things are tolerated anywhere among people who profess to be guided by correct principles, and shall we tolerate them here? No. It is usual in other countries, before a man can be received into society, that he must bring with him a reputation from reputable men; he is expected to have introductory letters before he can be introduced to them and associate with them, and not because he is in the shape of a man and walks on two legs. Why, baboons do that. Before I should allow strangers to come into my family and mix with my wives and daughters, I should want to know who they were, where they came from, what their instincts were, and what was their moral and religious character. As a head of a family, I have a right to know these things; I have a right to know what influences are brought in and around my house, what spirits predominate there, and I have a right to know what a man's religion is.

"But do you not allow liberty of conscience?" Yes. You can worship what you please—a donkey or a red dog—but you must not bring that worship into my house; I do not believe in your gods, I believe in the God of Israel, in the Holy Ghost, in the spirit of truth and intelligence, and all good principles; and if you want to worship your gods, worship them somewhere else, and if anybody else wants to worship them, they can do so: you can go on to one of those mountains and worship your gods, or if you are living in a house here, you can be a worshipper of Buddha if you please; but I do not want it in my house, and I do not want the spirit that you have—the spirit of those gods, visible or invisible; I do not want their teachings, spirit, nor influences. Who does not know that the world is corrupted? Who does not know that it has been recommended by the authorities in the city of Washington, and unblushingly published in the public prints, to send to Utah a lot of nice young men to prostitute our young women? Shame on such a nation, yet such things have been published and proclaimed here. You may see people come here smiling and bowing, and very polite, and "wont you let me take your daughter to a party?" No, nor yourself either, not unless I have a mind to; I will have a say in that, for I want to know who dances with my wives and daughters, and whether they have a reputation or not, and if they have a reputation, what kind of people they are. This I have a right to do in a social capacity, independent of all
religion, and I mean to do it. I will now turn the tables another way round. Did you ever see any of the Elders of this Church out abroad among the nations try to crowd themselves upon any people, and seek to go into their balls and assemblies, or parties, contrary to rule and to the principles laid down? No, never. Did you ever hear of them wanting to take their daughters to balls and parties, etc.? No, never. We claim the same kind of treatment from you; if we want your company we will ask it; if we do not ask it, you may consider that you are not wanted. We know and understand the spirit of the times to a certain extent.

"Do you mean to say that all the gentiles are bad men?" Not by any means; there are a great many good, honorable, high-minded men; we have met with many such abroad; we have met with gentlemanly, courteous treatment from strangers—I have, and so have others—and we have met with such here. We would not be behind any gentleman in reciprocating gentlemanly and courteous behavior; we wish to treat all good men as brothers, and no gentleman will object to what I now say. But I am sorry to say, that a great many are not of this class. Let us look at our position for a little while if you please. We are here in the midst of the mountains; there is a dreadful war raging in the east, and all kinds of characters are flocking here from that war, good and bad, and who knows who they are? We know one thing; vigilant committees in neighboring mining settlements are cutting the throats of some and hanging others. How do we know who we have here? Very likely cutthroats, blacklegs, gamblers, guerillas, and murderers, all gathered here together; and here is an honest, industrious people, and we do not choose to associate with strangers until we know who they are, and we think we are perfectly right in so doing.

Our object is to serve God and keep his commandments, and let the right, and the mighty, and the truth bear rule, and that right, by the help of God, we will maintain. We do not choose such associates, we want to know who it is we are talking to. I would dislike very much to have a murderer to sit down at my table and be placed under the disagreeable necessity of dragging him out by the neck. We have a right to know these things, and we mean to know them. We mean to take care of ourselves and pursue a course that is right in the sight of God. We mean to purify ourselves as far as we have power, and by the help of God, and cleave to the right and maintain it. May God help us to do it, in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.
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THE PUBLIC SPEAKING OF JOHN TAYLOR:

CHAMPION OF LIBERTY

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ABSTRACT

The speaking of John Taylor influenced the lives of Latter-day Saints for five decades. He delivered between two and three thousand addresses. In those addresses he promulgated a diversity of principles concerning the kingdom of God. This study focused on Taylor's ideas regarding liberty. Those ideas were often found in Taylor's speaking between 1857 and 1867. It was a time of threatened liberties for the people he lead. His speeches during those years played a significant part in swaying political and military efforts, as well as bolstering Mormon determination.

This study found that Taylor's ideas of liberty are based largely on his religious fundament. To Taylor, religious and political philosophy were inseparably inter-related. He believed that the Latter-day Saints had special rights. He presented his ideas to Mormon and Gentile alike in pointed, frank sermons. Taylor spoke as he lived—with great intensity.

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