

THE GIFT OF TONGUES

A STUDY IN PATHOLOGICAL ASPECTS
OF CHRISTIANITY

BY

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TO
THE GREATER GLORY OF GOD
AND
IN LOVING MEMORY OF
ALEXANDER JOHN HOWIE MACKIE
1859-1913

Ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ
καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, γέγονα
χαλκὸς ἤχῳ ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον.

PREFACE

The science of Pathology has contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the physical and physiological well-being of the human body. A science of Pathology in the realm of those things which are popularly called spiritual can contribute in like and, perhaps, in even greater degree to the well-being of the human soul.

It ought to be a matter of popular knowledge that some states of mind and some states of action which are called spiritual, and which are claimed to be spiritual, are called spiritual and claimed to be spiritual simply because they are unusual. It ought to be a matter of common knowledge that such states of mind and action are the expressions of diseased minds and diseased bodies, that when we are dealing with an extraordinary religious experience we are very likely to be dealing with disease. It ought to be a matter of common knowledge that historically such religious experiences are practically always associated with anti-moral conduct, and more particularly with transgressions of accepted moral standards in the *vita sexualis*.

This discussion of the gift of tongues is certainly not exhaustive. The present day tongues people, for example, have not even been discussed. But the mental traits and the physiological traits of the Shakers, the Irvingites and the primitive Mormons are the mental traits and the physiological traits of the present day tongues people, and, in fact, of that increasing group of earnest but unthinking Christians who are convinced of the present

revival in their various aspects of the apostolic charismata.

If this book shall serve to shed even a faint ray of light upon the kingdom of truth, I shall be profoundly grateful.

A. M.

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THE GIFT OF TONGUES



THE GIFT OF TONGUES

CHAPTER I

THE GIFT OF TONGUES IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

THERE is no wholly satisfactory solution of the problems raised by the accounts of the gift of tongues as those narratives appear in the New Testament. Any solution which we adopt involves difficulties. (The most easy solution of all New Testament problems is, of course, the purely arbitrary but not unpopular one of regarding as textual interpolations such New Testament passages as involve difficulty in exegesis.) But such a position in reference to the manifestations of the tongues in the New Testament record involves a multiplicity of contradictions and difficulties so great that we are obliged to look in another direction for the solution of our problem.

If we accept a late date for the writing of the Acts, and eliminate from our consideration the references to the tongues in the Corinthian Epistles, it is possible to recognize in the account of Pentecost a tradition, modified by an idealizing and myth-making tendency. Just as, according to Rabbinic tradition, the giving of the old law on Mt. Sinai was characterized by the speaking of Jehovah in a divine language, a language which could be understood in seventy different tongues, so the estab-

lishing of the new church and the beginning of a new spiritual order might fittingly and desirably be accompanied by a supernaturally-directed speaking in other tongues. Such an interpretation of the narrative of Pentecostal tongues has the merit of being well within the realm of psychological possibilities. It involves, however, the task not only of disproving an early date for Acts, and the interpreting of the later cases of glossolalia on some other basis than the basis adopted for interpreting the Pentecostal tongues, but it involves also all the gratuitous assumptions and arbitrary exegeses which are inextricably involved in a mythological interpretation of the New Testament, making the myth indeed the child of the wish, not in this case, however, the wish of the myth-maker, but the wish and even caprice of the New Testament interpreter and exegete.

A third solution of the problem is to be found in regarding the narrative of Pentecost as history. But merely to say that we are dealing with history, with events which occurred, not with events which ought to have occurred to have afforded what is conceived to have been a proper setting for the early days of the Christian Church, does not by any means solve the problem. We are still obliged carefully to study our text in order to arrive at some conclusion as to what actually happened at Pentecost:

“And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

And there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven.

Now when this was noised abroad, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language.

And they were all amazed, and marvelled, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these which speak Galileans?

And how hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born?

Parthians, and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia.

Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes.

Cretes and Arabians, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God.”¹

What is the real nature of the event that is thus described?

The most common interpretation of the passage is found in the postulating of a miracle as a result of which all or some of the Christians present were enabled to speak in foreign languages which they had never studied and in which they had never before spoken. The question then arises as to whether this endowment was temporary or permanent. The theory of a permanent endowment with ability to speak heretofore unknown languages involves several objections. One is based on the tradition that the apostles in their missionary journeys were accompanied by men who acted for them as interpreters. The case of Mark acting as interpreter for Peter is particularly cited in this connection.² Another objection is based on the experience of Paul and Barnabas at Lystra,³ where the missionaries were certainly unaware of what was being said “in the speech of Lycaonia,” until their attention was attracted by the visible preparations for doing sacrifice in their honor.

To avoid these difficulties, it has been suggested that the Pentecostal endowment was not permanent but temporary, that the gift was not to facilitate the preaching of the gospel to the heathen world, but as a demonstration of the power of God. We deal in this case, then, with an epideiktic miracle. For the world of to-day an epideiktic miracle can have little value. For the world of the apostles, with its exceedingly primitive mental traits in spite of its veneer of civilisation, it is altogether

¹ Acts 2: 4-11.

² Cf. Eusebius: “Church History,” III, xxxix, 15.

³ Acts 14: 8-18.

conceivable that an epideiktic miracle could possess an element of value. When we deal with the primitive church, it is well to remember, whether it be in matters ecclesiastical or psychological, we are dealing with primitive men.

The theory that the Pentecostal gift of tongues was not a miracle of speaking but a miracle of hearing found among some of the thinkers of the Christian church, an early and ready acceptance. Stress was laid upon verse 8 and particularly upon the word "hear":

"And how hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born?"

The miracle, according to this view, was wrought in the hearers, not in the speakers. This interpretation has nothing about it which either specially commends or condemns it. It does away with the historical difficulty involved in the theory of a permanent endowment with an ability to speak foreign languages. It involves, however, the vague objection that it may seem to be both artificial and contrary to the general sense of the entire passage.

Stress is laid by other students of the phenomenon upon the fact that the element of praise seems to be conspicuous in the account of the tongues at Pentecost:

"We do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God."

It is praise which forms the content of the tongues. It has even been suggested that definite ascriptions of praise might have constituted that which was said.

"We most naturally, I believe," writes Chase,¹ "picture the Apostles, like Zacharias in much earlier days when he was 'filled with the Holy Ghost' (Luke 1: 67ff),

¹ Chase, Frederic Henry: "The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles," London, 1902, pp. 38-40.

as bursting forth into 'benedictions' drawn from the rich liturgical store of the Jewish Church—such as we find, for example, in that most ancient service of praise and prayer, the *Eighteen Benedictions*. But the Apostles spoke the praises of God in different languages. That is, plainly, the writer's meaning. Now there is evidence that the authorities in Palestine sanctioned the use of any language whatever in repeating the *Shema*, the *Eighteen Benedictions*, and the Grace at Meals. At other feasts, then, the Apostles had heard strangers of the Dispersion reciting these doxologies in the various languages most familiar to them. Now they in turn themselves, seeing before them Jewish worshippers from many countries, with memories supernaturally quickened, recall and rehearse in the different languages the accustomed words of praise.

"Here, too, St. Luke discerned a symbolical meaning. The new spiritual endowment of the Church inaugurates a reversal of the curse of separation. What we may term the very accidents accompanying the advent of the Spirit are a pledge of the catholicity of the Church—a sign that the Church should be the one home of men of every language and race (comp. Col. 3:11). The historian recalls the language of the ancient story which told of the confusion of tongues (Gen. xi:7ff); and it is plain that his language in recording the events of Pentecost is moulded by the remembrance."

Similar to such a theory is the general notion frequently expressed that the words spoken were archaic, figurative and unusual, and for that reason might be called "other tongues."

Another interpretation has been found in regarding the *ἑτέρας γλώσσας* as figurative. The tongues are other tongues because they are now controlled by the Spirit

of God. Before the bestowing of the gift, each man controlled his own tongue. After the bestowal, God controls the tongue directly. The tongue is independent of the will of man and is directly dependent upon the will of God.

So far, we have tended to ignore the fact that the New Testament contains references to the appearance of the gift of tongues, not only at Pentecost, but in connection with the conversion of Cornelius, in connection with the advent of the Holy Ghost at Ephesus, and in connection with the church at Corinth. If we eliminate the account of the tongues at Pentecost on the ground of a textual interpolation, or if we treat the Pentecostal narrative as the expression of a myth-making tendency, we have still failed to deal with the subsequent appearances of the same phenomena. We are forced then to a second explanation and a second theory for the interpreting of our data.

There is, however, very good reason to believe that the phenomena described as tongues in the New Testament are in their general nature everywhere substantially the same. By his express statement:

"And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning,"¹ St. Peter seems to identify the manifestations at Cæsarea with the Pentecostal occurrences. It requires a very arbitrary and artificial exegesis of Acts 19:6 to suppose that except from the point of view of grammatical construction *ελάλουν γλώσσαις* in that passage means something different from ² *λαλούντων νηλισταῶς* in Acts 10:46. In like manner also, we are guilty of an arbitrary and artificial exegesis, for which there is no foundation in the text or in logic, and no foundation in psychology, except the *a priori* desire on our part to substantiate a theory, when we insist that

¹ Acts 11:15.

λαλῶν γλώσση or λαῆλιν γλώσσαις or γλώσσαις λαλῶν in First Corinthians 14: 2, 4, and 5, means anything fundamentally different from the accepted meaning of similar terms when they are used in the Acts.

In the Corinthian account, two definite characteristics of the tongues stand out clearly. The first is that the tongues are not a known or understandable language and require, that they may be used for edification, the gift of the interpretation of tongues. The second is that to the person not familiar with these phenomena and therefore not inclined to interpret the tongues on the basis of a theory that the tongues are spiritual in their nature, those speaking in the tongues seem to be mad.

The word used by St. Paul and translated as meaning mad is a form of a verb used frequently to signify Bacchic or prophetic frenzy. To the observer, unprejudiced by notions which had grown up in the Christian church as to the nature of the tongues, the behaviour of a person speaking with tongues was no different from the familiar conduct of the μάντις. It is of further significance that it was only in Corinth, a centre of Greek religious influence, that the tongues attained to so great a degree of prominence in the Christian church, as to demand extended discussion in an apostolic epistle. The association of ecstasy and immorality in the Corinthian church might here also be justly remarked.

Let us turn back to the account of events at Pentecost. The opening words of St. Peter's sermon are the familiar ones,

"For these are not drunken as ye suppose." ¹

The verb μεθύσκω here used in its passive voice to denote drunkenness, is a verb of connotations not unrelated to Bacchic frenzy. The charge of drunkenness at Pente-

¹ Acts 2:15.

cost may justly be regarded as of the same nature as the charge of madness at Corinth.

Consideration also must be given to the use of the verb *λαλεῖν* in describing the speaking with tongues in connection with the Pentecostal phenomena at Cæsarea, at Ephesus and at Corinth. *λαλεῖν* is an onomatopoetic word, the primary significance of which is found in the English equivalent "lalling." It is a word sometimes applied to birds, and may mean to chirp, or to twitter. It may be taken to mean to babble, or to chatter. The suggestion that the word *γλῶσσα* might be taken in the sense of an archaic language has already been noted. It has also been suggested that the use of the word connotes a special stress upon the organ of speech itself rather than upon speaking. The phrase *λαλεῖν γλῶσσαις*, using this latter sense of *γλῶσσα*, may well be taken therefore to involve the notion of the disconnected, unmeaning use of the tongue for the making of sounds.

The word *φωνή* used in Acts 2:6, is also to be taken into consideration, and the possibility of translating the phrase in which it occurs as "when this became a noise," to be reckoned with. In other words, the terms used in the accounts of the tongues are words such as would suggest disorderly, rather than orderly speaking, and the uttering of sounds rather than words, or at best words which were not connected with other words in such a manner as to express coherent thought.

A further difficulty may here present itself, in the interpretation of the phenomenon at Pentecost and at Corinth on the same basis of a disorderly ecstasy. In the account of the Pentecostal gift, stress is laid upon the speaking in the languages of a number of countries. It has been suggested that some one of three languages, the East Aramaic, the West Aramaic, and the Greek would have been understandable in each of the countries

named. It is not unreasonable psychologically to suppose that the disorderly speaking at Pentecost included fragments of all three of these languages released by the subconscious minds of men speaking in a state of great excitement.

In view of considerations which will appear in our further discussion of the gift of tongues, and in accord also with such evidence as we have concerning the phenomena in New Testament times, it is possible to defend the position that the gift of tongues was and is similar to the ecstasies associated with the Greek mystery religions. It is possible to suggest that at the very beginning of the life of the Christian church, it was face to face with the struggle which it still must wage—the struggle against pagan ideas and pagan practices within its own doors.

CHAPTER II

SOME FORMS OF RELATED PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMENA

IN patristic literature there is no considerable record of the manifestation of the gift of tongues. Irenæus believed that he was familiar with cases of genuinely miraculous appearances of some forms of the charismata, included in which he mentions the gift of prophecy and the gift of healing. He goes so far in the latter case as to write :

"Yea, moreover, as I have said, the dead even have been raised up, and remained among us for many years." ¹

Whether we are justified in interpreting in this case the statement just quoted as meaning that Irenæus believed himself to have been an eye-witness to a resurrection or resurrections, or whether he writes on the authority of another, or whether he is simply here referring to the miracles of the apostolic age, we are not justified in concluding absolutely from the text.

In the following familiar passage, Irenæus refers to the gift of tongues :

"In like manner we do also hear many brethren in the Church, who possess prophetic gifts, and who through the Spirit of God do speak in all languages, as He used Himself also to speak." ²

¹ Irenæus: "Against Heresies," II: 32:4.

² Same: V: 6:1.

Tertullian also refers to the charismata of his day and demands of Marcion as a supernatural attestation of his mission that he

“produce a psalm, a vision, a prayer—only let it be by the Spirit, in an ecstasy, that is, in a rapture, whenever an interpretation of tongues has occurred to him. . . .”

“Now all these signs of spiritual gifts,” Tertullian adds, “are forthcoming from my side without any difficulty.”¹

From patristic times until the power of the reformation had made itself distinctly felt the gift of tongues is an almost forgotten phenomenon. The attention which the Reformation drew to the Scriptures is the reason for the reappearance of the gift. Men do not usually have the gift of tongues unless they know there is a gift of tongues. The revival of the Bible made also necessary in some minds a revival of states of mind and actions such as were those of the men who lived in Bible times and who were esteemed holy. During the long silence of those weary centuries there was evidence, however, of those psychological and physiological tendencies and actions which we find go hand in hand with the appearance of the gift in the history of the Corinthian church, or in the history of all of the more modern sects which we shall discuss. Simply because the ages preceding the Reformation were deficient in a Scriptural vocabulary we fail to find these phenomena described and classified as related to the gift of tongues.

Let us note the psychological evidences of states of mind analogous to the mental attitude of modern tongues people. There is ever present that superstitious reverence which is to be observed among the ignorant and primitive for those who speak in other tongues. Those who spoke in other tongues are eminent in the common

¹ Tertullian: “Against Marcion.” V: 8.

mind of the Middle Ages either for their saintly lives, or for the fact of their servitude to the devil. To be learned seems to connote a gift, either of God or of the devil. St. Francis Xavier and other of the great missionary saints are said to have been able to speak "the languages of many different nations without having studied those languages." The knowledge even of letters was sometimes bestowed by a miracle upon the saintly. Matthew Paris, writing of the rise to fame of St. Hildegarde, in the year 1240, notes that she was first a recluse, and afterwards an abbess—a lady of remarkable sanctity—into whom, in her lifetime, "during a sleep of four days' continuance, the Lord instilled the spirit of prophecy, and a complete knowledge of letters, during the pontificate of Pope Alexander."¹

On the other hand, the scholars, the alchemists, and their children, the scientists of the Renaissance, were looked upon as being under a special compact with the devil, from whom came their mysterious knowledge of other tongues. Men like Robert of Lincoln and Michael Scott,² both eminent through the thirteenth century for a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew in the one case, and Arabic in the other, were popularly regarded as sorcerers. So also were Raymond Lulli and Arnold de Villeneuve, both eminent linguistic scholars of the fourteenth century, popularly feared as men skilled in sorcery. Robert of Lincoln, another of the alchemists, is said to "have made a head of brass expressly constructed in such a manner as to be able to answer such questions as were propounded to it, and to foretell future events."

Roger Bacon was also reputed to be in league with the powers of darkness, and to have made with Friar

¹ Paris, Matthew: "English History from the Year 1235 to 1273." Translated from the Latin by J. A. Giles (in the Bohn Library). London, 1852-4. Vol. I, p. 317.

² Godwin, William: "Lives of the Necromancers." London, 1834; pp. 252-3-4, 263, 282.

Bungay a brazen head which also spoke when its makers were asleep, tired out with their long labours. The story of the speaking brazen head is one of the familiar stories of the Middle Ages, and the making of such a head is attributed to many great men of learning. But not only could these men who, in faith and never-stinted labour, lighted the torch, the blazing flame of which at last illumined the morning sky of the Renaissance and the Reformation, speak the ancient languages, but such was their power that they could cause even the inanimate to speak.¹

Fluency of speech and the speaking of mysterious words are often looked upon as a sign of possession by an evil spirit. One of the charges brought against Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of Kent, famous in the annals of sixteenth century witchcraft, was based upon her speaking in what was described as a manner above her usual discourse. Similar charges were common against witches and the bewitched.

The ability to speak other languages was viewed sometimes not only as an evidence of a Satanic possession, but as a possession analogous to a distemper, which could sometimes be remedied by the use of drugs.

"Pomponatius writes that the wife of Francis Maigret, savetier of Mantua, spoke divers languages, and was cured by Calderon, a physician, famous in his time, who gave her a portion of Hellebore. Erasmus says also that he had seen an Italian, a native of Spoletta, who spoke German very well, although he had never been in Germany; they gave him a medicine which caused him to eject a quantity of worms, and he was cured, not to speak German any more."²

¹ See Purchas, Samuel: "Hakluytas Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes, etc." Glasgow, 1905. Vol. XVII, p. 360. Godwin: *op. cit.*, p. 232.

² Calmet, Augustine: "The Phantom World." London, 1880. Vol. I, p. 185.

Sometimes words from foreign languages were used as a means of warning men against impending calamity, and by the mysterious way in which they were conveyed, indicated their relation to magic.

"A man who did not know a word of Greek came to M. de Saumaise, senior, a counsellor of the parliament of Dijon, and showed him these words, which he had heard during the night as he slept, and which he wrote down in French characters on awakening: 'Apithi ouc osphraïne ten sen apsygian.' He asked him what that meant. M. de Saumaise told him it meant, 'Save yourself; do you not perceive the death with which you are threatened?' Upon this hint, the man removed, and left his house, which fell down the following night.

"The same story is related, with a little difference, by another author, who says that the circumstances happened at Paris; that the genius spoke in Syriac, and that M. de Saumaise being consulted, replied, 'go out of your house, for it will fall in ruins to-day, at nine o'clock in the evening.' " ¹

Evil spirits are frequently endowed in popular legend with the ability to speak and understand a great many languages. Dupouy, citing J. Boudin of Angers, an ancient authority on demonology, says that Boudin "pretends that the devil may speak through the mouth of the possessed, and use all the idioms, known and unknown." ²

Those who were bewitched frequently talked in other languages, certainly at least in Latin. Thus Dr. Hutchinson, in his account of Richard Dugdale, the Surrey Impostor, as he calls him, writes:

"Here is a young Man, about twenty years old, is said to have given his soul to the Devil, that he might be the

¹ Calmet: *op cit.* Vol. I, pp. 205-6.

² Dupouy, Edmond: "Medicine in the Middle Ages." Cincinnati, 1889; p. 42.

best *Dancer* in *Lancashire*; but instead of dancing in the way he hoped to have done, he seems to be *possessed*. He stands upon his Head, dances upon his Knees, and runs on all Four like a Dog, and barks. He seems sometimes extreme heavy, and at other Times light; hath a swelling run from the calf of his leg up to his Neck; he talks shreds of Latin, ran into the Water, and told things at a Distance, and was thought to be possessed with a merry ludicrous Spirit." ¹

Dr. Hutchinson does not seem to have had an overwhelming respect for the Presbyterian clergy as exorcists. Perhaps he has a predilection against them. At any rate he tells how the Presbyterians failed to cure the aforesaid Richard Dugdale, and Richard taking some money given him by "some honest gentlemen of the Church of England,"

"Went to one Dr. Chew, and never had a fit after his Physick, tho' he had a severe one the Day before." ²

The notion of one's speaking as a result of demoniac possession we will find recurring frequently in, for example, the case of Mr. Baxter and the Irvingites, who ascribed their mistakes to a lying spirit.

The popular idea of the cunning and wisdom of Satan is revealed in the belief in his ability to speak and understand all kinds of language. Nothing could ever be gained by trying to deceive him by any effort to speak in a foreign language; he understood everything. Gassner, a celebrated Swiss therapeutic of the eighteenth century, spoke chiefly Latin in his profession, and the devil is said often to have understood him perfectly.³ May we presume to suggest that even in the modern medical profession we face the survival of a primitive

¹ Hutchinson, Francis: "An Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft." London, 1718; p. 125.

² Same: p. 126.

³ Howitt, William: "History of the Supernatural." Philadelphia, 1863. Vol. I, p. 123.

superstitious practice in the scribbling off in illegible handwriting in the Latin tongue, that mysterious something called a prescription? Why all these mysteries? Why all this atrocious Latinity? Only because even our physicians are still primitive in some of their intellectual traits. They still cling desperately to the mysterious power of a mysterious word. It is a comfort, however, to some of us, to know that not only ministers of the gospel, not only lawyers with their monstrous Latin, and not only the Roman Church with its archaic universal language, but also and as well our physicians—who have always without fail scouted all superstition—still cling to the habits of mind of the dark ages.

The magic value of a name, to bless or to curse, is a phenomenon met with throughout the whole history of witchcraft and superstition. It is evident in the Old Testament in the unwillingness of the Jewish writers to use the word Jehovah. That word was holy; it was taboo. An old tradition of the lovers of the occult tells us that among some Jewish teachers there was no attempt to deny the fact of the miracles of Jesus. They "attribute them to his having stolen the Holy Name out of the Temple, cut a gash in his thigh and there enclosed this omnipotent name, by which he possessed the power to do any miracle." ¹

The writing of a name upon an object gave it a special spiritual value, and the writing of a person's name upon an object gave that object a sort of spiritual ascendancy over the person concerned—an idea which we encounter frequently in dealing with magic. Resort was often had to this principle by persons desirous of causing harm to others. Thus, when Germanicus, nephew of Tiberius, died,

¹ Howitt: *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 235. See also p. 24.

"there were found in Corners of his Lodgings Charms, Curses, his Name upon Leaden Tables, Pieces of Man's Flesh, and Ashes and other things used in witchcraft." ¹

Under date of the year 1578, it is stated:

"A man taken at Islington with Three Waxen Images, designed for the killing of Queen *Elizabeth*, and two of her counsellors: they were buried in a Dunghill, with their names upon them, in hopes the parties would pine away as the Pictures wasted." ²

The widespread and primitive nature of the concept of the inherent power or value of names is dwelt upon at considerable length by Dr. Frazer in "The Golden Bough":

"Thus, to begin with the savages who rank at the bottom of the social scale, we are told that the secrecy with which among the Australian aborigines personal names are often kept from general knowledge, 'arises out of the belief that an enemy who has your name, has something which he can use magically to your detriment.' . . . On Herbert River the wizards, in order to practise their arts against some one, 'need only to know the name of the person in question, and for this reason they rarely use their proper names in addressing or speaking of each other, but simply their class names.' . . . Every Egyptian received two names, which were known respectively as the true name and the good name, or the great name and the little name, and while the good or little name was made public, the true or great name appears to have been carefully concealed. Similarly in Abyssinia at the present day it is customary to conceal the real name which a person receives at baptism and to call him only by a short nickname which his mother gives him on leaving the church. The reason for this concealment is that a

¹ Hutchinson: *op. cit.*, p. 16.

² Same: pp. 29-30.

sorcerer cannot act upon a person whose real name he does not know.”¹

Traces of this fear of the power of a name are to be found in various forms among practically all primitive peoples. The prohibition laid upon the use of names sometimes applies to a man's own name, to the names of relatives, of kings or chiefs, of the dead, and of gods.² This taboo is sometimes extended to common words in such pursuits as fishing and fowling.³

The bestowing of a name in baptism, circumcision, confirmation, or upon the entrance into a religious life, as well as the promise in the Apocalypse of a new name, may all be regarded as related to the notion of the spiritual value of a name. The use of special names and words in ceremonies of initiation into secret societies might also in this connection be considered.

Some names are looked upon as very dangerous to pronounce. The name of Satan, for example, in some cases was believed, when pronounced by a woman, to admit into her an evil spirit.

In the trial of Rose Cullender and Amy Duny, both widows, on the charge of witchcraft, Samuel Pacy, a merchant who had been called as a witness, stated of the two children who were alleged to have been bewitched by the women:

“that they would read (in the New Testament) till they came to the Name of Lord or Jesus; and then before they could pronounce either of the said Words they would suddenly fall into fits. But when they came to the Name of *Satan* or *Devil*, they would clap their Fingers upon

¹ Frazer, J. G.: “The Golden Bough.” London, 1900. Second edition, Vol. I, pp. 404, 406.

² Frazer: *op. cit.*, pp. 407-450. See also Crawley, Ernest: “The Mystic Rose.” London, 1902; pp. 48, 131, 270-3.

³ Frazer: *op. cit.*, pp. 451-64.

the Book, crying out, This bites, but makes me Speak right well." ¹

Turner, in his "Mormonism in All Ages," gives an account of the superstitious idea that there is a healing power in a name, in his story of Austin, the Vermont Healer, a story, not of the twelfth century, but of the nineteenth:

"In the year 1808, a Mr. Austin, in the town of Colchester, Vermont, gave out that he was gifted with the art of healing, and that whoever would describe to him, by word of mouth, or by letter, the symptoms of his malady, should receive 'a healing word,' if, indeed, his disease were curable. His obscure retreat was soon thronged by invalids from all sections of the country. Ballston and Saratoga seemed, for the time, forgotten. Barrooms and postoffices were deluged with floods of letters to the 'prophet at Colchester.' Mail carriers groaned under burdens of the kind of diseases described. Hawkers and vagrants traversed the country to procure and carry letters of symptoms to the prophet, for only fifty cents a letter. The deaf soon heard, the blind saw, dropsies and consumptions stood aghast, and multitudes were found to amend at the precise time their letters were supposed to have reached the prophet. Such fame was, however, too glorious for long continuance." ²

A story of a similar nature is told by Anthony Knivet, a voyager and explorer. The event occurred about 1591. Knivet's feet had been frozen. Some of the toes had dropped off and the feet were infested with lice. At Penguin Island, he informs us,

"the Generall tooke a Chirurgeon who cured with words; This man comming aboard our ship, said some

¹ From Pamphlet: "A Tryal of Witches at the Assizes held at Bury St. Edmunds, etc., March 10, 1664." Reprinted, London, 1838.

² Turner, J. B.: "Mormonism in All Ages." New York, 1842; p. 294.

words over my feet and I had feeling in my legges and feet which I had lost before, for the space of a fortnight. Many times before this man came I had hot Irons laid to my feet, but I had no feeling were they never so hot.”¹

Various phrases were used for the exorcising of demons. He who knew the right word to use was specially blest. The Lord's Prayer was looked upon as having a special value as a test for discovering the existence of a witch. The Rev. Mr. Darrel, a Puritan divine of the seventeenth century, found that

“Stinted Prayers, read out of a book (the Common Prayer Book) had little effect upon the Spirits; but at conceived Prayers, the Parties were much troubled.”²

It is interesting, by the way, to note that this was the same Mr. Darrel who felt called to the ministry by a certain “sluggishness” on his part in the study of English common law.

Evil spirits had a persistent objection, in fact a fear, of the *Pater* and *Ave*. The spirits objected to their being repeated. Calmet tells us of a returned spirit named Humbert, who

“was made to say the *Pater* and *Ave*; he recited them with difficulty, saying that he was prevented by an evil spirit, who would not let him tell the curé many other things.”³

Sometimes it was a verse of scripture which checked the demon. One of the demons who is said to have possessed one of the Ursuline nuns is represented as stating that,

¹ Purchas: *op. cit.*, Vol. XVI, p. 188.

² Hutchinson: *op. cit.*, p. 244.

³ Calmet: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 287.

"When Lucifer tempted Jesus Christ in the Wilderness, his design was to penetrate into that Secret (i. e. How the Motherhood of Mary could be joined with her Virginity) but those words, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord, thy God, left him in blindness as to that mystery." ¹

Belief was also current in a magic language known only to the initiated:

"One ground of the charge (against John Trithemius, Abbot of Spenheim, born 1462, died 1516) of necromancy, was a work of his, entitled 'Steganographia, or the art, by means of a secret writing, of communicating our thoughts to a person absent.' He says, however, that in this book he had merely used the language of magic, without in any degree having had recourse to their modes of proceeding." ²

The reputed use by witches of unmeaning formulæ or of formulæ of unmeaning sounds is related to the theory of a magic language. Elizabeth Style, who confessed to the charge of witchcraft in 1664, deposed *inter alia*:

"Before they (the witches) are carried to their meetings, they annoint their Fore-heads and Hand-Wrists with an Oyl the Spirit brings them, which smells raw, and then they are carried in a very short time, using these words as they pass, *Thout, Tout, a tout, tout, throughout and about*. And when they go off from their Meetings, they say *Rentum Tormentum*." ³

In the following account of the execution of a witch, we note the same psychological tendency:

¹ Aubin: "The Cheats and Illusions of Romish Priests and Exorcists. Discovered in the History of the Devils of Loudun." (Translated into English.) London, 1703; p. 263.

² Godwin: *op. cit.*, p. 263.

³ Glanville, Joseph: "Sadducismus Triumphatus, etc." London, 1726.

"One of the persons executed at the first burning, a prostitute, was heard repeating the exorcism, which was supposed to have the power of raising the arch enemy in the form of a goat. This precious specimen of human folly has been preserved by Horst, in his 'Zauberbibliothek.' It ran as follows and was to be repeated slowly, with many ceremonies and waivings of the hand:

"Lalle, Bachera, Magotte, Baphia, Dajam,
Vagoth Heneche Ammi Nagaz, Adomator,
Raphael Immanuel Christus, Tetragrammaton
Agra Jod Loi. König! König!"

"The two last words were uttered quickly, and with a sort of scream, and were supposed to be highly agreeable to Satan, who loved to be called a king. If he did not appear immediately, it was necessary to repeat a further exorcism. The one in greatest repute was as follows, and was to be read backwards, with the exception of the last two words:

"Anion, Lalle, Sabolos, Sado, Pater, Aziel
Adonai, Sado Vagoth Agra, Jod,
Baphra! Komm! Komm!"

"When the witch wanted to get rid of the devil, who was sometimes in the habit of prolonging his visits to an unconscionable length, she had only to repeat the following, also backwards, when he generally disappeared, leaving behind him a suffocating smell:

"Zellianelle Heotti Bonus Vagotha
Plisos sother osech unicus Beelzebub
Dax! Komm! Komm!"¹

The primitive nature of this meaningless use of words, or this use of meaningless words, is apparent when we note that it belongs to the same stage psychologically

¹ Mackey, Charles: "Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions." Philadelphia, 1850. Vol. I, pp. 329-330.

as many of the songs in common use among savages.
 "The following," says Tylor,

"is a translation of a New Zealand song:

"Thy body is at Waitemata,
 But thy spirit came hither,
 And aroused me from my sleep.

Chorus—Ha—ah, ha—ah, ha—ah, ha!

"This last shows a feature extremely common in barbaric songs, the refrain of generally meaningless syllables. We moderns are often struck with the absurdity of the nonsense-chorus in many of our own songs, but the habit is one which seems to have been kept up from the stages of culture in which the Australian savage sings, 'Abang! Abang!' over and over at the end of his verse, or a Red Indian hunting party enjoys singing in chorus, 'Nyah eh ua! nyah eh ua!' to an accompaniment of rattles like those which children use with us." ¹

The love of words because of their sounds is a trait which we encounter on every hand. The fondness of the American negro for words which he does not understand, but which he seems to enjoy repeating, is familiar. In poets of the neuropathic type like Blake or Poe, we meet with the same phenomenon. In the fondness of small boys for what they call "hog-Latin," we encounter a similar tendency.

That Joseph Smith, Jr., the Mormon prophet, was in no sense free from primitive traits is not only in evidence in his "peep-stone," but equally so in his fondness for high-sounding words, to which we shall have occasion later to refer.

Hepworth Dixon tells a story illustrative of the same tendency in giving an account of his visit to the "Agape-

¹ Tylor, Edward B.: "Anthropology." New York, 1881; p. 289.

mone," the home of the Princites. Those who lived within the protecting walls of the "Agapemone" had each received a new name. Dixon was very curious to know the names which these people had borne "in the world":

"Once when Sister Zoe was lifting up her voice to address me, as all the Sisters had done in turn, I asked by what name I should speak to her. 'Zoe,' she replied. . . .

"'But think,' I urged, 'I am a layman, and a stranger; how can I use these sweet, familiar names?'

"'Pray do so,' answered Zoe; 'it is very nice.'

"'No doubt, if I were here a month; meantime it would be easier for me to call you Miss ——'.

"'Call me Zoe,' she answered with a patient smile: 'Zoe; nothing but Zoe.'

"Looking towards Prince, I said, 'Do your people take new names on coming into residence, like the monks and nuns of an Italian convent?'

"'Not like monks and nuns,' said Prince; 'we do not put ourselves under the protection of saints. We have no saints. We simply give ourselves to God, of whom this mansion is the seat. At yonder gates we leave the world behind; its words, its laws, its passions; all of which we hold to be things of the devil's kingdom. Living in the Lord, we follow his leading light, even in the simple matter of our names; you will hear them all in time. They call me Beloved. I call this lady Zoe, because the sound pleases me. I call Thomas Mossoo, because he speaks French so well.' " ¹

Grassett remarks upon the same phenomenon as characteristic of the semi-insane and the semi-responsible. Thus he writes of Gorky:

"Although Gorky has chiefly depicted vagabonds, one

¹ Dixon, William Hepworth: "Spiritual Wives." London and Philadelphia, 1868; pp. 172-3.

nevertheless meets the semi-insane in his works, especially in *Les-Bas-fonds*, which the Theatre de l'Œuvre has lately presented. Was it not Satine who loves, without knowing why, the 'incomprehensible' and 'peculiar' words 'macrobiotic' and 'transcendental'?"¹

Grassett also calls attention to the fact that "in certain verses of Victor Hugo one finds a curious collection of words sounding alike, such as is found in the poems of the insane."²

In the argot of criminals we are dealing with the same conditions. While the practical reason given by criminals for the use of this peculiar slang is the desire to elude the police, the psychological reason is the love of unusual and peculiar sounding words.³

The Middle Ages were characterised by a number of religious movements, all of which had motor characteristics which are akin to the tongues movement, and all of which would in modern days doubtless have been characterised by speaking in tongues. "The Master of Hungary," a leader in the Pastoureaux movement, which began about 1251 in Flanders, was said to have spoken as the result of a miracle in all languages.⁴ He claimed to be under the special protection of the Virgin. The dancing mania which spread all over Europe were motor expressions of the same neurotic conditions which in later times have been associated with the tongues movement. The Flagellants may also be classified under the same general head.

¹ Grassett, Joseph: "The Semi-Insane and the Semi-Responsible." New York, 1907; p. 17.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 231 (foot-note).

³ See Ellis, Havelock: "The Criminal." London and New York, 1903; pp. 201-211.

⁴ Blunt, John Henry: "Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, etc." Philadelphia, 1874. Art.: "Pastoreaux," p. 410.

In 1566 an epidemic broke out among the children of the Orphan House at Amsterdam:

"These children climbed up the walls and over roofs like cats, made the most horrible grimaces, and spoke foreign languages, relating things done at the same moment in other places, even in the courts of justice. Similar to these were the disorders amongst the children, boys and girls, in the Orphan House at Horn in Holland, as related by Franz Kneiper. Sometimes they became cataleptic, were as stiff as trunks of trees, and might be carried about in the same manner." ¹

A few years before (1550) a very similar neurosis occurred, Dupouy tells us,

"among the nuns at St. Brigette's Convent. In their attacks the nuns imitated the *cries of animals and the bleating of sheep*. At chapel one after the other were taken with convulsive syncope, followed by suffocation and œsophageal spasms which sometimes persisted for the space of several days and condemned the victims to an enforced fast. This epidemic commenced after an hysterical convulsion occurred in one of the younger nuns, who had entered the convent on account of disappointment in love." ²

Accounts of women worshipping in church, or of nuns who barked like dogs, meowed like cats or imitated the cries of other animals, are very frequent, and are reported as occurring in such widely distributed localities as in a German convent, in Oxford, England, and in Paris. At the convent of Auxonne, where a similar epidemic broke out,

"The Bishop of Chalons reports that all the before-

¹ Howitt: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 504-5.

² Dupouy: *op. cit.*, p. 57.

mentioned girls, secular as well as regular, to the number of eighteen, had the gifts of language, and responded to the Exorcists in Latin, making at times their entire conversation in the classical tongue." ¹

An incident reminiscent of the disorders, apparently distressingly frequent in convents, is related in connection with the Salem witchcraft, when it is stated that the children of John Goodwin, of Boston, "barked like dogs, purred like cats, at times complained that they were in a red-hot oven, and again that cold water was thrown on them." ²

Evelyn, in his *Diary*, refers to the preaching of one Rev. John Mason, and under date of April 24th, 1694, records the following:

"A great rising of people in Buckinghamshire, on the declaration of a famous preacher, till now reputed a sober and religious man, that our Lord Christ appearing to him on the 16th of this month, told him he was now come down, and would appear publicly at Pentecost. . . . Great multitudes followed this preacher, divers of the most zealous brought their goods and considerable sums of money, and began to live in imitation of the primitive saints, minding no private concerns, continually dancing and singing Hallelulia night and day." ³

The phenomena which we have been expected to look upon as special signs of divine presence, and which were associated in later years with what have been called "The Great American Revivals," were in evidence under the preaching of such men as George Fox and John Wesley.

¹ Dupouy: *op. cit.*, pp. 759-60. See also Hecker, J. F. K.: "The Epidemics of the Middle Ages." Philadelphia, 1837; London, 1844; p. 127, foot-note.

² Dupouy: *op. cit.*, p. 62.

³ Evelyn, John: "The Diary of." Edited by William Bray (in Everyman's Library). London and New York. Vol. II, pp. 331-2.

Fox frequently had his meetings interrupted by those who cried out and groaned. At times his own preaching took on that rhapsodic form which would have been called prophecy in Irving's church, and which, had his attention been turned very forcibly toward the Pentecostal phenomena, might easily have led him to speak with tongues.

John Wesley seemed inclined at first to countenance the bodily manifestations which occurred under the spell of his preaching. How frequent they were is illustrated from the following extracts from his Journal for the year 1739:

"April 17. At Baldwin Street, we called upon God, to confirm his word. Immediately, one that stood by cried out aloud, with the utmost vehemence, even as in the agonies of death. But we continued in prayer, till a new song was put into her mouth, a thanksgiving unto our God. Soon after, two other persons were seized with strong pain, and constrained to roar for the disquietude of their heart. But it was not long before they likewise burst forth into praise to God their Saviour. The last who called upon God, as out of the belly of hell, was a stranger in Bristol; and, in a short space, he also was overwhelmed with joy and love, knowing that God had healed his backslidings.

"April 21. At Weavers' Hall, a young man was suddenly seized with violent trembling all over, and, in a few minutes, sunk to the ground. But we ceased not calling upon God, till He raised him up full of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. . . .

"April 26. At Newgate, I was led to pray that God would bear witness to His word. Immediately one, and another, and another sunk to the earth; they dropped on every side as thunderstruck. One of them cried aloud. We besought God in her behalf, and He turned her heaviness into joy. A second being in the same agony, we called upon God for her also; and He spoke peace unto

her soul. In the evening, one was so wounded by the sword of the Spirit, that you would have imagined she could not live a moment. But immediately His abundant kindness was shown, and she loudly sang of His righteousness." ¹

Charles Wesley had the same difficulties to contend with, but dealt with them after another fashion:

"June 4th. I went on at five expounding the Acts. Some stumbling-blocks, with the help of God, I have removed, particularly the fits. Many no doubt were, at our first preaching struck down, both soul and body, into the depth of distress. Their *outward affections* were easy to be imitated. Many counterfeits I have already detected. To-day one who came from the ale-house drunk was pleased to fall into a fit for my entertainment, and beat himself heartily. I thought it a pity to hinder him; so instead of singing over him, as had often been done, we left him to recover at his leisure. Another girl, as she began her cry, I ordered to be carried out. Her convulsion was so violent as to take away the use of her limbs, till they laid and left her without the door. Then immediately she found her legs, and walked off. Some very unstill sisters, who always took care to stand near me, and try which should cry loudest, since I had them removed out of my sight, have been as quiet as lambs. The first night I preached here, half my words were lost through their outcries. Last night, before I began, I gave public notice, that whosoever cried, so as to drown my voice, should, without any man's hurt, or judging them, be gently carried to the farthest corner of the room. But my porters had no employment the whole night; yet the Lord was with us, mightily convincing of sin and righteousness." ²

¹ Tyerman, L.: "The Life and Times of Rev. John Wesley, M.A.," etc. New York, 1872. Vol. I, pp. 255-6.

² Jackson, Thomas: "The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.," etc. London, 1841. Vol. I, pp. 333-4.

It is rather to the by-products of the preaching of the Wesleys than to the immediate circle of their followers that we must look for evidences of conditions very similar to those of the tongues movement. The Band-room Methodists, an organisation which had its origin in Manchester in 1806, was probably of this tendency. Its leaders were John and E. Broadhurst, Holland Hoole, Nathaniel Williamson and Thomas E. Painter. They were noted, it is said, for their noisy prayer meetings. It is to be remembered that it is only a step from noisy prayer meetings to speaking in the tongues.

In Wales a sect arose popularly called the "Jumpers." They were a sort of Methodist sect, and seemed to have belonged to Lady Huntingdon's connection. The leaders in the movement were Harris Rowland and William Williams. They began their work about 1760, in the county of Cornwall. John Evans, who took occasion to attend one of their meetings, has given us the following account :

"About the year 1795 I myself happened very accidentally to be present at a meeting, which terminated in jumping. It was held in the open air, on a Sunday evening, near Newport, in Monmouthshire. The preacher was one of Lady Huntingdon's students, who concluded his sermon with the recommendation of jumping; and to allow him the praise of consistency, he got down from the chair on which he stood, and jumped along with them. The arguments he adduced for this purpose were, that David danced before the ark, that the babe leaped in the womb of Elizabeth, and that the man whose lameness was removed, leaped and praised God for the mercy which he had received. He expatiated on these topics with uncommon fervency, and then drew the inference that they ought to show similar expressions of joy, for the blessings which Jesus Christ had put in their possession.

He then gave an impassioned sketch of the sufferings of the Saviour, and thereby roused the passions of a few around him into a state of violent agitation. About nine men and seven women, for some little time, rocked to and fro, groaned aloud, and then jumped with a kind of frantic fury. Some of the audience flew in all directions, others gazed on in silent amazement! They all gradually dispersed, except the jumpers, who continued their exertions from eight in the evening to near eleven at night. I saw the conclusion of it; they at last kneeled down in a circle, holding each other by the hand, while one of them prayed with great fervour, and then all rising up from off their knees, departed. But previous to their dispersion, they wildly pointed up towards the sky, and reminded one another that they should soon meet there, and be never again separated! I quitted the spot with astonishment. . . . The reader is referred to Bingley's and Evans' *Tour Through Wales* . . . where, as many particulars are retailed respecting the Jumpers, his curiosity will receive a still further gratification."¹

A movement of a similar character began in a Methodist chapel at Redruth, where

"A man, during divine service, cried out with a loud voice, 'What shall I do to be saved?' at the same time manifesting the greatest uneasiness and solicitude respecting the condition of his soul. Some other members of the congregation, following his example, cried out in the same form of words, and seemed shortly after to suffer the most excruciating bodily pain. This strange occurrence was soon publicly known, and hundreds of people, who had come thither, either attracted by curiosity or a desire, from other motives, to see the sufferers, fell into the same state. The chapel remained open for some days and nights, and from that point the new disorder spread

¹ Evans, John: "A Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World," etc. Burlington, 1812; p. 219 *et seq.* See also Tyerman, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 480-1.

itself, with the rapidity of lightning, over the neighbouring towns of Camborne, Halston, Truro, Penryn, and Falmouth, as well as in the villages in the vicinity. Whilst thus advancing it decreased in some measure at the place where it had first appeared, and it confined itself throughout to Methodist chapels. It was only by the words which had been mentioned that it was excited, and it seized none but people of the lowest education. Those who were attacked betrayed the greatest anguish and fell into convulsions; others cried out, like persons possessed, that the Almighty would straightway pour out his wrath upon them, that the wailings of tormented spirits rang in their ears and they saw hell open to receive them. The clergy, when in the course of their sermons they perceived that persons were thus seized, earnestly exhorted them to confess their sins, and zealously endeavoured to convince them that they were by nature enemies to Christ, that the anger of God had therefore fallen upon them, and that if death should surprise them in the midst of their sins, the eternal torments of hell would be their portion. The over-excited congregation upon this repeated their words, which materially must have increased the fury of their convulsive attacks. When the discourse had produced its full effects, the preacher changed his subject; reminded those who were suffering of the power of the Saviour, as well as of the grace of God, and represented to them in glowing colours the joys of heaven. Upon this a remarkable reaction sooner or later took place. Those who were in convulsions felt themselves raised from the worst depths of misery and despair to the most exalted bliss, and triumphantly shouted out that their bonds were loosed, their sins were forgiven, and that they were translated to the wonderful freedom of the children of God. In the meantime their convulsions continued, and they remained, during this condition, so abstracted from every earthly thought, that they stayed two and sometimes three days and nights together in the chapels, agitated all the time by spasmodic movements,

and taking neither repose nor nourishment. According to a moderate computation, 4,000 people were, within a short time, affected with this convulsive malady."

