

Louis A. Bertrand's Voyage from Icarianism to Mormonism:
French Romantic Socialism and Mormon Communalism in the Nineteenth Century

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Erik Freeman

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ABSTRACT

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In 1851, a prominent French Romantic Socialist journalist, Louis A. Bertrand, converted to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormonism) in Paris. His conversion from French Icarianism--a form of Romantic Socialism--to Mormonism did not modify his previous religious or social beliefs. In fact, he considered Mormonism as the ideal version of a Romantic Socialist sect. This thesis looks at similarities and differences between Romantic Socialism and Mormonism throughout the mid-nineteenth century focusing specifically on Bertrand's story. Furthermore, writings by other Romantic Socialists and Mormons on issues of community, religion, economics and revolution reaffirmed that Mormons paralleled these French socialists. Ultimately,

Bertrand's story among Romantic Socialists in France and Mormons in America, suggests that American Mormonism throughout the nineteenth century should be viewed as part of an international socio-religious movement that includes Romantic Socialism.

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Introduction

Louis Bertrand, the political editor for the Parisian socialist newspaper, *Le Populaire*, in May 1849 wrote an article titled “Mormons.” “Of all the American communist societies,” he gushed, “there is not one more interesting than that of the Mormons.”¹ Bertrand viewed the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (the Mormons) as part of the larger communitarian movement in France that his own newspaper supported.² Nor was he alone in his assertion among French social thinkers. Victor Considerant, the leader of Charles Fourier’s movement during the 1840s, was also intrigued by the Mormons’ “truly socialist solidarity.”³ Bertrand and Considerant’s socialist groups in France, during the late 1840s and early 1850s, were part of a large, albeit fragmented, Romantic Socialist milieu that espoused utopia and religion in post-revolutionary Paris.⁴ While each French socialist school’s belief in God differed, most

¹Louis A. Bertrand, *Le Populaire*, no. 47, May 20, 1849, located in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France—BNF. All translations throughout this thesis are my own. I have bracketed longer passages for the reader’s consultation.

² I have chosen to use the term “Romantic Socialism” to describe the overarching movement of socialist and communal groups in France during the mid-nineteenth century. Others have employed the term Utopian Socialism; however, this term does not incorporate many socialists in France before the rise of Marxism. Some historians use the term pre-Marxian communism. However, this term can be teleological and anachronistic in referring to a future prominent socialist figure to explain socialism prior to his time. Jonathan Beecher in *Victor Considerant and the Rise and Fall of Romantic Socialism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2001) used the term Romantic Socialism to describe French Socialism during the Romantic period, before the rise of secular Marxism in the 1860s and 1870s; I believe that this term is most suiting for the type of socialism discussed in this thesis.

³ Victor Considerant, *Au Texas* (Paris: La Bibliothèque de la Phalanstérien, 1854), 17.

⁴ See Pamela Pilbeam, “Dream Worlds? Religion and the Early Socialists in France,” *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 2(2000), 499-515; Edward Berenson, *Populist Religion and Left-Wing Politics in France, 1830-1852* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984) and Jonathan Beecher, *Victor Considerant and*

French socialists incorporated some form of deity in their rhetoric. In fact, Romantic Socialist rhetoric in Europe from 1848-1852 resembled the Mormon message.

Scholars of religious studies have categorized Mormonism as an American religion while historians of communalism claim that the Icarians and Fourierists, for the most part, were irreligious.⁵ I argue, by contrast, that mid-nineteenth century Mormon communalism and religious belief were similar to Romantic Socialists' belief in communitarianism and restored Christianity. I therefore analyze Mormonism as part of a transnational social movement that included the Icarian communists and Fourierist socialists in France. These two groups were the most popular Romantic Socialist movements during 1830s and 1840s, and they both sought to build communitarian utopias in America. Furthermore, these French socialists looked to Mormonism as an example of how to successfully realize their utopian dream in the barren western United States.⁶

During the late 1840s and 1850s, French Romantic Socialists pioneered into the American West. During these same years, Mormons in Utah sent missionaries throughout the world, to preach and gather converts to their religious community in Utah.

the Rise and Fall of Romantic Socialism (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2001).

⁵ Jan Ships has argued that Mormonism should be regarded as an American religious tradition, having communal aspects during a brief stage before becoming a global church. However, Ships looks at Mormonism as starting as a radical Christian off-shoot that passed the test of time to become a religion separate from larger Christianity. See Jan Ships, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana Champagne: University of Illinois Press, 1985). Robert Sutton argues that Icarian Communism was a secular communal society. His opinion has been shared by most scholars who have not taken religion seriously among the Fourierists, Icarians, as well as other Romantic Socialist movements. See Robert Sutton, *Communal Utopias and the American Experience, 1824-2000* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004).

⁶ For ideas of the popularity of Icarians as well as their background story see Christopher H. Johnson, "Communism and the Working Class before Marx: The Icarian experience," *The American Historical Review*. Vol. 76, no. 3(Jun., 1971), 642-689; and for information on the popularity of Considerant and the Fourierists see Jonathan Beecher, *Charles Fourier: the Visionary and his World* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1986); and Jonathan Beecher, *Victor Considerant and the Rise and Fall of Romantic Socialism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2001).