Then follows an account of the bodily conditions, symptoms, etc. :

"Others shouted aloud, leaped about, and threw their bodies into every possible posture until they exhausted their strength. Yawning took place at the commencement in all cases, but as the violence of the disorder increased, the circulation and respiration became accelerated, so that the countenance assumed a swollen and puffed appearance. When exhaustion came on, patients usually fainted, and remained in a stiff and motionless state until their recovery."¹

In the "Great Awakening" in this country, such scenes were frequent. Under the preaching of Gilbert Tennent, crying out, shouting and falling occurred so often that they attracted the attention of Tennent's critics and became a basis for attacks against him.²

It is in the Kentucky Revival, however, that we have probably the most remarkable scenes of physiological phenomena ever known in this country to have been associated with Christianity. The people who were its subjects were of all classes, but, for the most part, they were ignorant, superstitious backwoodsmen. The revival was a series of camp meetings, the first of which was held for four days and three nights, beginning May 22, 1801.

"The scene was awful beyond description; the falling, crying out, praying, exhorting, singing, shouting, etc., exhibited such new and striking evidences of a supernatural power, that few, if any, could escape without being

¹ Hecker: *op. cit.*, p. 144.

² See Tennent, Gilbert: "The Examiner Examined," etc. Philadelphia, 1743.

affected. Such as tried to run from it, were frequently struck on the way, or impelled, by some alarming signal, to return; . . . No circumstance at this meeting appeared more striking than the great numbers that fell on the third night: and to prevent their being trodden under foot by the multitude, they were collected together, and laid out in order, on two squares of the meeting-house; which, like so many dead corpses, covered a considerable part of the floor.”¹

Similar scenes occurred at Concord, Eagle Creek, Pleasant Point, Indian Creek, Caneridge (where three thousand are said to have fallen).

In addition to this “falling” exercise there were other manifestations of an unusual sort, of which there were, according to McNemar, three principal types:

“The rolling exercises, the jerks and the barks. 1. The rolling exercise, which consisted in being cast down in a violent manner, doubled with the head and feet together, and rolled over and over like a wheel, or stretched in a prostrate manner, turned swiftly over and over like a log. This was considered very debasing and mortifying, especially if the person was taken in this manner through the mud, and sullied therewith from head to foot.

“2. Still more demeaning and mortifying were the jerks. Nothing in nature could better represent this strange and unaccountable operation, than for one to goad another, alternately on every side, with a piece of red hot iron. The exercise commonly began in the head which would fly backward and forward, and from side to side, with a quick jolt, which the person would naturally labour to suppress, but in vain; and the more any one laboured to stay himself, and be sober, the more he

¹ McNemar, Richard: “The Kentucky Revival,” etc. New York, 1846; pp. 23-4.

staggered, and the more rapidly his twitches increased. He must necessarily go as he was stimulated, whether with a violent dash on the ground and bounce from place to place like a football, or hop round, with head, limbs and trunk, twitching and jolting in every direction, as if they must inevitably fly asunder. And how such could escape without injury, was no small wonder to spectators. By this strange operation the human frame was commonly so transformed and disfigured as to lose every trace of its natural appearance. Sometimes the head would be twitched right and left, to a half round, with such velocity, that not a feature could be discovered, but the face appear as much behind as before; and in the quick progressive jerk, it would seem as if the person was transmuted into some other species of creature. Head dresses were of little account among the female jerkers. Even handkerchiefs bound tight round the head, would be flirited off almost with the first twitch, and the hair put into the utmost confusion. . . . Such as were seized with the jerks, were wrested at once, not only from under their own government, but that of every one else, so that it was dangerous to attempt confining them, or touching them in any manner, to whatever danger they were exposed; yet few were hurt, except it were such as rebelled against the operation, through wilful and deliberate enmity, and refused to comply with the injunctions which it came to enforce.

“3. The last possible grade of mortification seemed to be couched in the barks, which frequently accompanied the jerks; nor were they the most mean and contemptible characters, who were the common victims of this disgracing operation; but persons who considered themselves in the foremost rank, possessed of the highest improvements of human nature, and yet in spite of all the effort of nature, both men and women would be forced to personate that animal, whose name, appropriated to a human creature, is counted the most vulgar stigma—forced, I

say, for no argument but force could induce any one of polite breeding in a public company to take the position of a canine beast, move about on all fours, and growl, snap the teeth, and bark in so personating a manner as to set the eyes and ears of the spectator at variance. It was commonly acknowledged by the subjects of these exercises, that they were laid upon them, as a chastisement for disobedience, or a stimulus to incite them to some duty or exercise, to which they felt opposed. Hence it was very perceivable that the quickest method to find releasement from the jerks and barks was to engage in the voluntary dance; and such as refused, being inwardly moved thereto as their duty and privilege, had to bear these afflicting operations, from month to month and from year to year, until they wholly lost their original design and were converted into a badge of honour, in the same manner as the first outward mark of human guilt.”¹

Peter Cartwright tells us that there was considerable discussion as to the nature of the “exercises” in the Kentucky Revival and thus describes the manifestation of the “jerks”:

“Just in the midst of our controversies on the subject of the powerful exercises among the people under preaching, a new exercise broke out among us, called the *jerks*, which was overwhelming in its effects upon the bodies and minds of the people. No matter whether they were saints or sinners, they would be taken under a warm song or sermon, and seized with a convulsive jerking all over, which they could not by any possibility avoid, and the more they resisted the more they jerked. If they would not strive against it and pray in good earnest, the jerking would usually abate. I have seen more than five hundred persons jerking at one time in my large congregation. Most usually persons taken with the jerks, to obtain relief,

¹ McNemar: *op. cit.*, pp. 63-8.

as they said, would rise up and dance. Some would run, but could not get away. Some would resist; on such the jerks were generally very severe.

“To see those proud young gentlemen and young ladies, dressed in their silks, jewelry, and prunella, from top to toe, take the *jerks*, would often excite my risibilities. The first jerk or so, you would see their fine bonnets, caps and combs fly; and so sudden would be the jerking of the head that their long, loose hair would crack almost as loud as a wagoner’s whip.”¹

In spiritualism we find also the phenomena which are found in connection with the tongues. Not only are the same physiological conditions present, and not only are mediums to be classed under the same general head as all the tongues people as persons of neurotic tendencies, but trance-speaking, involuntary utterances, together with speaking in foreign languages, all encountered in spiritualism, are stigmata which entitle spiritualists to be classed under the same general head as those who speak in tongues.

There was a curious vein of spiritualism which ran through the thinking of many of the communistic societies which flourished in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. Converse with departed spirits was also a striking element in the Shaker worship. Charles Nordhoff calls attention to the spiritualistic element in the “Amana Community”:

“They (the Amana Community) regard the utterances, while in the trance state, of their spiritual head, as given from God; and believe . . . that evils and wrongs in the congregation will be thus revealed by the influence or, as they say, the inspiration or breath of God. . . .

¹ Cartwright, Peter: “Autobiography.” Edited by W. P. Strickland. New York, 1857; pp. 48-9.

"When the 'instrument' falls into inspiration, he is often severely shaken—Metz, they say, sometimes shook for an hour—and thereupon follows the utterances which are believed to proceed from God. The 'instrument' sits or kneels, or walks about among the congregation. 'Brother Metz used to walk about in the meeting with his eyes closed; but he always knew to whom he was speaking, or where to turn with words of reproof, admonition, or encouragement'—so I was told." ¹

Andrew Jackson Davis is certainly not the most profound of thinkers, and, for the most part, what he has to say is tiresome and verbose, but what he has to say on the subject of the nature of trance-speaking and its relation to revival phenomena is none the less true:

" 'The outpouring of the Holy Spirit' in a Methodist medium, while lying insensible upon the ground or floor, or while in ecstasies, shouting, 'I have found peace,' 'I have found Jesus,' etc., is analogous to, and is exactly the same thing as, that which is experienced by the Spiritualist medium when moved to speak in many tongues, or while (externally unconscious) expressing the exalted sentiments and poetic delights imparted by enthusiastic 'spirits and angels' who were once our earthly acquaintances, friends, neighbours, brothers, and sisters." ²

Automatic writing or inspirational writing on the part of mediums belongs to the same class. With it may be classified trance preaching. Of the latter, the following is a typical example:

"Almost fifty years ago, a very remarkable case of preaching ecstasy, or, as it would now be called by some, trance-mediumship, occurred in this city in the person of

¹ Nordhoff, Charles: "The Communistic Societies of the United States." New York, 1875; pp. 47-8-9, 58.

² Davis, A. J.: "Diseases of the Brain and Nerves." New York, 1871; p. 211.

a maiden lady, of delicate health, named Rachel Baker. Dr. S. L. Mitchell took great interest in her case, and had her sermons reported by a stenographer and published. Miss Baker was the daughter of a respectable farmer in Onondaga County, New York, and had received a plain but substantial education. About the age of twenty she became much exercised on the subject of religion, and at length her mind became seriously affected, and she fell into the habit of trance-preaching. Her parents were at first impressed at what they regarded as a most extraordinary gift, though they afterward became convinced that it was the result of disease, and accordingly brought her to the city of New York, in order that she might have the benefit of the best medical skill. Crowds flocked to hear her preach at the houses of different medical practitioners. Her discourses were highly respectable in point of style and arrangement, and were interspersed with Scripture quotations. After her health was restored, she lost the faculty of trance-preaching, and never regained it. She died in 1843."

Mediumistic utterances or writings are on record in which the medium, ignorant of any language except English, has used language even as unusual as Sanscrit. Judge Edmonds says:

"I have heard the mediums use Greek, Latin, Spanish, and French words, when I knew they had no knowledge of any language but their own; and it is a fact that can be attested by many, that often there has been speaking and writing in foreign languages and unknown tongues by those who were unacquainted with either."¹

He further states:

"I have heard an illiterate mechanic repeat Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Chaldaic, and describe the customs and

¹ Edmonds, John W., and Dexter, George T.: "Spiritualism." New York, 1853. Vol. I, p. 75. See also p. 35.

habits of men living on the earth thousands of years ago. . . . I have been present when a medium answered many questions in the Italian language, of which she was ignorant, and then gave me the name of an Italian gentleman of whom she had never heard.”¹

Of Charles H. Foster, “the Salem Seer,” it was said :

“Mr. Foster could give a communication in any language. He would make mistakes, speak slowly, and sometimes not very accurately, but could in nearly all cases be understood by the questioner. In this connection I remember one remarkable experience which occurred in New York City. Two gentlemen called on Mr. Foster and inquired if he could answer some questions in a foreign language. He replied that he had usually been able to do so, and if the gentlemen would kindly be seated and write their questions on slips of paper, he would see what the result would be. I am quite sure that the mental strain was very severe on Mr. Foster during this seance, for beads of perspiration could be seen on his forehead frequently. It was quite a lengthy seance, and he answered numerous questions, but in a language which he said he had never before spoken. Consequently he pronounced many of the words with some difficulty. The gentlemen were surprised and delighted. In justice to Mr. Foster, and to show what a wonderful test he had given them, one of the gentlemen made this explanation: Some years ago he was shipwrecked, and drifted to an unknown island, where he was treated kindly by the natives, and where he was compelled to remain for three years before being rescued. It was there he learned this strange language. A young native, who was his most intimate companion, died a few weeks before he was rescued, and it was the spirit of this young man from whom he was supposed to have had the communication, and as there was not another man in New York City,

¹ Edmonds, John W., and Dexter, George T.: “Spiritualism.” New York, 1853. Vol. I, p. 87.

or in any part of Europe, who knew a word of the language, it certainly was a capital test, and shows, it seems to me conclusively, that no fraud could have been practised, and shows also, beyond a doubt, that there is such a thing as genuine mediumistic phenomena, which has not in the past, and cannot at present, be satisfactorily explained." ¹

It is a long journey from the dark lands of fear in which the savage of to-day lives, that land in which the peoples of Europe spent their dark ages, to the spiritualism of to-day with its easy access to the supernatural, and with the comfort that it brings to those whose notion of heart's ease is not in activity, but in passivity. But it is a path which leads always to the same country. Whether we listen to the anguished cries of the bewitched, to the great cry of the multitude whose groans and shouts of salvation are filling the revival air, or to the still, small, silly voice of the medium, we are ever in the same country—the land of the savage, of the puerile, of the semi-insane, the semi-responsible; the land where fear is, but the land where God is not.

¹ Bartlett, George C.: "The Salem Seer" (Charles Foster). New York, 1891; pp. 64-5.

CHAPTER III

THE URSULINE NUNS AND THE DEVILS OF LOUDUN

IN the account of the famous "Devils of Loudun," one history of which is called by the Protestant minister who wrote it "The Cheats and Illusions of Romish Priests and Exorcists,"¹ the ability to speak in other languages is much in evidence as a sign of demon possession.

It is a sad story—a tragic story. But all these stories which we are telling are pitifully sad stories of human ignorance and sin. Loudun had long enjoyed that popularity and that prosperity of a material nature which is the privilege of the miracle-making.

"The Carmelites of *Loudun* heretofore had been possessed of the power of working Miracles; they had an image of our Lady, call'd our *Lady of Recovery*, who fail'd not any one of those in what they requir'd of her devoutly, and in the requisite form. But since the image of *Ardilliers* came to be set up at *Saumur*, in the Neighbourhood of the former, as if she had been her Rival, she usurped all her Power and Credit; and 'tis no great wonder; for doubtless there's no body in the World, who does not agree, that the Priests of the Oratory are more able and cunning People than the Carmelites. At that time all one Quarter and a suburb of Loudun, which was fill'd with Inns for Pilgrims, remain'd unpeopled and desolate, and the Carmelites without Presents, Votaries, and Gospel-money."²

¹ Aubin, Nicolas: "The Cheats and Illusions of Romish Priests and Exorcists, Discovered in the History of the Devils of Loudun." (Translated into English.) London, 1703.

² Same, p. 188.

In Loudun also was a convent of Ursuline nuns, founded in 1626, likewise under the depressing influence of poverty. The women who were its inmates were of good families, but brought no considerable portions with them to enrich the convent. The confessor of the convent in the year 1632 was one Canon Mignon. At the time this honour was bestowed upon Mignon, the name of Urban Grandier had also been suggested and had received some considerable support. It is said that Grandier's name had been urged at the request of some of the nuns.

For this request there was a reason obvious in the moral ideas of the time. Grandier not only opposed the dogma of the celibacy of the clergy, but, like the vast majority of his fellow clergy, maintained notorious sexual relations with a number of women.¹ When later he was burned at the stake, a treatise which he had written against the celibacy of the clergy, and which his inquisitors found among his papers, was burned with him. It is not to be doubted that Grandier, because of his prominent position, his personal charm, his heretofore inaccessibility, and his well-known sexual experiences, had for some of the nuns of the convent that fascination and charm which a roue has always for a type of adolescent female mind. This is especially evident when we realize that in these young women the idea of sex had been exalted unduly by the fact that their vows constituted a prohibition against anything which seemed to be a normal expression of the *vita sexualis*.

Grandier was both an able man and a successful man.

"He perform'd the course of his Studies under the Jesuits of *Bourdeaux*, who, observing in him very con-

¹ See Lea, Henry Charles: "History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church." Third Edition. New York, 1907. Vol. II, p. 297.

siderable Endowments, took an affection to him, and procur'd to him the parsonage of Saint *Peter*, in the Market of *Loudun*, which is in the presentation of the Jesuits of Poitiers. He had also obtain'd a Prebend in the Chapter of the Church of Saint *Crosse*. The uniting of these two Benefices in one Person, who was not of that Province, expos'd him to the Envy of many Churchmen, who would have been well satisfied with one of the two. This he was sufficiently sensible of, when he saw himself accus'd, for he often said to his Friends, that one part of those of that Order, who had declared themselves against him, had a Quarrel with his Benefices, rather than his Person." ¹

He is described by Aubin as

"Of a tall Stature, and of a good Presence, of a steady Mind, and subtil Wit, always Comely and well drest, never going but in a long Garment; this outward neatness was accompanied with a polite Wit; He exprest himself with much Ease and Eloquence." ²

It is to be expected that he was a man with enemies. His amours, his successes and the fact that he was a man of independent thought soon raised up for him many enemies. That he was not always a man of discretion is evident in the story told by his friendly biographer, Aubin,³ that after he had been acquitted of a charge of immorality, he rode back to Loudun, openly proclaiming his triumph over his enemies by carrying a branch of laurel in his hand.

Rumours had been current for some time in the town, of something unusual in the Ursuline convent, and it had been whispered about that demons had entered into some of the nuns. The whispered rumour seemed only too

¹ Aubin, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

true. The new father confessor, Mignon, the appointee of the Mother Superior, who had indignantly refused to appoint the scandalous Grandier, had learned with horror (feigned or unfeigned) that not only one of the lay sisters, the daughter of one Maignoux, but the Mother Superior herself, was under demoniacal possession. This had occurred after "the *Nuns* had been disturb'd for fifteen Days with Apparitions and frightful Visions."¹

The first public, or semi-public, exhibition of the phenomena of possession was in the presence, *inter alia*, of two magistrates, *William de Cerizai de la Gueriniere*, Bailiff of the Loudunois, and Lewis Chauvet, Lieutenant Civil. These found the Superior and the lay sister lying in bed:

"The Superior had no sooner discover'd the two Magistrates, but she had violent Commotions, and perform'd strange Actions; She made a noise which was like to that of a Pig; She sunk down into the Bed, and contracted herself into the Postures and Grimaces of a Person who is out of his Wits; A *Carmelite* Friar was at her right Hand, and Mignon at her left, the last of these put his Two Fingers into her Mouth, and presupposing that she was possess'd, us'd many Conjurations, and spake to the Devil, who answer'd him after this Manner, in their First Dialogue. Mignon demanded, *Propter quam Causam ingressus es in Corpus hujus Virginis?* For what Reason hast thou entered into the Body of this Virgin? Answ. *Causa animositatis; Upon the Account of Animosity.* Q. *Per quod Pactum?* By what Pact? A. *Per Flores.* By Flowers. Q. *Quales?* What Flowers? A. *Rosas.* Roses. Q. *Quis misit?* Who sent them? A. *Urbanus.* Urban. She pronounc'd not this Word before she had stammer'd many times, as if she had done it by constraint. Q. *Dic Cognomen.* Tell his Surname. A. *Grandier.*

¹ Aubin: *op. cit.*, p. 22.

This was again a Word which she pronounc'd not till she had been very much urged to Answer. Q. *Dic qualitatatum. Mention his Quality.* A. *Sacerdos. A Priest.* Q. *Cujus ecclesiae? Of what Church?* A. *Sancti Petri. Of Saint Peter's.* She utter'd these last Words very boldly. Q. *Qua Persona attulit Flores? What Person brought the Flowers?* A. *Diabolica. A Diabolical Person."*¹

In view of the fact that these women had been under the care of Mignon for some time before they were permitted publicly to be interrogated, it is not to be wondered at that the demonized Superior was able to answer these set questions put to her only by him. The learning of these rote answers would be certainly no very great feat. Enough had been accomplished, however, in publicly accusing Grandier of the responsibility for the possession. The general public, however, was not easily convinced, and showed an inclination to look upon the whole matter as a pious fraud.

In spite of the accusations against Grandier, however, his enemies were able to accomplish nothing for some time. At length pressure was brought to bear upon Cardinal Richelieu and through him upon the King. By this time the possession had so spread that a great number of the nuns were now involved.

"Louis XIII, naturally pious and just, perceived the greatness of the evil, and deemed it his duty to put a stop to it. He appointed M. de Laubardemont to investigate the matter without appeal; with orders to choose in the neighbouring jurisdictions the most straightforward and learned judges."²

¹ Aubin: *op. cit.*, p. 23-4.

² Des Nian: "The History of the Devils of Loudun," etc. (Translated by Edmund Goldsmid.) Edinburgh, 1887 (a Poitiers, 1634). II, p. 7.

These judges began the hearing of witnesses on December 17th, 1633, after they had first imprisoned Grandier and robbed him of every means of defense. The nuns who were heard

“deposed that Grandier had introduced himself into the convent by day and night for four months, without anyone knowing how he got in; that he presented himself to them whilst standing at divine service and tempted them to indecent actions both by word and deed; that they were often struck by invisible persons; and that the marks of the blows were so visible that the doctors and surgeons had easily found them.¹ . . . In a word,² besides the nuns and six lay women, sixty witnesses deposed to adulteries, incests, sacrileges, and other crimes, committed by the accused, even in the most secret places of his church, as in the vestry, where the Holy Host was kept, on all days and at all hours.”

Aubin gives us a little more explicit account of the charges:³

“Amongst the Witnesses of this Accusation there were Five very considerable, viz. Three Women; the First whereof said, that one Day, after she had receiv’d the Communion from the Person accus’d, who earnestly looked upon her during that Action, she was instantly seiz’d with a violent Love-Passion for him, which began with a little Shivering through all the Parts of her Body: The other said, that having been stop’d by him in the Street, he press’d her Hand, and that immediately she was seiz’d with a vehement Passion for him; The Third said, that after she had seen him at the Door of the Church of the *Carmelites*, when he enter’d with the Procession, she felt very great Commotions, and had

¹ Des Nian: *op. cit.*, II: pp. 10-14.

² Same, pp. 19-21.

³ Aubin: *op. cit.*, p. 161.

such Inclinations, that she willingly desir'd to lie with him. . . ."

Of the other two witnesses, one deposed that he had seen Grandier reading the works of Agrippa, and therefore studying magic. The other deposed that in Grandier's study he had seen "a Book upon the Table open'd at the Place of a Chapter, which treated of the Means to make Women in Love." ¹

The examinations of witnesses were further continued, and all the evidences of possession were easily found by those who had determined to find them. One of the first tests of possession, that of an ability to speak or understand a foreign language, was especially in evidence :

"Acquaintance with unknown tongues first showed itself in the Mother Superior. At the beginning, she answered in Latin, the questions of the Ritual proposed to her in that language. Later, she and the others answered in any language they thought proper to question in.

"M. de Launay de Razilli, who had lived in America, attested that, during a visit to Loudun, he had spoken to them in the language of a certain savage tribe of that country, and that they had answered quite correctly, and had revealed to him events that had taken place there.

"Some gentlemen of Normandy certified in writing that they had questioned Sister Clara de Sazilli in Turkish, Spanish and Italian, and that her answers were correct.

"M. de Nismes, Doctor of the Sorbonne, and one of the chaplains of the Cardinal de Lyon, having questioned them in Greek and German, was satisfied with their replies in both languages.

"Father Vignier, Superior of the Oratory at La

¹ Aubin: *op. cit.*, p. 162.

Rochelle, bears witness in his Latin Narrative, that, having questioned Sister Elizabeth a whole afternoon in Greek, she always replied correctly and obeyed him in every particular.

"The Bishop of Nîmes commanded Sister Clara in Greek to raise veil and kiss the railings at a certain spot; she obeyed, and did many other things he ordered, which caused the prelate to exclaim that one must be an Atheist or lunatic not to believe in 'possession.'

"Some doctors questioned them also as to the meaning of some Greek technical terms, extremely difficult to explain, and only known to the most learned men, and they clearly expressed the real signification of the words."¹

We have just read one account of the linguistic abilities of the demonised. It is not, however, the only account of the same phenomena. On one occasion

"A *Scotchman* named *Stracan*, who was Principal of the College of Loudun, . . . requir'd that the Devil should say *Aqua* in the *Scots* language, for the convincing of all the Assistants, that there was not any Suggestion by anyone whatsoever. . . . But the Nun answer'd '*Nimia Curiositas*,' 'Tis too great a *Curiosity*, and after she had repeated it Twice or Thrice, she said *Deus non volo*; Some cry'd out that this was ill Syntax."

This was not the only occasion when the demon showed that his education, even in Latin, had been exceedingly superficial, to say the least. But when the demon had refused to answer in Scotch, replying "*Deus non volo*,"

"The Exorcist reply'd, that *the Devil knew this language very well, but he would not speak it. But if you*

¹ Des Nian: *op. cit.* II, pp. 27-8.

² Aubin: *op. cit.*, pp. 46-8.

will, added he, *that I command him to tell presently your Sins, he shall do it. . . .*

"In the meantime, the Assistants being very eager to know if the Devil understood strange languages, the Bayliff upon their importunities propos'd the *Hebrew* Tongue as a dead Language and the most ancient of all Languages, which the Devil ought to know better than any other, which being follow'd by a General Applause the Exorcist commanded the possess'd to say in the *Hebrew* tongue the word *Aqua, Water*. She answer'd not; but some understood that she pronounc'd very low these Words, 'Ah! je renie, Curse on't.' It was affirm'd by a Carmelite, who was a little way from her, that she did say *Zaquaq*, and that it was an *Hebrew* Word, which signifies *Effudi aquam, I have pour'd out water*; although they who were nearest her, unanimously attested that she said *Ah! je renie*, which caused the Superior of the *Carmelites* to prove publicly the Friar."

On another occasion,¹ after testing the demon in Latin, which proved itself as bad as usual, the exorcist commanded the devil to state in Greek what had already been stated in Latin.

"She made no Answer, though the Adjurations were often repeated, and she also presently return'd to her natural State. . . ."

When the Duke of Lauderdale asked as a test for witchcraft that one of the demons should speak a strange language, a Jesuit, to whom he made the request,

"asked, 'What language?' I told him, 'I would not tell; but neither he nor all those devils should understand me.' He asked, 'If I should be converted upon the tryal,' (for he had discovered I was no papist). I told him

¹ Aubin: *op. cit.*, p. 42.

'that was not the question, nor could all the devils in hell pervert me; but the question was, if that was a real possession, and if any could understand me, I shall confess it under my hand.' His answer was, 'These devils have not travelled,' and this I replied to with a loud laughter, nor could I get any more satisfaction." ¹

Enough has been said, however, to indicate very clearly that as far as the devils of Loudun are concerned in the speaking of unknown languages, we are dealing with a pious fraud.

The other tests were equally valueless. When Sister Claire was in "convulsions,"

"She was pricked in the Arm by a Pin which pinn'd her sleeve. It did not at all appear that the Devil had made her insensible of bodily Pains, for she cry'd out, 'Take away this Pin, it pricks me.' When she was recover'd out of her Convulsions, She said to the Assessor of the Provostship, that she remembered all that was past." ²

The devils made frequent promises which remained unfulfilled.

"In the beginning of May, one of the Devils of the Superior had promis'd to raise her up Two feet high; *Lactance* call'd upon him often to perform his Promise, which he did not however, because the Nun having been willing to dazzle the Eyes of the People, by trying one time to do something near it, There was one of the Spectators who lifted up the Bottom of her Garment, and made all the others see that she touched the Ground with the End of one of her Feet. The Devil *Eazas* had

¹ Quoted in Des Nian: *op. cit.* First Appendix, p. 37.

² Aubin: *op. cit.*, p. 43.

also promis'd to raise up *la Nogeret* Three Foot from the Ground, and another Devil nam'd *Cerberus*, to lift up his Nun Two Foot; but neither the one nor the other were *Devils of their Word*." ¹

In short, there was nothing in this whole case of demon possession which might not have been simulated with the aid of a few hysterical nuns as *dramatis personæ*. When we add to this the fact that the Mother Superior ² and several of the nuns ³ confessed that their accusations against Grandier had been untrue, as well as the fact that the chief movers in the plot against Grandier took special pains to call maledictions down upon themselves ⁴ if they had conjured up false charges and thus confessed to their own mental conflicts, ⁵ we know that we are dealing with a case of fraud. The Duke of Lauderdale, who went to see the great sight of the possessed nuns, wrote of them ⁶ that he

"could hear nothing but wanton wenches singing bawdy songs in French."

And he told the truth.

It was an obvious fraud, and yet Grandier, after cruel tortures, was burned to death. It is said ⁷ that Grandier, turning to Lactance, who had played a perfidious and despicable part through the whole tragedy, as the fire was lighting up before his face, said:

" 'There is a God in heaven who will Judge thee and me. I summon thee to appear before Him within a Month.' "

¹ Aubin: *op. cit.*, p. 96.

² Same, p. 165.

³ Same, pp. 120-1.

⁴ Same, p. 45.

⁵ See Healy, William: "Mental Conflicts and Misconduct." Boston, 1917.

⁶ Quoted in Des Nian: *op. cit.* First Appendix, III, p. 36.

⁷ Aubin: *op. cit.*, p. 156.

Then addressing himself to God, he utter'd these Words,
Deus meus, ad te Vigilo, miserere mei Deus."

And in a month, to the very day, we are told that
Father Lactance was dead.

CHAPTER IV

THE CAMISARDS OR FRENCH PROPHETS

CHRISTIANS of a romantic turn of mind have found considerable satisfaction in dwelling upon the heroic battles fought out in the name of religion in the country of the Cevennes towards the close of the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century. But when we sweep away romance and a great accretion of lies, we face some sad and bitter facts. The Camisards, the heroes of the Cevennes—and they were heroes—were neither Huguenots nor Roman Catholics. They were, rather, a sect of ecstatic Protestants with all the fighting qualities of Puritans and Covenanters. The origin of their name, Camisar or Camisard, is given as follows:

“These Rebels were call’d *Camisards* for three Reasons. The first, because at the beginning of their Insurrection, which happened in the Heat of the Summer, almost all of them wore Linnen Coats. The 2d, in regard they generally went upon all their Enterprizes by Night, which in Martial Terms has been call’d a *Camisade*, from Men often putting on their Shirts over their coats, to know one another in the dark, and lastly, from their lying on the Highways which in the vulgar language of those Parts, are called *Camis*.”¹

Later, in England, they were popularly called the French Prophets.

¹ “Fanaticism Revived,” etc. (collected from the letters of the Mareschals de Montrevel and Villars, etc.), London, 1707, p. 213.

We will quote the story of their origin from one ¹ of the many pamphlets published in England against them. Their first leader was a man of prophetic gifts—in the ecstatic sense—and his gifts were the beginning of a contagion.

“They first began in the Month of *June*, 1688, and the first that laid claim to these extraordinary *Gifts* was one *William du Serre*, who dwelt in a village called *Dieu-le-fit*, in *Dauphine*.”

Du Serre soon gathered so considerable a following that

“the Valleys swarm’d with them, and the Dioceses of *Ufez*, *Viviers*, *Alais*, *Nismes*, *Montpelier*, and *Mende*, were over-spread with such a Number of *Prophets*, that in the *Cevennes*, and the lower *Languedoc* only, they were computed at Eight Thousand Souls.”

One very noticeable fact about many of the prophets was their extreme youth. Indeed, the place of a child in the Kingdom of God was taken by them as express authority for the prophesying of children even so young as

“a Child in the Cradle of about fourteen or fifteen months old.”

The prophetic spirit among them seems to have been induced. The *modus operandi* is described as follows:

“They turn’d round with great Violence, till being quite giddy they fell upon the Floor. When so fallen, they roll’d their Eyes frightfully, look’d wild and ghastly, work’d their lips in divers Figures, drivell’d and foam’d at the Mouth, held their Breaths, heav’d their Breasts, puff’d and swell’d their Throats, and sometimes lay as if

¹ Kingston, Richard: “Enthusiastick Impostors. No Divinely Inspir’d Prophets,” etc. London, 1707, pp. 2-3.

they were in a *Trance*. Then on a sudden they would start up, shake their Heads, Gulp, and Hiccup Strangely, clap their Hands, move their Feet oddly, shake their whole Bodies into Contortions, in the nature of Convulsions. Then they would quake, groan, laugh, belch, sigh, sing, shriek hideously; and at last, stretching their Mouths open, in a yawning, distorted, dreadful manner, in a doleful Tone, and as loud as they were able, would utter their Prophecies."

And in this connection we may well quote, in passing, John Humfrey,¹ in one of his published letters to John Lacy, a leader among the French Prophets in London:

"Alas, that a Person of such Reason in Discourse and Writing should think that to be transformed into a Brute for an Hour or more should be the way to become a Prophet."

It was not long before the Camisards were in conflict with the Romish church authorities, and a war of persecution began, marked on both sides by all the villainous savagery of which the Christian mind of the late seventeenth century was capable. Camisards were broken at the wheel, Catholic priests were murdered in cold blood; and men, women and children on both sides barbarously put to death in a series of savage reprisals. For a long time the Camisards were able, under the leadership particularly of Cavalier, to maintain a successful guerilla warfare even against the troops of the French government.

Cavalier, who was about twenty-three years of age when he became the Camisard commander, proved himself a man of great courage and a successful leader. Finally, however, a treaty of peace was concluded with

¹ Humfrey, John: "An Account of the French Prophets and their Pretended Inspirations in Three Letters. Sent to John Lacey, Esq." London, 1708, p. 5.

the authorities, and some of the prophets went into exile. Of these, three arrived in London in September, 1706: namely, Elias Marion, John Cavalier, a cousin of the great general, and Durand Fage. John Cavalier is described as making

“a great deal of Noise; He is the youngest of 'em, and the most vigorous. Never a one of the three Operators, performs better, what depends purely upon the Body: But he is not capable of that vast Gravity, which makes the Decorum of the Piece. Sometimes, upon the Return of his Inspirations, he has not been able to forbear Laughing himself: A Comick part would suit him better. But Monsieur *Marion* has more of the Serious, and a better Memory. He has a Capacity of Learning and of acting large Parts.”¹

The manner of Cavalier's conversion savours so strongly of the *ad hominem* methods of the revival or of spiritualism that the story is well worth the quoting:

“His curiosity led him to a numerous Meeting in *Barre*, where a little Boy lying on his Back, with surprizing Agitations that frightened him, mark'd him out for a Scoffer; and another Boy falling into an Exstasie, commanded the Door to be watch'd, lest he should go away, and discover the Assembly. . . . A third Boy fell into violent Agitations and discovering to him the very Thoughts of his Heart, and pressing him to amend his Life, it had, as he says, such Effect upon him, that as soon as the Sermon was ended, there seem'd a beating like a Hammer in his Breast, which Kindled a Fire in his Veins, and was followed by violent Agitations of his Head and Body which continue upon him to this very Day. At length, after three Quarters of a year's *Hiccup* and Agitations, without Speech, he fell into an extraor-

¹ “*Clavis Prophetica* or a Key to the Prophecies of Mons. Marion, and the other Camisars,” etc. London, 1707; p. 9.

dinary Extasy; God open'd his Mouth, and he became a Prophet also." ¹

Only a short time elapsed before Marion, Cavalier and Fage had interested in their ecstasies two men of means whose pleasant duty and privilege it was to play the same part which Drummond later played among the Irvingites—that of paying the bills. At least, this can be well said of Sir Richard Bulkeley. John Lacy, Esq., who had been a man of standing, and apparently of some wealth, was at the same time a man whose nervous system made it possible for him not only to witness, but himself to enjoy, the prophet ecstasies.² It was not long before he became in fact the leader in London of the French Prophets.

Sir Richard Bulkeley, on the other hand, is a pathetic figure. He is in the inner circle, and yet not of it. He sees no visions. He does no miracles. He only believes and pays.

"Sir Richard Bulkeley has the Misfortune to be of the shortest Size, in respect of his Bodily Stature, and is very Crooked. . . . A Friend of Sir Richard's observing, that since he associated with these pretended Prophets and their Abettors, he wore very mean Clothes; ask'd him why he did not buy him new ones; Sir Richard told him, that the Spirit had declared he should be made strait, and that he would stay till the Spirit had fulfilled his Promise, for to buy new ones now, would be Money thrown away to no Purpose, because they would not fit him when he was strait." ³

Poor Sir Richard! But he is only one of a great multitude, a great multitude, of those whom no man can

¹ Kingston: *op. cit.*, p. 6.

² Cf. Calamy, Edmund: "A Caveat against New Prophets," etc. London, 1708; pp. 6-7.

³ Kingston: *op. cit.*, pp. 113-4.

number, who have hoped in the hopeless and gone down to that bitterest disappointment—the disappointment of unanswered faith—because with simple, uncritical minds they have believed one who has blasphemed against the Holy Ghost.

Elias Marion was best known for his prophecies. Marion seems never to have learned the real art of the oracle—indefiniteness. He made definite prophecies, which were not fulfilled, with the result that his fellow-prophets were obliged to fall into the method of symbolic interpretation to explain the non-fulfilment of such prophecies as named specifically persons, places, days and dates. It is always the part of wisdom for that group of gloomy Christians, whose happiness seems to consist in the assurance that “one shall be taken and the other left,” and who feel sure that the times are waxing worse and worse, to tell us that we are in the end of the age, rather than to name the cataclysmic year.

Some of the prophecies are listed in a pamphlet¹ published in 1708 as follows:

“In 1706, they predicted the Fall of *Pharaoh*² to be Speedy, at farthest in Three or Four years; that every campaign till then should be more and more successful each than the other, till his final Downfall. That this Year, before the Campaign ended, a great Man in the *French* Court should declare himself a Protestant; that *Thoulon* should be taken, and the *Tower-Guns* go off in a Week: But of late, for very weighty Reasons, they say little on that Subject. . . .

“One of them pretended an Order from the Spirit to fast a Week, and so on in different Periods, till he should be able to live without victuals altogether. The Upshot of this was, that in the Space of about Three Days, he

¹ “An Appeal from the Prophets to their Prophecies, etc.” London, 1708; pp. 5-7.

² The King of France.

pretended a Counter-Order of the Spirit forthwith to eat, and that he did to purpose. And this ended this miraculous Dispensation.

“Last *Winter*, they predicted most destructive pestilential Fogs or Mists, that shou’d sweep away, like a Plague, a vast Number of the Inhabitants of this City. . . .

“One of them set a Period when he shou’d receive the Gift of Miracles. . . . The Period assign’d is now Expiring, and he is still as far from Wonder-working as ever.”

It is to be noted that in these prophecies are references to the working of miracles. The stories of the Cevennes abound in miracles. It is only to be expected that John Lacy and the London French Prophets would expect and would attempt to perform miracles. In Lacy’s miracles, however, the element of fraud is so obvious that even credulity stands aghast.

Elizabeth Gray or Betty Gray was a woman of rather low station whom Lacy had attached to himself. One day she pronounced a blessing on Mr. Lacy, very much after the fashion of a Shaker or Mormon blessing of later days:

“Rising off her seat, she laid her Hand upon Mr. *Lacy’s* Head, saying, *Thou my child art Happy above all the rest, that I have made use of to do my blessed work this Day. This Day shall be the beginning of the Miracles with you: This Day you shall make the Blind to see: This Day I will begin to shew you, in what manner I will have it done in: Go in Peace.* It is observable, that she did confess, when she heard the words of *making the Blind to see*, pronounced out of her own mouth, she had not faith to believe it would be.

“About two a Clock the same Day . . . at Dinner . . . on a sudden *Betty Gray* clap’d her Hands upon her Eyes,

and said in a great Fright, *God bless me*, and the more she rub'd her eyes, the blinder she grew, and in two Minutes she found herself quite dark; and so after many Tryals being made, as to her Blindness, Dinner being ended, she was led into another Chamber, where after she had sat on the Bed side about twenty Minutes, she turned about, kneeled on the Ground, and soon was in Extasie. And then the Spirit spake by her mouth, these words: *O now you do believe it, do you?* She continued Praying at the Bed side, seventeen Minutes. Then her Agitations returned again.”¹

This is followed by some dialogue between Betty and Mr. Lacy, during which Mr. Lacy is also manifestly “seized with the Spirit.” Then

“he stroaked her eyes three times with his Thumbs, and her Sight was restored.”

With the gift of prophesying and the gift of healing, we naturally expect—and we are not disappointed—the gift of tongues. The manner of a manifestation of the tongues is given as follows:

“Mr. Fage had Warnings of an Extasie; but being awed by the presence of some Clergymen, he stifled it; but Mr. *Facio* (according to *Facio*’s own account) following him to another House, *Fage* immediately fell into an Extasie, and spoke to this Effect: *Mon Enfant, je m’envaie repandre sur les Ennemis mes Jugements terrible, & ma dernier Sentence sera, Tring, Trang, Swing, Swang, Hing, Hang.* Thus in English, My Child, I am going to pour out my terrible judgments upon my Enemies, and my last Sentence shall be, Tring, Trang, Swing, Swang, Hing, Hang. Which unintelligible *Jargon* so stumbled Mr. *Facio*, that had been conversant in 52

¹ Kingston: *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

Languages, that he returned home under the greatest Concern imaginable; being under Apprehensions, that hitherto he and his Friends had been scandalously mock'd, abus'd and impos'd on.

"Here he paus'd, and gave me room to ask him, how he surmounted his Difficulty; which he said was by applying himself to Prayer, in which he was directed *not to reject the Prophets*. . . .

"I cannot be positive, whether it was at this time or a former, that Mr. Fage said, *that the Nation that spoke this Language should in a Short time receive the gospel.*" ¹

Fage, however, was not alone in speaking in unknown tongues. Before the French Prophets had come to England, the phenomenon had been known, and it had been counted no small wonder that a Camisard child² could speak while in a trance good French "which at another time she could not."

Lacy also was known to have spoken in other languages. At Chelsea ³ he spoke in Latin, although

"he could not speak in *Latin* before, nor had read a *Latin Book* this Six and Twenty years."

"But Mr. Lacy's Spirit delights in Absurdities," says Richard Kingston, the writer of "Enthusiastick Impos-tors,"

"And therefore at another Meeting gave his blessing in *English* to *Frenchmen* that could not understand it." ⁴

Mr. Kingston also describes ⁵ a scene which he himself witnessed at one of the meetings held at the home of

¹ Kingston: *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

² Same: p. 12.

³ Humfrey: *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴ Kingston: *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁵ Same: pp. 110-2.

"Mrs. East, a Quaker, over against the Black Horse in Crutchet-Fryars, London," on October 5, 1707:

"I observed four young Men and two Women alternately Gulping, Grunting hideously, and nodding their Heads as low as their Breasts, which turning the hinder parts of their Perukes over their Faces, made them look frightfully. When the last had done, the first began again in his turn. I went to him, felt his Pulse, and his West-coat being unbutton'd, as all those that acted were, I apply'd my Hand to his Heart; but could find no Disorder in his Pulse or Breast, but a violent Heaving in his Midriff and the Bottom of his Stomach, to cause the Gulping and loud Hiccuping; And so I attended all the Men-Actors round the Room, as their Fits successively came upon them; which they very quietly suffered me to do. . . . None of the Men in Agitations spoke at all."

Then "the Person I sat next to on the Bench, who had been quiet all the time before, fell into violent Agitations from Head to Foot, more noisie than all the other Four, but kept his Seat. I felt his Pulse and Breast as the rest but could find no Kind of Alteration, or that the Vitals were more concerned than they are in common Actions. He started up in a strange and unintelligible Vociferation in this manner, *Yaugh—Daugh—Faugh—Raugh—Raugh—Faugh—Daugh—Yaugh*, and sometimes intermixing them with very bad French, reflecting upon such as came thither out of Curiosity, whom he said God would suddenly destroy, and then sat down.

"I asked him his Name, and if he was in Health, and in his Right Mind? He answer'd, *His Name was Cavalier, that he was in Health, and never better in all his Life*. I reply'd, Then you must be under some sort of a Delusion. He said, *How will you prove it?* I told him I was ready to attempt it, if he would give me leave; and as I was beginning to say something to that purpose, he fell immediately into violent Agitations, insomuch that,

standing very near him when we spoke together, I was forc'd to start back, lest he Should strike me in the Face with his Hand. In this Inspiration he began as before, just like a Dumb Man, with *Yaugh-Daugh*, &c. And then repeated *verbatim* what we had privately discoursed, and after denouncing some heavy judgments upon me, ended with the same inarticulate sounds he began with. When among other things, he said *I was rich in this World's Goods, but God would plague me till I was poor in Spirit*. Having some reason to know he was a false Prophet in that, I could not forbear smiling; upon which an *English* woman came and whisper'd in my Ear, saying *Do not Mock, God will strike thee Dumb*. . . .

"The three English Gentlemen I mention'd before,¹ came to me, and ask'd whether Mr. *Cavalier* spoke *French*, and what he said. I told him some of it was *Gibberish*, some bad *French*, and spoken so Thick and Passionately that I could not understand him but by *Snatches*. Another *gentleman* said, I understand and speak *French*, but not one Word of what this Man has said all this time. Then the three First shook their Heads and went away."

Visions and voices play also a considerable part in the story of the French Prophets, but about them there is nothing new or distinctive.

On the ethical side we are face to face with the vagaries in the *vita sexualis* which we will learn to look upon as our study continues, as an invariable associate of the tongues movement. In the Cevennes, the charges of immorality against the Camisards were of the usual sort which the persecutor invariably directs against the persecuted. The Romish writer, a member of a priesthood then about as corrupt morally as it could dare to be, describes their meetings as "being no better than Stews

¹ Three English gentlemen had come in while these things were going on.

or Public Places of Prostitution, as manifestly appear'd by their Incests, Adulteries, Fornications." ¹

That charge may be a lie out of the whole cloth, but in all probability there is some basis for it.

Among the French Prophets in London, immorality is clearly evident, especially in the relation existing between Lacy and Betty Gray. Lacy's embracing Betty Gray "under inspiration," ² Betty's public exhibition of her breasts,³ her willingness to play the leading part in the symbolic drama called "The Whore of Babylon," ⁴ together with an alarming array of direct evidence of a more specific nature,⁵ all point in the same general direction in which ecstasy always points—an utter indifference to, or shall we say, a transcending of, the seventh commandment in all its implications.

It may be that a mystic may feel that he is nearer heaven than a Christian who lacks his assurance of an "inner light." But let the mystic be well assured that he is perilously nearer to sin.

¹ "Fanaticism Reviv'd," p. 56. See also pp. 20, 22, 35, 58.

² Kingston: *op. cit.*, p. 70.

³ "The Honest Quaker: or the Forgeries and Impostures of the Pretended French Prophets and their Abbetors Exposed in a Letter," p. 3.

⁴ Kingston: *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁵ Same: pp. 45-8.

CHAPTER V

THE SHAKERS AND THE MILLENNIAL CHURCH

AMONG the proselytes made by the French Prophets were James Wardley and Jane, his wife, of Bolton in Lancashire. Wardley was a tailor by trade, and, together with his wife, had been a member of the Society of Friends. Finding, however, greater satisfaction for their religious instincts in the ecstasies of the French Prophets, the Wardleys became the leaders of a group of persons living near their home who "joined with them in testifying against all the churches in standing."¹

The result was that

"In 1747 they were formed into a small society, without any established creed or particular manner of worship, as they professed to be only beginning to learn the new and living way of complete salvation, which had long been the subject of prophecy; and therefore they professed to be resigned to be led and governed, from time to time, as the spirit of God might dictate."²

A short time afterwards the Wardleys moved to Manchester, to live with the Townleys, who had joined their society. John Townley was a mason by trade and was looked upon as considerably better off financially than the majority of the members of the organization at Manchester.

¹ Brown, Thomas: "An account of the people called Shakers; Their Faith, Doctrines, and Practices, etc." Troy, N. Y., 1812; p. 311.

² Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 311.

"Meetings were frequently held under the ministry of Wardley and his wife. Wardley's wife was called Mother; to her confessions of sins were made, though it was not so much insisted upon. She had the principal lead in their meetings, which were generally held at Townley's, at which meetings they sometimes sat silent a short space, then they would be seized with violent and tremulous motions, during which they would express their detestation against sin, and its contrariety to the divine nature. Sometimes their whole bodies would shake as if forcibly agitated by a strong hand; then they would sing and shout for the downfall of the anti-Christian powers, and make signs, and walk swiftly and jostle against one another; they would jump violently, and shiver for a considerable length of time. Hence as appropriate names for them, they were called shiverers by some, and jumpers by others." ¹

The person destined to the greatest fame among these worshippers was Ann Lee, who joined the society in 1757. She was then about twenty-one years of age. The date of her birth is given variously as 1735 and 1736. She was one of the eight living children of John Lee and his wife.² Lee was a blacksmith and is said³ to have been a brother of General Charles Lee, of American Revolutionary fame. Another brother is also said to have attained a position of distinction as sheriff of London. The immediate family of John Lee was apparently poor and illiterate. Ann Lee was

"Employed during her childhood and youth in a cotton factory in preparing cotton for the looms, and in cutting velvet. It has been said that she was also employed as

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 312.

² "Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations of Mother Ann Lee," etc. Second Edition. Albany, N. Y., 1888; 1:8. The other children are stated to be Joseph, James, Daniel, William, George, Mary and Nancy.

³ Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 312. Cf. Haskett, William T.: "Shakerism Unmasked," etc. Pittsfield, 1828; p. 14 (footnote).

a cutter of hatter's fur, but this was probably afterward." ¹

At an early age she was married to Abraham Stanley.² Stanley was a blacksmith and worked for her father. She bore him eight children, "who all died in infancy mostly occasioned by hard labour; her last child was extracted by forceps, after which, for several hours, she lay with but little appearance of life."³ Another account ⁴ has it that a Cæsarean section was necessary for the birth of her last child.

By 1770 she had attained to the acknowledged leadership of the society founded by the Wardleys. It was about this time that she professed to receive that revelation which in time became the cornerstone of Shaker theology and polity. The account of that revelation is given by Shaker writers as follows:

"After a scene of deep tribulation, and the most excessive sufferings and cries to God, she received a full revelation of the root and foundation of human depravity, and of the very transgression of the first man and woman in the garden of Eden. Then, she clearly saw whence and wherein all mankind were lost and separated from God, and the only possible way of recovery.

"By the immediate revelation of God, she henceforth bore an open testimony against the lustful gratifications of the flesh, as the source and foundation of human corruption. Her testimony was delivered with such power of God and accompanied with the word of prophecy, in such a marvelous and searching manner, that it entered into the very secrets of the heart; by which means the

¹ "Testimonies": I:3.

² Or "Standley" as it is sometimes spelled. Cf. Dyer, Mary M.: "The Rise and Progress of the Serpent from the Garden of Eden to our Present Day with *A Disclosure of Shakerism*," etc. Concord, N. H., 1847, p. 17. See also Haskett: *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³ Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 313.

⁴ Haskett: *op. cit.*, p. 14.

most hidden abominations were brought to light! She testified in the most plain and pointed manner, that no soul could follow Christ in the regeneration, while living in the works of natural generation and following in their lusts.”¹

It was not long before the preaching of her doctrine against sexual intercourse—marital or extra-marital—as well as the unusual fashion of conducting religious exercises adopted by the Shakers, drew the attention of the constituted authorities to their leader with the result that Ann Lee was cast into prison. Of one of her imprisonments the following account is given:

“For fourteen days she was kept without food, nor was her cell door once opened during that time. The cell was so small that she could neither stand nor sit nor even straighten herself. James Whittaker, then a young man, felt so strongly for her that he succeeded in conveying to her nightly a small quantity of wine and milk by means of a pipe stem inserted in the keyhole of the door. This was all the nutriment she received. At the end of a fortnight her brutal captors opened the door, expecting to drag out her dead body. To their utter amazement, she arose and walked off, looking nearly as well as ever.”²

Thomas Brown, in his “History of the Shakers,” gives the following account of the reminiscences of Mary Hocknell of those days of persecution:

“As to my knowledge of mother Ann Lee, I was very intimate with her from the time I was eight or ten years old till she died. . . . At all times it appeared to be her greatest labour and delight to serve God, and to promote

¹ “Testimonies”: 1:13-14.

² White, Anna, and Taylor, Leila S.: “Shakerism, Its Meaning and Message.” Columbus, Ohio, 1905; p. 26.

the good of mankind. She was a great enemy to, and hater of sin; and at all opportunities testified against it. . . . At one time, the worldly authority held a trial respecting her; when she was so endued with the spirit and power of God, that she spake before the court and a large concourse of people in twelve different languages, to the astonishment of many present; particularly some of the learned who understood her when she spoke in French, Hebrew, Greek and Latin: also some being present who understood other languages. Thus it was a time like unto the day of Pentecost, where every man heard the apostles speak in his own language—(Acts II:6). Concerning her so speaking there was much talk and wondering for some time.

“About this time, she was confined two or three months in prison; most of the time she had no other subsistence than milk, which I conveyed to her by means of a quill through the key-hole; for they would not open the door to let any of her friends see her. They said she was a witch, and I know not what all.”¹

Considerable stress is laid by the Shakers upon what they conceived to be the supernatural element in Mother Lee's life. The following, taken from “Testimonies of Mother Ann Lee,” a book based upon the recollections of early Shakers, is a typical account of some of the mental aspects of her life:

“In watchings, fastings, tears and incessant cries to God, she labored, day and night, for deliverance from the very nature of sin. And under the most severe tribulation of mind, and the most violent temptations and buffetings of the enemy, she was often in such extreme agony of soul as caused the blood to perspire through the pores of her skin. . . . Sometimes for whole nights together, her cries, screeches and groans were such as to fill every soul around her with fear and trembling, and

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, pp. 44-7.

could be compared to nothing but the horrors and agonies of souls under sufferings for the violation of the laws of God, whose awful states were laid upon her, and whose various agonies she was, by turns, made to feel.

"By such deep mortification and sufferings, her flesh was wasted away till she became like a mere skeleton. Elder John Hocknell, who had been a member of the society under James and Jane Wardley, and was well acquainted with Mother Ann through all her sufferings, testified that he had known her to be under such power and operations of God, attended with such severe sufferings, for six weeks together, that her earth-tabernacle was so reduced that she was as weak as an infant; and was fed and supported by others, but utterly incapable of helping herself; though naturally of a sound and strong constitution, and invincible fortitude of mind.

"Though Ann was wrought upon in this manner, more or less, for the space of nine years, yet she had intervals of releasement, and was, at times, filled with visions and revelations of God. By this means the Way of God and the nature of His work, gradually opened upon her mind with increasing light and understanding."¹

On the nineteenth of May, 1774, Mother Ann, Elder William Lee (her brother), Elders James Whittaker and John Hocknell, Richard Hocknell, son of John Hocknell, James Shepherd,² Mary Partington, and Nancy Lee (a niece of Mother Ann), set sail from Liverpool for America. Abraham Stanley, husband of Mother Ann, was also one of the party. They arrived in New York on August 6. Mother Lee and her husband lived for over a year in New York City at the house of one "Smith" in Queen Street. Here Stanley fell sick and was nursed faithfully by his prophetic wife. But

¹ "Testimonies"; I:9-13.

² Cf. Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 46, where Mary Hocknell is reported as saying, "Twelve of us came; three or four of which were but children, and settled here in the wilderness."

"Abraham at length recovered, so as to be able to walk the streets, and by associating with the wicked, he soon lost all sense of the gospel, and began, in a very unworthy manner, to oppose Mother's faith, and finally refused to do anything for her, unless she would live in the flesh with him, and bear children. This proposition Mother utterly and positively rejected, which caused a final separation between her and Abraham Stanley."¹

In the early part of 1776, Mother left New York City and came to Niskayuna (now Watervliet), where some of her followers had already settled. During the Revolutionary War, the Shakers were subject to some degree of persecution, due to their pacifist tendencies and to the fact that, having recently come from England, they were suspected of being British spies. No doubt, also, their well authenticated offences against public decency had something to do with public feeling against them.

From May, 1781, to August, 1783, Mother Lee, accompanied by some of the Elders (apparently Father William Lee and Father James Whittaker), "traversed the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut, visiting thirty-six towns and villages, some of them several times, zealously preaching the Gospel committed to their charge. Their course was attended by great displays of God's presence and the power of the Holy Spirit. Wherever they went, numbers accepted the revelation. Their coming to Enfield aroused the inhabitants like an inroad of pestilence. At Harvard, the vision of a mob in black warned Mother Ann of threatening danger; but two angels in white were seen to pass safely through the mob and enter the Square House, and this gave her assurance of protection. . . . In Petersham, in December, 1781, a dastardly attack was made upon the Shakers at the

¹ "Testimonies": II:3.

house of David Hammond, where the most inhuman personal abuse was inflicted upon Mother Ann and others. Father James Whittaker was believed to have been killed, but he recovered and prayed for his persecutors, 'Father, forgive them; they know not what they do.' The saintly forgiving spirit of Mother Ann so broke down these wretches that they begged forgiveness for their cruelty."¹

Persecutions followed also during the same winter (1781-2) at Harvard and Enfield, Massachusetts, and various other places. At Harvard the Shakers made their headquarters at the so-called "Square House." This house had formerly been the home of Shadrach Ireland, who had given himself out to be an incarnation of the Deity, and at the same time had practised and taught a form of free love. The Shakers suffered possibly somewhat from the odium already attached to the house.

The missionary journey, during which converts were made in the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut, ended in September, 1783. Within eighteen months Mother Ann and Father William Lee had passed away.²

Just what Mother Ann did and how she conducted herself upon these missionary journeys is a matter of considerable controversy—the nature of the account depending in large part upon whether the narrator was friendly or unfriendly to the Shakers. The Shakers picture Mother Ann and Father William as going about from place to place, working miracles, preaching the pure gospel, and calling forth great signs and wonders. The opposite accounts abound in an appalling series of charges of drunkenness, unnatural sexual practices, and obscenities. According to the one, Mother Ann is an angel of light; according to the other, a woman of grossly immoral life. Shaker tradition sees in her a prophetess and a

¹ White and Taylor: *op. cit.*, p. 48.

² Same: p. 71.

miracle-worker as well as a great teacher of the truth heretofore hidden.

It is exceedingly difficult for the modern student of the life of Mother Ann to see anything extraordinary, either intellectually or spiritually, in those statements of Mother Ann's which are looked upon by her followers as prophetic. For example, the Shaker records tell us that she told Joseph Meacham, on his arrival on one occasion at Watervliet, "I saw you before you crossed the river" ¹—a not very remarkable statement in view of the fact that Meacham could not have reached Watervliet without crossing the river. The same paragraph in the "Testimonies" tells us:

"At another time while Mehetabel (Farrington) was there, Mother said she felt that there was a number of people coming, and bade the Sisters prepare food for them; as soon as the meal was prepared, a number of needy people came in, and were made welcome; not only to the victuals, but to the gospel."

Her prophecies dealt also with the spread of the gospel as she proclaimed and understood it:

"Mother Ann prophesied to Samuel Fitch, at the time of his first interview with her, saying, 'After I have done my work in this world, there will be a great increase of the gospel. It will be like a man's beginning in the world and raising up a family of children, gathering an interest, then dying, and leaving the interest with his children, who will improve thereon and gather more.' . . .²

"She also said, 'After my departure there will come grievous wolves, who will destroy many of the flock.' "³

To Mother Ann is attributed in like manner a remarkable insight into the characters and thoughts of others:

¹ "Testimonies": XXIV:5.

² "Testimonies": XXIV:11.

³ "Testimonies": XXIV:12.

"When Mother Ann visited Joshua Birch's, at Stonington, there was a young woman then living in the family, who was thought to be very honest, and chaste. Lois Birch manifested her feelings to Mother in favor of the girl's character; to which Mother replied, 'Are you a Christian, and think that girl is chaste and honest? You are deceived; she lives in whoredom, with married men, young men, black men and boys.' This declaration almost staggered Lois' confidence in Mother, believing that she knew the girl's character. But, soon after, Mother's charges against the girl were proved to a demonstration; by which Lois' faith in Mother was strengthened, beyond a doubt, that Mother had the revelation of God, and was able to see what creatures had in them.¹

"While Mother Ann was at Enfield there came a woman to see her by the name of Tryphena Perkins, who made a great profession of Christianity. But, in the hearing of a number of people, Mother Ann reproved her for her wickedness, and said, 'You are a filthy whore.' This greatly offended her, and she went away and complained that she had been abused, which furnished Mother's enemies, as they supposed, with sufficient cause to prosecute her. They now began to flatter themselves that they were able to prove Mother a false prophetess, and determined to prosecute her for defamation. They said they could prove to a certainty, that Tryphena's organization was such that she could not, possibly, be guilty of the charge of whoredom; she was called a great Christian, and, of necessity, a pure virgin. But, behold, she was soon found to be with child, by a married man! This was well known throughout the town of Enfield, and Mother's enemies were greatly abashed and confounded."²

¹ "Testimonies": XXV:11.

² "Testimonies": XXV:12.

The record of miracles worked by Mother Ann is large. The following are typical illustrations:

In the year 1780, Noah Wheaten, of New Lebanon, "dislocated his ancle outwardly, and split or broke the outer bone of his leg, just above the ancle joint. . . . After groaning and wallowing in this situation a while, he crawled to the spring and back to the place where he had been at work. . . . At length he crawled home on his hands and knees, and although under extreme mortification of spirit for this misfortune, yet he was full of faith and confidence in the gift of miracles, which he had before strongly testified to his unbelieving neighbors. . . . Feeling full confidence in the gift of God, he refused to have a doctor called, or any attempt to set the bone, or even any outward application for the mitigation of his pain. That, consequently, his ancle and leg swelled greatly, turned black, and was excessively painful. . . . Thus he continued from about two o'clock in the afternoon till the evening of the following day; during which time his mind was in agonizing labor to God for a miraculous cure; which, with his extreme pain, forced the sweat in plentiful effusions, from every pore of his body.

"At length, as his family, consisting of ten in number, were assembled at their evening worship, in the room where he was then sitting upon a chest, the power of God came suddenly upon him, and he was instantly hurled from his seat, and set upon his feet, and whirled swiftly about like a top, for the space of two hours, without the least pain or inconvenience. That he then retired to rest, well and comfortable, and the next morning, arose in health, took his team and went to plowing." ¹

Phebe Spencer, of New Lebanon, aged seventy-three years, testifies² that in the year 1781 she broke her ribs,

¹ "Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing," etc. Albany, N. Y., 1856. Fourth Edition, pp. 416-8. Book VIII, Chap. X:15-20.

² Same: 28-31 (pp. 419-20).

refused medical aid and sent for the elders, among whom were Hezekiah Hammond and others of the Believers.

“They entered the room, where she sat bolstered up in her bed. . . . Hezekiah took hold of her hand and bade her labor for the power of God and take faith. . . . She was immediately seized with a shaking, like one in a strong fit of the ague, which so far released her, that she was able to speak and breathe without difficulty; . . . her pain still continued, and she was yet unable to move or help herself. . . . She, however, rested some that night. . . . The next morning, after breakfast, Hezekiah came again in the room and assembled all the family that were then at home, consisting of her husband, two sons, and seven daughters, and desired them all to kneel down with him. . . . After continuing on their knees a few minutes, they arose, and Hezekiah came to the bed side, took her by the hand, and desired her to get up. . . . With some difficulty, she got up and sat in a chair. . . . They again kneeled in a circle round her, after which Hezekiah bade her stand up; which she accordingly did. . . . He then put one hand upon her head, and the other upon her side, at which she felt such a glow of the power of God, as she was unable to describe, which first struck her head, and then ran down her right side; instantly she felt her ribs sensibly press outward against his hand, and her side was immediately healed.”

Over against these records of the putative supernatural powers of Mother Ann and the tribute which Shakers of all ages pay to her abilities and character, is a record of an entirely different sort. Charges of the practice of immorality have been brought against practically every great leader in both religious and civil life. It is not to be wondered at that such charges were brought against Mother Ann. Among these charges appear the claim

that, when in England, Mother Ann was a prostitute,¹ that in New York she suffered from a venereal disease,² contracted as a result of her loose way of living, and that she was guilty of incestuous relations³ with her brother, William Lee.

All of these charges may be, in the main, untrue. But that she was the leader in practices under the name of religious rites which were in their psychological nature perversions of the sexual instinct, is without the least doubt true.

In connection with the dancing, which became an essential part of Shaker worship, the practice of dancing naked was developed under the leadership of Mother Ann. There seems to be no definite evidence of this practice on the part of the early Shakers before their coming to this country. There is very clear evidence of the practice in the early days of the church in this country.⁴ So common was the practice that Eunice Stanton, who joined the Shakers under the influence of her husband and later withdrew, summed up the Shaker religion by stating that,

"Their religion consisted in confessing sin to the leaders, dancing and whirling, speaking in their unknown tongues, as they called it, stripping and dancing naked together, men and women."⁵

One of the best known of the early books against Shakerism is by Thomas Brown.⁶ Brown had been, as is likely to be the case with persons who connect themselves with sects like the Shakers, a sort of religious wanderer.

¹ Dyer, Mary M.: *op. cit.*, pp. 20-24.

² Same: pp. 22-4. Also p. 85.

³ Same: pp. 46-7.

⁴ The Jumpers were accused of the same practice. See Tyerman: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 480-1.

⁵ Dyer: *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, *supra*.

He had been brought up a Quaker and had later become a sort of itinerant Methodist preacher. Then he attached himself to the Shakers, largely on account of his interest in the Millennium. For a time he was zealous in winning proselytes to the new cause, but ultimately fell away.

Brown had heard about the reports that the earlier Shakers had danced naked, and in his conversation with Mary Hocknell, to which reference has been made,¹ had brought up the subject.² After she has told the story of the small beginnings of Shakerism and of its rapid spread in America, Brown says:

"I replied, it is admirable; and the hand of God appears so conspicuous, that it is needless to regard any reports to invalidate it. But that I may be able to satisfy honest, inquiring minds, who may have heard false reports, not knowing but what they were true, and be able to contradict them, or represent things in a true light, from good authority, and information received from eye, and ear witnesses, I make free to ask thee a question concerning a report which has been, and still is asserted to be a fact by many who have been among the people, and have left them; which is, that these people, in Mother's day, by her gift, or by order of some of the other Elders, were repeatedly in the practice of dancing naked, men and women together, in their meetings.

"She answered, 'I am sure Mother was a very modest woman; and if there had been any such conduct, I should have seen, or known it, which I never did. There were many operations by the power of God, and wonderful gifts; as speaking in unknown tongues, trembling, groaning, and sometimes turning round; on account of which, people would report we were drunk, as they did formerly about the apostles who had similar gifts and operations—(Acts, chap. II). And because the brethren pulled off

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 46.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 46-7.

their coats, or outside garments, to labour, or as the world call it, dancing; and in warm weather the sisters being lightly clothed, they would report we danced naked.' ”

On the strength of this conversation, Brown vehemently denied¹ the charge against the early Shakers of dancing naked when it was made in his presence. But on account of the frequent repetition of the charge, he raised the question again with one of the Elders, whom he calls Elder Hezekiah²:

“Elder Hezekiah answered me: ‘I never saw any such conduct, neither do I believe there ever has been any such conduct.’ And he intimated to me that he did not wish me to give people the lie; the person I had mentioned might have seen such conduct, which, if he did, must have been by some out of order, or that the church had no union with.”

Later on, in talking with Elder John Meacham, at Niskayuna, he states³ that, after conversation on various subjects, “I told him at last, I desired to open a matter wherein my faith was hurt, and wherein I had reason to be dissatisfied; and that is, said I, respecting Elder Hezekiah and also several of the old believers having denied that they had ever danced naked.”

After some discussion on the part of both, Elder Meacham finally replied:

“If Elder Hezekiah, or any of the old believers have said or done wrong, they will have to answer for their wrongs themselves. Therefore, you should not let wrongs and failings in others hurt your faith; but confess and forsake your own wrongs.”

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 84.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 108. Probably Elder Hezekiah Hammond.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 171-2. See also p. 170.

Brown goes on to state further¹:

"In a few months after this conference (some time in February, 1805), I was at Lebanon; and the first conference I had was with Elder Hezekiah, respecting my charge of falsehood. . . . Now, said I, Elder Hezekiah, I know the old believers, or church brethren and sisters have danced naked repeatedly, under an idea, or with intention, to mortify the fleshly nature, and you have danced so with them.

"He replied, 'Yea, once; and I did not tell you there never had been such conduct, but that I did not know of nor believe there was any such conduct now.' "

When pressed further, the Elder finally stated:

"Since I have been called to be an Elder and minister I have been sorry I ever saw such conduct among the people; for I have been often asked the question by young believers, and people of the world; and often I have known not what answer to give, as it would not do to tell them we had danced naked, admitting it to have been a real gift of God; it would have been so out of their sight, they could not see it nor receive it as such." ²

In these dances as many as thirty persons³ sometimes took part. Sometimes men and women danced naked together. At other times the women danced by themselves; at still other, the men danced by themselves. Brown tells us on the authority of Daniel Rathbone, Jr., of the following incident which is said to have occurred in the first days of the church:

"One day, said he, in the afternoon, William Lee, having drunk very freely, fell asleep; when he awoke,

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 173.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

³ Dyer, Mary: *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52, 94-5, 140 (footnote), 145. See also Haskett: *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 54, 76 (footnote), and Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 293.

he ordered the brethren (in number about twenty) to be assembled, I being one with them. William Lee then informed us that he had a gift to rejoice—and ordered us to strip ourselves naked; and as we stood ready to dance, Mother Ann Lee came to the door of the room with one of the sisters. William Lee requested her to stay out, as he had a gift to rejoice with the brethren. Still she persisted. He said to her again, *Mother, do go out—I have got a gift to rejoice with the brethren; and why can't you let us rejoice? You know if any of the sisters are with us, we shall have war*, that is, have to fight against the rising of nature. But as she would not retire, he pushed her out, and shut the door against her. Then she went round the corner of the house, and attempted to get in at a window. Lee prevented her. She came to the door again, with a stick of wood, and stove it open. Lee met her at the door. She struck him with her fists in the face. He said, the smiting of the righteous is like precious ointment. She then gave him several blows in quick succession, at each of which he made the same reply. At last, the blood beginning to run, he lost all patience, and exclaimed, 'Before God you abuse me'; and presented his fists and struck her, and knocked her almost down."¹

The practice of both sexes bathing naked² together was another of the rites inaugurated in the church in Mother Ann's day. Reuben Rathbone, who published one of the earliest attacks upon the Shakers—a pamphlet which he wrote prior to 1801, entitled "Reasons offered for leaving the Shakers," had been charged with immoral relations with the woman whom he subsequently made his wife. She also had been a Shaker and had left the Shakers to marry Rathbone. In defending himself against the charge, Rathbone wrote, *inter alia*:

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 290.

² Dyer, Mary: "A Portraiture of Shakerism," etc. 1822; p. 141. See also Haskett: *op. cit.*, pp. 45-54.

"From the time I first professed Christianity (which was a year or two before I heard of the people called Shakers), to this day, I never have had any unlawful connection with any woman; and from the time I first knew the Shakers to this time, I never defiled myself with what is called among you effeminacy; neither did I ever know, by any certain knowledge, while I lived with you, that there was any females in the church or anywhere else, except it was at the time when there was a gift for men and women to strip naked and go in the water together, I was sometimes a spectator, and perhaps might *observe* the difference." ¹

That the practices of dancing naked and of bathing promiscuously were akin to sexual perversion is suggested in the following statement ² :

"I have seen the Mother at Niskeuna, in the State of New York, in times of her intoxication, come into a room where many were gathered for a meeting and were, by her own orders, stript naked; I have seen her slap the men—rub her hands on all parts of their bodies—press the men to her bosom—and make them suck a dry breast—all this time she would be humming and making an enchanting noise."

There is a very considerable amount of testimony to other practices of a distinctly sexual nature. William Skails, a member of the society, on one occasion ³

"stripped himself naked and testified his faith before Lucy Wright, the present mother of the church, Samuel Fitch, John Truesdell and several other believers, saying,

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 111 (footnote).

² Brown: *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91 (footnote). For similar incidents, see Dyer: "Rise and Progress," p. 81.

³ Brown: *op. cit.*, pp. 327-8. For similar occurrences, see Dyer: "Portraiture," p. 189. For practices of this sort among the early Quakers, see Bowden, James: "The History of the Society of Friends in America." London, 1850. Vol. I, pp. 272-3.

'Naked came I into the world and naked must I go out; and naked must my soul stand before God, as naked as my body stands before you.' "

Skails is said later to have left the society, and to have become its bitter enemy. Later he is said ¹ to have become "somewhat delirious."

John Woods, who lived with the Shakers for about seventeen years, tells a similar story ² :

"A man I knew, who had fallen so frequently in this way, and so frequently confessed it, that he at length thought he felt a gift which might answer the purpose to mortify this propensity. In a room where a number of us were assembled, both brothers and sisters, without giving any previous notice, he openly and clearly exposed a certain part, which he said was to him as Alexander the coppersmith was to Paul, having done him much harm. While he exhibited he exclaimed, 'This is my god.' No one in the room seemed at that time to doubt the fact, nor his honest intention to mortify the flesh."

The efforts to "mortify the flesh" are suggestive of Roman Catholic efforts after sacerdotal celibacy.

"After working hard days, we were ordered into the dance, or labor as it was then called, for hours, and urged to labor more zealously to overcome sin. . . . Then, after dancing with vehemence through the greater part of the night, instead of reposing their weary bodies upon a bed, by further penance, lie down upon the floor, chairs, ropes, sticks, and every humiliating and mortifying posture they could devise." ³

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 328.

² Woods, John: "Shakerism Unmasked," etc. Paris, Ky., 1826; p. 19.

³ See Woods: *op. cit.*, p. 37. Dyer: "Rise and Progress," p. 111. Haskett: *op. cit.*, p. 103.

Another practice for the mortification of the flesh was flagellation¹—a practice to which a stop was put through the influence of Mother Lucy Wright and Father Meacham.² In Mother Ann's time it was common.

"Though Elder Whittaker did not fully unite with this stripping naked, and would often leave the room, he said those gifts of Mother which he could not see into, he would not condemn. Several were whipped, and some were ordered to whip themselves, as a mortification to the flesh. A young woman by the name of Elizabeth Cook was stripped and whipped naked, by Noah Wheaton, for having desires towards a young man—Abiel Cook, her father, hearing of it, prosecuted Noah Wheaton for whipping his daughter naked. Hannah Cook, sister to Elizabeth, who was present at the time, was called for a witness. She went to Elder Whittaker and asked him what she should say.

"He answered—'I cannot tell you what you must say, for I don't know what questions will be asked you; but,' says he, 'speak the truth, and spare the truth, and take care not to bring the gospel into disrepute.'

"She accordingly testified before the court that her sister, who was whipped, was not naked. Thus she obeyed Whittaker's orders; for, strictly speaking, she was not naked, for she had at the time a fillet on her head.³

"The last instance of stripping naked, and of corporal punishment, was at Niskeuna about the year 1793. Two young women, by name Abigail Lemmons, Saviah Spires and another who has since left the people, and had rather her name should not be publicly mentioned, amused themselves by attending to the amour of two flies in the window: they were told by Eldress Hannah Matterson for thus gratifying their carnal inclinations, and as a mortification to the same, they must strip themselves naked

¹ See Haskett: *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 56-8.

² Haskett: *op. cit.*, p. 139.

³ Brown: *op. cit.*, pp. 322-3.

and take whips she had provided and whip themselves, and then whip each other; two happened at once, to strike the third, when she cried *murder!* They were then ordered to stop and to plunge into a brook near by; all this was done in the presence and under the approbation of Elder Timothy Hubbard and Jonathan Slosson, one of the brethren."¹

A study of literature hostile to the Shakers, as well as literature friendly to that people, brings to light the fact to be expected—that the Shakers, no more than the Roman Catholic priesthood or any other celibate sect or order, have been able to eliminate the sexual instinct as a tremendous factor in life. The sort of sexual gratification which is an expression of an abnormal mind was definitely in evidence in the days when Shakerism was making great numbers of converts, and all types of people united with the movement. In like manner, there are frequent references to sodomy,² bestiality,³ and other expressions of the sexual instinct which may readily be expected from those who are denied, through a religious or any other motive, a normal sexual life. There are frequent references to sexual familiarity among the elders and the eldresses,⁴ to the use of contraceptives,⁵ to spiritual marriage,⁶ and to "conduct shocking to modesty."⁷

Ann Lee was succeeded in the headship of the church by James Whittaker, who died in 1787. Whittaker's successors were Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright. Meacham, who had been a Baptist preacher, brought to his task a mind trained along theological lines, and a

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 335. See also Dyer: "Rise and Progress," pp. 49, 66, 73-4. Haskett: *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 161. Dyer: "Portraiture," pp. 90-2, 105-6.

² Woods: *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³ Woods: *op. cit.*, p. 51. Dyer: "Rise and Progress," p. 36. Haskett: *op. cit.*, "Sealed Pages, 19*," "Testimonies," XXVII:21 (p. 191).

⁴ Dyer: "Rise and Progress," pp. 38-9, 102-3, 231.

⁵ Same: p. 89.

⁶ Haskett: *op. cit.*, p. 224. Dyer: "Portraiture," p. 236.

⁷ Woods: *op. cit.*, p. 20.

valuable ability for the effecting of organisation. It is Meacham who played probably the most considerable part in the development of Shaker theology, as well as in the development of the Shaker hierarchy and the Shaker communistic system.

The first of the Shaker permanent communities was established in 1787 at Mt. Lebanon, N. Y. Before many years had passed, societies had been established at Watervliet, N. Y.; Hancock, Mass. (1790); Harvard and Shirley, Mass.; Enfield, Conn.; Enfield, N. H.; Canterbury, N. H.; Alfred, Maine; New Gloucester, Maine, and at other places. Fertile soil for Shaker doctrines and ideas was found wherever a revival had taken place. Particularly was this true of the Kentucky Revival.

"Repeated prophecies had been uttered by Mother Ann Lee, that the next opening of the Gospel would be in a level country to the southwest. The meaning was not understood, for but little was known of the region referred to, the country being a wilderness, sparsely settled and covered with roving tribes of Indians. In 1804 news reached the eastern societies of a wonderful work of God that had been in progress, for several years, in Ohio and Kentucky. The stories were so remarkable, the circumstances so like those known in earlier days in the east, that believers recognised the fulfillment of the well remembered predictions. The Church at Mount Lebanon, accordingly, sent out three brethren to bear, to those who might be ready to receive it, the tidings of the establishment of what was called, in the thought of the time, 'The Church of Christ's Second Appearing.'

"John Meacham (brother of Joseph), Benjamin S. Youngs, and Issacher Bates started from Mount Lebanon at 3 a. m. on the first of January, 1805, to pursue on foot this long journey of over one thousand miles. They had one horse to carry necessary baggage." ¹

¹ White and Taylor: *op. cit.*, p. 113.

In the latter part of March they came to Turtle Creek (now Union Village, Ohio) and were entertained by a man named Worley, who, with his wife and also his pastor, the Rev. Richard McNemar, a New Light Presbyterian, became converts to the Shaker gospel. It is to Mr. McNemar that we owe a history of the Kentucky Revival.¹ In a short time Shaker communities sprang into being at Buaro, Indiana; Shawnee Run or Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, Turtle Creek, Ohio, and other places. The first named, however, was, in 1826, abandoned.

The Shaker conception of God is that of a dual person—a deity in His first manifestation male, Jesus; in His second appearing, female, Ann Lee. It is logical to believe, they argue, that since woman was first in the fall, she should be last in the work of redemption and salvation.

Another argument is by analogy from the nature of man. It is based on a conception, possibly analogous to biology's conception of very rudimentary forms of life—the conception that Adam was dual as first created—hermaphroditic, in his sexual nature:

“The first man was created male and female jointly, but neither was male or female separately, until the woman was taken out of the man. So in the first appearing of Christ, that spirit of anointing which constituted Christ was male and female jointly, but not separately in visible order: Nor could any abiding and perfect spiritual union exist in order, between the sexes, until the woman was raised up, in her appointed season, and anointed to complete the order in the foundation of the new creation, for the redemption of both man and woman.”²

¹ *Op. cit.*, *supra*.

² “Testimonies to Christ's Second Appearing,” etc. VIII:5-12 (p. 381).

All this, when summed up, amounts to saying that Ann Lee was the fulfilment of the promise which our Lord made that He would come again. We are not to say, "Lo! here," or "Lo! there." Christ has come. He is Ann Lee.

We are now in the Millennium, ushered in by the appearing of Ann Lee. Just as Adam and Eve were our first parents after a carnal manner, so Jesus and Ann Lee are the parents of the creation after a spiritual manner. Carnal generation must in this new generation be done away with. Hence the physiological intercourse of the sexes among the Shakers is prohibited. Those who become Shakers dedicate themselves to a life of celibacy. The men live with men, the women with women. Lightness, frivolity or undue friendship between individuals of the two sexes is not merely discouraged, but forbidden. Children are adopted from the world.

As Ann Lee discovered through a vision, the sin of our first parents was in sexual intercourse. Being crucified is simply denying oneself an expression of one's sexual nature through normal channels. Confession of sin to the elders and eldresses is absolutely imperative and becomes an effective weapon in maintaining discipline.

"In worship the exercises employed by the Shakers are said to be derived from the inspiration of the Spirit. Elder, or Father, Joseph Meacham affirmed that he was shown in vision the various exercises, saw the hosts of heaven worshipping in these movements, and he taught them to the people. Modern experts in physical culture have in some cases studied out scientifically the very movements which marked the early Shaker worship. Of these, the only one that forms a part of present-day worship is the march, accompanied by motions of the hands. Shakers have been noted for their inspirational singing,

the wordless songs practiced for years giving place to hymns and anthems of peculiar but impressive sort.”¹

The dances of the early Shakers formed a very essential part of their religious worship. Stress was laid upon the solemn nature of these exercises, and only those who felt convinced that they were of pure heart were permitted to participate.

“I have often heard the elders,” Brown tells us,² “or the one who has the lead of the meeting, after speaking a few words, conclude by one or the other of the following sentences: ‘All who feel justified—or such as have not violated their consciences—or those who have no sin covered, may prepare to labour in the works of God, or go forth in the works of God.’

“And there is so much said and preached on the direful consequences of presuming to join in this part of worship, with any sin unconfessed, or if they are in any respect irreconciled to the Elders, or to the gifts they have had for them, or irreconciled to any of the brethren, that many would not dare to join in the dance, believing if they did, some judgment would fall on them.—And they believe the Elders see through and through them, and sin is not long hid from them.

“The following instance which was told me among many others, may clearly evince the truth of this assertion: ‘One of the young sisters committed sin in meeting, by looking at a young man, a spectator. . . . At this time James Whittaker, being in a room in the upper part of the meeting house, and having a sense of what was done, came down into the meeting room while they were dancing, and said, *‘God is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity. There is sin committed and covered among you, and your worship will not be owned until it is put*

¹ United States Census, 1910: Religious Bodies, II, p. 222.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

away.' The young woman was convicted, knowing herself guilty, fell on her knees, and confessed she had sinned; after which, he told them *they might proceed.*"

"The dance was of two kinds," according to John Woods¹ :

"the step dance and the step and shuffle. The first was then by way of contempt and derision called *Bumbo*, being more proper for the younger class, and such as were yet full of laziness and lust. But after the people of the church began to confess their sins, one to another, and to war against the devil, and if possible to drive him out, their dances became more disorderly, and their exercises more extravagant than ever. They were now seen throwing their arms about, throwing themselves down, whirling like a top, tossing against one another, stamping on each other's feet, etc., till the meeting house floor and many of their garments were marked with blood. On such occasions for a while the ministry greatly encouraged them in this warring gift."

Another form of the exercises is thus described² :

"Frequently all would assemble together in the meeting room—there the sisters would pull some one of the brothers into a large circle of females, and then dance round him, and sleek his head with their hands, and cut so many monkey capers that the whole assembly would laugh immoderately. When this gift was finished, the brothers would pull one of the sisters into a large circle of the males, and dance round her, and confine her there till she should look pleasantly, and dance with them, and signify her fellowship with all their antiques. After this alternate play we would run round the room, two and two, with great rapidity, while some were singing, and

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 37-8.

² Brown: *op. cit.*, pp. 70-1.

others vociferating from the windows, and calling in a hideous manner for others to come."

The following description of Shaker life and practices is from the pen of Charles Nordhoff¹ :

"Their evenings are well filled with such diversions as they regard wholesome. Instrumental music they do not generally allow themselves, but they sing well; and much time is spent in learning new hymns and tunes, which they profess to receive constantly from the spirit world. Some sort of meeting of the family is held every evening. At Mount Lebanon, for instance, on Monday evening there is a general meeting in the dining-hall, where selected articles from the newspapers are read, crimes and accidents being omitted as unprofitable; and the selections consisting largely of scientific news, speeches on public affairs, and the general news of the world. They prefer such matter as conveys information of the important political and social movements of the day; and the elder usually makes the extracts. At this meeting, too, letters from other societies are read. On Tuesday evening they meet in the assembly hall for singing, marching, etc. Wednesday night is devoted to a union meeting for conversation. Thursday night is 'a laboring meeting,' which means the regular religious service, where they 'labor to get good.' Friday is devoted to new songs and hymns; and Saturday evening to worship. On Sunday evening, finally, they visit at each other's rooms, three or four sisters visiting the brethren in each room, by appointment, and engaging in singing and in conversation upon general subjects.

"In their religious services there is little or no audible prayer; they say that God does not need spoken words, and that the mental aspiration is sufficient. Their aim, too, as they say, is to 'walk with God,' as with a friend; and mental prayer may be a large part of their lives with-

¹ *Op. cit.*, *supra*, pp. 141-4.

out interruption to usual avocations. They do not regularly read the Bible.

“The Sunday service is held either in the ‘meeting-house,’ when two or three families, all composing the society, join together, or in the large assembly hall which is found in every family house. In the meeting-house there are generally benches, on which the people sit until all are assembled. In the assembly hall there are only seats ranged along the walls; and the members of the family, as they enter, take their accustomed places, standing, in the ranks which are formed for worship. Then men face the women, the elder men and women in the front, the elders standing at the head of the first rank. A somewhat broad space or gangway is left between the two front ranks. After the singing of a hymn, the elder usually makes a brief address upon holiness of living and consecration to God; he is followed by the eldress; and thereupon the ranks are broken, and a dozen of the brethren and sisters, forming a separate square on the floor, begin a lively hymn tune, in which all the rest join, marching around the room to a quick step, the women following the men, and all often clapping their hands.

“The exercises are varied by reforming the ranks; by speaking from men and women; by singing; and by dancing as they march, ‘as David danced before the Lord’—the dance being a kind of shuffle. Occasionally one of the members, more deeply moved than the rest, or perhaps in some tribulation of soul, asks the prayers of the others; or one comes to the front, and, bowing before the elder and eldress, begins to whirl, a singular exercise which is sometimes continued for a considerable time, and is a remarkable performance. Then some brother or sister is impressed to deliver a message of comfort or warning from the spirit-land; or some spirit asks the prayers of the assembly; on such occasions the elder asks all to kneel for a few moments in silent prayer.

“In their marching and dancing they hold their hands

before them, and make a motion as of gathering something to themselves; this is called gathering a blessing. In like manner, when any brother or sister asks for their prayers and sympathy, they, reversing their hands, push toward him that which he asks.

"All the movements are performed with much precision and in exact order; their tunes are usually in quick time, and the singers keep time admirably. The words of the elder guide the meeting; and at his bidding all disperse in a somewhat summary manner. It is, I believe, an object with them to vary the order of their meetings, and thus give life to them."

To the testimony of Nordhoff, a visitor, may be subjoined the testimony of Lamson, a "young believer" of the sect. David R. Lamson, who spent two years among the Shakers as a sort of unwelcome neophyte, writes as part of his diary under date of February 23, 1845¹:

"Meeting to-day at the meeting-house, a *free* and *lively* meeting. Commenced as usual by singing. Many singers, sing loud, lively tunes, but there is very little melody, or harmony in the singing. Speaking by David Terry. He hoped every one, brethren and sisters, has 'sot' out determined to persevere in the way of God. Every one has got a work to perform. 'Tain't' something that we can begin and labor a little while and then leave off; but we've got to labor for it. Every one has got to strive for one. So I hope brethren and sisters, we shall every one labor to become zealous in every good work. Labor to come to the truth. The truth is worth more than all the news, and all the great histories, and all of everything that has ever been printed by human hand. So brethren and sisters, I hope we may be able to make some gain in the good things of the Spirit."

¹ Lamson, David R.: "Two Years' Experience Among the Shakers," etc. West Boyleston, 1848; pp. 85-8.

After another exhortation in much a similar vein, those present were invited to "go forth in the travel manner."

Lamson continues :

"The singers, about six or eight or more of them, then placed themselves in the center of the room, in two ranks, the one facing the other, sisters facing sisters, and brethren facing brethren, with the spit box in the middle. And the remainder formed a circle around them, three abreast. The brethren by themselves, forming one segment of the circle, and the sisters by themselves, forming the other. The children form the inside file of the circle. The singers then strike up a march, which they sing over four or five times, repeating once, each part of the tune, every time; while the company march, and all, both singers and laborers beat the time with their hands. Each placing his two hands before him in a horizontal direction moves them up and down in time with the tune. When the tune ceases all stop until another tune is struck. After a few tunes in this way, Elder brother says, the brethren and sisters may take their places to go forth in the quick manner.

"They then took their places; the sisters in the east part of the hall, and the brethren in the west, leaving a space between. There is not much regularity to this dance. Except that the singers form a line in front of a seat which runs east and west on the north side of the hall, standing about middle way. The company stand facing the singers, the elders being in front, and nearest the middle of the hall from east to west. When a tune is struck up, they turn, the brethren to the left, and the sisters to the right, and perform a sort of trotting step, each company around its own division of the room until the set of the tune, when all turn facing the singers and shuffle. This continues for about three minutes; when there is a respite for half a minute or a minute. And another tune is struck. At the intervals of the tunes, there is sometimes speaking. Some brother, or sister,

expresses their thankfulness for their privilege in the Gospel, and express their determination to be obedient to their beloved elders, and keep the way of God. Sometimes the elders exhort the brethren and sisters to be zealous, and labor for the 'gifts and power of God.' In these exhortations, the elders manifest great zeal and energy themselves.

"As these exercises continue, the zeal increases, the whole company frequently clap their hands in concert. Some begin to turn around with great rapidity, some leap and shout, throw up their hands, and perform all manner of gesticulations, talk in unknown tongues, sing in unknown tongues. Sometimes, as to-day, for instance, two or three times, all join in one concert of yelling, screaming, shouting, shaking with all their might, thumping their feet upon the floor, with great rapidity, altogether presenting a scene and making a noise which cannot be described. Should a stranger come in at this moment, he must think it a perfect bedlam; and would probably be frightened nearly out of his wits. When the din is not so great that one cannot be heard, there is preaching, prophesying, speaking in unknown tongues, and singing songs by special inspiration. All this time the young sisters continue their turning so swiftly, that the air gathering under their garments, raises them so as to expose their red petticoats, and other underclothes, and even the fastening of their hose, and sometimes when their clothes happen to brush against a sister near them, it exposes their person still more. But they must not be checked in their gifts, for it is by the inspiration of God, that all these things are done. They often fall prostrate upon the floor, and all animation seems lost for a season. There is frequently with them a crouching and bowing, as though affected with a shock of electricity. When one ceases turning, she frequently embraces with her arms, another sister, and continues crouching and bowing, for some time, and seems to have a special gift for that

sister. One who has had the gift of turning in a high degree assured us they did this because they were too dizzy to stand up alone. Others who have been gifted, have assured me that this is the reason why they fell down. They cannot stand for dizziness, and that all their skill in turning is acquired by practice.

"All their meetings are not carried to the same excess as the one which I have described above. And never have I known them to have a meeting which made any comparison with this, when any spectators are present from the world; these are sometimes allowed to attend our meetings at home in the gathering family. None are permitted to attend our meetings at the meeting-house, since 1837, when this revival commenced. Some who have been there since that time, assure me, that the meeting I witnessed to-day, would not begin to compare with the meetings they had in the commencement of the revival. In the commencement of the revival, many went into the turning who were unaccustomed to turning; consequently they would frequently fall down, become sick and vomit. Some would go out, others run to the spit-box; some of the younger portion even bedaubed the floor."

To these accounts, we may add still another description. It is from Dr. W. A. Hammond's "Spiritualism and Allied Causes and Conditions of Nervous Derangement,"¹ and is an abridgment from an earlier work²:

"There are many among them, who profess to see God, Christ, and Mother Ann. They are taken to the spiritual world and introduced to good spirits, where they often sit at table with the Godhead. At their meetings some one called the visionist directs the proceedings. Standing at the head of the room, this person, who professes to

¹ Hammond, William A.: "Spiritualism and Allied Causes and Conditions of Nervous Derangement." New York, 1876; p. 242.

² "Extract from an Unpublished Manuscript on Shaker History by an Eyewitness." Boston, 1850.

see God, Christ, or Mother Ann, and to be in communion with them, gives his orders to the assembled people. He calls on one to step forth and shake. The victim comes forward, drops his or her hands to the side and begins shaking the whole body and stamping with the feet, while the visionist calls out at the top of his voice, 'Shake! Shake! Shake! There is a great spirit on you, shake him off! shake him off! Christ says, Shake him off!' Another then takes up the cry, 'Down! down! come down; Christ says come down! Low! low! low!' At which every person in the room bends and bows like willows in a high wind. Sometimes one of the gifted, will see the devil come into the meeting, and like a faithful sentinel gives the alarm, when every true believer opens the battery at once by drawing the right arm nearly to the chin, placing the arm in the position as if to shoot, and then straightening the body out with a jerk and a stamp of the foot, accompanied by a quick bursting yelp in imitation of a gun, all being the work of a moment. 'There,' says the visionist, 'see him dart; he has gone down towards the chimney; shoot him! shoot him! kill him!' And a rush is made for spiritual weapons given by the visionist from the spiritual armory.