This thesis follows the life of one prominent Icarian journalist and politician, Louis Bertrand, who converted to Mormonism in France and afterward immigrated to Utah. In order to understand Bertrand, I have consulted writings of both Romantic Socialists and Mormons on issues of community, religion, economics and revolution. These writings along with Bertrand's story demonstrate that Mormonism, far more than generally realized, belonged to a larger international socio-religious revolution and communal movement. Nineteenth-century Romantic Socialism was part of this same movement that attracted intellectuals, workers, skilled craftsmen, and ordinary peasants who, "experienced a renewed Christian religious fervor," and hope for a new social order.⁷

Similarities between Mormonism and Romantic Socialist Religious Language

Romantic Socialists and Mormons both employed Christ as the central role model for their social movements while rejecting the tenants of mainstream Protestant and Catholic Christianity. Along with rejecting mainstream Christianity, Mormons and Romantic Socialists claimed to restore Christ's truth. Mormons referred to their non-traditional Christian teaching as "the restored gospel of Jesus Christ."⁸ Mormons believed that Christ revealed his truth directly to Joseph Smith. The Fourierists in France called their religious teachings "regenerated Christianity," and believed that their socialist

⁷ See Edward Berenson, *Populist Religion and Left-Wing Politics in France, 1830-1852* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 38.

⁸ This term is used throughout Mormon scripture, see *The Doctrine and Covenants*, sec 103, verse 29; sec 103 verse 13; sec 27 verse 6; sec 45 verse 17. *The Doctrine and Covenants* is a collection of revelations to Joseph Smith and a few other LDS leaders, it is published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as scripture equal to *The Holy Bible* and their *Book of Mormon*.

living was, “simply the realization of Christianity in society.”⁹ In France and America, these new social and religious groups claimed to revert back to primitive Christianity.

Mormons and Romantic Socialists started to use terms such as “apostle” and “prophet” to describe their leaders. One socialist politician, Louis Blanc, was portrayed as an “apostle of humanity” on a Parisian poster during the 1850s. Icarians referred to their leader, Etienne Cabet, as an “apostle of the community” in periodicals published in 1843. In the United States, Joseph Smith called the highest members of LDS hierarchy the Twelve Apostles.¹⁰ Other religious terms such as “New Jerusalem” were also commonplace in both Romantic Socialist and Mormon language. New Jerusalem referred to the perfect city, or utopia, they would build before the second coming of Jesus Christ. Among the Mormons, this perfect city was called Zion. Smith preached “restoration to the land of Zion,” as part of Christ’s restored truth. The Icarians called their perfect communal society Icaria, a place where all would be fine. Fourierists, titled their utopia a Phalanx. All of these places were to be refuges from the violence and hardship.

⁹ For Mormons, the term “restoration” is still used to describe the period of LDS history when Joseph Smith established the Mormon Church. For quotes from Victor Considerant see *La Democracy Pacifique*, 2, November; Ibid, 26, December 1843.

¹⁰ For an image of Louis Blanc as a Republican apostle see Edward Berenson, *Populist Religion and Left-Wing Politics in France, 1830-1852* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 166. For Fourierist and Icarian references to Etienne Cabet as an apostle, see Etienne Cabet, *Toute la Vérité au peuple, ou Réfutation d'un pamphlet calomnieux, par M. Cabet, publiée par une commission au nom de l'assemblée générale des actionnaires du "Populaire"...* - *Délibération de l'assemblée générale des actionnaires du Populaire* (Paris : Prévôt, 1842), 10.

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5651167n/f17.image.r=Apotre%20communiste.lang> (accessed on March 20, 2013)

Socio-political Background of Mormons and French Romantic Socialists

Both Mormonism and French Romantic Socialism grew out of violent socio-political circumstances. From the founding of the LDS Church in 1830, Mormons were viewed as religious and social menaces. They suffered harassments in almost every city they settled. Prosecutors chased them from Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois before they eventually arrived in Utah, in 1847. By the time Mormon pioneers had begun to establish Salt Lake City, many had witnessed untimely deaths of friends and family members. The memory of war and expulsion in Missouri, violence and murder in Illinois, mixed with recent sickness and starvation along the Great Plains created a bellicose defiance among church followers. Furthermore, they were embittered by the murder of their founder and prophet Joseph Smith in 1844, which went unpunished. Feeling mistreated by and bitter toward the American government, the Mormon settlement in Utah served as a space outside the grasp of the United States where faithful members could build their own culture, government, and religion as one communal society. Utah was also a gathering place for new converts as result of successful missionary work throughout the world. Missionaries in Europe converted thousands who immigrated to Salt Lake City from English industrial centers plagued with social hardships. For the Latter Day Saints, Utah served as a multicultural mixing pot for many who had suffered.¹¹

French Romantic socialism grew during the wake of a volatile post-revolutionary France where street violence resulting in insurrection and regime change was

¹¹ Over 85,000 emigrated from Britain during the fifty years when the LDS Church encouraged “the gathering”—roughly 1840-1890. At first many gathered in Kirtland, Ohio, Independence, Missouri, and Nauvoo, Illinois, but after 1847 all gathered to Salt Lake City, Utah. See Glen M. Leonard, “Westward the Saints: The Nineteenth-Century Mormon Migration” *The Ensign* (January, 1980), <https://www.lds.org/ensign/1980/01/westward-the-saints-the-nineteenth-century-mormon-migration?lang=eng> (accessed on March, 8, 2013). This is a periodical publication from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

commonplace. Louis Bertrand's France frothed with revolution and social hardship. From 1830 to 1846, rebels attempted five different insurrection attempts against France's constitutional Monarchy under King Louis Phillippe; all of them failed.¹² Revolution was familiar to Parisians, and France had not found lasting political or social stability. Throughout this volatile period in French history, intellectuals and novelists alike wrote of social troubles that came with revolution. The novelist and poet Victor Hugo wrote of the miserable masses in a violent Paris, while philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon expressed his emotions on European social life in two heart-felt questions: "why is there so much sorrow and misery in society? Must man always be wretched?"¹³ Many French citizens disillusioned by failed hopes of revolution asked themselves these same questions. With hope for a better world, in the late 1830s and 1840s, workers and artisans, and bourgeois merchants turned toward socialism for answers. Many of these socialists preached that to achieve social equality one must first create a perfect society.

Mormons and Romantic Socialists, throughout the nineteenth century worked to create a society free from poverty, suffering, and violence. Each group attempted to build their utopia on similar religious and communal principals. Furthermore, the most popular Romantic Socialists and the Mormons alike chose the American frontier as the setting to realize their New Jerusalem.

¹² The years of 1830, 1831, 1832, 1834, and 1839 all contained moments of significant attempts to overthrow the July Monarchy in France. See Pamela Pilbeam, "Dream Worlds?: Religion and the Early Socialists in France," *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 2, (2000), 499-515.

¹³ Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, "What is Property," (Paris: 1840), www.marxist.org, (accessed on November 26, 2012), Chapter 1.

Chapter 1: Romantic Socialists and Mormons

Many French socialist thinkers during the 1830s and 1840s such as Etienne Cabet (1788-1856), Victor Considerant (1808-1893), Louis Blanc (1811-1882), and Phillipe Buchez (1796-1865) argued that socialism would heal society's ills. Cabet was particularly influential. A lawyer and journalist by profession, he bitterly attacked King Louis Philippe's government through his newspaper *Le Populaire* during the 1830s. As a result, the French government charged Cabet with treason, which forced him to flee France and live as an exile in London. While in London, he read Sir Thomas Moore's *Utopia* and was greatly influenced by the communal philosophies of Robert Owen. He also spent time writing his own utopian novel, *Voyage et aventures de lord William Carisdall en Icarie* [*Voyage and Adventures of Lord William Carisdall in Icaria*] that would eventually be published in 1840. His novel argued that living communally would solve the rampant social problems of the Nineteenth Century. He called his communal society Icaria, and his followers Icarians. Louis Philippe's government, commonly known as the July Monarchy,¹⁴ eventually dropped its charges of treason as a part of a nationwide effort to appease discontented workers and Republicans through

¹⁴ The revolution of 1830 ended with the Three Glorious Days in the Month of July that placed Louis-Philippe of the Orleanist Branch of French Royalty to the Crown. From this time Louis-Philippe's government was called the July Monarchy; the Previous King, Charles X, was from the Bourbon Family.

parliamentary reforms and liberal gestures. Cabet returned to Paris in 1839 to publish *Voyage en Icarie* as well as his newspaper *Le Populaire* to further his utopian dream.¹⁵

A fellow utopian, Victor Considerant, served as another influential leader among Romantic Socialists in France during the 1840s. He was a devoted follower of socialist thinker Charles Fourier. Fourier, in the midst of the turmoil following the French Revolution of 1789, philosophized on the agents of human happiness. He set forth a description of his ideal community, which he called the Phalanx. He imagined his Phalanx in a rural setting, situated on a square league of land within a hilly terrain. There would be a large central building called a Phalanstery that resembled the Palace of Versailles. The Phalanstery would hold lodging, workshops, meeting rooms, banquet halls and would be built to accommodate 1,600 people. Fourier never realized his Phalanx or Phalanstery, but at the time of his death in 1837 he had many followers in Europe and America hoping to realize his utopian vision. Considerant was the most important of them, and as head of the Fourierist movement in France during the 1840s, he preached the necessity to live according to the teachings of his mentor. Like Cabet, he propagated his ideas through the various journals he published, and advocated building a utopia.¹⁶

Other Romantic Socialists hoped to better French society through politics. Louis Blanc became politically influential during the 1840s by serving as one of the eleven members of the provisional government of 1848. He pushed socialist reforms into law

¹⁵ For information on Cabet and the Icarians see Jules Jean Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son fondateur, Étienne Cabet* (Paris: Cornély, 1907); Robert Sutton, *Les Icarians: the Utopian Dream in Europe and America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Christopher H. Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839-1851* (Ithica and London: Cornell University Press, 1974); Etienne Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie: Second édition*. (Paris: J. Mallet et Cie, 1842)

¹⁶ Beecher, *Victor Considerant and the Rise and Fall of Romantic Socialism*, 36-37.

by issuing the first social mandates of France's Second Republic: specifically, the right to work. Blanc focused on urban reform but still espoused belief in the creation of communitarian societies.¹⁷ Another Romantic Socialist politician, Phillippe Buchez, served as the first president of the National Assembly for France's Second Republic in May, 1848. Buchez promoted the communal socialism of Henri de Saint-Simon and also embraced Catholicism. He believed that social and religious authority should be one and the same. He argued that Catholics needed to be socialists and socialists needed to be Catholics in order to create lasting changes in society.¹⁸

Mormons also used politics to further their influence in society. Joseph Smith served as the Mayor of Nauvoo, and was running for the United States Presidency, as a third party candidate, at the time of this death. In 1844, he wrote: "I feel it to be my right and privilege to obtain what influence and power I can, lawfully, in the United States."¹⁹ He believed that if elected president, he would have been able to stop persecution against the Mormons, and lead the United States to a better future. Later in Salt Lake City, Brigham Young served as governor of the State of Utah. These Mormon politico-religious leaders, similar to Phillippe Buchez in France, wanted a tight mixture of religion, community, and government, and used politics as one means to accomplish their goal.