"Sometimes Christ or Mother Ann enters the meeting-room, bearing such presents as the band wants. These presents are 'spiritual,' and are handed round by Christ to the faithful, who receive them as though they were real gifts. To one golden potatoes are given; to another, oranges; to others, cake, puddings, jellies, etc., with various other things not known to this world. . . . Mother Ann superintends her own wine press, and often brings wine ('spiritual' again) as a present. The visionist pretends to take a waiter filled with wine-glasses; everybody must have faith, and take one, as it is handed to them. Those who have little or no faith are told by the visionist whether they have taken theirs. Then they all raise their hands to their lips as in the act of drinking, and pres-

ently they begin to reel and stagger around the room as though actually drunk. Indeed, they act in all respects as drunken persons, stamping, shaking, vomiting, etc., till finally, exhausted, they gradually sink away till all is silent. Then, standing in a circle, they throw their handkerchiefs over their shoulders, raise their hands to their heads, and make six solemn bows, saying with each, 'I kindly thank Mother for this beautiful gift.' . . .

"Sometimes young men and women are exercised by what they call the 'jerks,' for two weeks at a time, during the whole of which period the head is kept in continual motion by quick, convulsive motions of the shoulders and neck. The author of the little book from which these particulars are quoted says she once saw a young woman whose face was frightfully swollen, her eyes dilated and bloodshot, and who had been exercised by the 'jerks' for three weeks. Directly after the 'jerks' she began to talk in unknown tongues, and continued at short intervals for three or four days; then she stopped suddenly, and remained entirely mute for two weeks, no possible persuasion being sufficient to make her say even yes or no. This experience is called the 'dumb devils.'"

The "gifts" were sometimes a very severe tax upon both the mind and the "eye of faith." "At a time, word was sent that there was a gift to be sent from the church to the Shakers in our vicinity. The Elders came, the people were gathered and placed in a half-circle—their imagination was such that some shed tears for fear, while others rejoiced in hope. The great attainment was one chestnut to each with Mother's love in it. Again the Elders came with another gift; that was, for them all to kneel, the Elders at the head. The first elder crowed with the flopping of his arms, the rest in union done the same." ¹

¹ Dyer: "Portraiture," p. 224.

In Dr. Hammond's book, reference to which has already been made, an account is given of the "laughing gift":

"Often some one will feel a 'laughing gift,' and will begin with he, he, he; ha, ha, ha; ho, ho, ho. Another takes it up, and soon all in the room are engaged in boisterous laughter. Once under full 'laughing gift,' they will hold on to their sides and reel in their chairs until they become exhausted. This gift ends in a song:

"Ho, ho, ho; he, he, he;
O what a pretty little path I see;
Pretty path, pretty play,
Pretty little angels,
Hay, hay, hay.

"The first and last lines are sung with a loud laugh." ¹

The gift of tongues was among the first of the charismata to be claimed by the Shakers. In England,

"Their exercises in their meetings were singing, dancing, shouting, shaking, speaking tongues (or speaking what no one understood) and prophesying of the downfall of all the anti-Christian churches, and the increase of that Kingdom in which they professed to be." ²

In connection with her prosecution by the authorities in Manchester, Mother Ann's ability to speak in other languages was put to a severe test by some learned scholars:

"At one time, to secure her conviction and suppression, she was accused of blasphemy, and that the question might be settled, she was brought before four clergymen of the Church of England, all noted linguistic scholars. The penalty, if convicted, was to have her tongue bored

¹ Hammond: *op. cit.*, p. 244.

² Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 314.

through with a red-hot iron and to be branded on the cheek. The mysterious Presence which in a former age, had said to the disciples of Jesus: 'Open thy mouth and I will fill it,' did not desert this woman of whom it has been said that she could neither read nor write. The power of God fell upon her, the gift of tongues was imparted and she discoursed to these clergymen, speaking, as they testified, in seventy-two different languages, speaking many of them, as they declared, better than they had ever heard them spoken before. They advised her persecutors to let her alone."¹

We have noted in the statement made by Mary Hocknell² that Mother Ann spoke before the learned doctors in twelve different languages. Frequent statements appear in the "Testimonies" to the effect that Mother Ann was often found singing or praying in an unknown tongue.³

"Timothy Hubbard was one of the first who visited Mother and the Elders at Watervliet. While there, he saw Mother sit in her chair from early in the morning, until afternoon, under great operations and power of God. She sung in unknown tongues the whole of the time: and seemed to be wholly divested of any attraction to material things. All her sensations appeared to be engaged in the spiritual world.

"After she was released from these operations she spoke to the people present and said, 'The way of God will grow straiter and straiter; so strait that if you go one hair's breadth out of the way, you will be lost.—I felt my soul walking with Christ, in groves and vallies, as really as if he had been here on earth.—It is good for a man not to touch a woman.'"⁴

¹ White and Taylor: *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6.

² Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 46.

³ Cf. "Testimonies": XXVII:4 (p. 186), 22 (p. 191); XXXIV:12 (p. 241).

⁴ "Testimonies": XXIII:12 (pp. 163-4).

“At another time, in the presence of Timothy Hubbard and others, Mother was overshadowed with the power of God. She stood erect on the floor for the space of an hour; her countenance was angelic and she seemed to notice nothing of time. She sang, chiefly in unknown tongues, though sometimes she uttered expressions in her own language. Among other expressions she made the following: ‘Thou wilt keep them in perfect peace, whose minds are stayed on thee!’ When her gift ceased, she spoke and said: ‘I saw Jesus Christ, and conversed with him, face to face, as a man converseth with his friend.’ ” ¹

This gift of tongues was shared by others in the church. Its presence was a mark of special divine favour, and signalled out the one who thus spoke as a spiritual leader. Hannah Cogswell testifies:

“While Elder Hocknell had the care of the people at Watervliet, in the summer of 1781, while Mother Ann was at Harvard, he came into meeting, one evening, under great operations of the power of God, and, with his hand stretched toward the fire, he spake in an unknown tongue, seemingly in great wrath. When his gift ceased, he said, ‘I saw the souls of three men, whom I knew while I was in England. They came to hear the word of God, but they had not finished their sufferings, and therefore were returned again to their suffering state.’ He also said, ‘If you could see the glory of God that shines around you as I do, and the angels that minister the power of God to you, your hair would rise on your heads, and flesh would crawl on your bones.’ ” ²

Father William also spoke in tongues:

“The next day, Eleazar Grant and Elisha Gilberts, Esq’rs, and Dr. Averill came there and had a long con-

¹ “Testimonies”: XXXIII:13 (p. 164).

² Same: XXV:16 (p. 179).

versation with Mother Ann and the Elders. The day following, several Indians came, and Father William Lee was moved by the power of God, to speak to them in their own native language, although he had no knowledge of it, but by the gift of God; but the Indians understood and answered him.”¹

The following account appears in Brown’s “History of the Shakers,” of an occurrence at Niskayuna in the fall of 1800:

“On the third day after our arrival, there came an elderly man (by name Seth Youngs) from Lebanon, who belonged to the backsliding order, whom I had heard had the gift of speaking in unknown tongues, or in languages he did not understand: in the afternoon he spent some time talking to my sister, respecting the vanities of this life, the necessity and beauty of religion, and the happiness to be derived from it. While he was thus speaking, he broke out, with much earnestness, in an unknown tongue, and spake about a quarter of an hour; which appeared to me astonishing, as I was satisfied from the appearance of the man, and previous conversation, that he was not a man of learning. Therefore I believed and received it as an immediate inspiration, and concluded it was miraculous, and thought I should have been very glad if it could have been taken down in writing, that I might have found out what language it was, and what he had spoken. It was said to be Greek by one of the believers (Seth Wells) who professed to understand a little of the learned languages.

“In the evening we had a meeting of all the young believers, and three elders with us, and a number of spectators. He then spoke again about half an hour, breaking out while one of the Elders was speaking; at hearing which I was much affected, really believing it to

¹ “Testimonies”: XX:17 (p. 140). See also White and Taylor: *op. cit.*, pp. 55-6-7.

be immediate inspiration. It was said (by the same person before mentioned) to be Hebrew, Greek and Latin, speaking part of the time one language, and then another. After meeting, all the family sitting round the fire, as he was talking concerning the happiness of a religious life, suddenly his head shook, as if by a severe electric shock; he then closed his eyes and sung half an hour, in some language said to be Hebrew. As soon as he ended, he said, 'this was one of the songs of Zion,' and exclaimed, 'how happy a soul feels that has a sense of the love of God.'

"The same evening he spoke a few minutes in some Indian tongue, or it appeared such by the gesticulations, etc. He told us that, 'he could only speak as he was inspired by the power of God, and then he had no will or power to stop; and that it often came upon him unexpected, and unthought of; and that he did not understand what he said, except when he had a sense of it given to him.'

"I was informed of an illiterate sister at Lebanon, in the same order, that had the gift of interpretation of tongues; and that she sometimes could state, or explain languages thus spoken: and previously to that time, one of the young believers (namely Seth Wells) who professed to understand Latin, informed me, in company with several others, that he had heard this same man at Lebanon, speak half an hour in Latin, which much strengthened his faith, and which he translated into English; and that he had heard him speak in French, a Frenchman being present at the same time. He further asserted that the forementioned sister, who had the gift of the interpretation of tongues being present, interpreted the same."¹

Brown tells us that he himself began to experience manifestations of the tongues:

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, pp. 58-9-60.

"About this time I began to have operations of shaking, trembling and stamping, similar to some of my brethren and sisters at Nikeuna; and likewise a gift, as it is called, of speaking languages, or unknown tongues. At one time I had a gift to sing; but no one understood what I sung, nor myself neither. These things I did not do as a sham, nor with intentions to make others think I was under the influence of divine power; but I really and sincerely believed I was influenced by the power of God. . . . They told me that some had gifts of mortification, to bark like a dog, and crow like a cock, make a noise like a squirrel, and mew like a cat.¹

"I was so strong in the faith, that one day as we were conversing, concerning extraordinary gifts, I told the Elders I believed if I continued faithful, I should be so endued with power in speaking languages, I should be able to speak and preach to people in the different tongues, so that any nation or tribe of Indians could understand me."²

We are indebted to Brown also for the following account of phenomena accompanying the manifestation of the tongues:

"One evening (during 1801) . . . being at a family meeting, a certain zealous woman turned all the time the others were labouring, and when we kneeled (which we generally did at the conclusion of the meeting) she prayed about fifteen minutes in an unknown tongue. As soon as we arose, she was taken with the operation of turning again, and continued it about fifteen minutes. She then retired to her room, where she was directly taken with the operation again. Being desirous to see everything that was going forward, I went into her room and took a seat. She continued whirling rapidly about half an hour. I thought she would have died under the opera-

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 82.

² Same: p. 89.

tion; for it appeared to me it was more than human nature could bear. She broke out several times apparently in an unknown tongue, and spoke with great energy and emphasis, using violent gesticulations, and shaking, to appearance, sufficiently to dislocate every bone in her body. It was believed she was then thundering the gospel to disobedient, damned spirits. When the operation was over, she sat down. I then immediately entered into conversation with her, to see if her mind was not affected; but I could perceive no alteration in her. She told me what she uttered in prayer was on a sheet of paper held before her by an angel. The man of the house told me that a few evenings before while they were labouring, she spake and said, 'she saw an angel labouring by the side of him,' and he believed it." ¹

Brown makes also the following comments upon the tongues:

"Respecting such as speak in an unknown tongue, they have strong faith in this gift; and think a person greatly favoured who has the gift of tongues; and at certain times, when the mind is overloaded with a fiery, strong zeal, it must have vent some way or other; their faith, or belief, at the time being in this gift, and a will strikes the mind according to their faith; and then such break out in a fiery, energetick manner, and speak they know not what, as I have done several times. Part of what I spoke at one time, was:—Liero, devo jurankemango, and fileabano, duren fubramo, deviranto diacerimango, jaffe vah pe cri evanigalio, de vom grom feb crenom, os vare cremo domo." ²

A contemporary of Mother Ann describes Shaker worship and comments upon the tongues as follows:

¹ Brown: *op. cit.*, pp. 152-3.

² Same: p. 297.

"For there is a perpetual scene of trembling, quivering, shaking, sighing, crying, groaning, screaming, jumping, singing, dancing and turning, which strikes the animal part, operating on the nerves of the greatest opposers, in following which the adherent finds an easy transition from pain with them to go into their several exercises, to mourn and rejoice with them, to kneel, to leap and dance, to turn and shake, and sometimes to utter forth their unknown mutter, so gibberish that a person not deluded would imagine they were a company of madmen, by whom their passions in different colours are artfully displayed; this they call the gift of new tongues, by which their opposers oftentimes find themselves severely scolded at, sometimes mocked, entreated, or flattered, according to the operation of their several humours, frequently gathering round some one of their own company who is not quite obedient enough for them, like spiteful birds in fighting, and peck upon him in their unknown mutter, as if they would pick his flesh from him." ¹

Another contemporary account is quoted by Mary Dyer:

"When I was in the region about Harvard, an aged man told me he had seen Ann Lee, and that when she was in that place she made terrible havoc among families. He said she seemed to have a power like witchcraft. He told of a case of one Eleazar Rand and showed me the house where Rand's folks lived, and said, 'Here lived that young man, and he was called as likely as any among us. Rand said, if others would go with him, they would take Ann and put her where she would make no more trouble.

"They went to the place where Ann was, and Rand said to a Shaker that they wished to see the Mother. The Shaker went into another room, returned, and said, she

¹ Taylor, Amos: "Narratives of the Shakers." Worcester, Mass., 1782.

will come in soon. She came, stood in the door, and fastened her eyes on Eleazar, then stepped forward, singing,

‘Wi, o o o, wi, o um, wi o, o o, wi o um,
Bamb bam, be iddle le dang,
Dang doodle ink e dong, doodle ink e dong.’

“She repeated this sing-song, walking moderately around Eleazar, until he lost all presence of mind, got up and followed her. Those who went with him were astonished, and told how she crazed Eleazar.”¹

Lamson tells us that in connection with the administration of a “gift” called the “gift of the Father and Son,” a preparatory form of worship was prescribed in detail in accordance with a special revelation. “The most important of the directions,” he writes,

“were, that we should kneel every time we assembled for worship. Should sing no worded songs. That is, simply sing the tune without words, using instead of words something like the following: lo lo lo liddle diddle dum, te hoot te hoot te diddle te hoot, etc.”²

Lamson also writes:

“It is worthy of notice here that although the Shakers profess to speak in their inspirations all the languages that were ever spoken on earth, yet in sending out their gospel to the world, it was given to all the different nations in our own language. Except as the English is here and there interspersed with what is called ‘unknown’ language. And indeed it is unknown, for I presume no linguist on earth could find any meaning to it. Their unknown languages, which are spoken at their meetings generally by their inspired ones, are indeed *Unknown*;

¹ “Rise and Progress,” p. 259.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

not being known even to the speaker of them. They are the veriest gibberish which has no meaning.”¹

Betsey Looe of Loudon, New Hampshire, deposes and says *inter alia*:

“The Shakers had a strange power and that which I could not resist while with them. At times in their meetings, I had strange exercises, and from the impulse of Shakerism, I often whirled, and at times in agitation uttered inarticulate sounds, which I understood not; the elders said they understood it, and pretended to tell what it was. This they called speaking in other tongues. I consider it the same power affecting the nerves of my hand and tongue, as at other times caused me to whirl or fall. If I resisted, I was followed with convulsive affects.”²

Eunice Chapman in her Narrative also deposes:

“In the evening the different families came in to attend a general meeting; I was ordered out of their house, but did not obey; my children were dragged out of the room where I was, and compelled to stay alone; and while I endured fearful forebodings, I was surprisingly alarmed at the astonishing noise and confusion. They sung, talked and jumped about the floor, and pronounced ‘jub, jub, jub, lobble, lobble, lobble, lobble, etc.’ Hannah told me that some had a gift to speak in an unknown tongue.”³

A Dr. Dwight was detained among the Shakers by a severe storm in 1783. “In their worship,” he says, “these people sang in what they called an ‘unknown tongue.’ It was a succession of unmeaning sounds frequently repeated, half articulated, and plainly gotten by heart, for they all uttered the same sounds in succession. . . . They

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 113.

² Dyer: “Portraiture,” p. 196.

³ Same: p. 236.

practiced many contortions of the body and distortions of the countenance. The gesticulations of the women were violent, and had been practiced so often and to such a degree as to have fixed their eyes in an unnatural position; made them goggle-eyed, suffused their eyes with blood, covered their faces with sickly paleness, and made them appear like persons just escaped or rather, just escaping, from a violent disease. The motions of the men were very moderate, and seemed rather to be condescendingly than earnestly made."

Dr. Blunt,¹ in the same article in which he quotes "Dwight's Travells," cites the authority of another visitor among the Shakers who describes the Shaker exercises as follows:

"The men and women, all clad in grey cloth and wearing list slippers, occupied distinct positions in the place of meeting. A short extemporaneous address was delivered by an Elder of the party, who reminded his auditory of the mercies they had all experienced during the past week, and bade them therefore unite with him in 'cheerful expressions of gratitude to their heavenly Benefactor.' Upon the conclusion of this brief exhortation, twelve of the company arranged themselves in two lines, back to back, in the centre of the apartment; the rest of the congregation stood up in couples around them, the men forming one segment of the circle, the women the other. Thereupon those in the middle commenced singing in a loud voice some doggerel verses to a very lively tune:

"I love to dance and love to sing,
And, oh! I love my Maker:
I love to dance and love to sing,
And love to be a Shaker.' Etc.

¹ *Op. cit.*, *supra*, pp. 558-9. The second quotation is given as from "Notes and Queries," 2nd Series, XII:366.

"The several couples, perpetually smiling or giggling at each other, and flapping their hands in mid-air, accompanied this strange kind of psalmody by a quick, but monotonous shuffling of their feet, being an apology for a dance. This grotesque scene was prolonged for an hour and a half."

Frequent mention has been made of the "wordless" songs of the Shakers. Apparently these were tunes that were hummed, or songs of praise and worship in the tongues. Some of the hymns used were entirely in English, some in the tongues, and some in both English and the tongues. The following is a specimen in both English and the tongues, the lines alternating:

"O we will praise our Maker, yes, we even will,
Ki lo vin sa vo van vos onena vil,
Care van se neve cara van sa ve,
I le vin se vo san vos onena va."¹

The second stanza is entirely in the tongues:

"I lo le viteca vum vole os ca nere von,
I lo le viteca vum se ra os ca nere von,
I le viteca vole vum se ra ca os ca nere von,
I le viteca vole vum se ra os ca nana."

The song called "Vicalun's Prayer" is another interesting specimen of the gift of tongues. Vicalun was believed to have been the angel of repentance. "Vicalun's Prayer" is as follows:

"Hark! hark! my holy, holy,
Vicalun seelen sor,
I have come to mourn
And weep with you
In low humiliation;
Pray to the Silium sool,
Whose hand can stay the billows,
And san si rulum sool."

¹ Lamson: *op. cit.*, p. 79.

"Vicalun's Prayer," the song just quoted, "has a variety of changes, accompanied by the following motions: At the first line the head is inclined forward, with the forefinger pointing to the right ear, as in the act of listening. At the third line the hands are brought forward with an earnest beckoning motion. At the fourth line the hands are carried to the eyes as in the act of weeping, the body gradually bending till it sinks on the knees and the face touches the floor at the close of the fifth line. At the commencement of the sixth line both hands are brought up to the side of the head as in prayer; at the seventh the right hand is thrown convulsively upward; at the word "Vicalun" both hands are extended wide. At the last line, and at the last word, they are clasped over the heart. The last four lines are repeated twice; appropriate motions accompany all songs sung by them." ¹

¹ Hammond: *op. cit.*, p. 245.

CHAPTER VI

REV. EDWARD IRVING AND THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH OR IRVINGITES

ONE of the most pathetic and tragic figures among all the tongues people is that of Edward Irving. Irving was a minister of the Church of Scotland and, as minister of the Caledonian Church in London, at one time the most popular preacher in that city. His birthplace was at Annan, Dumfriesshire, Scotland, where his statue now stands. He was born on August 4, 1792, of parents who were of the better-to-do sort of Scotch people. His father was a tanner. Irving received his higher education from Edinburgh University, which institution in 1809 awarded him the degree of Master of Arts. After teaching school for a time and pursuing during that period his studies in Divinity, he became assistant to the then renowned Dr. Thomas Chalmers of Glasgow. In 1822 he was called to be the minister of the Caledonian Church in Hatton Garden, London. This was a considerable promotion for Irving, although the church numbered less than three hundred members. These were Scotch people resident in London. Irving had not long been there before he was the center of the religious public's attention. By chance a prominent member of the House of Commons had heard him preach, and referred in glowing terms a few days later, in the course of parliamentary debate, to the young preacher. Irving needed only this introduction; crowds went to hear him, crowds of the most fashionable people in London—and in those crowds

were included the greater part of the notables of that day. It became the fashion to hear Irving preach.

In the course of time Irving became interested in the study of prophecy, and became convinced of the imminent nature of our Lord's return. Finally he came under the influence of a group of people who professed to prophesy and to speak with other tongues, and the new church which Irving's congregation had been obliged to build to take care of the great multitude which came to listen to his preaching was crowded no longer with the élite and the fashionable, but with the curiosity-seekers and religious cranks of the day. The "gifted" and the prophetic stood up in Irving's church and publicly rebuked him, and prophesied and contradicted each other until finally Irving was deposed on a charge of heresy by his presbytery and excluded from his church.

Irving and a band of his followers then held services in a room in Gray's Inn Road, used on other occasions by Robert Owen. Later they moved to Newman Street. In time a new church was organised by the prophets which they called "The Catholic Apostolic Church." In the meantime the only great man in the movement, Irving, was gradually stripped of his powers, and the real leadership of the movement passed into the hands of a group of men of very ordinary ability, but of very positive convictions. Irving died of tuberculosis on December 8th, 1834, in the forty-third year of his age.

Thomas Carlyle had known Irving as a young man, and had kept up a more or less close touch with him all through his London residence. In fact, Mrs. Carlyle, according to common tradition, had been an old sweetheart of Irving's. Thomas Hitchcock, in his little book, "Unhappy Loves of Men of Genius,"¹ makes the love of

¹ Hitchcock, Thomas: "Unhappy Loves of Men of Genius." New York, 1891.

Irving for Jane Welsh Carlyle the subject of one of his essays. At any rate, Mrs. Carlyle had been as a young girl one of Irving's pupils, and he had found her both interesting and attractive. Carlyle himself is unstinted in his praise of Irving. Thus he writes, in his essay on the "Death of Edward Irving":

"Here once more was a genuine man sent into this our *ungenuine* phantasmagory of a world, which would go to ruin without such; that here once more, under thy own eyes, in this last decade, was enacted the old Tragedy, and has had its fifth act now, of *The Messenger of Truth in the Age of Shams*." ¹

And again in the same essay:

. . . "He was so loving, full of hope, so simple-hearted, and made all that approached him his. . . . But above all, be what he might, to be a *reality* was indispensable for him." ²

Carlyle, with all his bombast and pessimism, not only loved, but understood Irving. Be what he might, to be a reality was indispensable for Irving. He was a reality. What he preached he lived. What he expressed as the great motive of a life was the motive of his life—"the ends of everlasting goodness":

"The most acceptable offering which we can present unto God, the author and preserver of our being, and the most grateful return which we can make to the world in which we have passed our days, is to live a life directed according to our best perceptions of truth and devoted to the ends of everlasting goodness." ³

¹ Carlyle, Thomas: "Death of Edward Irving," in "Critical and Miscellaneous Essays," Vol. II, p. 223.

² Same: p. 223.

³ Irving, Rev. Edward, M.A.: Introduction to the "Life of Bernard Gilpin," by William Gilpin, M.A. Glasgow, 1830; p. 5.

James Bridges, Esq., at whose home Irving stayed while attending the General Assembly at Edinburgh in 1828, wrote of him:

"Before his decay, it will be well remembered by all who knew him, with what gravity, spirituality, and orthodox earnestness he preached; with what benevolent assiduity he laboured; what gentle and amiable simplicity and kindness marked his deportment in private life; what solid, brilliant, and flowing variety, in all the shades of grave and gay, ever characterised his conversation."¹

Nor are these words in reference to Irving out of place:

"The poet Procter (Barry Cornwall), who saw much of him in London, pronounced him 'the most pure and hopeful spirit surely that Scotland has ever produced,' and wrote of him

"If his manner had not been so unassuming I might have felt humble before him. But he was so amiable and simple that we all forgot that we stood in the presence of a giant in stature, with mental courage to do battle with any adversary, and who was always ready to enter into any conflict on behalf of his own peculiar faith. . . . I never heard him utter a harsh or uncharitable word. I never heard from him a word or a sentiment which a good man could have wished unsaid. His words were at once gentle and heroic. No one who knew him intimately could help loving him.'"²

Truly he was "the good Irving: so guileless, loyal always, and so hoping and so generous."³

The words of criticism and of unkindness that have been spoken against Edward Irving are words that are

¹ Bridges, James: Prefatory Notice to "Irvingism and Mormonism Tested by Scripture," by Emilius Guers. London, 1854.

² Hitchcock, Thomas: *op. cit.*, pp. 192, 193.

³ Carlyle, Thomas: "Reminiscences," Edited by James Anthony Froude. New York, 1881; p. 351.

spoken only by ignorant and in many cases more or less jealous contemporaries. Those who criticised him have long been forgotten. Those who love him are all those who study faithfully his life and character. There are various ways of interpreting Irving, and particularly of explaining the collapse of his latter days, but there is only one explanation possible, only one explanation satisfactory, and that explanation is the simple but tragic one of a lack of common sense. Simple as this explanation is, it is the explanation of the tragedy of many of those who in earnestness and sincerity have, nevertheless, concerning faith, made shipwreck. Reason, and particularly the analytic processes of reasoning, need to be applied searchingly to those things alleged to be spiritual, as well as to that class of things which we denominate natural.

The familiar and practical criticism of Irving is on the ground of his undue sense of his personal importance. It was his gigantic conceit which, more than anything else led to his downfall. Such a conviction led Dr. Meade C. Williams to explain the tragic closing years of Irving's life as

“partly from conceit and an overweening sense of his own sufficiency which made him impervious to criticism and proof against every friendly suggestion, and partly from the ineradicable conviction that the whole Church had but an obscure sense of the truth. . . .

“He was a good man, but marked by grievous infirmities. In public ministrations he seemed utterly without prudence or practical wisdom.”¹

Who, however, is going to draw the line and tell us what is conceit and what is humility when a man is a

¹ Williams, Meade C. Article: “Edward Irving,” in the *Princeton Theological Review*, Vol. I, p. 7.

mystic? Being conscious of an immediate revelation from God, and being therefore incapable of error, is a heresy for which many a man in good and regular standing remains as yet to be tried in our church courts. When a man rings true, when he is so generous that he suffers wrong for that generosity, when he seems persistently to seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, then certainly we must look for some explanation other than that of a lack of fundamental humility to explain his failures. But even Carlyle felt that Irving's difficulties were the product in part—an unconscious part—of the applause which had turned the preacher's head:

“Unconsciously, for most part in deep unconsciousness, there was now the impossibility to live neglected; to walk on the quiet paths, where alone it is well with us. Singularity must henceforth succeed Singularity. O foulest Circean draught, thou poison of Popular Applause! madness is in thee, and death; thy end is Bedlam and the Grave.”¹

In his “Reminiscences,” however, it seems as though Carlyle comes a little nearer to the real analysis of the situation. Irving had lost his sense of proportion, his consciousness of the ultimate relation of things, because of his eagerness for the spread of the Christian religion. Perhaps he never had a sense of proportion.

“At sight of Canning, Brougham, Lady Jersey and Co., crowding round him and listening week after week as if to the message of salvation, the noblest and joyfullest thought (I know this on perfect authority) had taken possession of his noble, too sanguine, and too trustful mind: ‘that the Christian religion was to be a truth

¹ Carlyle, Thomas: “Death of Edward Irving,” *cit. supra*, p. 224.

again, not a paltry form, and to rule the world, he unworthy even he, the chosen instrument.' " ¹

Dr. Simpson suggests ² that a great lack in Irving's mental nature was the lack of a sense of humour. Yet Irving was neither an ascetic nor a pessimist. He knew the pleasure of life. He knew and practised the art of friendship; he could mingle with people and be happy.

Carlyle speaks frequently of the preacher's joy in life. At the time when they were both teaching at Kirkcaldy, Carlyle says:

"He had a most hearty, if not very refined sense of the ludicrous; a broad genial laugh in him always ready. His wide, just sympathies, his native sagacities, honest-heartedness, and good humour, made him the most delightful of companions." ³

If, however, humour be the faculty of appreciating the unexpected, Irving had a lack of humour. For him nothing was unexpected. "To him that believeth all things are possible" was no empty phrase with Irving. Anything in the realm of the supernatural, whether it was of any value or not, was for Irving not only possible but imminent.

He was so anxious for the supernatural that he refused to go to school in the natural. His utter want of common sense, the sense of the fitness of things, is illustrated in a host of anecdotes told about him. There is none more characteristic than the story which James Bridges tells in the following words:

¹ Simpson, J. G. Article: "Irving and the Catholic Apostolic Church." "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," Edited by James Hastings. New York, 1915, Vol. VII, p. 426.

² Carlyle, Thomas: "Reminiscences," p. 186.

³ Same, p. 82. See also Story, Robert Herbert: "Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Robert Story, Late Minister of Rosneath, Dumbartonshire." London, 1862; p. 60.

"Another characteristic trait. Walking by Whitehall one day, I met him arm in arm with the late Dr. Gordon of the High Church of Edinburg. 'Oh, Mr. Bridges,' said he, 'Dr. Gordon wishes to drink London porter in a London pot-house. Shew us one.' So we went to the York in Prince's Street, Soho, where the public room was crowded with dining parties in all the boxes. When our repast was ready, Irving raised his arm perpendicularly over his head, and in that attitude commenced a loud blessing. The clatter of knives, and corks and forks, and the bustle of waiters, competed with him for a time, but gradually subsided, till amidst deep silence, he made the assembled company hear in his prayer not a few things strange to chop-house ears." ¹

And Rev. Mr. Craig of Edinburgh tells of another similar incident:

"A certain gentleman invited a party of Christian friends to his house. In the course of the evening, before separating, a late supper was served. Some of the guests had three miles to walk after the meal. But before sitting down Irving was requested by the host to read the Bible and expound a little. He began, and continued to discourse on and on. At last the clock struck twelve, and then the host very gently suggested it might be desirable to draw to a close. 'Who art thou,' replied Irving, 'who darest to interrupt the man of God in the midst of his administration?' He pursued his talk for some time longer, then closed the book, and waving his long arm over the head of his host, uttered a prayer that the brother's offence might be forgiven." ²

Perhaps what Irving needed was some one to tell him that he did not have common sense. Perhaps Jane

¹ Bridges: *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11 (footnote).

² Hanna, William: "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D." Edinburgh and London, 1851. Vol. III, p. 276. See also Oliphant, Margaret W.: "The Life of Edward Irving, Minister of the National Scotch Church, London." New York, 1862; p. 97.

Welsh Carlyle was right when she said, "There would have been no 'tongues' had Irving married me!" ¹

Dr. Chalmers' phrase, "a prodigious want of tact" may be a phrase about as suggestive of Irving's limitations and eccentricities as well may be found. Dr. Chalmers went down to London in the spring of 1827 to preach the sermon in connection with the opening of Irving's new church. This is what we find in Dr. Chalmers' Diary under date of May 11, 1827, in connection with the services on that occasion:

"Friday—Mr. Irving conducted the preliminary service in the National Church. There was a prodigious want of tact in the length of his prayer, forty minutes, and altogether it was an hour and a half from the commencement of the service ere I began." ²

One of Irving's most characteristic public addresses was made to the London Missionary Society. This was an address in which he told the members of the Society that their methods of procedure were utterly useless, and that the missionaries ought to be sent out as they were in the days of the Apostles, without any provision for their temporal needs. It took him over two hours and a half to deliver the address, and he dedicated it to Samuel Taylor Coleridge. But let Charles Lamb tell the story:

"I have got acquainted with Mr. Irving, the Scotch preacher, whose fame must have reached you. He is a humble disciple at the feet of Gamaliel S.T.C. Judge how his own sectarists must start when I tell you he had dedicated a book to S.T.C., acknowledging to have learned more of the nature of Faith, Christianity and the Christian Church from him than from all the men he ever conversed with. He is a most amiable, sincere,

¹ Quoted by Hitchcock: *op. cit.*, p. 211.

² Hanna: *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 160.

modest man in a room, this Boanerges in the temple. Mrs. Montague told him the dedication would do him no good. 'That shall be a reason for doing it,' was his answer. Judge now whether this man be a quack."¹

Dr. Chalmers tells of a visit to Coleridge in company with Irving. This was the day before the dedication of the National Scotch Church.

"Thursday.—Irving and I went to Bedford Square. Mr. and Mrs. Montague took us out in their carriage to Highgate, where we spent three hours with the great Coleridge. . . . His conversation, which flowed in a mighty unremitting stream, is most astonishing, but, I must confess, to me still unintelligible. I caught occasional glimpses of what he would be at, but mainly he was very far out of all sight and all sympathy. I hold it, however, a great acquisition to have become acquainted with him. You know that Irving sits at his feet, and drinks in the inspiration of every syllable that falls from him. There is a secret and to me as yet unintelligible communion of spirit betwixt them, on the ground of a certain German mysticism and transcendental lake poetry which I am not up to. Gordon² says it is all unintelligible nonsense, and I am sure a plain Fife man, as Uncle 'Tammas,' had he been alive, would have pronounced it the greatest *heff* he had ever heard in his life."³

Hanna, Chalmers' son-in-law and biographer, adds in a footnote to the above:

"Returning from this interview, Dr. Chalmers remarked to Mr. Irving upon the obscurity of Mr. Coleridge's utterances, and said, that for his part he liked to

¹ "Correspondence of Leigh Hunt," Edited by his eldest son. London, 1862. Vol. I, p. 250.

² The Rev. Dr. Gordon of Edinburgh.

³ Hanna: *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 160.

see all sides of an idea before taking up with it. 'Ha!' said Mr. Irving in reply, 'you Scotchmen would handle an idea as a butcher handles an ox. For my part I love to see an idea looming through the mist.' "

Irving's subsequent theological troubles with the Presbytery were not *in toto* matters of theology. They were in part, as matters of heresy almost always are, a matter of personality. Irving was not merely unsound; he was a greater, braver man than many of those who were most extraordinarily and painfully sound. He did not hesitate to do his own thinking without consulting any one as to the acceptability of his thinking. He even went so far as to intimate that one element which hindered the spread of the gospel was the manner in which the gospel has been presented. Thus we find him writing in the preface to his first published book:

"It hath appeared to the Author of this book, from more than ten years' meditation on the subject, that the chief obstacle to the progress of divine truth over the minds of men is the want of its being properly presented to them." ¹

Carlyle pretty clearly understood the theological Scotland of his day when he wrote:

"Theological Scotland above all things is dubious and jealous of originality, and Irving's tendency to take a road of his own was becoming daily more indisputable." ²

Even Irving's critics were willing to pay him a deserved tribute as a preacher. William Orme, who printed "An Expostulatory Letter to the Rev. Edward Irving,

¹ Irving, Edward: "For the Oracles of God. Four Oration. For Judgment to Come. An Oration."

² Carlyle, Thomas: "Reminiscences," p. 150.

A.M., Occasioned by his Orations for Missionaries after the Apostolical School," wrote :

"When I reflect on your powers of declamation—on the extraordinary energy by which you are distinguished—on the oracular tone in which you intimate your sentiments,—on the anathemas with which you denounce those who cannot sympathize with many of your views,—and on the defiance which you hurl at the spirit of this feeble, prudent, selfish, vain-glorious generation,—I frankly own that I feel little inclination to approach within the sweep of your arm, or the frown of your indignation." ¹

There were of course different opinions as to Irving's ability as a preacher ; the one that he was a great preacher and orator—a judgment in reference to Irving's ability which was somewhere near the correct opinion—and the other, which was the opinion of unsympathetic minds which dismissed Irving at once from consideration because of his eccentricities, that Irving was a sort of mountebank and spiritual actor. To this class of opinions belongs that of J. G. Lockhart expressed in a letter written during the year 1824 to Professor John Wilson :

"Irving, you may depend upon it, is a pure humbug. He has about three good attitudes, and the lower notes of his voice are superb, with a fine manly tremulation that sets women mad as the roar of a noble bull does a field of kine ; but beyond this he is nothing, really nothing. He has no sort of real earnestness ; feeble, pumped up, boisterous, overlaid stuff is his stable." ²

For the good folks of Dr. Chalmers' congregation in Glasgow Irving had "ower muckle gran'ner," ³ a fact

¹ Orme, William: "An Expostulatory Letter to the Rev. Edward Irving, A.M., Occasioned by his Orations for Missionaries after the Apostolical School." London, 1825 ; p. 2.

² Gordon, Mary Wilson (Mrs. J. T.): "'Christopher North,' A Memoir of John Wilson." Edinburgh, 1862. Vol. II, p. 71.

³ Oliphant: *op. cit.*, p. 60.

which was undoubtedly true. They were accustomed to Dr. Chalmers, a Scotch analyst, and Irving was the other type of Scot, the Scotch mystic.

According to Carlyle, "Irving's discourses were far more opulent in ingenious thought than Chalmers', which indeed were usually the triumphant on-rush of *one* idea with its satellites and supporters. But Irving's wanted in definite head and backbone, so that on arriving you might see clearly when and how."¹ A visitor who heard Irving speak in Edinburgh when he was delivering a series of lectures at St. Andrew's Church, lectures which were delivered at six o'clock in the morning to crowded houses, and which dealt in general with the subject of the Second Advent, is quoted as saying that

"On the previous Sabbath I listened for nearly two hours and a half to what he (Mr. Irving) termed an explanation, without being able to understand it."²

While it is very true that an explanation requires not only an explainer, but also one capable of understanding the explanation, it is not to be doubted but that for the most part of us, Irving's explanations would signally fail to explain.

Many took exception to Irving's most trivial mannerisms. "A writer in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Edinburgh, for example, states that 'Irving's gesticulation, it seems, is studiously varied,' and the several parts of his manner 'may be valuable requisites and auxiliaries of oratory, but are quite incongruous with the dignity and sanctity of the pulpit.'"³

¹ Carlyle, Thomas: "Reminiscences," p. 128, *vide infra*.

² "Reply to Various Criticisms Which Have Appeared on the Course of Lectures Lately Delivered in this City by the Rev. Edward Irving, together with a Statement and Defence of the Scripture Doctrine of the Second Advent of Christ." Edinburgh, 1828: p. 8. For another estimate of Irving as a preacher, see Hazlitt, William: "The Spirit of the Age, or Contemporary Portraits," First American Edition, New York, 1849. Article on Rev. Mr. Irving.

³ "Reply to Various Criticisms": *cit. supra*, p. 13.

Washington Wilks writes :

“‘The *Times*’ fell upon the pulpit celebrity in its capacity of general guardian of the public taste. There appeared, one July morning, an article commencing—‘There is a fashion in everything—in wigs and bonnets, in poetry and novel writing; and lastly, in actors and preachers; and while things go on in the ordinary way—while wigs do not accumulate their curls into periwigs, nor bonnets swell into coal scuttles—while our popular poets scribble only one poem, and our popular romancers only two novels a year—while our actors are content with one new reading in a play of Shakespeare, and our preachers aim at no praises beyond those of the regular frequenters of fashionable chapels—we are disposed to let things pass, and allow the candid and enlightened public to have their own way. But the case is different with Mr. Irving. His popularity absolutely frightens us ‘from our propriety.’ We learn that statesmen and quack doctors, old ladies and judges, young ladies and students of law, all flock with eagerness to hear the Caledonian orator. We become somewhat anxious to know what are the attractions to collect together such an heterogeneous mass; and, after a serious consideration, we profess ourselves unable to discover. After hearing him, and after reading what he has written, we are, in our own minds, fully convinced that he is a man of very ordinary talents; that his understanding is weak in its grasp, and limited in its observation; and that his taste is of the very lowest order of badly instructed school-boys. He is an imitator of Dr. Chalmers, but no more like his prototype than the inflated frog in the fable was like the bull whom he strove to resemble; for the energy of thought of his original, he gives us nothing but rumbling and distorted common-places; for the impressive and impassioned diction of his master, he has nothing but antitheses without point, and epithets without distinctness; while the poor and

insignificant idea, wrapped up in a heap of tinsel and clumsy phraseology, looks like 'the lady in a lobster, or a mouse under a canopy of state.' . . . We feel ashamed and begin to distrust our own judgment, when we see that we have one idea in common with such a turgid and shallow declaimer. . . . Surely, surely it cannot be long before this bubble bursts!"¹

On one occasion the *London Times* took the liberty to conduct a trial of Edward Irving before the "Court of Common Sense." The counts of indictment, says Mrs. Oliphant, were as follows:

"First, For being ugly.

"Second, For being a Merry-Andrew.

"Third, For being a common quack.

"Fourth, For being a common brawler.

"Fifth, For being a common swearer.

"Sixth, For being of very common understanding.

"And Seventh, For following divisive courses, subversive of the discipline of the order to which he belongs, and contrary to the principles of Christian fellowship and charity.

"It will gratify our readers to know that Irving was not found guilty of ugliness nor of any of the charges brought against him, except the last; and that one of his principal assailants, the *Times* itself, the Thunderer of the day, was convicted by its own confession of having condemned Sir Walter Scott as "a writer of no imagination," and Lord Byron as "destitute of all poetical talent."²

In spite, however, of all the thundering of the *London Times*, and in spite of all the criticisms of small-minded critics, Irving was able to attract and to retain friends and admirers. For example, in *Fraser's Magazine* for

¹ Wilks, Washington: "Edward Irving. An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography," London, 1854; p. 144.

² Oliphant: *op. cit.*, p. 129.

May, 1831, appeared an article, "The Rev. Edward Irving and his Adversaries," in which Irving is mentioned in terms of the highest praise. The article deals with Irving's Christological heresy and his trial before the Presbytery. It begins:

"It is now nine or ten years since the Reverend Edward Irving first attracted that extraordinary attention in this country, as a pulpit orator, which has since fixed the eyes equally of admirers and opponents, upon him and his doings as a public character, and as public acts." ¹

A statement from the pen of Coleridge in reference to Irving is also given in the course of the article:

"That he (Edward Irving) possesses my unqualified esteem as a man, is only saying, that I know him, and am neither blinded by envy nor bigotry. . . . I have no faith in his prophesyings, small sympathy with his fulminations. . . . But I hold withal . . . that Edward Irving possesses more of the spirit and purposes of the first Reformers, that he has more of the head, the life, the unction, and the genial power of Martin Luther, than any other man now alive; yea, than any man of this and the last century. I see in Edward Irving, a minister of Christ after the order of Paul." ²

Preacher or no preacher, orator or no orator, Irving had the undoubted ability to stir his hearers, and to stir them to action.

"Once in Kirkcaldy Kirk, which was well filled and all dead silent under Irving's grand voice, the door of a pew a good way in front of me (ground floor—right-hand as you fronted the preacher), banged suddenly open, and there bolted out of it a middle-aged or elderly

¹ *Fraser's Magazine*, May, 1831, Vol. III, No. XVI, p. 423 *et seq.*

² Same: p. 423.

little man (an insignificant baker by position) who with long swift strides, and face and big eyes all in wrath, came tramping and sounding along the flags close past my right hand, and vanished out of doors with a slam; Irving quite victoriously disregarding. I remember the violently angry face well enough, but not the least what the offence could have been. A kind of 'Who are you, sir, that dare to tutor us in that manner, and harrow up our orthodox quiet skin with your novelties?' " ¹

A word might also be said as to Irving's personal appearance. Dr. Addison Alexander, who, while on a visit to London, went to hear Irving preach, says:

"He has a noble figure, and his features are not ugly, with the exception of an awful squint. His hair is parted right and left and hangs down on his shoulders in affected disorder. His dress is laboriously old-fashioned—a black Quaker coat and short clothes. His voice is harsh, but like a trumpet; it takes hold of one and cannot be forgotten." ²

In his youth his height, his long hair and his princely bearing made him a conspicuous figure. Brown, Irving and Carlyle went one day to see the Falls of Clyde:

"The Falls were very grand and stormful—nothing to say against the Falls; but at the last of them, or possibly at Bothwell Banks farther on, a woman who officiated as guide and cicerone, most superfluous, unwilling too, but firmly persistent in her purpose, happened to be in her worst humor; did nothing but snap and snarl, and being answered by bits of quiz, towered at length into foam. She intimated she would bring somebody who would ask us how we could so treat an unprotected fe-

¹ Carlyle, Thomas: "Reminiscences," p. 96.

² Alexander, Henry Carrington: "The Life of Joseph Addison Alexander." New York, 1875; p. 290. Cf. Carlyle: "Reminiscences," p. 70.

male, and vanished to seek the champion or champions. As our business was done, and the woman paid, too, I own (with shame if needed) my thought would have been to march with decent activity on our way, not looking back unless summoned to do it, and prudently evading discrepant circles of that sort. Not so Irving, who drew himself up to his full height and breadth, cudgel in hand, and stood there, flanked by Brown and me, waiting the issue.

"Issue was, a thickish kind of man, seemingly the woman's husband, a little older than any of us, stepped out with her, calmly enough surveying, and at a respectful distance; asked if we would buy apples. Upon which with negatory grin we did march." ¹

Irving's difficulties began, not with his popularity, but with the fact that his eagerness for the supernatural was unhindered by any inhibitions. He had not been preaching long in London before his interest turned toward prophecy. For a man of his type an interest in prophecy was almost inevitable.

It was also inevitable that Irving's type of mind should lead him to an eager interest in the problem of the return of the Lord. While thus interested, and engaged at the same time in the study of Spanish, he studied and translated into English, during the summer of 1826, a Spanish work entitled "The Coming of the Messiah, in Glory and Majesty."