¹⁷ Maurice Agulhon, *The Republican Experiment, 1848-1852* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

¹⁸ Phillippe Buchez, "Introduction de la Revue Nationale," no. 1, (1847). Located at BNF; Michael Reardon, "The Reconciliation of Christianity with Progress: Philippe Buchez," *The Review of Politics*, 33, no. 4 (Oct., 1971), 516.

¹⁹ Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Volume 6* (Salt Lake City Utah: Deseret Book Publishers, 1950), 210-211.

The Communal Mormon Church 1830-1848

Mormons during this period, like the Romantic Socialists, advocated a society based on cooperation and social equality. The Mormons, officially known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, had been a religious communal society since 1831. Joseph Smith, the first Mormon prophet, was the spiritual leader and founder of Mormonism during an era of religious revivalism and communalism in North America.²⁰ This first large-scale communal experiment of the Mormons took place in Independence, Missouri.²¹ Independence was not only a place of social experimentation, but also a New Jerusalem and Zion for the Mormons.²² Smith preached that, in Zion, “thou wilt remember the poor, and consecrate of thy properties for their support which thou hast to impart unto them, with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken. And in as much as ye impart of your substance for the poor, ye will do it unto me.”²³ The Mormon doctrine of communal living was called consecration, because members would consecrate their earthly possessions to God. Louis Bertrand described this Mormon doctrine of consecration in ten words: “all belonged to God, and to all the saints equally [*Tout appartenait à Dieu, et à tous les saints égalment*].”²⁴

A revelation dictated by Joseph Smith argued that communal living was central in Christ’s gospel. Documented in the Mormon canonical *Doctrine and Covenants*, his

²⁰ During the Second Great Awakening, religious fervor returned to the forefront of populism in the United States and specifically in New York where Smith was raised. During the same period, multiple communal societies were attempting to build their communal utopias in the Americas, such as the Owenites, Shakers, Rappites, Oneidists and many others. See Donald Pitzer, *American Communal Utopias* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

²¹ The Kirtland period in Mormon History started before and existed concurrently with the independence period. However, the large scale communal experiment happened in Independence.

²² In the *Doctrine and Covenants*, the terms for Zion and New Jerusalem are used interchangeable. However, the reference to Zion consists later of more than Independence, it involves all of the surrounding communities.

²³ *The Doctrine and Covenants*, sect 42, verse 30-32, 72-73.

²⁴ Bertrand, *Mémoires*, 250.

revelation read, “be equal in the bonds of heavenly things, yea, and earthly things also... for if ye cannot be equal in earthly things ye cannot be equal in obtaining heavenly things.”²⁵ Communal living, Smith claimed, was the will of God and necessary to receive religious exaltation. Mormon communalism was not always practiced in full force, but remained part of Mormon doctrine.

Consecration was first implemented on a large scale in Independence, Missouri. However, the fighting between Mormons and Missourians, later known as the Missouri War, slowed the communal practice of the LDS faithful. They were expelled from their homes and communal districts by mobs backed by Missouri’s government. The extermination order signed by the Governor Lilburn Boggs read, “The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the state if necessary for the public peace.”²⁶ The large body of the Church was forced to flee and abandon all property in Missouri. After the expulsion, Smith moved the Mormon community to Nauvoo. In Nauvoo, consecration was practiced much less than it had been in Missouri. However, the doctrine of consecration was taught even when not fully lived.

Mormons, at first, flourished in Nauvoo. However, violent persecution followed them. When the growing Mormon influence threatened the political makeup of Illinois, a group of former LDS members who believed Joseph Smith deceived them, joined with angry locals to rid Illinois of the Mormon menace. This persecution culminated when Joseph Smith was murdered, by a mob, in Carthage, Illinois, in 1844. Harassment continued even after Smith’s death until the Mormons abandoned Nauvoo. Under the

²⁵ *The Doctrine and Covenants*, sect 78 verses, 5-6.

²⁶ Lilburn Boggs, “Executive order #14 issued to General John B. Clark, Headquarters of the Militia, Jefferson City,” dated October 27, 1838. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Extermination_order.gif (accessed March, 29, 2013).

leadership of their head apostle, Brigham Young, the LDS Church settled the Salt Lake Valley. There, Mormons would attempt once again to live according to the principles of cooperation and consecration, under the direction of God.²⁷

The year 1848 was a turning point for the Mormons-- their first full year in Salt Lake City. This same year Mexico signed the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that expanded the borders of the United States to incorporate Salt Lake City and other Mormon settlements, which had previously been part of Mexico. Therefore, Brigham Young and the Mormons who had fled to Salt Lake City to evade administrative control became subject, once more, to the United States government. That same year, Europe's governmental systems also turned upside-down.

1848 and Communism

Revolutionaries in multiple European countries attempted to overthrow their governments. Prussia, Italy, Austria, Denmark and Poland all witnessed revolutionary attempts against their respective political orders. In France, one agent of change in 1848 was Romantic Socialism and the idea of Communism. Communism was preached by Etienne Cabet, the Icarian leader, during the 1840s.²⁸ The term was first significantly disseminated in Paris by Cabet before Marx and Engels' 1848 revolutionary pamphlet, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*.²⁹ Unlike Marxist communism, the Icarian faithful

²⁷ In Utah both cooperation and communalism were advocated by Brigham Young at different times. Young's major effort at full communal living happened when he instated the "United Order" or "Order of Enoch" in the 1870s. For a detailed social and economic analysis of Mormon Communalism see Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958); Leonard Arrington, Dean May, and Feramorz Y Fox, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976).

²⁸ See Christopher Johnson, "Communism and the Working Class before Marx: The Icarian experience," *The American Historical Review* 76, no. 3 (1971), 642-689.

²⁹ Andrew Hussey, *Paris: A Secret History* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2006), 247.

incorporated religious language in addressing their leader. He was their apostle.³⁰

Bertrand called him the “sovereign pontiff of communism,” but most referred to him as they would their priest: “Father Cabet.”³¹

Prior to 1848, Cabet’s influence was noted among those who called themselves socialists or communists. During the 1848 revolution, Engels and Marx visited Cabet at the offices of *Le Populaire* after the outbreak of violence in the streets of Paris. Marx, later, disappointedly wrote to Cabet: “During the last two days of our stay in Paris we presented ourselves at your house several times. But we always found your offices [of *Le Populaire*] so crowded.”³² The Europe of 1848 formed the backdrop for Marx and Engels’ famous line in the *Communist Manifesto*: “a specter is haunting Europe, a specter of communism.”³³ However, it was not secular Marxism that haunted Paris, but the religiously charged communism and socialism of Cabet, Buchez, Considerant and Blanc.

Revolution

In February, 1848, Paris workers took to the streets in protest of Louis Philippe’s governmental restrictions of political gatherings. The workers led by socialists and republicans erected barricades to fight against the July Monarchy. When the National Guard turned on the government, the King abdicated his throne and the citizens declared France a republic.

Among those who filled the power vacuum created by the fleeing monarch, on February 25, were socialists Louis Blanc and Albert the Worker (Alexandre Martin).

³⁰ *Le Populaire* uses this title in reference to their leader.

³¹ Louis A. Bertrand, *Les Memoires d’un Mormon* (Paris : Collection Hetzel Dentu, 1862), 6.

³² Marx and Engels “Letter to Cabet, April 5 1848,” www.marxist.org (accessed on October, 10, 2012)

³³ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* ([London]:1848), www.marxist.org (accessed September 12, 2012).

Both gained seats in France's eleven-member revolutionary provisional government. Louis Blanc created a labor group in charge of France's social matters entitled the Luxemburg Commission. The commission created national workshops that guaranteed the right to work. These workshops attracted thousands from across France but also quickly drained the funds of France's emerging government and caused endless political debate. A conservative rival committee headed by Alfred de Faloux of the Parliamentary Commission on Labor announced the closure of these workshops. Faloux gave the disenfranchised workers the choice to join the army, go home, or find employment elsewhere. This decree enraged France's working class and pushed thousands of laborers into the streets in the hot month of June, ushering in the beginning of a new insurrection, only four months after the socialists' initial victory in February. The reignited revolutionary fervor frightened the inexperienced leaders of the government. In hopes of regaining stability, they called in the National Guard led by General Louis Eugène Cavaignac to subdue the workers' insurrection. The General and his soldiers deported, killed, or imprisoned thousands of the insurgents.³⁴

This "June Days" uprising marked a conservative turn in France's revolutionary government. It resulted in the election of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte as the first and only president of the Second Republic. So it was that 1848, which initially seemed like a dream-come-true to many Romantic Socialists, ended in a nightmare. By the end of the 1840s, many socialist leaders looked to create communal options outside France. France,

³⁴ For information on the French Revolution of 1848 see William Forester, *France and 1848: The end of Monarchy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005); Maurice Agulhon, *1848 ou l'apprentissage de la République. 1848-1852*, (Paris: Seuil, 2002); For scholarship on the June Day Uprising and French Governmental oppression of the socialists see John M. Merriman, *The Agony of the Republic: the Repression of the Left in Revolutionary France, 1848-1851* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978).

they had come to understand, would not be hospitable to their social and religious utopias.

Romantic Socialism and Religion

A Parisian satirical political cartoon from October 1848, entitled “La Foire aux Idées,” or, in English, the “Fair of Ideas,” sarcastically captured the diverse sectarian nature of socialism following the Revolution of 1848. At the scene of a carnival, leaders of different socialist schools stand atop platforms hawking their products to a skeptical crowd. The figures beckon passers-by to listen to their message. At the front of the picture, Etienne Cabet in rags, points to a map of his utopia, Icaria. Across the crowd, Victor Considerant presents an image that reads “guaranteed happiness.” To the right of Considerant stands Pierre-Joseph Proudhon with his poster titled, “Down with Property.” Further in the background, Louis Blanc, is selling his plan for happiness next to a vender of fake teeth.³⁵ This “fair of ideas” illustrates the divided nature of socialism in 1848, but also highlights the urgency with which these social thinkers pled for followers, similar to an American religious revival. These socialist are portrayed soliciting their practices and philosophies as perfect remedies for a sick world, as a quack would vend his magic heal-all elixir.