Irving was not alone in his interest in prophecy. There have always been groups of men who have felt a special gift for understanding those aspects of reality before which both reason and the Scriptures draw a veil. Such a group existed in the days of Irving's popularity under the leadership of Henry Drummond.

Drummond, who was six years older than Irving, was

¹ Carlyle, Thomas: "Reminiscences," p. 105. See also p. 246 and p. 259.

a wealthy banker and a member of the House of Commons. He was a man of no mean powers and abilities, and a man of independent convictions. The Rev. Edward Miller, M.A., in his admirable work on Irvingism, quotes the following description of Drummond:

“Every habitual reader of the debates must be familiar with Mr. Drummond’s style of speech. But only the habitual attendant can adequately realize its attraction and effect. The presence, the costume, the manner of the speaker were all totally unlike what the reader would imagine. A tall, slender, white-haired figure, perfectly upright, and scrupulously attired in black, rose from the first seat on the first bench below the gangway, on the ministerial side, whatever the ministerial politics. From a place thus significant of parliamentary independence, there was delivered, slowly, almost inaudibly, and with perfect gravity, a speech that proclaimed an equally independent position in the world of opinion. Through lips that hardly seemed to part, there came trickling forth a thin but sparkling stream of sententious periods, full of humour and sarcasm, learning and folly, boldness and timidity, bigotry and charity, and of everything antithetical. The strongest contrast of all seemed that between the speaker and his hearers. Everybody but himself was excited by laughter, or anger, or pleasure. He alone seemed perfectly unmoved—a speaking statue, shaking the sides of all men within hearing, and some who could not hear caught the contagion of laughter, but the man himself was a paradox. His strongly marked individuality ran into so many opposite extremes that his right hand seemed always at war with his left hand. Some of his favourite notions seemed utterly puerile, yet there was a ripeness of wisdom in him that made his speeches abound with proverbial philosophy.

“But it was by his religious opinions that Mr. Drummond was chiefly known to the general public, and yet

least known. Sometimes a rash opponent would venture an allusion to his connection with a Church whose head ministers ranked as archangels, and whose services were in an unknown tongue. If Mr. Drummond forebore to punish such coarse and blundering replies to the thrusts of his own keen and polished blade, it was out of respect to a subject which he held too sacred for such encounters. The really remarkable thing about what we may call the parliamentary aspect of his religion was, that he constantly appeared as the champion of essentially Roman Catholic doctrine, and yet as the fierce antagonist of papal supremacy. His speeches equally offended Romanists and Protestants. Against the latter, as in debates on the law of marriage, he was the strict assertor of Church authority. Against the former, as in the debates on the Ecclesiastical Tithes Bill, and on the inspection of convents, he maintained the pope to be an usurper. He provoked, by the fierceness of his denunciations of these institutions, the uncontrollable feeling of Roman Catholics; and he shocked Mr. Spooner by scornful disclaimers of the Protestant right of private judgment.

"His social position was that of a link between the territorial and the moneyed aristocracy; and though he perpetually railed at the political economists, he founded at Oxford a professorship of 'the dismal science.' He ridiculed the opponents of capital punishment, and the advocates of humanitarian movements generally. Yet much of his time, as well as of his money, was spent in actively doing good. Nothing would have provoked him more than the association of his name with radicalism and retrenchment, yet there are few passages in the writings of financial reformers equal for severity to the speech in which he turned into words Gilchrist's forgotten caricature, representing the State as a maternal pig, with the last of her progeny sucking at her tail. No other man would have had the boldness to use such Rabelaisian wit as his with such unsparing severity, applying to dukes

and knights of the garter the same caustic aphorism as to venal voters.

"But all this was but the rocking to and fro of a mind whose history was that of a continual struggle to reconcile authority and freedom, truth and beauty, religion and reason." ¹

In the early winter of 1826 Drummond invited a group the members of which described themselves as "they who love His appearing" ² to his house, "Albury," to "deliberate for a full week upon the great prophetic questions which do at present most intimately concern Christendom. The men stayed at Drummond's home for six days, and discussed questions dealing especially with the imminence of our Lord's return. The group numbered about twenty.

"These meetings at Albury were continued annually for five years, the last being held in 1830, generally about the season of Advent. Forty-four people ³ in all attended one or more of them, but of these, nineteen were clergymen of the Church of England, one was an English Moravian, two were Dissenting ministers, four were ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, and eleven English laymen, one Scotch Presbyterian layman, and six other Englishmen, whose adhesion is unknown, made up the number.

"Amongst these were, besides Irving, Drummond, Wolff, and Hugh McNeile, Daniel Wilson, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta, Robert Story of Rosneath, a well-known Scotch minister, of whom we shall hear more in the course of this history, Hatley Frere, Haldane Stewart,

¹ Miller, Rev. Edward M. A.: "The History and Doctrines of Irvingism or of the So-Called Catholic and Apostolic Church." London, 1878. Vol. I, pp. 33-4. Dr. Miller quotes this description from "A Notice in the *Morning Star* quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for April, 1860, p. 414, as what 'appears to us on the whole well considered and impartial.'" See also Carlyle: "Reminiscences," pp. 246-7.

² Oliphant: *op. cit.*, p. 274. Quoted by Mrs. Oliphant from Irving's Preface to his translation of Ben Ezra.

³ For a complete list of those who attended the Albury Conferences see Miller, Edward: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 41 (footnote).

Spencer Perceval, eldest son of the murdered minister, and afterwards one of the 'Apostles,' Mr. Tudor, afterwards editor of the *Morning Watch*, the late Duke of Manchester, then Viscount Mandeville, who had married the only daughter of Lady Olivia Sparrow, Mr. Strutt, the late Lord Rayleigh, and Dr. Dodsworth.

"The second meeting, in 1827, was attended by a larger number than the first. Amongst these was Robert Story of Rosneath, who had not been present the year before. The interpretations of prophecy appear now to have taken a more definite turn, and to have been carried onwards from merely general notions about the return of the Jews to Jerusalem, and the approaching coming of the Lord for his millennial reign on earth, to a detailed application to the 'times and seasons' of the current period. The Apocalyptic Vial was supposed to have been poured out on Rome, in A. D. 1798; and it was concluded that the coming of our Lord would take place in 1847. It is evident that in this method of precise interpretation they had ventured upon unsafe ground, and an amusing incident occurred which struck Story forcibly.¹ While they were in session, the news of the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, the son of the first Napoleon, reached them. 'That cannot be true,' said one of them, springing from his seat, 'for it would overturn this whole interpretation.' The young Napoleon had been taken for the Beast of the Apocalypse.

"'The School of the Prophets,' as Irving termed them, met again the next year. A falling off had already commenced. Drummond came to the conclusion that 'some of the people last year had not been very faithful,' and consulted with Irving in the summer whom he should invite. It is striking to see the stress then laid upon passing events. The death of Mr. Canning, the formation of a Liberal administration under Mr. Robinson, afterwards Lord Ripon, and a war with Turkey seemed

¹ Cf. Story, R. H.: *op. cit.*, p. 224.

to the council to denote the near approach of the end. Indeed, the sixth vial was supposed to foreshow the fall of the Ottoman Empire. A speech of Canning's, in which he expressed his apprehension of a terrible conflict of opinions, when opposing principles would become the groundwork of a general war, was eagerly seized upon as indicating the nearness of the battle of Armageddon. It was thought that there would soon be a general apostasy of the Church, and that the Jews would be the instruments of Almighty God's displeasure. It appeared to be almost taken for granted that the 'Time-state' of the Church Militant would very soon close.

"Whether from any comparative failure, or through circumstances wholly unconnected with the meeting yet interfering with the natural sequel to it, or more probably from the sudden outbreak of supposed prophetic inspiration, which outleaped and cast into shade the previous deliberations, we have no authorized record of the last meeting in 1830.

'But we may glean the following particulars: The students of prophecy who still held together met at Albury in July. Certain events in Scotland, where the spirit of prophecy was supposed to have arisen, were among the chief subjects discussed. On the last day of the meeting, the chairman, 'a clergyman of the Church of England,' delivered it as his opinion—in which he was joined by the members of the conference: "That it is our duty to pray for the revival of the gifts manifested in the primitive Church; which are wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, miracles, prophecy, discovery of spirits, kinds of tongues, and interpretation of tongues; and that a responsibility lies on us to enquire into the state of those gifts said to be now present in the west of Scotland.' The meeting was a short one, not extending over three days. From other causes the movements had now made a sudden advance." ¹

¹ Miller: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 40-46.

In the parish of the Rev. Robert Story, of Rosneath, mention of whom has been made in connection with the Albury prophetic group, was a family by the name of Campbell, two of whom, Isabella and Mary, came in the course of time to be regarded as women of singular piety and virtue. Isabella was an invalid and a sufferer from a tubercular condition from which she finally died. During her illness her religious experience was of such a nature as to attract and to hold the admiration of Mr. Story. After her death, Mr. Story wrote a narrative of her life which he called "Peace in Believing." The book was tremendously popular. In fact, the income from the work was large enough to permit Mr. Story and the publishers generously to provide for some of the pressing needs of Mrs. Campbell.¹

The nature of Isabella Campbell's life may be judged from the following extracts from Mr. Story's work:

"Often she would fast for a whole day, that her mind, as she conceived it, might be fitter for devotion." ²

"In her religious development she became tormented with fears. . . . The sin against the Holy Ghost, for example, was charged upon her conscience with resistless energy."³

"In her struggle, she wandered into the fields, on the side of the mountain, or along the solitary shore, seeking rest, and finding none. She fasted and she prayed. Her soul, as it were, 'abhorred all manner of meat.' 'Wearisome nights' were appointed to her. No sooner did she lie down in her bed, than she would rise again, venting her agonies in piteous moanings; or if she found herself falling asleep, she would start from her pillow, terror seizing upon her, lest her awakening should be in a place of torment.

¹ Story, R. H.: *op. cit.*, p. 224.

² Story, Robert: "Peace in Believing, or a Memoir of Isabella Campbell," etc. New York, Boston, 1830; p. 43.

³ Same: pp. 51-2.

"Her bodily strength decayed; while her mind seemed to retain its strength only for the endurance of greater suffering. But no words can more fitly express her condition than those which she herself once used in her sister's presence. One of her cousins had been observing, 'How miserable Isabella is! What can be the matter with her? She has a look of such great anguish.' And Mary, a little afterward approaching where she was, heard her thus mournfully express herself, rather in the way of soliloquy than in the form of an address to her: 'O sin! Sin is just hell. I can understand well *that* which David said, "The pains of hell took hold of me." For one to experience a little more of this awful enmity towards God would make life insupportable. I feel it to be almost so as it is.' . . .

"She began to think that it was sinful in one with so much conscious hatred to God and all things holy, to dare to hold communion with him or to examine the revelations of his will. She seems, accordingly, at this time, to have abandoned altogether the reading of the Bible, and refrained from intercessory prayer; although she continued to deplore and confess her guiltiness."

Mr. Story continues:

"It may be recorded also as very remarkable, that the passages of Scriptures, which she had got by heart, entirely faded from her remembrance. She likewise absented herself from church."¹

So scrupulous was she to avoid even the least appearance of evil that "she would not, for example, exchange the ordinary salutations with any person she met on the road, lest she should be tempted to utter vain words, or expend foolishly one of those moments upon which eternal results seemed to depend. When in society she was generally silent and thoughtful, listened eagerly to any religious conversation; and when she did speak, it was with great earnestness and solemnity; while at all

¹ Story, Robert: *op. cit.*, pp. 56-7. New York, Boston, 1830.

times, she seemed to regard with sacred horror any approach to cheerfulness and gayety.¹ . . .

"At length, she returned to the services of the Church and in great anticipation went again to the Communion.

"She ate, however, the body and drank the blood of her Lord, without realizing what she had been anticipating; so that she might have said to the promises of her deceiving hope, 'Where is the blessedness ye spake of?' " ²

As a result:

"Groaning and lamenting, night after night, she literally watered her couch with her tears—the house continually resounding throughout the silent watches with the voice of her weeping. Long would her mother lie sleepless, listening to expressions of grief, for which she had no remedy or comfort; or when awakening from slumbers, which, through weariness of nature, she could not avoid, finding Isabella absent, she would thus be filled with alarm, lest some new calamity should visit her beloved child. Thus, at dead of night, had she to rise and leave the house, and search for her in the fields or where she often found her, and that during the depth of winter, careless of any of its storms, weeping and praying in her little garden. 'O, then it was pitiful to see her,' she has said to me; 'not like an earthly creature. I could give her no help, and she could find none where she was seeking it. She looked so pale and wo-begone, it was easily seen that her misery could not be told.' " ³

Mary Campbell, in writing of her sister, said:

"I have known her run through the room, almost in very despair, exclaiming, 'I am lost! I am ruined forever! The pains of hell have taken hold of me! What

¹ Story, Robert: *op. cit.*, pp. 61-2.

² Same: p. 66.

³ Same: p. 69.

shall I do? Whither shall I flee from His presence? Nowhere, nowhere; there is no place where the Almighty is not. O! that I could tear this awful heart from within me or escape from myself.' . . .

"I have seen her, if calling at any place, and if offered anything to eat or drink, occupy eight or ten minutes in soliciting a blessing, ere she would venture to take any of it."¹ . . .

After the death of Isabella, many visitors came to Fernicarry, attracted by reading the Memoir of Isabella Campbell, and much of the interest which attached itself to the older sister gradually was directed towards the younger sister, Mary.

Let us read now from the biography of Mr. Story, written by his distinguished son, Rev. Robert Herbert Story, later principal and vice-chancellor of the University of Glasgow:

"In Isabella's Memoir, reference is made to a peculiar sorrow of her sister Mary's, in which she was called to sympathize. This was the death of a young man to whom Mary was engaged to be married, and with whom she had intended to go abroad on a mission to the heathen. His death frustrated the accomplishment of her design, but did not abate her desire to carry it out; and her mind continued to dwell upon it with intense interest, hopeless though the project seemed. She was in ill health, and exhibited obvious symptoms of the disease which had carried off her saintly sister. Her malady, however, was not of a nature to render society dangerous, or impossible to her. And society she had in abundance. The interest excited by Isabella's Memoir drew many to Fernicarry, to see the sister whose name was so often on its pages; and that interest, attached to the memory of the one, ere long transferred itself to the

¹ Story, Robert: *op. cit.*, p. 76.

living presence of the other. She was a woman of great personal attractions, had a beautiful face, and soft eyes with drooping lids, which she seldom raised. She was very clever, and, considering her obscure circumstances, was well informed. Her character, however, lacked the moral strength of Isabella's, and her *enthusiastic imaginative* mind was not so strictly controlled as might have been desired, by keen and clear instincts of perceptions of right and wrong. There was in her, in fact, much of the nature and disposition which have, from age to age, furnished the Church with mystics.

"A young, beautiful, not highly educated, and withal excitable invalid, could not but suffer a certain distortion of the *morale* of her nature, and be led—insensibly, it may be—towards the borders of delusion and vanity, when she found herself the cynosure of the eyes of a large portion of the religious public, and beheld some company of its pilgrims ever and anon resorting to her shrine. Among those who thus came to Fernicarry were some whose minds were much engaged with the idea to which, at the time, Mr. Irving's teaching had directed public attention, viz.—that bodily disease was the direct infliction of Satan, and that, therefore, faith and prayer, and these only, should be employed as the means of deliverance from it; and that, moreover, by the due exercise of these, the power of effecting miracles of healing and other wonderful works would be restored to the Church—a power hitherto kept in abeyance, because of the Church's faithlessness.

"The subject of missions was also profusely talked about in Mary's sick-room, and the idea of a due preparation for evangelistic work was more or less bound up with the new notions regarding the restoration of spiritual gifts. To Mary, herself, the central point in all the discussions and speculations that went on around her, was the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen. A small band of intended missionaries gathered at Fernicarry—

funds were collected—clothes provided—and prayer was made to God continually that their way might be directed according to His will. This was in the winter of 1829-30.

“To Mrs. Campbell, whose eldest son had for months past been on his death-bed, the constant stream of visitors which the discussions and arrangements about this projected enterprise conducted to Fernicarry, became excessively trying. She frequently complained to her minister of the hardships to which the ceaseless influx of Mary’s admirers and coadjutors subjected her. At last, on one occasion, when he found her on a bleak cold day rinsing clothes at the ‘burn,’ near the house, she told him that, though she never went to bed ‘the day she rose,’ yet, so great was the burden cast on her by these visitors, that she was utterly unable to give the attention that was indispensable to the comfort of her dying son. There were, she said, at that moment two young men in the house, one of whom had been there for some days, and there was no hint of his much-longed-for departure. Mr. Story at once went in, and on entering the little parlour, he found the pair, of whom she had spoken, comfortably seated beside the fire with books and writing materials on a small table before them. Stung into quick wrath at the contrast between their comfort and Mrs. Campbell’s forlorn washing operations under the wintry sky, he at once told them that they ought immediately to be gone; that they had no right to oppress their hostess and idly eat the bread of charity, as they were doing, instead of attending to their ordinary avocations. To this, one of them starting up and stamping his foot, replied—‘Get thee behind me, Satan’; and, Mr. Story remaining unmoved by this exorcism, the other proceeded to explain that they were in their present position by the Lord’s command, in order to be prepared for this work, and that it was an honour to Mrs. Campbell to be permitted to minister to the Saints.

“Why, then, said Mr. Story, if preparing for mis-

sionary work, were they not acquiring a knowledge of the languages in which the Holy Scriptures were written, and of the people to whom they meant to proclaim the Gospel. No preparations of that kind, he was assured, were needful; and unbelief alone could suggest the thought of such carnal preliminaries.

"If so, pursued the inexorable minister, why not cross over to Corval? There were thousands of Gælic-speaking people there, who knew very little of the Glad Tidings: why not try their virgin powers on them? To such a rash experiment, it need hardly be said, they felt the Lord did not call them.

"On Mr. Story's going from thence to Samuel Campbell's room, the sick man reiterated the complaints which had been made by his mother, and he added that his rest was night after night entirely destroyed by the continual talking and psalm-singing in his sister's chamber above him.

"To her Mr. Story related all that had passed, and urged upon her that it was her obvious duty to send away these foolish young men, and to discourage the renewal of the visiting and noise, which were so grievous to her mother and dying brother." ¹

The connection between Irving and the Campbells is brought out in Washington Wilks' account of Mary Campbell and the Rev. A. J. Scott, the greater part of which is taken from an account written by Edward Irving for *Fraser's Magazine*:

"The Rev. A. J. Scott, a man widely revered as a master of learning and especially as a teacher of religious truth; and envied to Manchester by many in London, as the principal of its Owen's College—was, up to the middle of 1830, the missionary of the Caledonian Church in Regent Square, to the poor of the city; and was thus

¹ Story, Robert Herbert: *op. cit.*, pp. 194-7.

in close contact with Edward Irving—one of whose felicities it was to draw about him spiritual excellencies of every sort. Mr. Scott seems to have been more decided than his more eminent friend ‘on this head,’ indeed, to have *expected* what the latter only desired. Towards the end of 1829, he was on a visit to his father, in the west of Scotland; and was ‘led to open his mind to some of the godly in these parts, and among others to a young woman who was at that time lying ill of a consumption, from which afterwards, when brought to the very door of death, she was raised up instantaneously by the mighty hand of God.’ Being a woman of a very fixed and constant spirit, he was not able, with all his force and argument, which is unequalled by that of any man I have ever met with, to convince her of the distinction between regeneration and baptism with the Holy Ghost; and when he could not prevail, he left her with a solemn charge to read over the Acts of the Apostles, with that distinction in her mind, and to beware how she rashly rejected what he believed to be the truth of God. By this young woman it was that God, not many months after, did restore the gift of speaking with tongues and prophesying in the church. In the intervening months a remarkable mental change was accomplished. The study of Scriptures produced the conviction which Mr. Scott . . . had failed to produce. The young woman . . . had actually come to ‘conceive the purpose of a mission to the heathen,’ and wrote long letters for the persuasion of others to that purpose.”¹

How the tongues appeared is told in Mr. Story’s biography:

“On a Sunday evening in the month of March, Mary, in the presence of a few friends, began to utter sounds to them incomprehensible, and believed by her to be a

¹ Wilks: *op. cit.*, pp. 208-210.

tongue such as of old might have been spoken on the day of Pentecost, or among the Christians of Corinth. This was the first manifestation of the restored 'gift'—for such it was imagined to be. She desired to ascertain what the tongue was, in order that she might, if strengthened to do so, repair to the country where it was intelligible, and there begin her long-contemplated labours. By and by she announced that she believed it to be the language of a group of islands in the southern Pacific Ocean; but as nobody knew the speech of the islanders, it was impossible either to refute or corroborate her assertion; and, for the present at least, she was unable to proceed in person in quest of the remote Savages, whose mother tongue she held had been revealed to her.”¹

Meanwhile, occurrences of a similar nature were taking place in a family named Macdonald:

“On the other side of the Clyde, opposite the Gareloch, lay the town of Port-Glasgow. A family of the name of Macdonald was living there at this time; two twin brothers, James and George, with their sisters. The brothers, shipbuilders, staid and orderly men, two years before had become exceedingly devout. Their religion was of a quiet and unobtrusive type. ‘Their doctrinal knowledge was at first very limited. They procured no religious books, for years they scarcely read one; the ministry under which they sat was unimpressive, and if they did adopt peculiar views of divine truth, it was from no heretical writings or preaching, but from the Bible alone that they derived them. For instance, although they soon became classed among the disciples of Mr. Irving, who at that time was beginning to be stigmatised as heretical, the fact was that, so far as I can ascertain, they never read a single volume of his, or at least not for years after their own views were established.

¹ Story, Robert Herbert: *op. cit.*, pp. 204-5.

And although after a time they began to attend the preaching of the Rev. Mr. Campbell of Row, it was because they had previously been taught of God the same truths, and were attracted to Row by their love of them. . . . Until the eve of the miraculous manifestations in them, the subject of spiritual gifts did not at all occupy their attention, much less their expectations and desires; nor did it even when their prayers, in common with those of other Christians, for an outpouring of the Spirit, began to be answered by the pouring out of a very extraordinary if not marvellous spirit of prayer upon themselves.' In March, 1830, an event occurred in this family which one of the sisters thus describes: 'For several days Margaret had been so unusually ill that I quite thought her dying, and on appealing to the doctor he held out no hope of her recovery unless she were able to go through a course of powerful medicine, which he acknowledged to be in her case then impossible. She had scarcely been able to have her bed made for a week. Mrs. ——— and myself had been sitting quietly at her bedside, when the power of the Spirit came upon her. She said, "There will be a mighty baptism of the Spirit this day," and then broke forth in a most marvellous setting forth of the wonderful work of God; and as if her own weakness had been altogether lost in the strength of the Holy Ghost, continued with little or no intermission for two or three hours in mingled praise, prayer, and exhortation. At dinner-time James and George came home as usual, whom she addressed at great length, concluding with a solemn prayer for James, that he might at that time be endowed with the power of the Holy Ghost. Almost instantly, James calmly said, "I have got it!" He walked to the window, and stood silent for a minute or two. I looked at him, and almost trembled, there was such a change upon his whole countenance. He then, with a step and manner of the most indescribable majesty, walked up to Margaret's bedside, and addressed her in these words, "Arise and stand up-

right." He repeated the words, took her by the hand, and she arose.'

"The same evening James wrote to Mary Campbell at Fernicarry: 'My dear Sister,—Lift up your voice with us; let us exalt His name, for He hath done great things for us, and Holy is His name. There is still power in the name of Jesus—yes, all power in heaven and on earth. Our beloved Margaret hath been made to hear His voice, and to rise up, leap, and walk. Faith in His name has given her soundness in the presence of us all. Mary, my love, lay aside unbelief, it is of the devil; hear God's voice to you also, "Rise up and walk; what hindereth?"'

"Let Mary Campbell herself tell us of what happened on the receipt of this letter: 'Two individuals who saw me about four hours before my recovery said that I never would be strong, that I was not to expect a miracle being wrought upon me, and that it was quite foolish in one who was in such a poor state of health ever to think of going to the heathen. I told them they would see and hear of miracles very soon, and no sooner had the last of the above-mentioned individuals left me, than I was constrained of the Spirit to go and ask the Father, in the name of Jesus, to stretch forth His hand to heal, and that signs and wonders might again be done in the name of His Holy Child, Jesus. One thing I was enabled to ask in faith, nothing doubting, which was, that by the next morning I might have some miracle to inform them of. It was not long after this that I received our dear brother James Macdonald's letter, giving me an account of his sister's having been raised, and commanding me to rise and walk. I had scarcely read the first page when I became quite overpowered, and laid it aside for a few minutes; but I had no rest in my spirit until I took it up again and began to read. As I read, every word came with power, but when I came to the command to arise, it came home with a power which no words can describe; it was felt to be indeed the voice of Christ; it was such

a voice of power as could not be resisted. A mighty power was instantaneously exerted upon me. I first felt as if I had been lifted up from off the earth, and all my diseases taken off me. At the voice of Jesus I was surely made in a moment to stand upon my feet, leap and walk, sing and rejoice. O that men would praise the Lord for His goodness, for His wonderful works to the children of men.'

"After her recovery Mary Campbell lived during the summer of 1830 at Helensburgh. There meetings innumerable were held, manifestations extraordinary were made. To the speaking was now added writing in the unknown tongues. When the moment of inspiration came, Mary seized the pen, and with a rapidity 'like lightning' covered sheets of paper with characters believed to be letters and words. The gift of prophecy, too, was largely exercised, a gift not to be confounded with foretelling of future events or ordinary Christian teaching, but consisting in inspired exalted utterances, opening up some obscure passage of Scripture, or enforcing some neglected duty, or breaking forth ecstatically into prayer and praise. Crowds gathered round the young, attractive enthusiast. 'Among their number,' says one who wrote in the midst of the excitement, 'they can reckon merchants, divinity students, writers to the Signet, advocates. . . . I have known gentlemen who rank high in society come from Edinburgh, join in all the exercises, declare their implicit faith in all Mary Campbell's pretensions, ask her concerning the times and seasons, inquire the meaning of certain passages of Scripture, and bow to her decisions with the utmost deference as one inspired by Heaven.'

"In Port Glasgow the area of manifestation was enlarged. The gift of interpretation was added to that of the tongues. By both brothers these two gifts were in constant exercise. They were bestowed also upon others. Prophetic utterances abounded. The excitement grew,

the visitors from a distance increased. 'Ever since Margaret was raised and the gift of tongues given,' writes one of the sisters (May 18th, 1830), 'the house has been filled every day with people from all parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland.' Special interest was awakened where special hopes in this direction had for some time been cherished. Five delegates came down from London, who stayed three weeks at Port-Glasgow, and had every opportunity of seeing all that was going on, and of becoming personally acquainted with those engaged in it. One of these, a solicitor, recognised and quoted as an entirely competent witness by the writer of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, closes his description of what he witnessed thus:

"These persons, while uttering the unknown sounds, as also while speaking in the Spirit in their own language, have every appearance of being under supernatural direction. The manner and voice are (speaking generally) different from what they are at other times, and on ordinary occasions. This difference does not consist merely in the peculiar solemnity and fervour of manner (which they possess), but their whole deportment gives an impression, not to be conveyed in words, that their organs are made use of by supernatural power. In addition to the outward appearances, their own declarations, as the declarations of honest, pious, and sober individuals, may with propriety be taken in evidence. They declare that their organs of speech are made use of by the Spirit of God; and that they utter that which is given to them, and not the expressions of their own conceptions, or their own intention. I had numerous opportunities of observing a variety of facts fully confirmatory of this.'"¹

Margaret Macdonald died not long after what has been believed to have been her miraculous restoration to health. James Macdonald died of the same disease, tu-

¹ Hanna, William: "Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen." New York, 1877; pp. 176-180.

berculosis, in the early part of 1835, and George, also of the same disease, almost a year later.¹

It was on April 30th that the first manifestation of the tongues occurred in London. Prayer meetings had been held for some time at the home of a Mr. Cardale, who later on took a prominent part in the affairs of the Catholic Apostolic Church.

"Mrs. Cardale spoke with great solemnity in a tongue and prophesied. There were three distinct sentences in an unknown tongue, and three in English. The latter were, 'The Lord will speak to His people—The Lord hasteneth His coming—The Lord cometh.' She repeated the last words several times 'with gradually increasing and then diminishing strength and loudness.' Soon after this, at one of the same meetings, Mrs. Cardale spoke twice, and Miss Hall 'sang in the Spirit.' " ²

The meeting of the General Assembly of this year was of unusual importance to Irving, as one of its principal items of business was the trying of the Rev. Mr. Campbell of Row and of the Rev. Mr. Maclean on charges of heresy arising from their proclaiming the universal nature of salvation. It was the preaching of Campbell which had been a contributing element in the engendering of the religious ideas of the Macdonalds and Mary Campbell. Campbell was condemned by the Assembly; Maclean escaped after a fashion. Incidentally a resolution condemning some of the writings of Irving was passed. During the meetings of the Assembly, Irving invited his congregation to meet at half past six each morning to offer special prayers for the Divine guidance of the Assembly. After the Assembly adjourned, the early morning prayer meetings were continued and prayer was of-

¹ Hanna: "Erskine"; p. 233.

² Miller: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 66.

ferred continuously for the outpouring of the gifts of the apostolic age.

“In course of time some young men of the congregation asked to be allowed to meet in the vestry, which would contain about a hundred persons, for the purpose of praying for the outpouring, besides the public service already instituted, which, as has been just related, was started with another object. Irving consented, and agreed to preside over their meetings; and, when the numbers overflowed the vestry, held them in the church. They, too, waited for several months: when one morning, Mr. Taplin, on beginning to read the forty-third chapter of Isaiah, burst forth in a voice of thunder, uttering a few words ‘in an unknown tongue,’ ending with ‘Jehovah, hear us!’ in English. On the next morning, the same speaker said with a superhuman shout, ‘It is thou, O Britain: thou art the annointed cherub.’ On the third morning, ‘The Lord hath come down. He is in the midst of you. His eye hath seen, His heart hath pitied the affliction of His people, and He will deliver them. He will not leave a hoof behind.’

“Mr. Taplin, who thus led the way in public utterances, was destined to exercise a considerable influence over his co-religionists. He was the son of a clergyman, who, after being in the ministry for upwards of fifty years, died at the age of ninety. He was considered to be well acquainted with Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and to be a good mathematician, as well as deeply versed in the Holy Scriptures. There is no reason to suppose him to have been otherwise than thoroughly honest and sincere in his belief; and afterwards, in order to devote himself to the work, he gave up a considerable source of revenue for a small income. He was possessed of strong powers of imagination, and was regarded as the chief means of ‘light’ to the community, many of whose doctrines were due to his enunciation. At the same time he is said to

have been at heart as humble as he was upright and persevering.”¹

Speaking in tongues and prophesying at these morning meetings continued, but it was not until Sunday, October 16th, 1831, that there was a manifestation in the regular morning service of the church in Regent Square.

Irving's problem in reference to the tongues and the prophets had become a serious one. While he had felt that they were supernatural in their nature, and while he was singularly eager for their appearance, he did not seem to know just how to treat them when they came. He felt at least the serious unwisdom of permitting the manifestations in connection with the heretofore orderly public services of the church.

On Sunday morning, October 16th, 1831,² just as Irving finished the reading of the Scripture lesson, a Miss Hall, one of those in whom the manifestations had been appearing,

“Finding she was unable to restrain herself, and respecting the regulation of the Church, rushed into the vestry, and gave vent to utterance, while another, as I understood from the same impulse, ran down the side aisle and out of the church, through the principal door. The sudden, doleful, and unintelligible sounds, being heard by all the congregation, produced the utmost confusion, the act of standing up, the exertion to hear, see, and understand, by each and every one of perhaps 1500 or 2000 persons, created a noise which may be easily conceived. Mr. Irving begged for attention, and when order was restored, he explained the occurrence, which, he said, was not new, except in the congregation, where he had been for some time considering the propriety of introducing it; but, though satisfied of the correctness of such

¹ Miller: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 67-8.

² Some say “Early in November.” Cf. Oliphant: *op. cit.*, p. 424 and p. 427.

a measure, he was afraid of dispersing the flock; nevertheless, as it was now brought forward by God's will, he felt it his duty to submit. He then said he would change the discourse intended for the day and expound the 14th chapter of Corinthians, in order to elucidate what had just happened. The sister was now returning from the vestry to her seat—and Mr. Irving, observing her from the pulpit, said, in an affectionate tone, 'Console yourself, sister, console yourself.'"¹

Miss Hall had spoken after she had shut the door, first in an unknown tongue, and then shouted in English, "How dare ye suppress the voice of the Lord?" Ye being in the plural number grammatically, but in the singular number prophetically. That the message was in the singular number was more clearly evident after the morning service. In the presence of his elders and deacons, Irving was reminded by the prophetess that

"'Jesus hid not His face from shame and spitting; and that His servants must be content to follow him without the camp, bearing his reproach.' Poor Irving sunk on a chair, and groaned aloud in distress of spirit. Thenceforward, the prophets had their way with him."²

The following description of the service that evening, quoted by Mrs. Oliphant, is from Mrs. Hamilton:

"In the evening there was a tremendous crowd; the galleries were fearfully full, and from the commencement of the service there was an evident uproariousness, considering the place, about the doors, men's voices continually mingling with the singing and the praying in most indecent confusion. Mr. Irving had nearly finished his discourse, when another of the ladies spoke. The people heard for a few minutes with quietness compara-

¹ Oliphant: *op. cit.*, p. 424. Quoted from Pilkington's "Unknown Tongues."

² Miller: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 69.

tively. But on a sudden a number of the fellows in the gallery began to hiss, and then some cried 'Silence!' and some one thing and some another, until the congregation, except such as had firm faith in God, were in a state of extreme commotion. Some of these fellows (who, from putting all the circumstances together, it afterward appeared, were a gang of pickpockets come to make a *row*) shut the gallery doors, which I think was providential—for had anyone rushed and fallen, many lives might have been lost, the crowd was so great. The awful scene of Kirkcaldy church was before my eyes, and I dare say before Mr. Irving's. He immediately rose and said, 'Let us pray,' which he did, using chiefly the words, 'O Lord, still the tumult of the people,' over and over again in an unfaltering voice. This kept those in the pews in peace, none attempted to move, and certainly the Lord did still the people. We then sang, and before pronouncing the blessing Mr. Irving intimated that henceforward there would be morning service on the Sunday, when those persons would exercise their gifts; for that he would not subject the congregation to a repetition of the scene they had witnessed. He said he had been afraid of life, and that which was so precious he would not again risk, and more to a like effect. A party still attempted to keep possession of the church. One man close to me attempted to speak. Some called 'Hear! hear!' others, 'Down! down!' The whole scene reminded me of Paul at Ephesus. It was very difficult to get the people to go, but by God's blessing, it was accomplished. The Lord be praised! We were in peril, great peril, but not a hair of the head of anyone suffered." ¹

To quote further from Mrs. Oliphant:

"The following version of the same occurrence, describing it from an outside and entirely different point of view, appears in the *Times* of the 19th November,

¹ Oliphant: *op. cit.*, pp. 426-7.

extracted from the *World*. It is headed, 'Disturbance at the National Scotch Church.' It is curious as showing the state of contemporary feeling out of doors:

"On Sunday the Rev. Edward Irving delivered two sermons on the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, on each of which occasions the congregation was disturbed by individuals pretending to the miraculous gift of tongues. During the sermon in the morning a lady (a Miss Hall) thus singularly endowed was compelled to retire into the vestry, where she was unable, as she herself says, to restrain herself, and spoke for some time in an unknown tongue, to the great surprise of the congregation, who did not seem prepared for the exhibition. The reverend gentleman resumed the subject in the evening by discoursing from, or rather expounding, the 12th chapter of 1st Corinthians. Toward the conclusion of the exposition he took occasion to allude to the circumstances of the morning and expressed his doubt whether he had done right in restraining the exercise of the gift in the church itself and compelling the lady to retire to the vestry. At this moment a gentleman in the gallery, a Mr. Taplin, who keeps an academy in Castle Street, Holborn, rose from his seat, and commenced a violent harangue in the unknown tongue. The confusion occasioned was extreme. The whole congregation rose from their seats in affright; several ladies screamed aloud, and others rushed to the doors. Some supposed that the building was in danger, and that there had either been a murder, or an attempt to murder some person in the gallery, insomuch that one gentleman actually called out to the pew-openers and beadle to stop him, and not to let him escape. On both occasions the church was extremely crowded, particularly in the evening, and it would be impossible to describe the confusion produced by this display of fanaticism. There was, indeed, in the strange, unearthly sound and extraordinary power of voice, enough to appall the heart of the most stout-hearted.

A great part of the congregation standing upon the seats to ascertain the cause of the alarm, while the reverend gentleman, standing with arms extended and occasionally beckoning them to silence, formed a scene which partook as much of the ridiculous as the sublime. No attempt was made to stop the individual, and after two or three minutes he became exhausted and sat down, and then the reverend gentleman concluded the service. Many were so alarmed, and others so disgusted, that they did not return again into the church, and discussed the propriety of the reverend gentleman suffering the exhibition, and altogether a sensation was produced which will not be soon forgotten by those who were present.”¹

This was only the beginning of those scenes of disorder and distress which marked the turning of the tide against Irving. Week after week there were tongues and prophesying. Week after week there was confusion and disorder. The staid Scotch congregation at Regent Square was aghast: “Most of the session disliked all this,” wrote Irving² in a letter to a friend, “and had I not been firm and resolved to go out myself sooner, the voice of the Holy Ghost would ere this have been put down by one means or another.”

Irving was no longer master in his own church, or in his own pulpit. The prophetic and gifted interrupted and disturbed the services as they pleased until the London *Times* felt constrained to inquire:

“Are we to listen to the screaming of hysterical women and the ravings of frantic men? Is bawling to be added to absurdity, and the disturber of a congregation to escape the police and tread-mill because the person who occupies the pulpit vouches for his inspiration?”³

¹ Oliphant: *op. cit.*, pp. 427, 428.

² Same: p. 429. Quoted from a letter from Irving to Mr. Macdonald.

³ Same: p. 433.

Irving had stated that he would forbid the manifestations again at the Sunday services, but reflection led him to the conclusion that he must not dare to forbid or to hinder what he considered to be the Spirit of God. We therefore find Miss Emily Cardale speaking at a public service in the unknown tongue:

"She said, 'He shall reveal it! He shall reveal it! Yea, heed it! Yea, heed it! Ye are yet in the wilderness. Despise not His Word! Despise not His Word! Not one jot or tittle shall pass away!' The minister then rose and called upon the Church to bless the Lord for His voice, which they had just heard in the midst of the congregation." ¹

Robert Bridges, Esq., tells us of a visit which he paid to the church at Regent Square about this time:

"I was witness on one occasion to the power and authority exercised by the prophets over Irving. Desirous to see the state of the church in its full blow, I attended an early morning service at Regent Square, and there found a goodly number of the faithful, with Irving in the pulpit, a devoted official in the precentor's desk, and the prophets and prophetesses assembled in their close vicinity. After praise and prayer, the regular services were interrupted by a loud scream proceeding from a female in one of the pews, who jabbered and gabbled for a time at the height of her voice in a tongue truly unknown, the vocables sounding as if irreducible to grammatical construction, and mere contorted varieties of odd and fantastic syllables. I had been told previously that there was an awful solemnity in this department of their worship, but I felt at the time only the melancholy and ridicule which were its characteristic results. The prophetess was broken in upon in her turn by a prophet, Mr. Taplin. This gentleman was frantic in occasional

¹ Oliphant: *op. cit.*, p. 435.

English, intermingled with his 'tongue,' and as I could understand that, I listened with earnestness, feeling that if he uttered anything false in doctrine, he was thereby proved to be no prophet of the Lord. He did utter a false doctrine; I noted it carefully on the moment; and, waiting for Irving at the close of the service in the body of the church, I charged it publicly on the prophet. Irving, brandishing his immense cane over his head, called out in an excited voice, 'Mr. Taplin! Mr. Taplin! Hear what is said of you! Did you say so and so (repeating my words) in your utterance this morning?' So adjured, that gentleman denied that he had used the words; Irving and he thus, it will be noted, both agreeing that it was a false doctrine."¹

And so, Sunday after Sunday, the prophets and the gifted spoke, and Irving offered up praise and thanksgiving for the blessing. Meantime, "both at Liverpool and near Baldock in Herts, in the Parish of Mr. Pym,"² there were manifestations.

Considerable light is thrown upon the processes of thought, the motives and the character of the inner circle of the "gifted" persons who were associated with Irving by a little work written by Robert Baxter, Esq., a solicitor. Mr. Baxter was apparently an earnest layman, who devoted much of his time to religious work. Baxter had heard of the manifestations in Scotland, his attitude toward which he describes in his book as follows:

"Conceiving as I did, and still do, that there is no warrant in Scripture for limiting the manifestations of the Spirit to the apostolic times; and deeply sensible of the growth of infidelity, in the face of the church and of the prevalence of formality and lukewarmness within it; I was ready to examine the claims to inspiration, and

¹ Bridges: *op. cit. sup.*, pp. 18-19.

² Oliphant: *op. cit.*, pp. 433-4. Quoted from a letter from Irving to Mr. Macdonald.

even anxious for the presence of the gifts of the Spirit, according as it seemed to me, to that apostolic command, 'Covet earnestly the best gifts.' Conscious that nothing but an abundant outpouring of the Spirit of God could quicken the church into active life; and that nothing less than the power of God, put forth in testimony, could stem the torrent of infidelity which was flowing in upon us; I longed greatly, and prayed much, for such an outpouring and testimony. When I saw, as it seemed to me, proof that those who claimed the gifts were walking honestly, and that the power manifested in them was evidently supernatural, and, moreover, bore testimony to Christ come in the flesh, I welcomed it at once as the work of God, though it was long before I publicly spoke of it." ¹

In this frame of mind he went up to London on professional business. While in London he attended one of the prayer meetings held by Irving's inner circle. He thus describes the meeting:

"After one or two brethren had read and prayed, Mr. T—— was made to speak two or three words very distinctly, and with an energy and depth of tone which seemed to me extraordinary, and fell upon me as a supernatural utterance, which I ascribed to the power of God; the words were in a tongue I did not understand. In a few minutes Miss E. C. broke out in an utterance in English, which, as to matter and manner, and the influence it had upon me, I at once bowed to as the utterance of the Spirit of God. Those who have heard the powerful and commanding utterance need no description; but they who have not may conceive what an unnatural and unaccustomed tone of voice, an intense and riveting power of expression—with the declaration of a cutting rebuke to all who were present—and applicable to my

¹ Baxter, Robert: "Narrative of Facts Characterising the Supernatural Manifestations," etc. London, 1833; pp. 3-4.

own state of mind in particular—would effect upon me and upon the others who were come together expecting to hear the voice of the Spirit of God. In the midst of the feeling of awe and reverence which this produced I was myself seized upon by the power; and in much struggling against it was made to cry out, and myself to give forth a confession of my own sin in the matter for which we were rebuked; and afterward to utter a prophecy that all messengers of the Lord should go forth, publishing to the end of the earth, in the mighty power of God, the testimony of the near coming of the Lord Jesus. The rebuke had been for not declaring the near coming of Jesus, and I was smitten in conscience, having many times refrained from speaking of it to the people, under a fear that they might stumble over it and be offended.

“I was overwhelmed by this occurrence. The attainment of the gift of prophecy which this supernatural utterance was deemed to be, was, with myself and many others, a great object of desire. I could not, therefore, but rejoice at having been made the subject of it; but there were so many difficulties attaching to the circumstances under which the power came upon me, and I was so anxious and distressed lest I should mistake the mind of God in the matter, that I continued for many weeks weighed down in spirit and overwhelmed. There was in me, at the time of the utterance, very great excitement, and yet I was distinctly conscious of a power acting upon me beyond the mere power of excitement. So distinct was this power from the excitement, that in all my trouble and doubt about it, I never could attribute the whole to excitement.”¹

Baxter described still another visitation of the power, and at the same time gives us a picture of the distress of mind from which Irving now suffered constantly.

¹ Baxter: “Narrative”; pp. 4-6.

“Having been asked to spend the evening at a friend’s with the pastor, one of the gifted persons (Mrs. J. C.) and three or four other persons, I went; and whilst discoursing on the state of the church, some matter of controversy arose, on which I requested the pastor to pray that we might be led into truth. After prayer, Mrs. J. C. was made to testify that now was the time of the great struggle and power of Satan in the midst of us. . . . The pastor observed that this utterance taught us our duty as standing in the church to muster against the enemy; and whilst he was going on to ask some question, the power fell upon me, and I was made to speak; and for two hours or upwards the power continued upon me; and I gave forth what we all regarded as prophecies concerning the church and the nation. . . . The power which then rested on me was far more mighty than before, laying down my mind and body in perfect obedience, and carrying me on without confusion or excitement; excitement there might appear to a by-stander, but to myself it was calmness and peace. Every former visitation of the power had been very brief, but now it continued, and seemed to rest upon me all the evening. The things I was made to utter flashed in upon my mind without forethought, without expectation, and without any plan or arrangement—all was the work of the moment, and I was as the passive instrument of the power which used me.

“In the beginning of my utterances that evening some observations were in the power addressed by me to the pastor, in a commanding tone; and the manner and course of utterance manifested in me was so far differing from those which had been manifested in the members of his own flock, that he was much startled, and in the first part of the evening doubting whether it was of God or of the enemy. . . . He came up to me and said, ‘Faith is very hard.’ I was immediately made to address him and reason with him in the power, until he was fully

convinced the Spirit was of God, and gave thanks for the manifestation of it.”¹

On another evening,

“whilst the people were departing, Mr. Irving called me, with Mr. Brown, his missionary, into another room, and said he was in some trouble as to what he should do on the morrow, which was Sunday; whether to allow me to speak in the full congregation; he had found doubts creep over him during the evening, though he scarcely dared to doubt. Mr. Brown’s advice, without any deep consideration of the subject, was ‘Don’t do it whilst you have a doubt.’ To this Mr. Irving assented, but turned to me, and asked what I thought. Of course, under the conviction which I had, I said he must not forbid it. Afterward the power came on me, rebuking him, and reasoning with him, until he sat down, and said he was greatly tried, and did not know what to do. I then told him to consult the prophets who were with him, and immediately the power came upon Miss H., who was wholly a stranger to me, but residing with him and then received as a prophetess among them; and she was made to bear testimony that the work in me was of God, and he must not forbid my speaking. This satisfied him, and he yielded at once.