Each of these socialist sectarian movements had its own theoretical jargon and most had their own journal in which to publish their ideas. Louis Blanc served as head editor for *Le National*; Etienne Cabet’s newspaper was entitled *Le Populaire*; Proudhon’s writings were found in *Le Représentant du Peuple*; while Considerant published

³⁵ Bertall, “La Foire aux Idee,” *Journal Pour Rire*, (no, 37, October 1848. Paris : Lithographie à la plume) Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Fourier's *La Phalanstère*. In these periodicals, journalists wrote on political and societal problems as well as religion. With the exception of Proudhon, these French socialists of the 1830s and 1840s were religious and adhered to some form of Christian belief. They used religion as a means of growing their base of adherents.³⁶

Owner and editor of the journal *L'Atelier*, Phillipe Buchez, fought for a mixture between Socialism and Catholicism. Louis Bertrand labeled Buchez's socialism as a "radical Catholic circle."³⁷ An author, historian, politician and journalist, Phillippe Buchez believed, so he wrote in 1847, that "the great social crisis cannot be solved, till the day when the revolutionaries are Catholics and the Catholics are revolutionaries."³⁸ However, Buchez was alone among Romantic Socialists in explicitly promoting the principles of the Catholic Church.

Victor Considerant claimed that Socialism was "the pure spirit of Christ" and "the great religion of humanity."³⁹ Christ was the ultimate example of a benevolent leader that would rid the world of poverty and lift all toward heaven; he was the "Genius of Humanity." Considerant made a difference between what he called "Christianisme historique," or the dogma of the Catholic Church, and "Christianisme pur"—the pure Christianity of Fourier's social doctrines. "The *Christianisme historique*," Considerant preached, "became invaded by heretical and strange principles directly opposed to the

³⁶ Some historians such as Pamela Pilbeam, Christopher Johnson, as well as Johnathan Beecher have questioned the reason why religion was not part of their social message prior to the mid-1840s. Some believe that Cabet and Considerant, as well as others, used religion to solidify their following, attract more certain types of followers, and use divine authority as reason for action; See Pamala Pilbeam, "Dream Words?"; Jonathan Beecher, *Victor Considerant*; and Christopher Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839-1851* (Ithica and London: Cornell University Press), 1974.

³⁷ Bertrand, *Mémoires d'un Mormon*, 6.

³⁸ Phillippe Buchez, "Introduction de la Revue Nationale," no. 1, (1847). Located at BNF. Michael Reardon, "The Reconciliation of Christianity with Progress: Philippe Buchez," *The Review of Politics*, 33, no. 4 (Oct., 1971), 516.

³⁹ Victor Considerant, *Trois Discours Prononcés Devant l'Hôtel de Ville*, (Paris: Imprimerie Grégoire et Co, 1836), 17.

Genius of Humanity [Le Christianisme historique s'étant laissé envahir par un principe étranger, hérétique directement opposé au Génie de l'Humanité].” One of socialism’s goals therefore was to restore the pure Christianity that the Catholic Church had abandoned.⁴⁰

Likewise, Etienne Cabet and his Icarian followers claimed that principles of communism were merely the pure doctrines of Jesus Christ put to practice.⁴¹ He preached: “Jesus is communist. Communism is nothing but true Christianity.”⁴² Cabet’s argument, similar to that of Considerant, was that Catholicism had strayed from the socialist institution Christ built during his lifetime. Cabet devoted a six-hundred- thirty-six page tome to true Christianity titled *Le Vrai Christianisme Suivant Jesus Christ* or, in English, *True Christianity According to Jesus Christ*.⁴³

Jesus was attractive to these socialists because he represented assistance for the poor and equality among social classes. For the Icarians, Jesus was the first communist; for Considerant, Christ was the Genius of Humanity. In both cases, Christ was the great equalizer of class. Their religions, even if seemingly new, aimed to restore the true Christianity that had allegedly been perverted by the Catholic Church.

The Mormons preached the same message as did the Romantic Socialists. Joseph Smith likewise claimed to have been called to revive the true Church of Jesus Christ, teaching that Christ’s true church had fallen into a “great apostasy” or loss of truth. Smith named his faith the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, because it was

⁴⁰ Victor Considerant, *Destinée sociale*, volume 2 (Paris : bureau de la "Phalange," 1838), iv. Located at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, département Réserve des livres rares, R-20911-20912.

⁴¹ Etienne Cabet, *Le Vrai Christianisme Suivant Jésus Christ*. (Paris: Au Bureau d’un Populaire, 1846), 1.

⁴² Etienne Cabet here is quoted from Jules Bertaut, *1848 et la Second République*, (Paris: Fayard, 1937), 19-20.

⁴³ Etienne, Cabet, *Le Vrai Christianisme Suivant Jésus Christ*, (Paris : Au Bureau du Populaire, 1846).

Christ's church reestablished in the last days. The LDS Church continues to refer Joseph Smith's appellation to become a prophet as "the restoration." Smith claimed that one of Christ's principal goals of the restoration was to create social and economic equality- practiced through the law of consecration. Seeing communal living as part of God's plan, the Mormons enacted it, at least to some extent, in Ohio, Missouri, and Utah.

Romantic Socialism and Communalism and Mormon Influence

Communalism had been a goal for many Romantic Socialists since the late 1830s.⁴⁴ However, not until 1848 did French socialists physically begin to found their large scale communal experiments. That year, Cabet's city of Icaria would mark his first attempt at building a utopia. Victor Considerant would activate his plans in 1854. Both Cabet's Icarians and Considerant's Fourierists chose the United States, and specifically the State of Texas to create their utopias. Both Cabet and Considerant wrote of the Mormons as an inspiration in building a utopia in the American West. Furthermore, the Icarians and later the Fourierists looked at the Mormons as examples for their communal societies.

The Icarians referred to themselves as communists because they advocated living in a community where all things were shared in common. The name "Icarian" is a partial anagram of the motto and chant "*ça ira* [it will be fine]" popularized during the French Revolution. The name first came into use in Cabet's novel, *Voyage et Aventures de Lord William Carissdall en Icarie*. The geography of Cabet's imaginary Icaria portrayed in *Voyage en Icarie* resembled the physical features of Paris in 1840. Cabet described the

⁴⁴ This was a goal of both Saint-Simon and Fourier in the 1830s. See Jonathan Beecher, *Charles Fourier: the Visionary and his World* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1986).

river Tair, in Icaria, as identical to the river Seine in Paris: “[in] the center of the city the river divides into two arms which flow together again so as to form a circular island.”⁴⁵

Focused on a Parisian audience, his novel explained how the world could become harmonious if the French lived the communism of the Icarians. Cabet preached and thought all should distribute their property equally and think of themselves as one family. “All are associates, citizens, equals, in right and work; all share equally the responsibilities and the benefits of the association; all form but one single family, of which the members are united by the bonds of brotherhood. [*Tous sont associés, citoyens, égaux, en droits et en devoirs ; tous partagent également les charges et les bénéfices de l’association ; tous ne forment aussi qu’une seule famille, dont les membres sont unis par les liens de la fraternité*].”⁴⁶ Cabet argued his utopia could change the world by instilling unity and fraternity.

To physically create the Icaria he described in his novel, Cabet purchased land in Texas. On February 3, 1848, he sent a vanguard of seventy men he called “Soldiers of Humanity” to found the Icarian utopia. He claimed that the settlers established a colony bordering the Red River in northern Texas with “more than a million acres.” Cabet’s claims were far from reality; around three thousand acres were sold to Cabet, and not all the plots of land were connected, having minimal access to the river. Cabet originally planned to send provisions with a new vanguard of French emigrants every two weeks until the month of September, when the Icarian families and Cabet himself would join them.⁴⁷ However, eleven days after the first vanguard left for Texas, the February

⁴⁵ Etienne Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie* (Paris: 1842), 39-55.

⁴⁶ Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, 35.

⁴⁷ Etienne Cabet, *Colony or Republic of Icaria in the United States of America: its History* (Nauvoo, Illinois: Icarian Print Office, 1852), pp 2-4.

revolution of 1848 broke out in France. Cabet believed change was finally happening at home. He became caught up in the politics following the revolution, while the immigrants in Texas waited for more men, horses and provisions from a second vanguard. Cabet wrote to appease the colonizers claiming that 1,500 immigrants were on their way. Four months after their planned arrival, only ten poorly provisioned immigrants arrived. In addition to being short on people and provisions, the land proved almost impossible to cultivate, and sickness plagued the camp. Twelve of the original seventy "Soldiers of Humanity" died from malaria. Ripe with feelings of discouragement and failure, the utopians abandoned Icaria and made their way to Saint Louis, Missouri.⁴⁸

After this disaster, Cabet and his followers purchased land and lodging in the city of Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1849. Nauvoo had been mostly abandoned by Mormons after their 1847 flight to Utah. Mormon leader Brigham Young ordered lawyer Almon W. Babbitt to sell the abandoned homes and temple in the desolate city bordering the Mississippi. For a price far below market value, Cabet and the Icarians purchased most of the city of Nauvoo, including its temple. With their newly acquired land, these European communists sought to build Cabet's utopia in the former Mormon enclave.

While the Icarians made their second utopian attempt, Victor Considerant toured the United States to choose a place to build his Phalanstery.⁴⁹ Although the Icarian experience had been disastrous in Texas, Victor Considerant nevertheless chose Texas as the Fourierist site for Utopia. Four years after the Icarians had left, Considerant visited

⁴⁸ For the Icarian story in Texas see: Odie B. Faulk, "The Icarian Colony in Texas, 1848: A Problem in Historiography," *Texana* 5 (Summer 1967); Ernest G. Fischer, *Marxists and Utopias in Texas* (Dallas, Texas: Eakin Press, 1980); Christopher H. Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839-1851* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1974); Jules Jean Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son fondateur, Étienne Cabet* (Paris: Cornély, 1907; rpt., Philadelphia: Porcupine, 1972); Robert Sutton, *Les Icarians: the Utopian Dream in Europe and America*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

⁴⁹ This is the term that was used for their utopian cooperative community.