“The next day, after the morning prayer-meeting, Miss E. C., at the pastor’s house, was made to give forth an utterance, enjoining upon all deference and respect to the Lord’s prophets; which served, though she was not aware of what had passed on the preceding evening, to confirm him in that which I had been made to say to him. I was afterwards in the power, in the most fearful terms, made to enjoin the most perfect submission to the utterances. . . . This was so strongly put, that, as Mr. Irving, on a future occasion, observed to me, he was tempted to doubt whether the Spirit, bearing testimony in such a

¹ Baxter: “Narrative”; pp. 12-14.

manner to itself, was God's method of teaching us submission. . . .

"At the public services of the Scotch Church on this day, no utterance was given me, but in the intervals of service, whilst sitting with Mr. Irving and one or two other friends, the power was so abundant upon me, that almost every question which was asked was answered in the power and the wisdom and instruction which was given forth from my lips was as astonishing to Mr. Irving as to myself. We all felt as though the Lord was indeed resolving our doubts, and graciously condescending, by His Spirit, to teach us by open voice. Mr. Irving seemed most fully confirmed in the belief, and I was myself exceedingly composed and strengthened."¹

Apparently two apostolic gifts had been restored, one of prophecy, and the other that of speaking with tongues. Baxter belonged rather to the prophetic group than to that group whose members spoke in unknown tongues, although he tells us of an occasion on which he was impelled to speak "two words in an unknown tongue, the meaning of which," he adds, "was not given me."²

The character of these prophetic utterances is profusely illustrated in Baxter's Narrative. The great burden of the prophecy seemed to have been the importance and imminence of the Lord's coming. "We were commanded" (in the course of a prophecy by Baxter which lasted about two hours, he tells us), "to 'count the days, one thousand three score and two hundred—1260—the days appointed for testimony, at the end of which the saints of the Lord should go up to meet the Lord in the air, and evermore be with the Lord.'"³

"The prophecy of the 1260 days testimony and going up of the saints, set forth a period of three years and a

¹ Baxter: "Narrative"; pp. 20-3.

² Same: p. 68.

³ Same: p. 17.

half, from the time of the delivery, up to the translation of the saints. The words of the prophecy were most distinct, to count from that day (viz., 14th January, 1832) 1260 days, and three days and a half (Rev. XI: 11); and on innumerable other occasions, by exposition and by prophecy, was the same thing again and again declared, and most largely opened.”¹

It is to be noted also that this prophesying not only dealt with the Second Advent and the final rapture of the Saints, but there was evident no inconsiderable element of unkindly criticism of one prophet towards another. How often Irving was rebuked under the guise of prophetic utterance by men and women who were unmistakably Irving's intellectual, moral and spiritual inferiors, is already painfully obvious.

“On the Saturday evening a large company assembled at Mr. Irving's house, with Mr. T. and Mrs. C., and the evening was passed in prophesying and expounding divers parts of Scripture, and particularly of the book of Revelations. . . . But at the close of the meeting, a scene occurred which baffles all description, and on which, whenever I now think, the deepest feelings of horror and shame creep over me. Mrs. C. was made, after our exposition was concluded, to cry out in a most piercing utterance, that there was some one in the midst of us who was provoking the Lord by jealousy, envy, and hard thoughts of His servants, the prophets. Regarding this as we all did, as the Spirit of God, everyone was cast back in examination of his own thoughts; and, as the gift of prophecy was a general object of desire, many tender consciences converted their admiration of, and longing after, the gift, into an envy and provocation. A feeling of dismay seemed to run through the company, but no one answered. The accusation was reiterated,

¹ Baxter: "Narrative"; pp. 18-19. Cf. p. 44.

with a demand that the person should step forward, and confess. Many present, one after another, came forward, and, confessing some sin, enquired if they were any of them the culprit. None of these, however, were recognized as such. The cry again went forth, and my voice was mingled with Mrs. C.'s, declaring the person who was meant was conscious of it. The agony expressed on many countenances was intense; one man was so overcome, that his head fell on the chair, as though he were paralyzed, uttering an unnatural moaning cry, which shewed the intensity of his mental agony. I was made in power to pray the Lord to discover the offender, and ease the consciences of his children. But after some time spent in this state, seeing the person was not found, we prepared to go home. . . . I turned round to Mr. Irving, intending to ask all present to kneel down to pray, when Mr. Irving silently pointed to a person who stood by, and looking to him I saw a power resting upon him, and he struggling to give utterance. I paused, and when utterance broke from him, instead of articulate words, nothing but muttering followed, and with this an expression of countenance most revolting. Lifting up a prayer to God to judge his own cause, and preserve us from judging unjustly of a brother; almost at the same moment an utterance broke from Mrs. C. and from myself: 'It is an evil spirit.' A thrill of horror passed through the company, and presently an utterance came from Mrs. C. — 'Rebuke the unclean spirit, and command him to enter no more into him.' The power came upon me, and I said, 'In the name of Jesus, I adjure thee, thou foul spirit, to come out of the man, and enter no more into him.' The man, however, continued muttering and speaking nonsense. Again the command came from Mrs. C., and the power upon me, and I used the same words over him again. Lady —, who was present, and had before once or twice spoken in the power; under an impulse of the power, rose up, and stretching her

hands toward me, cried out in power, 'Greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world,' and, repeating this several times, sank down on the floor. We all paused. The muttering and disgusting utterances continued. Mr. Irving suggested, 'This kind goeth not forth but with prayer and fasting.' We were, however, confounded, and the only explication I could suggest was, that the word of God had gone forth for the expulsion of the evil spirit, and we must rest in faith, that in due time the effect would follow, and the man be delivered; and so we parted."¹

Various promises were made to the prophets through prophetic utterances. Thus Baxter writes: "I was made in utterance to declare to my wife that she should be baptised with fire."² He had also been promised³ that he himself should be caught away by the Spirit as Philip was, but for the confirmation of these promises he waited in vain. For a time he was content to explain some of the failures in fulfilment as "a mimicry by Satan of the Spirit of revelation,"⁴ but the time came when such explanations no longer gave satisfaction.

One more instance typical of the movement in its prophetic nature, and typical of the embarrassing absurdities into which an assurance of the voice of prophecy led the prophets is the story of Baxter and the Chancellor. Baxter tells it as follows:

"After breakfast, when sitting with Mr. Irving, Mr. P., and a few others, Mr. Irving remarked that Mr. T., when in the Court of Chancery, had found the power mightily upon him, but never a distinct impulse to utterance. Whilst he was speaking on it I was made in power to declare, 'There go I, and thence to the prison-house.'

¹ Baxter: "Narrative"; pp. 72-4.

² Same: p. 64.

³ Same: p. 41.

⁴ Same: p. 41.

This was followed by a prophecy setting forth the darkness of the visible church, referring to the king as the head of the Church of England, and to the Chancellor as the keeper of the conscience of the king. That a testimony should that day be borne before him which should make the nation tremble at what was coming to pass. That I was to go and bear this testimony, and for the testimony should be cast into prison. . . . The power upon me was overwhelming. I gave all present a solemn benediction, as though I was departing altogether from among them, and forbidding Mr. Irving, who rose to speak to me as I was going, I went out under the constraint of the power, and shaped my way to the court of the Chancellor, to bear the testimony to which I was commanded.

“As I went on towards the court, the sufferings and trials I underwent were almost beyond endurance. Might it not be a delusion? Ought I not to consider my own character in the sight of the world, which would be forfeited by such an act; and the ruin of all worldly prospects, which would ensue from it, and from my imprisonment? These and a thousand more subtle and trying suggestions were cast in upon me; but, confident that the power speaking in me was of God, it seemed my duty to obey at every sacrifice; and without counting the cost, I gave myself up to God to do with me and use me as he should see fit. In this mind I went on, expecting, as I entered the court of the Chancellor, the power would come upon me, and I should be made to bear testimony before him. I knew not what I was to say, but supposed that, as on all other occasions, the subject and utterance would be together given. When I entered, no power came on me. I stood in the court before the Chancellor for three or four hours, momentarily expecting the power to come upon me, and as the time lengthened, more and more perplexed at its absence. I was tempted to speak in my own strength, without the power,

but I judged this would not be faithful to the word spoken, as my testimony would not have been in the spirit. After waiting this time I came out of court, convinced there was nothing for me to say.”¹

Baxter continues the Narrative by telling of his return to Irving whom he greeted with the words, “We are snared, we are deceived. I had no message before the Chancellor!” Afterwards the matter was explained² to his satisfaction by one of the prophets who stated that the sealing of his mouth in the presence of the Chancellor was typical of the binding of the Church.

Still another difficulty arose out of the fact that the prophets disagreed—an indication of the fact that the prophecies had an origin no more supernatural than the mental process, conscious or subconscious, of the prophets. It was the fact that the prophecies failed, plus the fact that the prophets disagreed, and, in addition, the fact that the prophecies fairly bristled with selfishness and a sense of self-importance that finally led one after another of the more critical minds to withdraw from the movement.

Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, who had looked upon the tongues movement at first with considerable favour and had spent some time as a visitor in the home of the Macdonalds in Port Glasgow, tells in a letter to Lady Elgin, under date of March 18th, 1834, how he first came to doubt the supernatural nature of the utterances:

“In two instances when James Macdonald spoke with remarkable power, a power acknowledged by all the other gifted people there, I discovered the seed of his utterances in the newspapers. He had read there a foolish rumour about the time of George IV’s death, that the Ministers would probably find it convenient to conceal that event

¹ Baxter: “Narrative”; pp. 24-5.

² Same: pp. 27-8.

when it took place, until they had made some arrangements. This had remained in his mind, and it came forth at last as an utterance in power, but wrapped in such obscurity of language as not to expose it to direct confutation; but on reading the paragraph I recognised such a resemblance that I could not doubt it, and I put it to him; and although he had spoken in perfect integrity (of that I have no doubt), yet he was satisfied that my conjecture as to its origin was correct. The other instance was a prophetic utterance of a war in the north of Europe—the language taken much from the 11th of Daniel; but the seed of it also was a newspaper paragraph. I thus see how things may come into the mind and remain there, and then come forth as supernatural utterances, although their origin be quite natural. James Macdonald could not say that he was conscious of anything in these two utterances distinguishing them from all the others; he only said that he believed that these two were of the flesh. Taplin made a similar confession on being reproved through Miss Emily Cardale for having rebuked Mr. Irving in an utterance. He acknowledged that he was wrong; and yet he could not say where the difference lay between that utterance and any other.”¹

The prophecies were characterised by the same bickerings, the same littlenesses, the same eagerness for distinction which have ultimately characterised every mystical and every antinomian sect. Baxter's Narrative, and in fact every record of the Irvingite movement, is a sad record of human frailty and human weakness, exalted into the glory of a Divine message. On one occasion Baxter tells us he had been made to declare to a Mr. F. the fact of his call to the spiritual ministry. After having been out of town for some time Baxter returned to find that:

¹ Hanna: "Erskine," etc. *Cit. supra*, pp. 209-210.

“Mr. F., who had spoken in power amongst us, had been found to speak by an evil spirit, Mrs. C. and Miss E. C. having been made so to declare. This troubled me greatly, for I had been made in power to declare to him his call to the spiritual ministry. He had also been present, and spoke in power on the last morning of my presence, at Mr. Irving’s, when two persons were sent out; and when it was declared in the power that the Lord would not suffer an unbeliever or unclean person to be present at that holy ordinance, as it was called. Here were contradictions I could not explain away, and all I could do was to await the Lord’s teaching on it.

“Next, after a short interval, came a letter from Mr. Irving, which yet more perplexed me. He said, ‘This moment the Lord hath sent me a very wonderful and wonderfully gracious message, by our dear sister, Miss E. C., concerning the time which you have been made so often to put forth. Rebuking me for having repeated it, and counselling me not to do it any more, declaring the word to be a true word, but containing a mystery; declaring that the day is not known, and commanding me to write to you, to say that you must not repeat this in the flesh, but suffer the Spirit to say it, how and when he pleaseth.’ . . . I was amazed at this message, for constantly had I been made in power to declare the time, and to explain it, and enforce it; and more than once I had been made to enjoin ministers publicly to preach it in the flesh, though they had no gift. I had then nearly fallen into the persuasion, that my gift could not be a true gift, or that I had so mistaken the leadings of it, as to be no more worthy to exercise it.”¹

Instances like this spontaneously multiply themselves. One more might be cited from the later history of the Catholic Apostolic Church, showing that the lapse of

¹ Baxter: “Narrative”; *op. cit.*, pp. 92-3. Cf. p. 104 and p. 138.

time in no sense freed the church from the baffling and baneful influences of contradictory prophecies:

"Two words in prophecy came the same day, one in London, the other at Oxford, both having reference to the services in the Tabernacle as types of the service in the Christian Church, one of which said: 'The way to enter the house and upon the service of God was with a song, and then to offer prayers, supplications, intercessions and thanksgivings.'

"The other word said: 'The way of the Lord for us in entering His house and on His worship, was to kneel down, and to confess, and this to be followed by the word of absolution.' When these two words were brought before the ministers, they were perplexed and they said they were contradictory. When they were brought to the apostle, he at once found out that one had reference to the service of the brazen altar in the outer court of the Tabernacle . . . and that the other word had reference to the service of the golden altar in the inner and holy place." ¹

The tongues were closely related to the prophecies. As already has been stated, many of those who prophesied spoke with tongues, and many of those gifted with tongues prophesied. The manner of prophecy and the manner of speaking with tongues seem to have been in large measure the same. Of the physiological conditions and of the psychological conditions of the gifts we will speak later. The question in which we are now interested is, What did they say, and in what language did they speak?

Mary Campbell said that she spoke in Turkish, and also in the language of the Pellew Islands,² a group of

¹ "Narrative of Events Affecting the Position of Prophets of the Whole Christian Church." Printed for Private Circulation, 1885, pp. 199-200.

² Miller: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 73. Cf. Story, Robert Herbert: *op. cit.*, p. 210.

islands in the southern Pacific Ocean. Just what means she had to prove this is not stated. Dr. Miller quotes from Pilkington's "Unknown Tongues" the following specimens:

"*Ythis dil emma sumo*, supposed to mean, 'I will undertake this dilemma'; *Hoseghin alta stare*, 'Jesus in the highest'; *Holimothe holif awthaw*, 'Holy, most Holy Father'; *Hoze hamana nostra*, 'Jesus will take our hands,' or 'direct us', *Cass sora hastha caro*, 'This house will still be in My care.' The crashing outbreak of Mr. Taplin's utterances is described as if *cras-cran-cra-crash* were violently shouted out with a stentorian voice. It was followed by such expressions as 'Abide in Him! Abide in Him! Ye shall behold His glory! Ye shall behold His glory! Ye shall behold His glory.' Dr. McNeile distinctly heard Taplin utter amongst other sounds more than once, *amamini*, *amaminor*, words which irresistibly remind us of the speaker's scholastic duties in the 'academy'." ¹

Dr. Addison Alexander's description of his visit to London and of the tongues which he heard in Irving's church is well known:

"After the singing of the 66th Psalm, he then began to read the 39th of Exodus, with an allegorical exposition. After a short prayer for Divine assistance, the ouches of the breast-plate he explained to mean the rulers of the Church. While he was dealing this out he was interrupted in a manner rather startling. I had observed that the elders, who sat near him, kept their eyes raised to the sky-light overhead, as if wooing inspiration. One in particular looked very wild. . . . Just as Irving reached the point I have mentioned and was explaining the ouches; this elder . . . burst forth in a sort of wild

¹ Miller: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 72. Cf. Hanna: "Erskine," pp. 185-6.

ejaculation, thus: 'Tarenti—hoiti—faragmi—santi'—'O ye people—ye people of the Lord, ye have not the ouches—ye have not the ouches—ha-a-a; ye must have them—ye must have them—ha-a-a; ye cannot hear—ye cannot hear!' . . . When he began Irving had suspended his exhortation and covered his face with his hands." ¹

In Blunt's *Ecclesiastical Dictionary* we read the following account of the tongues as spoken in London:

"They are of much the same character as those of Mary Campbell, allowing for the difference between Scotch-English and London-English. Such were 'gthis dil emma sumo,' 'hozeghin nita stare,' 'Holimoth holif-su-thau (holy, most holy Father),' 'hozehamenanostra, mozehamenanostra, hosehamenanostra,' (Oh! send men and apostles), 'casa sera hastre caro, yec cogo nomo,' which look like scraps of English broken up and spoken in an hysterical voice. Nine times out of ten, the utterances of this 'unknown' type were long-drawn 'ohs' and 'ahs' with a fragmentary syllable interposed at rare intervals, the whole thing brought to a close cadence which ended in a theatrical whisper." ²

Still another account is quoted by Blunt from Mr. McKerrell's "Apology for the Gift of Tongues":

"The words of the tongue, as written down by me, are widely scattered; none in the order they were spoken, except those marked within inverted commas. Hippogorosto—Hippo—Booros—Senoot—'Foorime Rorion Hoopo Tanto Noostin'—Noorastin—Niparos—Hipanos—santos—hin, Boorim. 'O Pinitos'—Elelastina—Bali-mun—gitos—Dentitu—Hampoolina—Furini—Arintus—Harempo—'Epoongos Vangami'—Berossino—Yereston—Sastinootino—Alinoosia—'O Fastos Sunger O fastos

¹ Alexander: *op. cit.*, p. 291.

² Blunt: *op. cit.* Article: "Irvingites" (p. 230).

Sunger'—Deripangito—Boorinos—Hypen— Elstanteli—
Erstini—Menati.”¹

Carlyle's account of the tongues is frequently quoted:

“In the course of the winter sad things had occurred in Irving's history. His enthusiastic studies and preachings were passing into the practically ‘miraculous,’ and to me the most doleful of all phenomena. The ‘Gift of Tongues’ had fairly broken out among the crazed and weakest of his wholly rather dim and weakly flock. I was never at all in his church during this visit, being at once grieved and angered at the course he had fallen into; but once or twice poor Eliza Miles came running home from some evening sermon there was, all in a tremor of tears over these same ‘tongues’ and a riot from the *dissenting* majority opposing them. ‘All a tumult yonder, oh me!’ This did not happen above twice or so; Irving (never himself a ‘Tongue’ performer) having taken some order with the thing, and I think discouraged and nearly suppressed it as *unfit* during church service. It was greatly talked of by some persons, with an enquiry, ‘Do you believe in it?’ ‘Believe it? As much as I do in the high priest of Otaheite!’ answered Lockhart once to Fraser, the enquiring bookseller, in my hearing. Sorrow and disgust were naturally my own feeling. ‘How are the mighty fallen! My own high Irving come to this, by paltry popularities and Cockney admirations puddling such a head!’ We ourselves saw less and less of Irving, but one night in one of our walks we did make a call, and actually heard what they called the Tongues. It was in a neighboring room, larger part of the drawing-room belike. Mrs. Irving had retired thither with the devotees. Irving for our sake had stayed, and was pacing about the floor, dandling his youngest child, and talking to us of this and that, probably about the Tongues withal,

¹ Blunt: Same article. See also Hanna: “Erskine,” pp. 392-3.

when there burst forth a shrieky hysterical 'Lah lall lall!' (little or nothing but *l*'s and *a*'s continued for several minutes), to which Irving, with singular calmness, said only, 'There, hear you, there are the Tongues!' And we, too, except by our looks, which probably were eloquent, answered him nothing, but soon came away, full of distress, provocation, and a kind of shame. 'Why was there not a bucket of cold water to fling on that *lahlalling* hysterical madwoman?' thought we, or said to one another. 'Oh, heaven, that it should come to this!' I do not remember any call that we made there afterwards. Of course, there was a farewell call; but that, too, I recollect only obliquely by my Jeannie's distress and disgust at Mrs. Irving's hypocritical final *kiss*; a 'kiss' of the untruest, which really ought to have been spared. Seldom was seen a more tragical scene to us than this of Irving's London life was now becoming!"¹

Associated with Mary Campbell's speaking in tongues was a practice of automatic writing. Mr. Story secured a specimen of the automatic writing which he sent to Dr. Chalmers, who in turn submitted the writings to:

"Sir G. Staunton, Dr. Pusey and Dr. Lee. The opinion of all was against their belonging to any language upon earth. The latter said: 'Whatever it (i. e., the paper) contains—if, indeed, it contains anything—must forever remain a mystery to me, for I am quite unable to attach any meaning, sound, &c., to the characters in which it is written. My *opinion* is, that it contains neither character nor language known in any region under the sun; and this, without laying any claim to miraculous powers, I venture to predict will turn out the case. If the authoress of these papers has indeed a miraculous gift of tongues, why does she not at once make out the proof, by giving out a composition in some tongue confessedly

¹ Reminiscences, pp. 251-3.

known to a few at least? This would put an end to all possible doubt; and this, too, was the sort of proof given in the apostolic times.' 'We do hear them,' &c. This opinion has been amply confirmed by subsequent experience." ¹

All evidence therefore points to the conclusion that the Irvingite tongues can be assigned to no known language. Here and there words from known languages were interpolated, but they formed no connected whole. In the course of time the Irvingites came to abandon the theory of a language or languages miraculously bestowed, and adopted a theory of "unknown tongues." The "unknown tongues" constituted a spiritual language profitable only to spiritual beings, to such as had spiritual discernment.

It is frankly stated by the adherents of the Catholic Apostolic Church in later years that

"There is therefore no evidence in Scripture of the gift of tongues being for the purpose of preaching the Gospel. . . . It is expressly and distinctly stated that it was not given for the purpose of speaking to man at all, but to God. . . .

"But besides being for the purpose of glorifying God in a special manner, we are told that the speaking thus in a tongue was to be for a sign to those that believed not, i. e., believed not that God was speaking. . . . It is a sign another being, present though invisible, and not the man, is speaking; that another has got hold of the organs of his speech; that another spirit and not his own is empowering him, and impelling him to speak words which he knows not the meaning of, yet which are full of meaning, as is shown when they are interpreted. . . .

"Tongues are for a sign to unbelievers in more senses than one. They are a sign to us, not only that God is

¹ Miller, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 73. Cf. Story, Robert Herbert: *op. cit.*, p. 208 and footnote.

speaking, but also that He has something He longs to say, but which His Church is not ready for.”¹

A characteristic of the tongues was the loud tone in which they were uttered:

“Their utterances were often given forth in stentorian tones, and with an appropriate adaptation of the action to the word, they were accompanied by strange and uncouth attitudes and gestures. One of the members of the church, a Mr. Tudor, having one day expressed a wish that the prophets would not speak so loud, heard himself rebuked on the spot by Miss Hall, crying in the power, ‘Know you what it is to have the Word of God within you as a fire in the bones?’ ”²

Irving’s own description of the tongues is as follows:

“The whole utterance, from the beginning to the ending of it, is with power, and strength, and fulness, and sometimes rapidity of voice altogether different from that of the person’s ordinary utterance in any mood; and I would say, both in its form and in its effects upon a simple mind, quite supernatural. There is a power in the voice to thrill the heart and overawe the spirit after a manner which I have never felt. There is a march, and a majesty, and a sustained grandeur in the voice, especially of those who prophesy, which I have never heard even a resemblance to, except now and then in the sublimest and most impassioned moods of Mrs. Siddons and Miss O’Neil. It is a mere abandonment of all truth to call it screaming and crying; it is the most majestic and divine utterance which I have ever heard, some parts of which I never heard equalled, and no part of it surpassed, by the finest execution of genius and art exhibited at the oratorios in the concerts of ancient music. And when the speech

¹ “Narrative of Events Affecting the Position,” etc., pp. 146-7.

² Guers: *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

utters itself in the way of a psalm or spiritual song, it is the likeliest to some of the most simple and ancient chants in the cathedral service, insomuch that I have been often led to think that those chants, of which some can be traced up as high as the days of Ambrose, are recollections and transmissions of the inspired utterances in the primitive Church. Most frequently the silence is broken by utterance in a tongue, and this continues for a longer or a shorter period, sometimes occupying only a few words, as it were, filling the first gust of sound; sometimes extending to five minutes, or even more, of earnest and deeply-felt discourse, with which the heart and soul of the speaker is manifestly much moved to tears, and sighs, and unutterable groanings, to joy, and mirth, and exultation, and even laughter of the heart. So far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and heedless sons of Belial have said, it is regularly formed, well-proportioned, deeply-felt discourse, which evidently wanteth *only the ear of him whose native tongue it is* to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech.”¹

In this description of the prophecies and the tongues we have somewhat lost the thread of our narrative. To tell the whole story of the vagaries and raptures and the disappointed hopes of the next months would be too lengthy a task to undertake. It is obvious that no such manifestations and extraordinary interpretations of worship could prove acceptable to the officers and people of so staid a congregation as that of the church in Regent Square. Finally, after useless expostulations with Irving, the trustees addressed a communication to the Presbytery of London, which concurred with the trustees, after a trial of Irving, and dissolved the relation between him and his church.

In the spring he was tried at Annan by his own Pres-

¹ Oliphant: *op. cit.*, p. 431.

bytery and deposed from the ministry for his teachings in reference to the human nature of our Lord. Carlyle describes the trial as

“A poor aggregate of Reverend Sticks in black gown, sitting in Presbytery to pass formal condemnation on a man and a cause which might have been tried in Patmos under presidency of St. John without the right truth of it being got at! I knew the ‘Moderator’ (one Reddick, since gone mad) for one of the stupidest and barrenest of living mortals; also the little phantom of a creature—Sloane, his name—who went niddy-noddy with his head, and was infinitely conceited and phantasmal, by whom Irving was rebuked with the ‘Remember where you are, sir!’ and got answer, ‘I have not forgotten where I am; it is the church where I was baptised, where I was consecrated to preach Christ, where the bones of my dear ones lie buried.’ ”¹

This was not all. The great Irving, the magnificent Irving, was no longer the leader in the new cult, for which he had suffered ecclesiastical martyrdom. He was their dupe, their victim. Not only did Presbyterianism rebuke him, but the individuals who made up the group of the “gifted” were each so eager for his own opportunity to lead and be some great one that with one accord they sought to brush Irving aside.

He died in December, 1834. It was the Sabbath.

“As the gloomy December Sunday sank into the night shadows, his last audible words on earth fell from his pale lips. ‘The last thing like a sentence we could make out was, “If I die, I die unto the Lord. Amen.”’ And so, at the wintry midnight hour which ended that last Sabbath on earth, the last bonds of mortal trouble

¹ Reminiscences, p. 256.

dropped asunder, and the saint and martyr entered into the rest of his Lord.”¹

His body rests in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral. His statue stands in Anan. Upon the wall of the church in Regent Square is a tablet erected through the influence of Dr. Dykes, to the memory of the great Edward Irving. Only these memorials to powers to genius, to love, that with common sense would have meant immeasurable wealth for the Kingdom of God.

We have noticed that Irving's followers had become his leaders. Their instability and the common lack of an ability to appreciate and to practise the nicer ethical distinctions, such as kindness of judgment and even gratitude, are in clear evidence everywhere. While Irving was still living, the movement had been going on for the establishing of a new church, The Catholic Apostolic Church. With its history we are not much at present concerned. For a time it flourished. It is now a religious nonentity. To it were attracted men from other churches, both in Europe and America as well as in Great Britain. It was planned to be an apostolic church after the model of the Catholic Church in the days of the apostles. Its origin, in so far as those curiously interesting legends called “apostolic succession” are concerned, was at least out of the ordinary—something like that of the Mormon apostolate. Just as Joseph Smith, Jr., and Oliver Cowdery ordained each other, so the Irvingite prophets and apostles favoured whom they would with the voice of honouring prophecy, receiving in return therefore an appropriate honour bestowed through the voice of the prophet already honoured. Here we have the interesting story of Cardale's call to be the first of the apostles:

¹ Oliphant: *op. cit.*, p. 559.

“At one of these meetings (those for prayer and study of Holy Scripture, etc., held in 1833 and 1834), while Mr. Cardale was praying especially for the pouring out of the Holy Spirit as at the first on all the members of the body, the word came through to Henry Drummond, ‘Convey it then! Art thou not an Apostle?’ No further notice was at the time taken of his word, but it was in fact the first recognition of the Apostolic ministry.”¹

Here follows another account, this time that of the ordaining of an evangelist, a Mr. Place:

“Thus was the duty and office of those called to be Apostles pointed out, and the first Apostolic act in ordination was performed by one of those, and the first who had been called to be an Apostle. He was bidden, through one of the Prophets, to go and ordain as an evangelist a young man, who was full of zeal and love, had long been labouring in the neighbourhood where he was then residing, visiting the poor and preaching to them the glad tidings of salvation. In obedience to this word he went, and on the Eve of Christmas-day, 1832, at a prayer meeting held in the house of a godly man, . . . laid his hands on the called Evangelist, and in words also supplied to him in the same supernatural way, bid him to receive the Holy Ghost for the work of an Evangelist.”²

Mr. Drummond was ordained as an Angel, the Angel of the church at Albury. Edward Irving was given the same honour. He was not considered worthy to rank with Mr. Cardale, an ex-solicitor, as an Apostle. Accordingly he was made Angel of the Church in London, the church in Newman Street, now the place of worship of his congregation. The ordination took place on Friday, April 5th, 1833. The organisation of the church

¹ “Narrative of Events Affecting the Position,” etc., p. 119.

² Same: pp. 18-19.

included Apostles, Angels, Evangelists, "Helps," and other officers. An elaborate ritual ¹ was formulated, and confession, holy water and the burning of incense were introduced. It is an interesting fact, in view of the Mormon development, to note that the priesthood of the Catholic Apostolic Church was also "after the order of Melchizedek." ²

Meantime the church had not lost sight of its principal doctrine, the return of the Lord. From time to time days were set and times appointed. The days came, and the end was not yet. Apostles were sent forth, testimonies dispatched to the Pope,³ the Emperor of Austria, the King of France, "and to those in places of authority in the several parts of Christendom to which the Apostles were severally sent," and missionaries were dispatched here and there. But one after another, the Apostles, who had expected to be caught up into the air, went the way of all flesh. The consummation of the hope as they had seen it, was not theirs nor was it their children's, and to-day the Catholic Apostolic Church lies with the hand of death resting upon it, crushed under the weight of its own ecclesiastical millinery.

¹ "Narrative of Events Affecting the Position," etc.: p. 20.

² Same: p. 26.

³ Same: p. 64.

CHAPTER VII

THE MORMONS, OR THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF THE LATTER DAY SAINTS

VISIONS, revelations, ecstasies and the gift of tongues play a considerable part in the early history of Mormonism. The founder of the church, Joseph Smith, Jr., was born at Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, on December 23, 1805. About ten years later the family moved to Palmyra, New York. His home was thus in the Shaker country, as well as in the famous "burnt district" known in the history of revivals as the centre of a widespread movement characterised by ecstatic phenomena. Here also was the country of the beginnings of spiritualism, the home of the "Rochester knockings" and the settlement of the Oneida Community.

Smith was the fourth child of Joseph Smith and Lucy Mack, his wife. There were ten children born of the marriage. Lucy Mack was the daughter of Solomon Mack who had been a soldier in the French and Indian War, and had later seen service in the Continental Army. He is said to have been subject to the "falling sickness."¹ One of Mrs. Smith's sisters, Lovisa, a Mrs. Tuttle, is said to have been miraculously restored to health after an illness of ten years,² but died three years later. Another sister, Lovina, died of consumption.³

¹ Riley, I. Woodbridge: "The Founder of Mormonism." New York, 1903, pp. 14-15.

² Smith, Lucy: "Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and his Progenitors for Many Generations." Liverpool and London, 1853, pp. 24-6.

³ Same: p. 26.

Mrs. Smith states that she also, shortly after her marriage,

"took a heavy cold, which caused a severe cough. . . . A hectic fever set in, which threatened to become fatal, and the physician pronounced my case to be confirmed consumption." ¹

The Mormon prophet describes his father, Joseph Smith, Jr., as a farmer, and by his father he was in boyhood taught ² "the art of husbandry." From many other accounts the father's husbandry seems to have been of the intermittent sort. The father's farming seems to have been devoted to the raising and crystallising of ginseng for export trade, in which venture a considerable sum of money was lost through the dishonesty, according to Mrs. Smith,³ of persons in whom the Smiths confided. The reputation which both father and son enjoyed was ⁴ not in any sense of the best—certainly not so far as industry, sobriety and general morality were concerned. Both spent considerable time in hunting and fishing—so much so that they did not even own their own farm, but belonged to the "squatter" class. Both of them showed all the traits of vagrants—including also a marked tendency towards financial irregularity, or, shall we say, indifference?

It has been stated that both father and son made considerable of what money they did make through divination. They located buried treasure, advised farmers where to sink wells, and rendered the usual services which those in touch with the occult are able to render to those who are credulous enough to pay for such services.

¹ Smith, Lucy: *op. cit.*, p. 46.

² Smith, Joseph: "Items of Church History," etc. Salt Lake City, 1886.

³ Smith, Lucy: *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50, 51.

⁴ See the collection of affidavits of neighbors of the Smiths in Howe, E. D.: "Mormonism Unveiled," etc. Painesville, Ohio, 1834, pp. 231-269. See also Clark, John A.: "Gleanings by the Way." New York, Philadelphia, 1842, pp. 342-34.

No record of any treasure found by the prophet or by his father is extant. On the other hand, there are some interesting stories told of their efforts at finding treasure. The following is taken from the history of Chenango County, New York, and tells of an adventure in Afton:

“Joe Smith, the founder of Mormonism, operated quite extensively in this town and vicinity during the early years of his career as a prophet. The reputation of the family was very bad and *Joe was considered the worst of the whole*. Somewhere about 1828 or 1829 Smith made his appearance in Afton and attended school in District No. 9. Here his supernatural powers manifested themselves, by telling fortunes or ‘foretelling futurity.’ This was done by placing a stone in his hat and then looking into it drawn over his face so as to exclude the light. He first organized a society at the house of Joe Knight, on the south side of the river, near the Lobdell House, in Broome County. Excavations were made in various places for treasures and rocks containing iron pyrites were drilled for gold. Previous to digging in any place a sheep was killed, and the blood sprinkled upon the spot. Lot 62 was the seat of one of these mining operations.”¹

An account of much the same nature appears in Emily C. Blackman’s History of Susquehanna County (Pennsylvania).

“A straggling Indian who was passing up the Susquehanna, had told of buried *treasure*. Joseph, learning of this, hunted up the Indian, and induced him to reveal the place where it was buried. . . . He (Smith) induced a well-to-do farmer by the name of Harper, of Harpersville, N. Y., to go in with him. They commenced digging on

¹ Quoted by Cake, Lu. B.: “Peepstone Joe and the Peck Manuscript.” New York, 1899, pp. 13-14.

what is now the farm of Jacob I. Skinner in Oakland Township. After digging a great hole, that is still to be seen, Harper got discouraged, and was about abandoning the enterprise. Joe now declared to Harper that there was an enchantment about the place that was removing the treasure farther off; that Harper must get a perfectly *white dog*, and sprinkle his blood over the ground, and that would prevent the enchantment from removing the treasure. Search was made all over the country, but no perfectly white dog could be found. Joseph said he thought a *white sheep* would do as well. A sheep was killed and his blood sprinkled as directed. The digging was then resumed by Harper. After spending \$2,000 he utterly refused to go any further. Joseph now said that the enchantment had removed all the treasure; that the Almighty was displeased with them for attempting to palm off on Him a white sheep for a white dog, and had allowed the enchantment to remove the treasure. He would sit for hours looking into his hat at the round coloured stone, and tell of things far away and supernatural. At times he was melancholy and sedate, as often hilarious and mirthful; an imaginative enthusiast constitutionally opposed to work, and a general favourite with the ladies.

"Smith early put on the airs of a prophet, and was in the habit of 'blessing' his neighbours' crops for a small consideration. On one occasion a neighbour had a piece of corn planted rather late, and on a moist piece of ground and feeling a little doubtful about its ripening, got Smith to bless it. It happened that that was the only piece of corn killed by frost in the neighbourhood. When the prophet's attention was called to the matter, he got out of the difficulty by saying that he made a mistake, and put a curse on the corn instead of a blessing. Rather an unneighbourly act, and paid for, too." ¹

¹ Quoted in Blackman, Emily C.: "History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania," etc. Philadelphia, 1873, pp. 579-80. See also Smith, Joseph, Jr.: "The Pearl of Great Price." Salt Lake City, 1891, pp. 66-7. Also Howe: *op. cit.*, pp. 238-9.

Both of Smith's parents claim to have been the recipients of visions of a religious nature.¹ When Smith himself began to be interested in religion through the influence of a revival, he, in like manner, became subject to visions and special revelations.²

"I was at this time in my fifteenth year. My father's family was proselyted to the Presbyterian faith, and four of them joined that church, namely, my mother Lucy, my brothers Hyrum, Samuel, Harrison and my sister Sophronia.

"During this time of great excitement, my mind was called up to serious reflection and great uneasiness; but though my feelings were deep and often pungent, still I kept myself aloof from all these parties, though I attended their several meetings as often as occasion would permit; but in process of time my mind became somewhat partial to the Methodist sect, and I felt some desire to be united with them, but so great was the confusion and strife among the different denominations, that it was impossible for a person, young as I was, and so unacquainted with men and things, to come to any certain conclusion who was right and who was wrong. . . .

"While I was labouring under the extreme difficulties, caused by the contests of these parties of religionists, I was one day reading the Epistle of James, first chapter, and fifth verse, which reads, if any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth unto all men liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him. . . . So . . . I retired to the woods to make the attempt. It was on the morning of a beautiful clear day, early in the spring of eighteen hundred and twenty. . . .

"After I had retired into the place where I had previously designed to go, having looked around me and find-

¹ Smith, Lucy: *op. cit.*, pp. 54-6.

² Same: *op. cit.*, pp. 56-9; 70-1.

ing myself alone, I kneeled down and began to open up the desires of my heart to God. I had scarcely done so, when immediately I was seized upon by some power which entirely overcame me, and had such astonishing influence over me as to bind my tongue so that I could not speak. Thick darkness gathered around me, and it seemed to me for a time as if I were doomed to sudden destruction. But exerting all my power to call upon God to deliver me out of the power of this enemy which had seized upon me and at the very moment when I was ready to sink into despair, and abandon myself to destruction, not to an imaginary ruin, but to the power of an actual being from the unseen world, who had such a marvellous power as I had never before felt in any being. Just at this moment of great alarm, I saw a pillar of light exactly over my head, above the brightness of the Sun, which descended gradually while it fell upon me. It no sooner appeared than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound. When the light rested upon me, I saw two personages, whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above and in the air. One of them spake unto me, calling me by name, and said (pointing to the other) 'This is My Beloved Son. Hear Him.'

"My object in going to inquire of the Lord, was to know which of all the sects was right, that I might know which to join. No sooner, therefore, did I get possession of myself, so as to be able to speak, than I asked the personages who stood above me in the light, which of all the sects was right . . . and which I should join. I was answered that I must join none of them, for they were all wrong, and the personage who addressed me said that all their creeds were an abomination in his sight; that those professors were all corrupt. . . .

"He again forbade me to join any of them; and many other things did he say unto me, which I cannot write at

this time. When I came to myself again, I found myself lying on my back, looking up into heaven.”¹

On the 21st day of September, 1823, Smith is again the recipient of a vision. An angel named Moroni appeared at the prophet's bedside:

“He had on a loose robe of most exquisite whiteness. It was a whiteness beyond anything earthly I had ever seen; nor do I believe that any earthly thing could be made to appear so exceedingly white and brilliant. . . . His whole person was glorious beyond description, and his countenance truly like lightning. The room was exceedingly light, but not so very bright as immediately around his person. . . . He said . . . that God had a work for me to do, and that my name should be had for good and evil among all nations, kindreds and tongues. . . . He said there was a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent, and the source from whence they sprang. He also said that the fulness of the everlasting Gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Saviour to the ancient inhabitants. Also that there were two stones in silver bows (and these stones, fastened to a breastplate, constituted what is called the Urim and Thummim) deposited with the plates, and the possession and use of these stones was what constituted Seers in ancient or former times, and that God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book. . . . He told me that when I got these plates of which he had spoken (for the time that they should be obtained was not yet fulfilled) I should not show them to any person, neither the breastplate with the Urim and Thummim; only to those to whom I should be commanded to show them; if I did, I should be destroyed. While he was conversing with me about the plates vision was opened to my mind that I could see the place where the plates were deposited, and

¹ “Pearl of Great Price”: pp. 58-9.

that so clearly and distinctly that I knew the place again when I visited it." ¹

Twice again that same night the angel Moroni appeared, and repeated over substantially the same revelations.

"Almost immediately after the heavenly messenger had ascended from me the third time, the cock crew, and I found that day was approaching." ²

The next day, while walking with his father, Smith had another visit from the same angel, who this time commanded him to impart the secret to his father.

"I obeyed, I returned back to my father in the field and rehearsed the whole matter to him. He replied to me that it was of God, and to go and do as commanded by the messenger. I left the field and went to the place where the messenger had told me the plates were deposited, and owing to the distinctness of the vision which I had concerning it, I knew the place the instant that I arrived there. Convenient to the village of Manchester, Ontario County, New York, stands a hill of considerable size, and the most elevated of any in the neighbourhood. On the west side of this hill, not far from the top, under a stone of considerable size, lay the plates, deposited in a stone box; this stone was thick and rounding in the middle of the upper side, and thinner towards the edge, so that the middle part of it was visible above the ground, and the edge all round was covered with earth. Having removed the earth, and obtained a lever, which I got fixed under the edge of the stone, and with a little exertion raised it up, I looked in, and there indeed did I behold the plates, the Urim and Thummim, and the breastplate as stated by the messenger. The box in

¹ "Pearl of Great Price": pp. 62-4.

² Same: p. 65.

which they lay was formed by laying stones together in some kind of cement. In the bottom of the box were laid two stones crossways of the box, and on these stones lay the plates and the other things with them.”¹

Joseph was about to take the plates when he was forbidden and told to wait four years. In the meantime he was to come back and meet the angel once a year at the same place.

In January, 1827, he married Miss Emma Hale, daughter of a Mr. Isaac Hale of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania. The marriage was performed by “Squire Tarbill, in South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York.”² Mr. Hale opposed the match, and Smith was obliged to elope in order to secure his bride. The following is of interest as being an extract from a sworn statement of Mr. Hale:

“I first became acquainted with Joseph Smith, Jr., in November, 1825. He was at that time in the employ of a set of men who were called ‘money-diggers’; and his occupation was that of seeing or pretending to see by means of a stone placed in his hat, and his hat closed over his face. In this way he pretended to discover minerals and hidden treasure. His appearance at that time was that of a careless young man—not very well educated, and very saucy and insolent to his father. Smith and his father, with several other ‘money-diggers,’ boarded at my house, while they were employed in digging for a mine that they supposed had been opened and worked by the Spaniards many years since. Young Smith gave the ‘money-diggers’ great encouragement at first, but when they had arrived in digging to near the place where he had stated an immense treasure would be

¹ “Pearl of Great Price”; pp. 65-6. Cf. also Clark: *op. cit.*, pp. 225, 228. For another story of the Golden Bible, see Howe: *op. cit.*, pp. 234-6.

² “Pearl of Great Price”: p. 67.

found—he said the enchantment was so powerful that he could not see.”¹

On the 22nd of September, 1827, the prophet went to the hill Cumorah, for that was the sacred name of the hill, to claim and receive the plates. He took the plates with him to Harmony, Pennsylvania, and took up his residence near his father-in-law. Mr. Hale says:

“I was shown a box in which it is said they were contained, which had, to all appearance, been used as a glass box, of the common window glass. I was allowed to feel the weight of the box, and they gave me to understand that the book of plates was then in the box—into which, however, I was not allowed to look.”²

While in Susquehanna County, the Prophet tells us:

“I commenced copying the characters of the plates. I copied a considerable number of them, and by means of Urim and Thummim I translated some of them.”³

Martin Harris, who had been a man of easily shifting religious opinions and “a firm believer in dreams, and visions, and of supernatural appearances, such as apparitions and ghosts,” was a farmer living in Palmyra Township, Wayne County, New York.⁴ He had become greatly excited over and interested in Smith’s Golden Bible, and on the strength of his interest, had lent Smith fifty dollars with which to go to Pennsylvania. Harris, according to Smith’s account, came down to see Smith in February, 1828, and

“got the characters which I had drawn off the plates and started with them to the City of New York. For what

¹ Howe: *op. cit.*, pp. 262-3.

² Howe: *op. cit.*, p. 264.

³ “Pearl of Great Price”: p. 68.

⁴ Clark: *op. cit.*, p. 223.

took place relative to him and the characters, I refer to his own account of the circumstances as he related them to me after his return, which was as follows:

“I went to the City of New York and presented the characters which had been translated, with the translation thereof, to Professor Anthon, a gentleman celebrated for his literary attainments. Professor Anthon stated that the translation was correct, more so than any he had before seen translated from the Egyptian. I then showed him those which were not yet translated, and he said that they were Egyptian, Chaldaic, Assyrian and Arabic, and he said that they were the true characters. He gave me a certificate to the people of Palmyra that they were true characters, and that the translation of such of them as had been translated was also correct. I took the certificate and put it into my pocket and was leaving the house when Mr. Anthon called me back and asked me how the young man found out that there were gold plates in the place where he found them. I answered that an angel of God had revealed it unto him.

“He then said unto me, “Let me see that certificate.” I accordingly took it out, when he took it and tore it to pieces, saying that there was no such thing now as ministering angels, and that if I would bring the plates to him he would translate them. I informed him that part of the plates were sealed, and that I was forbidden to bring them; he replied, “I cannot read a sealed book.” I left him and went to Dr. Mitchell, who sanctioned what Professor Anthon had said respecting both the characters and the translation.’ ”¹

This is one account. The following is an extract from a letter by Professor Anthon himself:

“Many years ago, the precise date I do not now recollect, a plain looking countryman called upon me with a letter from Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, requesting me to ex-

¹ “Pearl of Great Price”: pp. 68-9.

amine, and give my opinion upon, a certain paper, marked with various characters which the doctor confessed he could not decypher, and which the bearer of the note was very anxious to have explained. A very brief examination of the paper convinced me that it was a mere hoax, and a very clumsy one, too. The characters were arranged in columns, like the Chinese mode of writing, and presented the most singular medley that I ever beheld. Greek, Hebrew, and all sorts of letters, more or less distorted, either through unskilfulness, or from actual design, were intermingled with sundry delineations of half moons, stars, and other natural objects, and the whole ended in a rude representation of the Mexican zodiac. The conclusion was irresistible, that some cunning fellow had prepared the paper in question, for the purpose of imposing upon the countryman who brought it, and I told the man so without any hesitation. He then proceeded to give me a history of the whole affair, which convinced me that he had fallen into the hands of some sharper, while it left me in great astonishment at his own simplicity.

"The countryman told me that a *gold book* had been recently dug up in the western or northern part (I forget which), of our state, and he described this book as consisting of many *gold plates*, like leaves, secured by a gold wire passing through the edges of each, just as the leaves of a book are sewed together, and presented in this way the appearance of a volume. Each plate, according to him, was inscribed with unknown characters, and the paper which he handed me, a transcript of one of these pages. . . . A proposition had accordingly been made to my informant, to sell his farm, and apply the proceeds to the printing of the golden book, and the golden plates were to be left with him as security until he should be reimbursed by the sale of the work. . . . As Dr. Mitchell was our 'Magnus Apollo' in those days, the man called first upon him; but the Doctor evidently suspecting

some trick, declined giving any opinion about the matter, and sent the countryman down to the college, to see, in all probability, what the 'learned pundits' in that place would make of the affair. On my telling the bearer of the paper that an attempt had been made to impose on him, and defraud him of his property, he requested me to give my opinion in writing about the paper which he had shown to me. I did so without any hesitation, partly for the man's sake, and partly to let the individual 'behind the curtain' see that his trick was discovered. The import of what I wrote was, as far as I can now recollect, simply this, that the marks on the paper appeared to be merely an imitation of various alphabetical characters, and had, in my opinion, no meaning at all connected with them. The countryman then took his leave, with many thanks, and with the express declaration that he would in no shape part with his farm or embark in the speculation of printing the golden book." ¹

Harris's resolution was not long kept. In a short time we find him assisting the prophet in translating the plates. In this, Smith sat behind a curtain and read the plates with the aid of his Urim and Thummim. Harris, on the other side of the curtain, took down the words as they were dictated in English by the prophet. After over a hundred pages had been dictated, Harris at his earnest solicitation, was allowed to take them home and lost them. It is generally believed that Mrs. Harris, who did not share her husband's visionary ideas, stole the manuscript. As Harris was one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, it might be well to note the following statement made under oath, by his wife:

"He is naturally quick in his temper, and in his mad fits frequently abuses all who may dare to oppose him

¹ Clark: *op. cit.*, pp. 233-4-5-6. Substantially the same facts are told in a letter from Professor Anthon to E. D. Howe. See Howe: *op. cit.*, pp. 270-272.

in his wishes. However strange it may seem, I have been a great sufferer by his unreasonable conduct. At different times while I lived with him he has whipped, kicked and turned me out of the house. . . . In one of his fits of rage, he struck me with the butt end of a whip, which I think had been used for driving oxen, and was about the size of my thumb, and three or four feet long. He beat me on the head four or five times, and the next day turned me out of doors twice, and beat me in a shameful manner. . . . His main complaint against me was, that I was always trying to hinder him making money. . . . One day, while at Peter Harris's house, I told him he had better leave the company of the Smiths, as their religion was false; to which he replied: 'If you would let me alone, I could make money by it.' ”¹

The loss of the first pages of the manuscript was no small one to the prophet. Not only was his labour lost, but he was in a serious quandary. If he should attempt to reproduce the lost pages, he knew that the stolen copy would be produced and the discrepancies between it and the new manuscript produced from memory pointed out. While in this difficult situation, however, he received a special revelation in which he was told not to reproduce the missing pages.

It was about this time that Smith began to make use of the services as a scribe of Oliver Cowdery, a country school-teacher. Cowdery occupies an important place in Mormon history as one of the witnesses as to the divine origin of the Book of Mormon.

“Two days after the arrival of Mr. Cowdery (being the 17th of April) I commenced to translate the Book of Mormon, and he commenced to write for me.

“We still continued the work of translation, when, in

¹ Howe: *op. cit.*, pp. 254-6.

the ensuing month (May, 1824), we on a certain day went into the woods to pray and inquire of the Lord respecting baptism for the remission of sins, as we found mentioned in the translation of the plates. While we were thus employed, praying and calling upon the Lord, a messenger from heaven descended in a cloud of light, and having laid his hands upon us, he ordained us. . . .

"Accordingly, we went and were baptised. I baptised him first, and afterwards he baptised me—after which I laid my hands upon his head and ordained him to the Aaronic Priesthood, and afterwards he laid his hands on me and ordained me to the same Priesthood—for so we were commanded. . . .

"Immediately upon our coming up out of the water, after we had been baptised, we experienced great and glorious blessings from our Heavenly Father. No sooner had I baptised Oliver Cowdery than the Holy Ghost fell upon him, and he stood up and prophesied many things which would shortly come to pass. And again, so soon as I had been baptised by him, I also had the spirit of prophecy; when standing up, I prophesied concerning the rise of the Church, and many other things connected with the Church and this generation of the children of men. We were filled with the Holy Ghost, and rejoiced in the God of our salvation."¹

After the translation of the Book of Mormon had been completed, it was printed with the financial assistance of Martin Harris, and hawked about.² It did not immediately attain that financial success which had been expected.

The contents of the book were summarised by Smith, himself, as follows:

"In this important and interesting work the history of Ancient America is unfolded, from its first settlement

¹ "Pearl of Great Price," pp. 69-72. See also Howe: *op. cit.*, p. 15. Cowdery is said by Howe to have been a blacksmith by trade.

² Cf. Smith, Lucy: *op. cit.*, pp. 151-2 *et seq.*

by a colony that came from the tower of Babel, at the confusion of languages to the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era. We are informed by these records that America in ancient times has been inhabited by two distinct races of people. The first were called Jaredites and came directly from the tower of Babel. The second race came directly from the city of Jerusalem, about six hundred years before Christ. They were principally Israelites of the descendants of Joseph. The Jaredites were destroyed about the time that the Israelites came from Jerusalem, who succeeded them in the inheritance of the country. The principal nation of the second race fell in battle towards the close of the fourth century. The remnant are the Indians that now inhabit this country. This book also tells us that our Saviour made his appearance upon this continent after his resurrection, that he planted the gospel here in all its fulness, and richness, and power and blessing; that they had apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers and evangelists; the same order, the same priesthood, the same ordinances, gifts, powers, and blessing, as was enjoyed on the Eastern continent, that the people were cut off in consequence of their transgressions; that the last of their prophets who existed among them was commanded to write an abridgment of their prophecies, history, etc., and to hide it up in the earth, and that it should come forth and be united with the Bible for the accomplishment of the purposes of God in the last days. For a more particular account I would refer to the Book of Mormon, which can be purchased in Nauvoo, or from any of our travelling elders.”¹

There has been a great deal of discussion on the part of those who do not believe in the supernatural origin of the Book of Mormon, as to the source from which Smith obtained his data for the Book. One theory was

¹ “The Writings of Joseph Smith, the Seer.” New York, 1889, p. 7.

that he came into possession of the manuscript written by the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, but never published, called the "Manuscript Found," and copied this manuscript word for word. As has been pointed out, if the prophet had been in possession of such a manuscript, the loss of the pages taken by Mrs. Harris would not have called for a special revelation. It would have been a very simple matter for Smith to have dictated again to Harris the contents of the lost pages. A great number of volumes and pamphlets have been written ¹ on this subject, both by Mormons and those who opposed them, and the old debate is being constantly revived. The object of the argument is, on the part of those who began it, to prove that on still another count, the prophet is both a liar and a fraud. But this is so obvious from his own conflicting statements, when we take time to wander through the maze into which they take us, and from the overwhelming testimony of those who had to do with him, that we need not be interested in obtaining any further evidence on that point. Why all this discussion about the book? Is there anything in it so eloquent or so noble that it challenges attention? Is there anything in it that is so painstakingly historical that it bears upon its face, evidence of truth? As a matter of fact, there is absolutely nothing in the Book of Mormon but what any country schoolboy, fifteen years of age, with a vivid imagination and plenty of confidence in himself, could have written.

We have noted Smith's money-digging with the aid of a "peep-stone" hidden in his hat, and his translation of the Book of Mormon by the aid of Urim and Thummim. The refusal of present day scholars of Mormonism to

¹ Cf. Clark: *op. cit.*, p. 246 *et seq.* See also Winchester, Benjamin: "Plain Facts, Showing the Origin of the Spaulding Story," etc. Philadelphia, 1840 *et al.*

see anything but a divine instrument in the Urim and Thummim reflects no credit upon their critical intelligence. "Peek-stones" or "Peep-stones" or Urim and Thummim are all one and the same thing—a survival of the superstitious practice of crystal-gazing. The story of the famous Dr. Dee and Edward Kelly is so strikingly like the story of the Mormon Seer and Revelator that it will be worth while to turn back the hand of time for four hundred years in order to note the identity of the ideas underlying Mormonism with those characteristic of witchcraft and necromancy. Dr. Dee was one of the great ones in the annals of necromancy.

"As he (Dee) was one day in November, 1582, engaged in . . . devout exercises, he says that there appeared to him the angel Uriel at the west window of his Museum, who gave him a translucent stone or chrystal, of a curious form, that had the quality, when intently surveyed, of presenting apparitions, and even emitting sounds, in consequence of which the observer could hold conversations, ask questions and receive answers from the figures he saw in the mirror. It was often necessary that the stone should be turned one way and another in different positions, before the person who consulted it gained the right focus; and then the objects to be observed would sometimes shew themselves on the surface of the stone, and sometimes in different parts of the room by virtue of the action of the stone. It had also this peculiarity, that only one person, having been named a seer, could see the figures exhibited, and hear the voices that spoke, though there might be various persons in the room. It appears that the person who discerned these visions must have his eyes and his ears uninterruptedly engaged in the affair, so that, as Dee experienced, to render the communication effectual, there must be two human beings

concerned in the scene, one of them to describe what he saw, and to recite the dialogue that took place, and the other immediately to commit to paper all that his partner dictated. Dee for some reason chose for himself the part of the amanuensis, and had to seek for a companion, who was to watch the stone, and repeat to him whatever he saw and heard.

"It happened opportunely that, a short time before Dee received this gift from on high, he contracted a familiar intercourse with one Edward Kelly of Worcestershire, whom he found specially qualified to perform the part which it was necessary to Dee to have adequately filled. Kelly was an extraordinary character, and in some respects exactly such a person as Dee wanted. He was just twenty-eight years younger than the memorable personage, who now received him as an inmate, and was engaged in his service at a stipulated salary of fifty pounds a year. . . .

"The first record of their consultations with the supramundane spirits, was of the date of December 2, 1581, at Lexden Heath, in the county of Essex, and from this time they went on in a regular series of consultations with and enquiries from these miraculous visitors, a great part of which will appear to the uninitiated extremely puerile and ludicrous, but which were committed to writing with the most scrupulous exactness by Dee, the first part still existing in manuscript, but the greater portion from 28 May 1583 to 1608, with some interruptions, having been committed to the press by Dr. Meric Cassaubon in a well-sized folio in 1659, under the title of 'A true and Faithful Relation of what passed between Dr. John Dee and some spirits, tending, had it succeeded, to a general alteration of most states and kingdoms of the world.' " ¹

¹ Godwin, William: "Lives of the Necromancers." London, 1834, pp. 376-380. For the further use of the stone, see p. 382. See also Dixon, W. Hepworth: "New America." Philadelphia, 1867, pp. 362-4. See also Smith, Lucy: *op. cit.*, p. 211. See also Howe: *op. cit.*, pp. 215-6.

The following addendum to the story is not in any sense foreign to the story of the Mormon prophet:

"Kelly at length started a very extraordinary proposition. Kelly, as an interpreter to the spirits, and being the only person who heard and saw anything, we may presume made them say whatever he pleased. Kelly and Dee had both of them wives. Kelly did not always live harmoniously with the partner of his bed. He sometimes went so far as to say that he hated her. Dee was more fortunate. His wife was a person of good family, and had hitherto been irreproachable in her demeanour. The spirits one day revealed to Kelly that they must henceforth have their wives in common. The wife of Kelly was barren, and this curse could not otherwise be removed. Having started the proposition, Kelly played the reluctant party. Dee, who was pious and enthusiastic, inclined to submit. He first indeed started the notion that it could only be meant that they should live in mutual harmony and good understanding. The spirits protested against this, and insisted upon the literal interpretation."¹

On April 6, 1830, a formal organisation for the Mormon church was effected at the home of Peter Whitmer at Fayette, Seneca County, New York. We are told that according to Orson Pratt it was just eighteen hundred years to a day after the resurrection of Jesus. It was not long before persecution became so bitter that it was necessary to remove to another section of the country. Joseph, who had been preaching in various places in New York, had received a revelation commanding

"Parley P. Pratt, Ziba Peterson, Peter Whitmer, and Oliver Cowdery, to take a mission to Missouri, preaching by the way. . . . On their route, they passed through

¹ Godwin: *op. cit.*, pp. 387-8.

Kirtland, where they preached a short time, and roused up a branch of twenty or thirty members. Before leaving this place, they addressed a letter to Joseph desiring him to send an Elder to preside over the branch which they had raised up. Accordingly Joseph despatched John Whitmer to take the presidency of the Church at Kirtland; and when he arrived there, those appointed to go to Missouri, proceeded on their mission, preaching and baptising as before.”¹

It was not long, however, before Smith himself was summoned to Kirtland, to which place he moved with his family and a number of adherents. Among the most zealous of his new followers was the Rev. Sidney Rigdon, a preacher of considerable power and fame, who had been associated formerly with the Disciples or Campbellites.

“On Joseph’s arrival at Kirtland, he formed a Church consisting of nearly one hundred members, who were, in general, good brethren, though a few of them had imbibed some very erroneous ideas, being greatly deceived by a singular form, which manifested itself among them in strange contortions of the visage, and sudden unnatural contortions of the body. This they supposed to be a display of the power of God. Shortly after Joseph arrived, he called the church together, in order to show them the difference between the Spirit of God and the spirit of the devil. He said, if a man arose in meeting to speak, and was seized with a kind of paroxysm that drew his face and limbs, in a violent and unnatural manner, which made him appear to be in pain, and if he gave utterance to strange sounds, which were incomprehensible to his audience, they might rely upon it, that he had the spirit of the devil. But on the contrary, when a man speaks by the Spirit of God, he speaks from the abundance of

¹ Smith, Lucy: *op. cit.*, p. 169.

his heart—his mind is filled with intelligence, and even should he be excited, it does not cause him to do anything ridiculous or unseemly. He then called upon one of the brethren to speak, who arose, and made the attempt, but was immediately seized with a kind of spasm, which drew his face, arms, and fingers in a most astonishing manner.

“Hyrum,¹ by Joseph’s request, laid hands on the man, whereupon he sunk back in a state of complete exhaustion. Joseph then called upon another man to speak, who stood leaning in an open window. This man also attempted to speak, but was thrown forward into the house, prostrate, unable to utter a syllable.

“These, together with a few other examples of the same kind, convinced the brethren of the mistake under which they had been labouring.”²

For some time prior to Smith’s coming to Kirtland, the preaching of the Rev. Sidney Rigdon and others of his type had been gradually arousing a state of religious excitement. So great was the general public interest that people came from the surrounding country much as they did—although not in as great numbers—in the days of the Kentucky revival.

“On Sundays the roads would be thronged with people, some in whatever vehicles they owned, some on horseback, and some on foot, all pressing forward to hear the expounders of the new Gospel, and to learn the particulars of the new Bible.”³

Frederick G. Mather in an article in *Lippincott’s Magazine* on “The Early Days of Mormonism” gives an interesting account from the pen of John Barr of Cleve-

¹ One of Smith’s brothers.

² Smith, Lucy: *op. cit.*, pp. 171-2.

³ Linn, William Alexander: “The Story of the Mormons.” New York, 1902, p. 123.

land, "an authority upon matters of Western Reserve history," describing the magnetic powers as a preacher of Sidney Rigdon, who proved himself, for a time at least, a valuable asset to Mormonism:

"In 1830 I was deputy sheriff, and being at Willoughby on official business determined to go to Mayfield, which is seven or eight miles up the Chagrin River, and hear Cowdery and Rigdon on the revelations of Mormonism. Varnam J. Card, the lawyer, and myself started early Sunday morning on horseback. We found the woods crowded with people going in the same direction.

"Services in the church were opened by Cowdery, with prayer and singing, in which he thanked God fervently for the new revelation. He related the manner of finding the golden plates of Nephi. He was followed by Rigdon, a famous Baptist preacher well known throughout the eastern part of the Western Reserve, and also in Western Pennsylvania. His voice and manner were always imposing. He was regarded as an eloquent man at all times, and now he seemed fully aroused. He said he had not been satisfied in his religious yearnings until now. At night he had often been unable to sleep, walking and praying for more light and comfort in his religion. While in the midst of this agony, he heard of the revelation of Joe Smith, which Oliver Cowdery had explained. Under this his soul suddenly found peace. It filled all his aspirations.

"At the close of a long harangue in this earnest manner, during which every one present was silent, though very much affected, he inquired whether any one desired to come forward and be immersed. Only one man arose. This was an aged dead-beat by the name of Cahoon, who occasionally joined the Shakers, and lived on the country generally.

"The place selected for immersion was in a clear pool in the river above the bridge, around which was a beauti-

ful rise of ground on the west side for the audience. On the east bank was a sharp bluff and some stumps, where Mr. Card and myself stationed ourselves. The time for baptism was fixed at two p.m. Long before this hour the spot was surrounded by as many people as could have a clear view. Rigdon went into the pool, which, at the deepest, was about four feet, and after a suitable address with prayer, Cahoon came forward and was immersed. Standing in the water Rigdon gave one of his most powerful exhortations. The assembly became greatly affected. As he proceeded he called for converts to step forward. They came through the crowd in rapid succession to the number of thirty and were immersed, with no intermission on the part of Rigdon.

"Mr. Card was apparently the most radical, stoical of men—of a clear, unexcitable temperament, with unorthodox and vague religious ideas. While the exciting scene was transpiring below us in the valley and in the pool, the faces of the crowd expressing the most intense emotion, Mr. Card suddenly seized my arm and said, 'Take me away.' Taking his arm I saw his face was so pale that he seemed to be about to faint. His frame trembled as we walked away and mounted our horses. We rode a mile toward Willoughby before a word was said. Rising the hill out of the valley, he seemed to recover and said, 'Mr. Barr, if you had not been there I certainly should have gone into the water.' He said the impulse was irresistible." ¹

Another description is from the pen of Professor Turner:

"During the fall and winter of '30 and '31, Kirtland was continually crowded with visitors, who came from all quarters to inquire after the 'New Religion.' About this

¹ Mather, Frederick S.: "The Early Days of Mormonism." *Lippincott's Magazine*, 1880, p. 206. Quoted by Kennedy: *op. cit.*, pp. 92-94.

time, as we are informed by credible historians and eye-witnesses, 'many in the church became very visionary and had divers operations of the Spirit.' They saw wonderful lights in the air and on the ground and had many miraculous visions and experiences. Their conduct grew more and more eccentric and absurd. Sometimes they imitated the grotesque antics of the wild Indian, in knocking down,¹ scalping and tearing out the bowels of his victim, thus anticipating the hour of their fancied mission to those lost sons of Jacob.

"Again they ran into the fields, mounted upon stumps, and while absorbed in vision, and insensible to all around them, they plunged into the water of baptism or harangued the imaginary multitudes by whom they thought they were surrounded. Some professed to receive letters direct from heaven, written on *stones* or parchment, in characters which they alone had power to translate, and vanished as soon as the work was performed. Others fell into a trance, and continued apparently lifeless for a long time, and woke only to relate the wonders they had seen touching the future glory of the saints, and the destruction of the unbelieving. Sometimes their faces, bodies and limbs were violently distorted and convulsed, until they fell prostrate on the ground. Indeed, it is reported by an eye-witness, that at first the laying hands on the heads of their converts to confer the gift of the Holy Spirit, generally produced an instantaneous prostration of both body and mind, often followed by a wonderful gift of tongues, as was supposed, in Indian dialects; which, indeed, none could understand except by direct inspiration. Some, in imitation of the prophet, received magic stones, through which they professed to see and describe not only the persons but the dress and employments of persons hundreds of miles distant." ²

¹ Cf. the Shaker "Warring Gift."

² Turner: "Mormonism in All Ages." Pp. 27-8. See also Howe: *op. cit.*, p. 103.

Scenes like this were numerous. The preachers were fervent, the people "eager for the supernatural," and the message definite and dogmatic. The Shakers, the Campbellites, and a host of others, including Dilks, the "Leatherwood God,"¹ who had declared himself as the Messiah, at a camp-meeting in Ohio in 1828 and who had been received by many with enthusiasm, had paved the way for Mormonism. The time was indeed at hand.

It was in February, 1831, that the prophet and his family came to Kirtland. He had been busy with a new translation of the Old Testament. It was Smith's ability to translate the Scriptures from any language which to Sidney Rigdon's mind was one of the proofs of the supernatural origin of the prophet's mission. While busied thus—apparently without the aid of the Urim and Thummim, he received a revelation that Kirtland "is the place of gathering and from that place to the Pacific Ocean, God has declared to himself, not only in time, but through eternity, and he has given it to us and our children, not only while time lasts, but we shall have it again in eternity, as you will see by one of the commandments received day before yesterday."²

The expectations of the Latter Day Saints ran at this time very high. Martin Harris, who had contributed so liberally to the material welfare of the Golden Bible, went so far as to tell a hotel man at Kirtland—the proprietor of the Painesville tavern, in the bar room of which he had established himself as a preacher of the new gospel—that "all who accepted Mormonism and believed, would see Christ in fifteen years, and all who did not would be damned."³

¹ Turner: *op. cit.*, p. 98.

² Kennedy, J. H.: "The Early Days of Mormonism," etc. New York, 1888, p. 84.

³ Quoted from the Painesville *Telegraph* of March 15, 1831, in Kennedy: *op. cit.*, p. 88.

On another occasion Harris is said to have prophesied two coming events, the first of which was

“That Palmyra would be destroyed, and left utterly without inhabitants, before the year 1836. The other prediction was that before 1838 the Mormon Faith would so extensively prevail, that it would modify our national government, and there would be at that period no longer any occupant of the presidential chair of the United States.”¹

Smith now faced the very practical problem of authority, in view of the fact that Harris, Cowdery and others began to claim the gifts of revelation and prophecy and to exercise their gifts in such a manner as to suggest the possibility of conflict with the revelations which he himself received. A timely revelation received at this juncture by Smith was of considerable help in doing away with the difficulty:

“Behold, I say unto thee, Oliver, that it shall be given unto thee that thou shalt be heard by the church in all things whatsoever thou shalt teach them by the Comforter, concerning the revelations and commandments which I have given. But behold, verily, verily, I say unto thee, no one shall be appointed to receive revelations in this church excepting my servant Joseph Smith, Jr., for he receiveth them even as Moses, and thou shalt be obedient unto the things which I shall give unto him, even as Aaron to declare faithfully the commandments and the revelations, with power and authority over the church.”²

On January 22, 1833, the gift of tongues appeared. From then on, especially in the making of proselytes, this gift played an important part in the history of Mormonism.

¹ Clark: *op. cit.*, p. 348. See also Howe: *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

² Kennedy: *op. cit.*, p. 89.

"Whether the languages now introduced differed materially from those practised two or three years previous (and pronounced to be of the Devil) we have not been informed. It appears that this last device was all that was lacking to make the system perfect. They had long before professed to be fully endowed with the power of healing all manner of diseases, discerning spirits, and casting out devils. But a succession of failures had rendered them rather stale, and given distrust to many of the faithful. A new expedient was therefore indispensably necessary, in order to revive the drooping spirits of the deluded, and at the same time, insure a new crop of converts. The scheme proved eminently successful. Hundreds were soon convinced of the truth of the whole, by hearing of and seeing the manner in which the 'tongues' were performed, although the trick would seem more susceptible of discovery than any previous one. This gift was not confined to the Elders and high priests, who in other respects were supposed to have a superabundant share of 'the spirit'; but nearly all the proselytes, both old and young, could show their faith by speaking with tongues. And it would appear from all the facts which we have been able to gather upon this subject, that if this gift were not supernaturally bestowed, it required but a few moments' instruction from a priest, to render his pupil expert in various dead languages, which could never be understood by man or beast, except a supernatural power was at the instant given to some one present to interpret it. They sometimes professed to believe that these 'tongues' were the same which were 'confounded' at the building of Babel.

"Some curious particulars are related respecting these blasphemous practices by a Mr. Higby, who was eight months an Elder in the Mormon church. . . .

"About the tenth of April following, R. Cahoon and D. Patton came again to the place. A meeting was called, and previous to the meeting, they said that some

one would speak with tongues, before they left the place. Accordingly he set himself to work at that meeting to verify his prophecy. During the meeting he said, 'Father H., if you will rise in the name of Jesus Christ, you can speak in Tongues.' He arose immediately, hesitated and said, 'my faith fails me—I have not faith enough.' Said Patton, 'you have—speak in the name of Jesus Christ—make some sound as you list, without further thought, and God will make it a language.' The old gentleman, after considerable urging, spoke and made some sounds, which were pronounced to be a correct tongue. Several others spoke in a similar manner, and among them was myself. I spoke as I listed, not knowing what I said, yet it was declared to be a tongue. The sound of the words used by some in speaking in tongues, was a medium between talking and singing—and all, I am now convinced, a mere gibberish, spoken at random and without thought.

"We had another meeting shortly after, at which there were present several others, besides those of the church—Cahoon spoke in unknown tongues, as he pretended, going on at considerable length, which Patton interpreted. . . . The next time these men came among us, they gave us a rule for speaking in unknown tongues, and also for interpreting what was spoken by others. . . . The rule . . . is this: 'rise upon your feet and look and lean on Christ; speak or make some sound; continue to make sounds of some kind, and the Lord will make a correct tongue or language of it.'"

Howe further adds:

"They would frequently sing in this gibberish, forming a tune as they proceeded. The same songs, they said, would be sung when the lost tribes appeared in Zion, in Missouri." ¹

¹ Howe: *op. cit.*, pp. 132-135. See also Turner: *op. cit.*, p. 28. Kennedy: *op. cit.*, p. 43 *et seq.* Clark: *op. cit.*, p. 328.

A description of one of the Kirtland meetings will convey some idea of the manner in which Mormon worship in the inner circle was conducted. There were some fifteen or twenty Elders and High Priests present. The meeting was held in a small room.

“After sundry exhortations by the priests, the Prophet himself arose and with much seeming earnestness, warned his followers to be zealous, faithful in their duties, saying ‘It is our privilege to see God face to face—yes, (says he) I will prophesy unto you in the name of the Lord, that the day will come when no man will be permitted to preach unless he has seen the Lord—people will ask each teacher, “have you seen the face of the Lord?” and if he say, nay, they will say, away with this fellow, for we will have a man to teach us that has seen the face of the Lord.’ After a short pause he added, ‘the Lord is willing we should see his glory to-day, and all that will exercise faith, shall see the Lord of Glory.’ They then concluded to spend the day in fasting and prayer. Each one kept his seat with his eyes closed and his body inclined forward. Soon after Joseph says, ‘Sidney (Rigdon), have you seen the Lord?’ He answered, ‘I saw the image of a man pass before my face, whose locks were white, and whose countenance was exceedingly fair, even surpassing all beauty that I ever beheld.’ Then Joseph replied, ‘I knew you had seen a vision, Sidney, but would have seen more, were it not for unbelief.’ Sidney confessed that his faith was weak that morning. Hiram said he had seen nearly the same as Sidney, which was pronounced by Joseph to be the Redeemer of the world. Upon this, R. Cahoon fell upon his knees, holding his hands in an erect position. In fifteen or twenty minutes he arose, and declared that he had seen the temple of Zion, filled with disciples, while the top was covered with the glory of the Lord, in the form of a cloud. Another one then placed himself in the same po-

sition, but saw no vision, his faith being weak. Joseph next passed round the room, and laid his hand upon each one, and spoke as follows, as near as the narrator can recollect :

“ ‘Ah, man oh son oh man ah ne commene en holle goste en haben en glai hosanna hos anne esso milken, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Nephi, Lehi, St. John,’ etc., etc. After administering the sacrament several of the brethren were called upon to arise and speak in tongues. Several of them performed with considerable applause. Our informant says he was at length called upon to speak or sing ‘in tongues’ at his own option ; preferring the latter mode, he sang, to the tune of ‘Bruce’s Address,’ a combination of sounds which ‘astonished all present.’

“This gibberish for several months was practised almost daily, while they were about their common avocations, as well as when assembled for worship.” ¹

The speaking with tongues, however, sometimes had the opposite effect from that for which it was intended :

“One apostate from the church at Nauvoo, in latter days, dates the first growth of doubt in his mind from attendance upon a meeting where this ceremony was being performed. Having thorough acquaintance with the Choctaw language he suddenly arose and delivered a long address in that tongue and was followed by a brother Mormon, who gravely translated it into an account of the glories of the great temple then in course of construction.” ²

Lieut. J. W. Gunnison, in writing of the gift of tongues among the Mormons makes the following statement :

¹ Howe: *op. cit.*, pp. 135-6.

² Kennedy: *op. cit.*, p. 117.

"This is not the ancient gift, whereby one addressing a people speaking a different language from himself, was enabled to talk in their own words. It is, that persons among themselves in their enthusiastic meetings, shall be 'moved by the Spirit' to utter any set of sounds in imitation of words, and it may be, words belonging to some Indian or other language. The speaker is to know nothing of the ideas expressed, but another, with the 'gift of interpretation of tongues,' can explain to the astonished audience all that has been said. Any sounds, of course, then, are a language known to the Lord. If one feels a desire to speak, and has difficulty to bring words forth from the thoughts of his heart, or what the spirit is about to reveal through him, he must 'rise on his feet, lean in faith in Christ, and open his lips, utter a song in such cadence as he chooses, and the spirit of the Lord will give an interpreter, and make it a language.'" ¹

He also relates the following frequently quoted incident:

"Sometimes a ludicrous scene occurs in their meetings, arising from over-wrought enthusiasm. One is related of a woman who sprang up and spoke 'in tongues' as follows—'Melai, Meli, Melee,' which was immediately translated into the vernacular by a waggish young man, who first observed that he felt 'the gift of interpretation of tongues' sorely pressing upon him, and that she said in unknown words to herself, 'my leg, my thigh, my knee.' For this he was called before the council; but he stoutly persisted in his 'interpretation' being by 'the spirit,' and they let him off with admonition." ²

Rev. Peter Cartwright, the great Methodist "backwoods preacher," after telling the story of his meeting with Joseph Smith, Jr., continues:

¹ Gunnison, J. W.: "The Mormons or Latter Day Saints," etc. Philadelphia, 1852, p. 53.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

"I then gave him the following history of an encounter I had at a camp meeting in Morgan County, some time before with some of his Mormons, and assured him I could prove all I said by thousands that were present.

"The camp meeting was numerously attended, and we had a good and gracious work of religion going on among the people. On Saturday there came some twenty or thirty Mormons to the meeting. During the intermission after the eleven o'clock sermon they collected in one corner of the encampment, and began to sing, and they sang well. As fast as the people rose from their dinners they drew up to hear the singing, and the scattering crowd drew up until a large company surrounded them. I was busy regulating matters connected with the meeting. At length, according, I have no doubt, to a preconcerted plan, an old lady Mormon began to shout, and after shouting a while she swooned away and fell into the arms of her husband. The old man proclaimed that his wife had gone into a trance, and that when she came to she would speak in an unknown tongue, and that he would interpret. This proclamation produced considerable excitement, and the multitude crowded thick around. Presently the old lady arose and began to speak in an unknown tongue, sure enough.

"Just then my attention was called to the matter. I saw in one moment that the whole manœuvre was intended to bring the Mormons into notice, and break up the good of our meeting. I advanced instantly toward the crowd, and asked the people to give way and let me in to this old lady, who was then being held in the arms of her husband. I came right up to them, and took hold of her arm, and ordered her peremptorily to hush that gibberish; that I would have no more of it; that it was presumptuous and blasphemous nonsense. I stopped very suddenly her unknown tongue. She opened her eyes, took me by the hand, and said:

“‘My dear friend, I have a message directly from God to you.’

“I stopped her short and said, ‘I will have none of your messages. If God can speak through no better medium than an old, hypocritical, lying woman, I will hear nothing of it.’ ”¹

Burton, the traveller, gives us the following explanation of the unknown tongues in connection with an account of his visit to Salt Lake City:

“The gift of unknown tongues—which is made by some physiologists the result of an affection of the epigastric region, and by others an abnormal action of the organ of language—is now apparently rarer than before. Anti-Mormon writers thus imitate the ‘blatant gibberish’ which they derive directly from Irvingism: ‘Eli, ele, elo, ela—come, come, como—reli, rele, rela, relo—sela, selo, sele, selum—vavo, vava, vavum—sero, seri, sera, serum.’ ”²

We have noticed that in the early days of the tongues at Kirtland, the tongues were looked upon not merely as the language of inspiration, unknown and unknowable, but the tongues were frequently in a definite language. The matter of these tongues came up frequently in the course of the debates which were held from time to time by representatives of the Mormon church in her missionary activities. One instance is reported of a man who delivered a long harangue in the tongues, so long that the audience showed signs of weariness. Then one rose and interpreted as follows: “Except ye repent, ye shall be lost,” whereupon one of the sons of Belial there

¹ Cartwright, Peter: Autobiography. Edited by W. P. Strickland. New York, 1857, pp. 343-4.

² Burton, Richard F.: “City of the Saints.” London, 1862. Second Edition, p. 325.

present remarked that all he could say about the tongues was that it was a very "wordy" language.

In a debate held in France in 1851 at Boulogne-sur-mer in which Elder Taylor defended the Mormon tenets against a Rev. Mr. Robertson, a Mr. Cleeve and a Mr. Cater, the last named stated that a Mormon teacher had told him

"That he had a little servant girl who spoke Hebrew to a Jew through the gift of tongues, but unfortunately the Jew said there were two kinds of Hebrew, only one of which he understood, and the child spoke the kind he did not understand." ¹

We are told also that the high priest in the Endowment House ceremony, which was a later development, "first prayed in an unknown tongue, and afterwards in English."

On March 27, 1834, the first Mormon temple, costing about fifty thousand dollars, was dedicated at Kirtland, Ohio. In connection with the dedicatory services Sidney Rigdon is reported to have spoken in the tongues.²

We hear also on this occasion of Brigham Young, who :

"Not to be too far behind Joseph in the manifestations of spiritual powers, was favoured with an eloquent outburst of tongues, and made an address which neither he nor anyone else could understand, but which some brother made an attempt to translate. A pillar of fire was seen above the temple, and supernatural sounds heard in the air." ³

We are further told that

¹ Pratt, Orson: "Series of Pamphlets." Liverpool, 1851. Last Pamphlet, p. 22.

² "Doctrine and Covenants." Secs. 1 and 2, 43-51.

³ Kennedy: *op. cit.*, p. 152.

"During the evening of the day they first met, Joseph called upon Brother Brigham to pray. While doing so, he spoke in tongues. The prophet declared that he spoke in the pure Adamic language." ¹

Brigham Young had formerly been a painter and glazier. John P. Green, a relative of Young, also spoke in tongues, as did also, we are told, Smith himself.

The success of the Mormons in Kirtland came to an abrupt end with the failure of the Kirtland Safety Society Bank, which Smith and his associates had founded. The affairs of the bank at first appeared to be in a very prosperous condition. The general respect in which the Mormons were at one time held in Kirtland is shown in the fact, it has been pointed out, that the currency notes of the bank circulated very readily at par in that town and its immediate vicinity and as far east as Pittsburgh. It is believed that there was practically no reserve and no capital back of the bank. It is stated by Cyrus Smalling of Kirtland that when:

"The inhabitants holding their bills came to inquire into the Safety Society precious metals, the way that Smith contrived to deceive them was this: he had some one or two hundred boxes made, and gathered all the lead and shot that the village had, or that part of it that he controlled, and filled the boxes with lead, shot, etc., and marked them, one thousand dollars each. Then, when they went to examine the vault, he had one box on a table partly filled for them to see, and when they proceeded to the vault, Smith told them that the church had two hundred thousand dollars in specie, and he opened one box and they saw that it was silver and they hefted a number

¹ From Pamphlet Entitled "Death of President Brigham Young." Salt Lake City, Utah, 1877. An extract copied from the obituary appearing in "*The Deseret Evening News*" of Aug. 30, 1877.

and Smith told them that they contained specie. They were seemingly satisfied and went away for a few days.”¹

Finally, however, when a banker from Pittsburgh presented a considerable quantity of the notes for redemption, the prophet was unable to make settlement. Troubles increased, with the result that in January, 1838, Smith and Rigdon were both arrested. Both, however, escaped, and joined the settlement at Independence, Missouri, where had gathered already the majority of the Latter Day Saints. To Independence, another of the “stakes of Zion,” Smith had been gradually transferring the people and the things that belonged to his church—possibly anticipating the financial troubles at Kirtland.

Coming to Missouri, however, meant only a temporary refuge for the Mormons. Even before Smith himself came there from Kirtland, persecutions had broken out and resolutions had been adopted prohibiting Mormons forever from settling in this “young and beautiful country.” These resolutions adopted by the citizens of Jackson County at a meeting held on the 20th day of July, 1833, further stated:

“That those who fail to comply with the above requisitions, be referred to those of their brethren who have the gifts of unknown tongues, to inform them of the lot that awaits them.”²

Various attempts were made by the Mormons at the making of a permanent settlement. In Davies County, they established a city called “Far West.” At Far West, on the 20th day of April, 1838, the prophet received a revelation “making known the will of God concerning

¹ Clark: *op. cit.*, p. 334. See also Smith, Lucy: *op. cit.*, p. 210, and Hall, William: “The Abominations of Mormonism Exposed.” Cincinnati, 1852; pp. 18-22.

² Howe: *op. cit.*, p. 141.

the building up of this place, and of the Lord's House." In this revelation it was stated that the saints should "let the beginning be made on the 4th day of July next" (1838) and:

"Verily I say unto you, let not my servant Joseph, neither my servant Sidney, neither my servant Hyrum, go in debt any more for the building of an house unto my name." ¹

But before the end of the year 1839, the Mormons had been driven out of Missouri. Their next settlement was at a point on the Mississippi on the Illinois bank, which they named Nauvoo. Stenhouse writes thus of the new location:

"The east bank of the Mississippi, forty miles above Quincy and twenty miles southwest of Burlington, Iowa, was the favoured spot. Here on a bend of the river, upon rising ground that commanded a magnificent view of the winding Mississippi, for many miles was to be the new home of the Saints. A group of huts and houses called 'Commerce,' was the place selected; but the name was an every-day word. The 'Reformed Egyptian' of the Book of Mormon supplied a better name—'Nauvoo,' the beautiful." ²

Here the Mormon cause prospered at first greatly and Smith enjoyed what might be looked upon as the best years of his career. The church and the city grew rapidly. As a result of the tireless preaching of Mormon missionaries in Great Britain and in European countries, a constant stream of enthusiastic immigrants poured into the city until its population grew to be about fifteen thousand. Coupled with this growth in population there was in the

¹ "Doctrines and Covenants." Sec. 115, 10 and 13.

² Stenhouse, Thomas G. H.: "Rocky Mountain Saints." New York, 1873; p. 123.

early days a comparative freedom from persecution due to the fact that the people of Illinois looked upon the Mormons as having been wrongfully used by the Missourians. By special state legislation unusual powers such as the right to organise the famous Nauvoo Legion were conferred upon Smith and his associates.

Two important building projects were undertaken—one that of a new temple, the other that of a hotel or boarding-house, to be called Nauvoo House, in which by revelation it was commanded that Smith and his family for all generations should be given a home.

The temple, which was built of light grey limestone, was, when finally completed, 128 feet long, 88 feet broad, and 60 feet high. The towers were 200 feet high. It had thirty hewn pilasters which cost about three thousand dollars each. The whole cost of the building is said to have been a million dollars. The Baptismal Font supported on twelve carved oxen was intended to be gilded. The cornerstone was laid April 6, 1841. The building was subsequently destroyed by fire.

The Rev. Henry Caswell, M.A., who was in Nauvoo in April, 1842, tells us that he attended a Sunday morning service in a grove near the new temple, then in course of building. There was singing and then followed a long prayer by a man in a blue coat; then a sermon by a "stout, intemperate-looking man . . . in a thick jacket of green baize.

". . . Afterwards a tall, thin, New England Yankee, with a strong nasal twang and a provincial accent, rose up, and leaning forward on the railing, spoke for half an hour with great ease and volubility. He said that his office required him to speak of business. They were all aware that God had by special revelation appointed a committee of four persons, and had required them to build a house

unto his name, such a one as his servant, Joseph, should show them. That the said house should be called the 'Nauvoo House,' and should be a house of boarding: that the kings and nobles of the earth, and all weary travellers might lodge therein, while they should contemplate the word of the Lord, and the corner-stone, which he had appointed for Zion. . . . But only a small amount of stock had hitherto been taken, and the committee appointed by the Lord have had to go on borrowing and borrowing, until they can borrow no longer. In the meantime the mechanics employed on the house want their pay, and the committee are not able to pay them." ¹

It was while at Nauvoo that Smith began to take an active interest in American politics, addressing a questionnaire to the candidates for the presidency, and finally announcing his own candidacy for that position.

The famous revelation on polygamy was granted at Nauvoo. There are well substantiated rumours as to irregularities in the family life of Smith and some of his leading associates as far back as when he lived in Palmyra. The same charges followed them to Kirtland, to Missouri, and to Nauvoo. The charge that Smith in Nauvoo maintained adulterous relationship with, or contracted spiritual marriages with between twenty and thirty different women rests upon very substantial ground, in spite of the interesting denial of this charge on the part of the Reorganized Church of the Latter Day Saints of Jesus Christ, the branch of the church founded by Smith's legitimate family and descendants. It was some years later—after the church had become firmly established in Utah—that the system of polygamy and of spiritual wives became the publicly avowed doctrine of the church.

¹ Caswell, Henry: "The City of the Mormons, or Three Days at Nauvoo in 1842." Second Edition. London, 1843; pp. 13-14.

Edmund De Leon, who visited Smith's home in Nauvoo, informs us that

"At that time the Prophet had not publicly promulgated the doctrine of polygamy, and professed to live with one wife only—'Sister Emma,' as she was called, a gaunt, stern, hard-visaged woman of middle age. There were, however, several young women in the house, whom he termed his nieces, but who probably bore a closer relationship than was avowed at that time. The face of Sister Emma was not a happy one, and her treatment of her nieces that of an unhappy, soured and jealous woman." ¹

A few pages further on in his autobiography, De Leon continues:

"I even ventured when I became familiar with 'the Prophet,' to comment on the curious variety among his nieces and the want of any family resemblance among them. There was a sly twinkle in his prophetic eye, as he poked me in the ribs with his forefinger, and rebuked me, exclaiming, 'Oh, the carnal mind!' and I thought it discreet not to press the subject.

"On another occasion he took us to see what he called the Mormon Temple, in imitation of Solomon's. But on my observing that the windows of the Temple bore a suspicious likeness to the embrasures of a fort—which the whole solid stone structure resembled, dominating as it did the Mississippi River—I again received a poke in the ribs and a repetition of my possessing 'a carnal mind.' " ²

Nauvoo, the beautiful, the city of Smith's glory, was to be in like manner the scene of the beginning of the end. The "mysteries" of Mormonism,—particularly

¹ De Leon, Edmund: "Thirty Years of My Life." London, 1890. Vol. I, pp. 55-6.

² Same: pp. 60-1.

those relating to the *vita sexualis*, the prosperity of the Mormons, their dishonesty, their confident and constant assertions of their own righteousness, all contributed to a growing opposition and hatred on the part of neighbouring gentile settlers, with the result that the prophet was finally lodged in Carthage jail, where he and his brother, Hyrum, were murdered by Missouri militiamen. The story of the final migration of the Mormons to Utah is well known. As in the Shakers, Mother Ann Lee found a successor to whom as much of the success of her church is due as to herself—Joseph Meacham, the organiser and theologian—so in Brigham Young, Mormonism found a leader whose astuteness and organising ability have done much to make Mormonism the power that it is to-day. But it is absolutely safe to predict that just as Shakerism gradually died out when it became no longer a haven of refuge for the sexually perverted, so when polygamy is actually stamped out and Utah is no longer the safe harbour for all to whom excess in venery is life's *summum bonum*, the day of Mormonism will be done.

“Joseph Smith, Jr., was at least six feet high,” according to P. H. Burnett, “well formed, and weighed about one hundred and eighty pounds. His appearance was not prepossessing and his conversational powers were not extraordinary. You could see at a glance that his education was very limited. He was an awkward but vehement speaker. In conversation he was slow, and used too many words to express his ideas, and would not generally go directly to a point. But, with all these drawbacks, he was much more than an ordinary man. He possessed the most indomitable perseverance, was a good judge of men, and deemed himself born to command, and he did command. His views were so strange and striking, and his manner was so earnest, and apparently so candid, that you could not but be interested. . . . He had the

capacity for discussing a subject in different aspects, and for proposing many original views, even of ordinary matters. His illustrations were his own. He had great influence over others. . . . In the short space of five days he had managed so to mollify his enemies that he could go unprotected among them without the slightest danger.”¹

The characteristics which seem most apparent in Smith are his shrewd common sense and his ability to handle men. We are indebted once again to De Leon for the following incident which probably occurred only about six weeks before Smith was assassinated:

“We were sitting with him on the public green, where the people were amusing themselves with rustic sports, and exhibitions of strength, when a man came up and asked permission to use the courthouse for an exhibition of strength that night.

“‘Do you want the people to pay you for seeing them?’ asked the Prophet. ‘Yes,’ was the answer. ‘Do you know I never allow public exhibitions for pay?’ asked the Prophet. The man muttered that this was not a show. ‘Are you so much stronger than other people?’ inquired the Prophet. The man replied in the affirmative. ‘Well, then,’ repeated the Prophet, ‘if you can throw me right here, in a wrestle on the green, I will give you permission.’ The man looked anxiously at the girth and bulk of the head of the Mormon Faith, felt the muscles of his arm, and declined the proposition. Then arose the Prophet in great wrath, saying, ‘You impostor! if you don’t leave this place right away, I will make the boys duck you in the lake yonder.’ And the man departed without further orders.”²

¹ Burnett, P. H.: “Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer.” New York, 1880; pp. 66-7.

² De Leon: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 58-9.

Smith's lack of education has often been noted. In contrast to this lack of the sort of knowledge which schooling brings, stands out his claim, accepted by Mormonism, to a knowledge by supernatural means, of all languages.

The Rev. Mr. Caswell tells us the now classic story of his own experience with the prophet. In April, 1842, he went on business to St. Louis, Missouri. While there it occurred to him that it would be of interest to visit the "City of the Saints." With him he took a "venerable Greek manuscript of the Psalter." We will now let Mr. Caswell tell his own story:

"Having arrived at the city, I passed along a straggling street of considerable length, bordering on the strand. Perceiving a respectable looking store (or shop), I entered it, and began to converse with the storekeeper. I mentioned that I had been informed that Mr. Smith possessed some remarkable Egyptian curiosities, which I wished to see. I added that, if Mr. Smith could be induced to show me his treasure, I would show him in return a very wonderful book which had lately come into my possession. The storekeeper informed me that Mr. Smith was absent, having gone to Carthage that morning; but that he would return about nine o'clock in the evening. He promised to obtain for me admission to the curiosities, and begged to be permitted to see the wonderful book. I accordingly unfolded it from the many wrappers in which I had enveloped it, and in the presence of the storekeeper and many astonished spectators, whom the rumours of the arrival of a strange book had collected, I produced to view the covers of worm-eaten oak, its discoloured parchments, and its mysterious characters. Surprise was depicted on the countenances of all present, and after a long silence one person wiser than his fellows, declared that he knew it to be a revelation from the

Lord, and that probably it was one of the lost books of the Bible providentially recovered. Looking at me with a patronizing air, he assured me that I had brought it to the right place to get it interpreted, for that none on earth but the Lord's Prophet could explain it, or unfold its real antiquity and value. 'Oh,' I replied, 'I am going to England next week, and doubtless I shall find some learned man in one of the universities who can expound it.' To this he answered with a sneer, that the Lord had chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty, that he had made foolish the wisdom of this world, and that I ought to thank Providence for having brought me to Nauvoo, where the hidden things of darkness could be revealed by divine power."¹

After some further conversation, Mr. Caswell states that he was led behind the store in which they were talking to a room:

"on the door of which was an inscription to the following effect: 'Office of Joseph Smith, President of the Church of Latter Day Saints.' Having introduced me, together with several Mormons, to this *sanctum sanctorum*, he locked the door behind him, and proceeded to what appeared to be a small chest of drawers. From this he drew forth a number of glazed slides, like picture frames, containing sheets of papyrus, with Egyptian inscriptions and hieroglyphics. These had been unrolled from four mummies, which the Prophet had purchased at a cost of twenty-four hundred dollars. By some inexplicable mode, as the storekeeper informed me, Mr. Smith had discovered that these sheets contained the writings of Abraham written with his own hand while in Egypt. Pointing to the figure of a man lying on a table, he said, 'That is the picture of Abraham on the point of being sacrificed. The man standing by him with a drawn knife

¹ Caswell: *op. cit.*, pp. 20-1.

is an idolatrous priest of the Egyptians. Abraham prayed to God, who immediately unloosed his bonds and delivered him.' Turning to another of the drawers, and pointing to a hieroglyphic representation, one of the Mormons said, 'Mr. Smith informs us that this picture is an emblem of redemption. Do you see those four little figures? Well, those are the four quarters of the Earth. And do you see that big dog looking at the four figures? This is the old Devil desiring to devour the four quarters of the Earth. Look at this person keeping back the big dog. That is Christ keeping the devil from devouring the four quarters of the earth. Look down this way. This figure near the side is Jacob, and those are his two wives. Now do you see those steps?' 'What,' I replied, 'do you mean those stripes across the dress of one of Jacob's wives?' 'Yes,' he said, 'that is Jacob's ladder.' " ¹

It was not until the next day that the Rev. Mr. Caswell met the prophet himself. But let Mr. Caswell continue the story himself:

"I met Joseph Smith at a short distance from his dwelling, and was regularly introduced to him by the storekeeper. I had the *honour* of an interview with him who is a Prophet, a Seer, a Merchant, a 'Revelator,' a President, an Elder, an Editor, and the Lieutenant-General of the 'Nauvoo Legion.' He is a coarse, plebeian sensual person in aspect, and his countenance exhibits a curious mixture of the knave and clown. His hands are large and fat, and on one of his fingers, he wears a massive gold ring, upon which I saw an inscription. His eyes appear deficient in that open and straightforward expression which often characterizes an honest man. His dress was of coarse country manufacture, and his white hat was enveloped by a piece of black crape as a sign of mourning for his deceased brother, Don Carlos Smith,

¹ Caswell: *op. cit.*, pp. 22-3.

the late editor of the '*Times and Seasons*.' His age is about thirty-seven. He led the way to his house, accompanied by many elders, preachers and other Mormon dignitaries. On entering the house, chairs were provided for the prophet and myself, while the curious and gaping spectators remained standing. I handed the book to the prophet, and begged him to explain its contents. He asked me if I had any idea of its meaning. I replied, that I believed it to be a Greek Psalter, but that I should like to hear his opinion. 'No,' he said, 'it ain't Greek at all, except, perhaps, a few words. What ain't Greek is Egyptian; and what ain't Egyptian is Greek. This book is very valuable. *It is a dictionary of Egyptian Hieroglyphics.*' Pointing to the capital letters at the commencement of each verse, he said: 'Them figures is Egyptian hieroglyphics; and them which follows, is the interpretation of the hieroglyphics, written in the reformed Egyptian. Them characters is like the letters that was engraved on the golden plates.' " ¹

Mr. Caswell continues his narrative by stating that the prophet, after remarking "That book ain't of no use to you, you don't understand it," took him into the office where he had been the previous day.

"He produced the glass frames, which I had seen on the previous day, but he did not appear very forward to explain the figures. I pointed to a particular hieroglyphic, and requested him to expound its meaning. No answer being returned, I looked up, and behold! the prophet had disappeared." ²

Mr. Caswell's reference to the Egyptian mummies brings us to another remarkable achievement of the prophet's in the realm of languages—his translation of the

¹ Caswell: *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.

² Same: p. 37.

Book of Abraham. While the Mormons were at Kirtland, a Mr. M. H. Chandler came to town to exhibit some Egyptian mummies. These mummies, he said, his uncle had secured with much personal danger, "in one of the catacombs near the city of Thebes in Egypt, in the year 1831. . . . In his will he left these valued remains of Egyptian art to his nephew." Attached to two of the bodies were rolls of linen in which were enclosed rolls of papyrus, on which were Egyptian hieroglyphics.

Mr. Chandler came to Kirtland with his mummies on July 3, 1835. The prophet in writing afterwards about the events says that a few days later :

"Some of the saints purchased the mummies and papyrus, and I with W. W. Phelps and O. Cowdery as scribes, commenced the translation of some of the characters or hieroglyphics, and much to our joy found that one of the rolls contained the writings of Abraham, another of the writings of Joseph the Egyptian." ¹

These mummies were held in high esteem by Smith and his followers. So highly were they valued that according to Lucy Smith, an effort was made in Kirtland to attach them for the prophet's debts.

The late Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Utah, the Rt. Rev. F. S. Spalding, D.D., took the trouble to have the hieroglyphics which the prophet translated, submitted recently to prominent Egyptologists both in this country and abroad, and published the results in a pamphlet called "Joseph Smith, Jr., as a Translator." ² The consensus of scholarly opinion in the matter was that the Prophet, Seer and Revelator, knew absolutely nothing about the language which he pretended to translate.

¹ Reynolds, George: "The Book of Abraham," etc. Salt Lake City, Utah, 1879.

² Spalding, F. S.: "Joseph Smith, Jr., as a Translator." Salt Lake City, Utah, 1912.

Smith appeared to have a fondness for unusual words, as well as a great knowledge of the languages. Professor Riley comments:

"The form which the law of the Lord ultimately took reads like a page from *Gulliver's Travels*; it is worth quoting, if only to show that the fancy of the Latter-day prophet was as weird as the mad dean's Kingdom of Laputa:

" 'Revelation given April 23d, 1834, to Enoch (Joseph Smith, Jun.), concerning the order of the church, for the benefit of the poor. Let my servant Pelagoram (Sidney Rigdon) have appointed unto him the place where he now resides, and the lot of Tahhanes (the tannery) for the stewardship, for his support while he is laboring in my vineyard, even as I will when I shall commend him;

" 'And let my servant Mahemson (Martin Harris) devote his moneys for the proclaiming of my words, according as my servant Gazelam (Joseph Smith, Jr.) shall direct.

" 'And let my servant Olihah (Oliver Cowdery) have the lot which is set off joining the house, which is to be for the Laneshine-house (printing office), which is lot number one, and also the lot upon which his father resides.

" 'After you are organized, you shall be called the United Order of the Stake of Zion, the city of Shinehah (Kirtland).' " ¹

Swartzel, in his Journal under date of June 11, 1838, tells his story of the naming of one of the Stakes of Zion. This was a place about twenty miles from Far West, located on the north side of the Grand River, in Davies County, Missouri. It bore, prior to the prophet's revelation, the plebeian name "Spring Hill."

¹ Riley: *op. cit.*, pp. 311-12.

"Brothers Joseph Smith, Martin Harris and myself," writes Swartzell, "went to digging a spring and walling it in. . . ."

After prayer that:

"The spring might everlastingly send forth an abundance of good water," (in two or three days the spring began to fail, and in about one week it went entirely dry) "I observed to Joseph Smith that this city should have a new name. Brother Joseph placed his back against a small shady tree near the spring, and then said, 'we shall alter the name of this *stake*' (every city being called a stake), and looking towards heaven for a short time, said, 'It does not take me long to get a revelation from heaven, and this stake, or city, shall be called Adam-on-Diammon.' He assigned as a reason for calling it so, that there was no place by that name under heaven." ¹

Swartzell's orthography, at least as far as names given by inspiration is concerned, may have been a trifle irregular, or there may have been a great variety of spellings for this important name, for we find it also appearing, *inter alia*, as "Adam Ondi Ahman," ² and "Adam-on-Diahmon." ³

The translation of these names is given as ⁴ "The valley of God in which Adam blessed his children," and the place thus named is "said to be the identical spot where Adam and Eve first sought refuge after their expulsion from Eden."

When Swartzell was initiated into what he calls the

¹ Swartzell, William: "Mormonism Exposed, being a Journal of a Residence in Missouri from the 28th of May to the 20th of August," etc. Pekin, O., 1840; pp. 11-12.

² Stenhouse: *op. cit.*, p. 79.

³ Bennett, John C.: "The History of the Saints; or an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism." Boston, 1842; p. 319.

⁴ Young, Ann Eliza: "Wife No. 19," etc. Hartford, 1876; p. 47. See also Howe: *op. cit.*, p. 199.

"Daranites,"¹ he tells us, under date of July 21, 1838, that after various ceremonies and the giving of the signs:

"He (the high priest) then gave us the pass-word—which was to be spoken at the moment of giving the hand of fellowship—'*Who be you?*' Answer—'*Anama.*'"

This word "*anama*," he further informs us, is, by interpretation, a "*friend*."

The remarkable etymological origin of the word "Mormon" is another familiar subject for interest and notice. It is said that it was W. W. Phelps who evolved this learned etymology, which is stated by Smith to be as follows:

"Before I give a definition, however, to the word, let me say, that the Bible, in its widest sense, means *good*; for the Saviour says, according to the Gospel of John, 'I am the Good Shepherd'; and it will not be beyond the common use of terms to say that *good* is among the most important in use, and though known by various names in different languages, still the meaning is the same, and is ever in opposition to *bad*. We say from the Saxon, *good*; the Dane, *god*; the Goths, *goda*; the German, *gut*; the Dutch, *goed*; the Latin, *bonus*; the Greek, *Kalos*; the Hebrew, *tob*; and the Egyptian, *mon*. Hence, with the addition of *more*, or the contraction *mor*, we have the word Mormon, which means literally more good.

"Yours,

"JOSEPH SMITH."

"Nauvoo, May 19, 1841."²

Burton,³ who spent a short time in the "City of the Saints," gives us an account of the Deseret⁴ alphabet to

¹ Danites. For Danites see Hall: *op. cit.*, pp. 30-1; 65-6-7.

² Hyde, John, Jr.: "Mormonism." New York, 1857; pp. 273-4. Cf. Stenhouse: *op. cit.*, p. 421 (footnote).

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 419.

⁴ By interpretation, "The Land of the Honey-Bee."

be used in the land of promise. Evidently the linguistic fondness of the saints was of a persistent nature, something possibly of the "Esperanto" sort recently perpetrated upon the kindly general public.

Much might be said about Mormon prophecies, about Mormon miracles, and about Mormon theology. The same characteristics which we have seen appear in all the sects which we have been studying, in respect to the charismata appear in Mormonism. The miracles, when not actually fraud, are at least coincidences capable of very simple explanations. Like the miracles of the French prophets, they are substantiated only by interested parties. The theology, of later development, is of interest to those who care to study theology. It will be found to be characterised by an exceedingly materialistic millennial tendency. In that theology, polygamy takes on an eschatological aspect which makes it logical for a woman to consent to becoming a party to the relationship. But when all is said that can be said in favour of Mormonism, when all the kindly words that charity can command have been uttered, it still remains that, ethically speaking, Mormonism is no purer than its source. He that is filthy is filthy still.

CHAPTER VIII

PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE GIFT

IN our review of some of the historic appearances of the gift of tongues, certain facts of a physiological and of a psychological nature have forced themselves upon our attention.

We have noticed that the manifestation of the tongues has always begun with an individual in whom the presence of some disease can definitely be traced. The indisputable nature of this fact is obvious if we turn our attention toward the leading characters in the three sects which we have discussed at length, the Shakers, the Irvingites and the Mormons.

The physiological life of Mother Ann of the Shakers would afford an interesting study for those who are interested in the bodily condition of the semi-insane. Mention, however, should be made of her fastings and her ability to fast, her hallucinations, her bloody sweats, her difficulties in childbirth, the early deaths of all her children, and her poverty—conditions all of which point in the direction of an unstable nervous system. When we add to these considerations the fact of the statement made repeatedly about her that she had acted “like a drunken squaw,” that she was insensible to fatigue in dancing, and a multitude of similar facts, we cannot but be convinced that we are dealing not with spirituality *per se*, but with disease.

We are to remember that Edward Irving never pro-

fessed to have the gift of tongues. We are to remember further that among the Irvingites the gift of tongues began first with the Macdonalds and Mary Campbell, and that Margaret Macdonald, her brothers, and Mary Campbell were tubercular. We have the further right to infer from the case of Isabella Campbell and Story's account of Mary Campbell and her family, that Mary Campbell was of the hysterical type. We may remind ourselves also in passing that the daughter of Robert Baxter was subject to epileptic seizures.

Professor Riley has pointed out the pathological elements which are readily discernible in the life of Joseph Smith, Jr., the Mormon prophet. The shiftlessness and vagabondage of his father, the diseased blood of the Macks on his mother's side, do not constitute the sort of ancestry from which we might expect health—bodily or mental—to spring. It is well also to call to mind the part which the Rev. Sidney Rigdon played in the development of Mormon ecstasy, and to take into account the fact that:

“He brought to his aid (in preaching while still a Campbellite preacher) the eccentric and grotesque workings of a nervous and enthusiastic temperament, which at times threw him into spasms and swoonings, similar to those nervous agitations which have so often prevailed, not only in individual instances, but raged as epidemics both in and out of the churches. These nervous fits he interpreted into the agony of the Holy Spirit as multitudes had done before him, and contended that the miraculous spiritual gifts of the apostolic age were now about to be restored to the church.”¹

Attention must also be called to the fact that the tongues never occur as a solitary unusual motor phe-

¹ Turner: *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5.

nomenon regarded as having a supernatural origin. If we find the gift of tongues, we find also the gift of the interpretation of tongues, the gift of miracles, or the gift of prophesying, together with a great number of "exercises" of a motor nature. Laying aside the question of the interpretation of tongues, which may be dismissed as a case either of downright fraud, or possibly of pathological lying,¹ we deal invariably in the cases of the subjects of the gifts and exercises with persons of diseased nervous systems.

The "falling exercise" was one of the phenomena of the Kentucky Revival as well as of the tongues people. Those who were "stricken of the Lord" lay on the ground as though dead. It is said that the numbers of those stricken ran into the hundreds. The persons thus signally afflicted lay on the ground sometimes for hours before regaining consciousness. Similar conditions could be observed among the Shakers in connection with their worship. The spectacle of men and women lying insensible on the floor was among them no unusual occurrence.

In connection with the Shakers a description has already been given of the "jerks," another of the Kentucky Revival phenomena. The literature on the Kentucky Revival is rather meagre. It is interesting, however, to find among the accounts of that excitement the observations of a young graduate in medicine who discusses² the phenomena from the point of view of science and points out its pathological nature.

The "whirling gift" of the Shakers, which was the process of spinning like a top, comes to the attention of the neurologist under the guise of dervish dancing, as

¹ Healy, William, and Healy, M. T.: "Pathological Lying, Accusation and Swindling." Boston, 1915.

² Robertson, Felix: "Essay on *Chorea Sancti Viti*; Inaugural Dissertation." Philadelphia, 1805.

does also the state known among the Shakers as the "dumb devils" under the form of hysterical mutism.

In the "barks" of the Kentucky Revival and the "mortification gifts" of the Shakers, which included the imitation of the cries of animals, we confront a possible atavistic as well as a pathological condition. The tendency of nervous disturbances to cause a deepening of the voice such as was in evidence in the case of the "barks" is well known. The primitive nature of the imitation of the cries of animals in connection with religious worship is also a fact which demands consideration.

All through the study of the tongues movement the fact of tactile anæsthesia of various degrees existing among those who were looked upon as the objects of various operations of the spirit of God or of Satan, has been constantly recurring. Particularly is this evident when we deal with the subject of witchcraft, where we find the physiological conditions of the tongues without the nomenclature. The unhappy part which tactile anæsthesia played in the annals of witchcraft, however, is only one of the many parts played in what becomes the tragedy of life when ignorance and superstition are the masters.

The "laughing gift" of the Shakers is not far removed from the camp meeting state of "getting happy," and in either case we are not far removed from a mild hysteria. The hearing of voices, the seeing of visions, the feeling of the separation of the soul from the body, are all alike stigmata of degeneration.

The atavistic nature of the tongues phenomena is another aspect of the case which merits attention. We have noticed the primitive nature of the love of words viewed merely as sounds, and we have seen that love of words associated with religious ideas. In the case of the tongues people we are probably facing the reappearance of an

idea still current among primitive peoples that there is a religious value and power *per se* in a word or words.

The falling and crying, the grimaces and the dances, together with the stress upon sex either in a positive or a negative fashion, as well as the frequent imitation of the cries of animals, are all primitive elements which still linger among the tongues people.

The difficulty of studying the tongues from the point of view of speech is greatly increased by the fact that very few of the cases of tongues with which we meet, are spontaneous. The elements of imitation and simulation enter so largely into the utterances of the tongues that it is exceedingly difficult to pass judgment directly upon the nature of the phenomena. We are obliged to recognise the fact, however, that the possibility of speaking short, broken sentences or expressing unmeaning sounds and words as the result of an inner inexplicable compulsion, which compulsion it is possible to identify with the Spirit of God must be taken into serious consideration. But in reckoning with such a possibility, we are obliged to note that such a condition coexists only with some disturbance in the mental life. The torrent of words, both in the tongues and in prophecy, as well as the majesty of tone ascribed to those who thus speak, are also fully consonant with a theory of mental abnormality and pathological physiology.

A factor of a psychological nature which cannot be ignored as pointing towards a physiological condition which is fundamentally pathological, as the basis of the tongues movement is the obvious disturbance in the *vita sexualis* of the tongues people. The case appears in clearest outlines among the Shakers, although the fact that the most characteristic doctrine of Mormonism is related to the *vita sexualis* is evidence in point.

A study of primitive Shakerism from the point of view of the sexual life brings to light the fact of the existence of such sexual perversions as may well be presumed to have their origin in physiological conditions of a pathological nature. Just how far the enforcement of celibacy, and just how far definitely pathological conditions are responsible for Shaker exercises cannot be determined. But this much is certain—that underneath the great majority of the Shaker forms of worship, particularly the greater part of the gifts, there is a definitely perverse sexual tendency. That the gifts for dancing naked, for going into the water together naked, and certain mortification gifts can be classified under the head of exhibitionism is obvious. In John Farrington's cry of "Love," "More Love,"¹ in Father William's "The smiting of the righteous is like precious ointment,"² we are undoubtedly dealing with the presence of a masochistic tendency, while in the practice of flagellation, we meet with the opposite, sadism.

In the Shakers, as well as in other people who have taught the ideal of celibacy and sought to repress the sexual instinct, we find invariably that we hear most about and we deal most frequently with the problems of sex. It is always in the foreground. In the early Shaker discourses, there are noticeable references to sex uncleanness, effeminacy, onanism, and to other terms having to deal with the sexual life. In Shaker worship sexual ideas are everywhere present. The "hugging" gift and the "warring" gift are not in this connection to be passed over. Nor are we to ignore the sexual connotation of dancin and the possibility of the attaining of a diffused orgasm through this medium.

It is in the Shakers that the evidences of sexual per-

¹ "Testimonies": XXII:10-11 (p. 155).

² Brown: *op. cit.*, p. 210.

version are most clear. But the part which the sexual impulse has played in Mormonism, among the French Prophets, in witchcraft and, in particular, in connection with the devils of Loudun, is in no sense to be ignored.

Religion has always been a fertile field for the expression of egomania. In Christianity and its various aberrations and perversions the indefinite nature of the doctrine of the third person of the Trinity has afforded a by no means neglected opportunity for the claiming by individuals of particular spiritual excellence due to their special personal relation to the Holy Ghost. How much this is a well intentioned pious delusion, and how much this state of mind is akin to egomania involves a very nice distinction. But there is certainly every evidence of egomania in the statements attributed to Mother Ann.

Thus:

"To John Farrington, a young man who came to her and confessed his sins and to whom she told still other things about himself, she said, 'Can you now go to Lebanon and testify that you have found a woman that told you all things that you have ever done? And is not this the Christ?' He answered, 'Yea, truly I can.'"

"Morrell Baker, senr., visited the Church at Watervliet, in 1784, and being under great impression of mind concerning Mother's calling, he spoke to her and said, 'Thou art the Bride, the Lamb's Wife!' She answered, 'Thou hast rightly said: for so I am! Christ is my husband. I see now many souls who have left the body, and have come to hear the gospel! I now hear the hosts of heaven, singing praises to God!' "¹

Reference has already been made to the astounding conceit of Joseph Smith, Jr. One fault of Edward Irving was his tendency to confuse his own ideas with

¹ "Testimonies": XXIII:17.

the leadings of the Spirit of God. The claims and presumptions of the prophets and the gifted among the Irvingites, particularly in reference to their practical exclusion of Irving from the leadership and councils of the church, may also well be called to mind.

That we are dealing with pathological lying in many of the cases which have come under our observation is sufficiently obvious. It is not to be doubted that either Mother Ann or Joseph Smith, Jr., believed, at least after a time, in what they said about themselves and about their revelations. The general shiftlessness of the Smith family, for example, and their irregular financial condition, together with the incident of the Kirtland Bank, are further evidences of those characteristics which, together with sexual irregularity, indicate rather clearly a pathological condition existing on the part of the founder of Mormonism.

The psychological factors which may in like manner be looked upon as responsible for the appearance of the tongues are psychological factors which have greater weight in the determining of the conduct of persons who are abnormal or slightly abnormal than in determining the conduct of those who approach normality more nearly. If we assume as our starting point the involuntary ejaculation of broken fragments of speech by persons of the hysteroid type—which utterances are at once seized upon as modern recurrences of the apostolic phenomena, we have found the undoubted physiological beginnings of the gift. The tracing of its spread is a very simple matter.

Men are "eager for the supernatural." The ordinary way of morality as a school for spiritual development is often irksome. The bringing in of the Kingdom of God through patient toil is not an undertaking which com-

mends itself to many minds. Cataclysmic religion is far more interesting. Voices, visions and miracles are a much more simple and attractive method of solving the problems of life than is to be found along the bare and sometimes unattractive path of duty. The lure of the presence of the supernatural is a will-o'-the-wisp that many minds follow gladly, never stopping to investigate claims or pretensions as to the reality of the supernatural. It is too much for some men to work. They must wait for God. In fact, they would rather wait than work.

When men thus eager for the presence of the supernatural and anxious to see some new signs of the presence of the Spirit of God in life find a religious and pious man uttering incoherent sounds, it is obviously possible to interpret such sounds as "unknown tongues," and to welcome the phenomenon as the gift of tongues.

The endowment of a man with this apostolic gift naturally marks him out as more highly favoured spiritually than his fellows. It is a mark of distinction. We have noticed how frequently the fact of the gift has been used in the effort to make proselytes by the tongues people, and how it has been held up as the proof-positive of the apostolic nature of the age and of the peculiar excellence spiritually of the sect concerned. Even religious people are not utterly unsusceptible to the promptings of the spirit of vanity. Indeed, it is altogether possible and reasonable to suggest that the doctrine of sanctification as it is sometimes presented, the doctrine of the second blessing and the doctrine of the inner light, all have a dangerous relation to vanity and to a species of selfishness. The appearance of the tongues may be traced first to disease, second to an eager expectancy of the supernatural, and in the third place to vanity and the desire for spiritual distinction.

Imitation is still another factor in the tongues. While there do exist those who utter, under the influence of an expulsive idea, which cannot be resisted, disconnected sounds and words, the number of such persons is rare. Beginning with the French Prophets, it is very easy to trace the factor of imitation in the development of the tongues movement. In fact, tracing the love of words and sounds and the speaking in unknown or unusual languages under the influence of magic or witchcraft, and taking into consideration the cultural standing of the French Prophets, we can readily understand how the French Prophets came first to know of the tongues. Or we can very readily suppose that under the conditions of distress and persecution under which the Camisards lived, spontaneous manifestations of the tongues might have occurred. From the French Prophets to the Shakers the line of descent indicates clearly the fact or at least the possibility of imitation. The origin of the tongues among the Mormons can very readily be traced to the Shakers. The home of Joseph Smith, Jr., and the country of the Shakers were in the same neighbourhood. The origin of the gift among the Irvingites may be attributed to the influence of the French Prophets. Mary Campbell first spoke in the tongues under the influence of the suggestions involved in Scott's preaching. The Macdonalds followed the leading of Mary Campbell. The American tongues people of to-day are apparently Irvingite in their origin.

The honour and the respect with which the gifted have been treated among the various tongues people has made it at least worth while to attempt the tongues, and, in itself, constitutes a suggestion from which the gift may develop. The further fact that the gift of tongues is treated as an attainment which is possible only for the

inner circle, and that there is a possibility that by agonising and praying for that gift it may be attained, constitutes a very forceful psychological factor which may help to explain the gift.

Contagion is another psychological element which has something to do with the appearing of the gift. The gift to-day is generally manifested in a crowd and in a scene of confusion and tumult, which reflects no credit upon the Kingdom of God. The excitement of revivals, and the general exuberance and disorders of camp meetings, and particularly the "after meetings," are to-day fertile soil from which we may expect the gift to spring.

We are not to forget the aversion to culture which sometimes exists on the part of the tongues people. The folly of all the learning of the "world's people" has ever been a favourite topic for the thought and discussion of the tongues people. The antagonism of the Shakers in their early days to learning is notorious. While it is undoubtedly true that this antagonism to culture on the part of the ignorantly religious and the religious ignorant is the expression of a "suppressed desire," it is a fact with which, whatever its origin, we may reckon. For a man or a woman destitute of all "book-learning" to be able to speak, under what is conceived to be the influence of the Holy Spirit, in languages which the learned of this world cannot understand, much less speak, is an unmistakable triumph not only for the cause of religion but for the individual thus gifted.

As we have studied the history of the tongues people we have found increasing difficulty in assigning the tongues to any known language or languages. We have seen that Latin and Greek and Hebrew have been frequently stated to be the tongues in which the speaking took place. When, however, the matter has been further

investigated, we found that the Latin was uniquely deficient in grammatical construction, or that there are two kinds of Hebrew, the one of which the person identifying the language spoken as Hebrew is unable to translate. He is familiar with the other kind of Hebrew. "Indian" tongues have frequently been stated to have been the languages in question, or we have been told that the gift was in the language of the Pellew Islands or of some savage tribe in the southern Pacific Ocean. There are doubtless cases in which shreds of Latin, like the "*amamimini*" of Mr. Taplin, were part of the tongues—as well as shreds of Hebrew or Greek, or French, or Indian tongues. But in no case is there substantial evidence of any sort that the persons who claimed to speak by inspiration in other languages, actually used other languages. The testimony is universally that of the person who claimed to have spoken in the "other tongues" or of interested witnesses. Whenever men of any linguistic knowledge have investigated the phenomena, they have united in testifying that the language spoken was indeed unknown.

This conclusion of learned doctors that the language investigated was unknown has been seized triumphantly by the tongues people as a proof of the supernatural origin of the gift. Here is something, they tell us, in the presence of which the learned are helpless. And yet God has, through the gift of the interpretation of tongues, raised up in their own ranks those able to translate the language unknown and incomprehensible to scholars. With an argument of this sort it is difficult to deal. The only possible refutation of any gratuitous assumption in the field of religion is the final refutation—the ethical. The fruits of the tongues movement are ignorance, selfishness, conceit, dishonesty, fornication, adultery, un-

natural vices, and blasphemy. If these be the works of the Spirit, then we know not what or who the Spirit is, or what or who God is.

We might, however, call to mind what is believed to be said in the unknown tongues, as revealed through the gift of the interpretation of tongues. It is safe to say that the message of the tongues is always eschatological. It deals with the duty of repentance, and with the fact of impending judgment and punishment, particularly for the enemies of the faith. It seems to be a warning of evil to come—as far as the messages given in the tongues have been translated and the translation thereof recorded in English. The note of praise seems to have been sounded in the Shaker hymns in the tongues, although it is just as possible that they may have been songs celebrating the general worthiness and excellence of the Shakers. Brigham Young's prayer in the "pure Adamic language," as well as Mother Ann's prayers in the tongues, seem never to have been translated. It is difficult to judge of their thought-content—if they had any.

It is possible, then, to sum up the tongues as far as definite meaning is concerned by saying that they are a jargon language composed of sounds an exact classification of which it is impossible to make. The sounds are sometimes suggestive of echolalia. They are sometimes the products of memory—conscious or subconscious, as are the shreds of Latin, or Greek, or other known foreign languages which appear among the tongues. They are sometimes suggestive of the fact that the gifted is trying to think of another sonorous word to use and is compelled to fall back on shouting out words like "Ezekiel, Obadiah."

Whatever may be the meaning of the sounds actually uttered, there is certainly some state of mind back of

the utterance. It may be the simple desire to make an impression, to give a demonstration of one's spiritual powers and of one's intimacy with the divine. If this is the mental condition, then we are dealing with fraud pure and simple; fraud that is actually fraud, whether it be a pious fraud or a commercial fraud.

There are cases of the tongues which, however, must not be classified under the head of fraud. Where we deal with those persons who are impelled by an inner force over which they have no control, to involuntary utterances of broken sounds, we deal with a problem psychologically different certainly from that of the state of mind of one who is guilty of conscious fraud. The mental state here is doubtless analogous to what St. Paul was thinking about when he spoke of "whether in the body or out of the body." It seems to involve in it the elements of exaltation and of highly pleasurable excitement. States of mind characterised by exaltation and highly pleasurable excitement, accompanied by or followed by the ejaculation of irregular vocal sounds, or disconnected words, can be found associated with alcoholic intoxication, forms of epileptic seizure, and sometimes with coitus. We are compelled, then, to recognise that in the state of mind incident to spontaneous expressions of the tongues, we are dealing with a state of mind which is associated with a pathological condition as in alcoholic intoxication or in epilepsy, or we are dealing with a state of mind related to the sexual instinct. In the latter case, the effort to repress the sexual nature and entirely to eliminate it is, for the tongues people, a physiological and psychological absurdity.

There is only one reason why we may look upon the tongues as a supernatural manifestation, and that reason is to be found in our desire to do so. If we wish to

identify disease with the miraculous, there is no power to prevent our doing so. It has been done before. But there is every evidence pointing to the fact that the tongues in their origin are either a fraud or pathological, or both.

CHAPTER IX

ETHICAL ASPECTS OF THE GIFT

IF ecstasy were a state of mind and nothing but a state of mind, and a state of mind could exist without some sort of expression in conduct and character, we could probably afford to ignore the ethical problems involved in the gift of tongues, and we would probably be justified in looking upon the tongues people as pious and well-intentioned folks who are given a little to vagaries in their religious lives.

But religion is always related for better or for worse to ethics. And where religion fails to find an ethical expression, it assuredly falls short of any adequate definition of religion. It is certainly in the field of ethics that we are to subject religion to its ultimate test. Where a religion goes hand in hand with the development and expression of the noblest elements in human character, we are justified in arguing for the metaphysical validity of that religion. We are justified in commending it to mankind as a way of life. Where the transgression, not merely of social conventions but of those principles of righteousness upon which usefulness and happiness are builded, is the invariable associate and must be expected to be the invariable associate of a given form of religion, then we face the positive duty of the discouraging and, as far as possible, the preventing of the spread of the ways of thought of that type of religion. There is a difference to be distinguished between tolerance towards religion and tolerance towards crime. Where the expression of religion is anti-moral and positively criminal, the

prevention of its propagation becomes a positive duty, and that prevention means especially the refusal to tolerate ecstatic ideas in the leadership of modern Christendom.

We have been startled by the appalling array of crimes with which the tongues movement has been associated. When we realise that the sort of physiological conditions which are responsible for speaking in tongues—eliminating for the moment any psychological factor from our consideration—are responsible also for crimes, we may come to realise upon what terrifically dangerous moral ground we are treading. Christianity faces the menace and has always faced the menace of the semi-insane and the semi-responsible within its own ranks.

It is a fact worthy of very serious consideration that, in identifying the tongues movement with holiness, we are identifying with holiness the criminaloid type of mind. Exactly the same type of mind and, for that matter, the same types of skull that are to be met with in the tongues peoples, are to be met with among criminals. There is no psychological and no fundamental physiological distinction which can be made between the man with criminal tendencies and the man with tendencies toward ecstatic religion. The same sort of people psychologically and physiologically are to be met with among the tongues people and in our penal institutions. It is a great deal better for society for a man to be ecstatically religious than it is for him to be a criminal. But there is always the psychological possibility of the great sinner becoming the great saint and the great saint becoming the great sinner. And there is certainly the obligation to prevent the theology of that type of mind from becoming the theology of Christendom.

It is therefore of very considerable importance that we note with care the ethical associations of the tongues

movement. The most obvious moral dereliction which we face among the tongues people is the variation from generally accepted modern standards of sexual ethics. The charge of sexual irregularities against forms of Christianity is an old charge and a frequently made charge. It is in the vast majority of cases an utterly false charge. In the case of the tongues people, however, it is a proved charge. Little need be said about the polygamous practices of ancient or modern Mormonism. But we can remind ourselves of it as a gross transgression of sexual ethics and of its origin among those leaders of the Mormons who were first also in ecstasies and visions. We can find also the element of sexual irregularity facing us in the account of the Devils of Loudun and, in fact, wherever we read the annals of witchcraft. The charge of promiscuity was made with some degree of evidence against the Camisards. The relation of Lacy and Betty Gray was a notorious scandal in the days of the greatness of the French Prophets in London. We have seen the evidences which suggest the existence of perverse sexual tendencies among the Shakers. Upon whatever psychological or physiological grounds it may be possible to justify forms of sexual perversion, if they can be justified, they still must be regarded as distinctly anti-social practices, fraught with tremendous moral danger for mankind.

Through all the histories of the tongues people there appears and reappears the doctrine of free love or spiritual marriage. It appears in one form in the Mormon practice of sealing as related to the dead. While it was apparently never a definite article in the Shaker creed, it was apparently often present in Shaker thought. It is also intimated as a possibility among some of the English Irvingites.

The Irvingite movement, among the more influential

tongues movements, contains in its historic appearance the least suggestion of sexual irregularity. Yet it evidenced all the psychological characteristics which under different social conditions might have found expression in gross immorality. Of the three widespread modern movements which we have studied, Irvingism was alone surrounded by the social conditions of civilisation. The primitive conditions existing in America in the early days of Shakerism and the equally primitive conditions under which Mormonism gained its ascendancy were conditions under which there was an opportunity for such immorality as would not have been tolerated, at least as an article of religion, in London and the other cities in which Irvingism flourished. This is further evidenced in the fact that in the days of the busy proselytising for Mormonism which characterised the first half of the last century, the fact of polygamy was not publicly mentioned. The great stress in preaching in connection with the Mormon missions in England, France and Germany was laid upon the claim to apostolic gifts. Mormonism has always had something about it of which it has not ethical backbone enough to be ashamed, but of which it is afraid to speak when it is face to face with culture.

Another fact which might be looked upon as having an effect in preventing Irvingism from manifesting itself upon the same moral plane as Shakerism and Mormonism, is found in the type of men who were the early Irvingite leaders. The Albury prophetic group stands upon much higher cultural and moral ground than does Ann Lee or Joseph Smith, Jr.

Sexual irregularity is always related to family life. The early histories of the Shakers contain constant references to the terrible injustices perpetrated by the Shakers in their attempts to gain control of families. When a

father became a Shaker and his wife refused to, or *vice versa*, there was always the issue of the control of the children and, what seemed especially to interest the Shakers, the control of the family property. We have only to read accounts like that of Mary Dyer to understand just how much of bitterness and heartache was brought needlessly into life, and with what frequency lives were robbed of their joy and sunshine because of the perversions of Christianity which Shakerism preached.

Another side of the picture—and at least equally tragic—is that painted by women who have been the victims of Mormon polygamy. No one can ever tell the story of the blighted hopes and bitter heartaches of the women upon whose lives Mormonism has cast its shadow.

We do not here need to discuss the effects upon child life and in the upbringing of children of the sex irregularities of Mormonism and Shakerism. It is sufficient to call attention to the existence of those facts, and with those facts to note also the tendency towards the extinguishing of sympathy, love and idealism in the lives of the men and women who are responsible for those sins.

Sex crimes are not the only ethical transgressions which may be charged against the tongues movement. The part which bigotry has played in the history of Christianity is so familiar a one that it scarcely needs to be recalled. The crimes of the Inquisition and the crimes of the Reformation cast so dark a shadow upon the pages of the history of Christendom that they cannot but tell to all the sadly familiar story that Christian morality is not as old as Christian ethics. While there is an historical explanation of the crimes committed by Christendom in the low level of contemporaneous moral standards, there is always a psychological suspicion that in the most active spirits and instruments in persecution we are dealing with

degeneration. For that reason it is always to be expected that, where religion rests upon a pathological basis and where the condition of civilisation is not such as to prevent crimes of violence, such crimes will go hand in hand with bigotry.

In the case of the Camisards and of the Mormons, we find these facts notoriously to be true. The conditions of civilisation under which the Shakers lived made crimes of violence impossible, at the same time affording ample liberty for sex transgressions. The state of society in general, and the state of society in Utah in particular in the pioneer days of Mormonism, gave ample scope for all the criminal tendencies of the Camisards and the Mormons, respectively. The wars waged by the Camisards were wars waged for existence. But they were none the less characterised by the most brutal and savage reprisals and by unnecessary atrocities. The charges of violence against the Mormons are old and well known. The most familiar is the story of the Mountain Meadows massacre, which is said to have been organised and planned by leaders of the Mormon church. The statement is made that a party of emigrants, making their way to the California gold fields, were decoyed by the Mormons under a promise of protection, and later were attacked and destroyed by a party of Mormons disguised as Indians. Previous to the massacre a Mormon meeting was held.

“The meeting was then addressed by one in authority. He spoke in about this language: ‘Brethren, we have been sent here to perform a duty. It is a duty that we owe to God, and to our Church and people. The orders of those in authority are that all emigrants *must* die. Our leaders speak with inspired tongues, and their orders

come from the God of Heaven. We have no right to question what they have commanded us to do; it is our duty to obey. . . . We must kill them all, and our orders are to get them out by treachery. . . .'

"I, therefore, taking all things into consideration, and believing, as I then did, that my superiors were *inspired* men, who could not go wrong in any matter relating to the church, or the duty of its members, concluded to be obedient to the wishes of those in authority. I took up my cross and prepared to do my duty." ¹

After the massacre, McCurdy, who was with Lee, from whose confession we are quoting (Lee was executed subsequently for his participation in the crime):

"went up to Knight's wagon where the sick and wounded were, and raising his rifle, said: '*O Lord, my God, receive their spirits, it is for thy Kingdom that I do this.*' He then shot a man who was lying with his head on another man's breast: the ball killed both men." ²

When the work of slaughter was ended,

"Colonel Dame then blest the brethren and we prepared to go to our homes." ³

Lee informs us that his conscience greatly troubled him about the massacre, and that he went to talk with Brigham Young about the matter:

"I went to see him again in the morning. When I went in, he seemed quite cheerful. He said:

"'I have made this matter a subject of prayer. *I went right to God with it*, and asked him to take the

¹ Lee, John D.: "*Mormonism Unveiled*," etc. St. Louis, Mo., 1891; p. 237.

² Same: p. 241.

³ Same: p. 249.

horrid vision from my sight, *if it was a righteous thing* that my people had done in killing those people at Mountain Meadows. God answered me, and *at once the vision was removed*. I have evidence from God that he overruled it all for good and the action was a righteous one and well intended.”¹

Mention may also be made of the Mormon organisation known as the Danites, and the multitude of atrocious crimes alleged to have been committed under the direction of the organisation.

When we are speaking of crimes of violence committed in the name of religion, we must not forget the crimes of witchcraft. The judicial tortures and the judicial murders committed because of a belief in witchcraft are not to be ignored when we review the history of the crimes to be written over against the account of Christianity. Many a woman whose only crimes were poverty and ugliness and old age was tortured or put to death on charges preferred by a lying or hysteroid boy or girl. Whenever hysteria has ruled religion it has left behind it the horrid trail of crime and sin.

Dishonesty as a characteristic of religious movements and of religious leaders is always the more painful and distressing because of the implicit trust very often reposed in persons who claim to be religious. For those who make the nicer and the fairer ethical distinctions there is something certainly immoral about the relations of the early Shakers to property. Their settlements with persons withdrawing from the society and their indifference to family welfare when the possibility of getting control of a family inheritance was in question, savour very distinctly of sharp practice.

One of the most notorious of the financial undertakings

¹ Same: pp. 253-4.

of the tongues people was the Kirtland Safety Society Bank, the story of which we have told in connection with our discussion of the history of the Mormons. The financial relation of Joseph Smith, Jr., to Martin Harris is also here to be noted, as are also the frequent charges made against the Mormons of cattle stealing and similar crimes.

Pious frauds and their histories form no little part of the history of the tongues movement. Laying aside the whole question of the Book of Mormon as a piece either of direct fraud or pathological lying, the story of the mummies and the Book of Abraham affords an amazing and interesting commentary upon Mormon ethics. Betty Gray's blindness and her subsequent restoration to sight belongs to the same class of ethical phenomena. The eagerness of the Shaker leaders to disown the practice of both sexes bathing together and the practice of dancing naked is also to be classified under the same head.

The relation of the Shaker movement to the *vita sexualis* might well be regarded as an unconscious fraud. The fact that their abstract and dogmatic principles denied the sexual life and that their exercises and their forms of worship were fundamentally sexual brings us into the realm of what well may be called psychological fraud.

Is nothing to be said about one of the saddest and bitterest of aspects of the tongues movement? The greatest ostensible lure of the tongues gospel has been the claim of God's special relation to the tongues people. It is because they have talked holiness and claimed holiness, because they have been much given to Bible reading and Bible quoting, and much given to their own kinds of prayer, that many men and women of uncritical minds

have been attracted to them. When holiness is promised and nothing but selfishness, bigotry, and even positive crimes can be found, surely not the least crime committed is the crime against high ideals that have been dragged into the dirt, and glowing hopes that have become the bitterness of broken hearts.

The pathos of the Irvingite movement is to be found in Edward Irving. If there is no other crime which we may charge against the tongues people, this crime still stands. A man full of trust, of promise, of love of God and love of man, caught and carried to his destruction in the "vortex of the supernatural"!

We do not need, either, to be silent as we face the crime against intelligence which is the *sine qua non* of the tongues movement. Are we forever to listen to ignoramuses, to men and women too lazy to read, to study and to think, proclaiming that the way of salvation is the way of the repudiation of all learning and all knowledge? Are we to turn back the hand of time until it marks again those centuries of darkness when only Fear was God and every man's hand was against his brother?

There is a more serious duty than that involved in the simple obligation of kindness toward the uneducated and the unlearned. There is the positive duty of preventing the unlearned and the unintelligent from dragging the darkness and mists in which they have dwelt into the Kingdom of God and hiding in that darkness the light of truth. There is a place for the unlearned man in the Kingdom of God. But there is no place for hostility to learning in the Kingdom of God. There is a moral obligation to be intelligent. Let us be well assured that the ignorance of the dark ages shall not again lead Christendom.

Religion is certainly more than a speaking about things

holy. Religion is certainly more than a claim to be holy. It is more than punctiliousness and care in the minor moralities and in the details of worship. Religion is the way of life which brings man up to God and brings God down to man. But it is God as He is whom we must bring down to man, the God whose very nature is antagonistic to sin, whose spirit will never linger where sin and crime are rulers. It is God who has spoken and who still can speak through order and beauty and intelligence and the moral law. God may speak through disorder and tumult; God may speak through the darkness of superstition and bigotry. But God speaks most often and most clearly through reason and the ordered paths of nature. The way for men to go who seek the path to God is not the way of fancy or of disorderly thinking, but the way of ordered thought and the way of man's clearest thinking.

Christendom has waited long and patiently to see whether this thing—this gift of tongues—is of God. It is of sickness, of poverty, of fatigue, of disease, of crime. It is not of God.

THE END