many different cities and regions in the United States during the late months of 1852, but was most impressed with Texas. He met with one former Icarian, a Frenchman named Adolphe Gouhenant. Gouhenant remained in Texas when the rest of the Icarians retreated to Saint Louis. He told Considerant of the trials that the Icarians had experienced in building their utopia. But after the Icarians failed in Texas, Gouhenant himself experienced financial success; he owned an art salon and taught school in the nearby town of Dallas. Considerant accepted the cautionary tale of Gouhenant, and believed that his community could learn from the Icarians' mistakes.⁵⁰

Considerant researched successful utopian experiments in the American West; the Mormons in Salt Lake were a helpful example. He was inspired by the Mormons who had created a flourishing territory from their "socialist solidarity." Just as Brigham Young had declared that the Salt Lake Valley was the right location for the Latter Day Saints⁵¹, Considerant foresaw that Texas was God's revealed place for settlement. "It was in Texas, only Texas," he claimed, "that I was converted and edified, that my view became clear, that I saw the light." He was certain, Texas was the right place.⁵²

However, the outcome of Considerant's utopian experiment at La Réunion, proved no better than the outcome of Icaria in Texas. With five years of poor soil, severe winters, and dry summers, a shortage of participants, and rising prices in Texas, the colonists were unable to succeed in their farming ventures. By 1857, La Réunion was dissolved and by 1860, it had become part of Dallas.⁵³ Some of Considerant's followers

⁵⁰ Beecher, *Victor Considerant*, 303-312.

⁵¹ This story actually originates after the death of Brigham Young and is found in Wilford Woodruff's diary see Susan Staker, ed. *Waiting for World's End: the Diaries of Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993).

⁵² Beecher, *Victor Considerant*, 303-312; see also Victor Considerant, *Au Texas*, 17.

⁵³ Rondel V. Davidson, "LA REUNION," *Handbook of Texas Online* (Texas State Historical Association), <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/uel01>, (accessed December 09, 2012).

stayed in Texas while others returned to France. La Réunion, meanwhile, proved to be the only utopian attempt by followers of Considerant.⁵⁴

The major leaders of Romantic Socialism in France from 1848 -1852 used religious language in publishing, recruiting followers, and building their utopias. Violence seemed to propel Mormons, Fourierists, and Icarians, not only to develop their communalist doctrines, but also to choose to settle far from government authority. Furthermore, both Cabet, Considerant, and Young founded utopias in the American West. In the case of both groups, Mormons played a role in the creation of these utopias, and in the long run, proved the most successful. Although similarities between Mormons and Romantic Socialists existed long before the revolution of 1848, neither Cabet's Icarians nor Considerant's Fourierists made personal contact with the Mormons until 1849. In that year, Icarians contacted Mormons in America to purchase Nauvoo, and Mormons contacted Icarians in Paris in search of potential converts.

Mormonism in France 1849-1852

The Mormon community in Salt Lake City struggled as did the Icarians' and Fourierists' communities in Texas. However, Brigham Young proved far more successful than Cabet or Considerant in achieving any lasting community. One reason for this was Mormon missionary work. While living in an isolated area, Mormons sent missionaries throughout the world to preach their message and enhance their following. Since 1837, missionaries had started to preach in England. However, not until 1849 did any Mormon missionary enter France.

⁵⁴ There were others who followed the teachings of Fourier, or at least claimed to, that also attempted to build Phalansteries. However, Considerant was considered to be the leader of the Fourierist in France and La Reunion was his major attempt in the United States.

From Utah, Brigham Young sent missionary William Howells to be the first to preach in France. Unable to speak the French language, he stayed on the coastline, specifically in the port town of Boulogne-Sur-Mer, where much English was spoken. Later in 1849, the Mormon apostle John Taylor and his two companions Curtis Bolton and John Pack arrived in France to relieve William Howells of his duty as lone missionary.

In addition to proselyting, the new missionaries were charged with publishing Mormon literature for French speaking countries. Taylor and Bolton moved on to Paris, while John Pack stayed in Boulogne. Paris was a publishing hot spot and the most populated city in France. Taylor claimed that the first problem the missionaries faced was the lack of Mormon literature in French. Writing to the Mormon publication in England, *the Millennial Star*, he complained that “we are very much embarrassed for the want of Books in the French Language.” Taylor hoped to publish “immediately of the principals of the gospel, so that we can circulate them among the French.”⁵⁵ The Mormons were new in Paris and filled with enthusiasm. They went to work converting the French natives and translating Mormon literature into French, and hoped soon to be able to embark on a program of Mormon publications.⁵⁶

In Paris, one of the first contacts John Taylor and Curtis Bolton made was in the offices of Etienne Cabet’s newspaper *Le Populaire*. It is uncertain why the missionaries chose to contact the Icarians. However, many Icarians, outside of Paris, were building their utopia in Nauvoo, and both Taylor and Bolton had lived there. In addition to the

⁵⁵ Letter from John Taylor, *The Millennial Star* (July 21, 1850).

⁵⁶ For detailed information on the first Mormon missionaries in France see Christian Euvrard, *Louis Auguste Bertrand (1808-1875): Journaliste Socialiste et Pionnier Mormon*. (Tournan en Brie : Ouest-Le Mans, 2005) and Gray Ray Chard, “A History of the French of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 1850–1960.” (M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1965).

Nauvoo connection, the Icarians and Mormons were both religious outsiders and socialist sympathizers.

At the office of *Le Populaire*, John Taylor discussed the humanitarian work of the Mormons with the Icarians. He proudly announced that the Mormons “have sent thousands and thousands of dollars over to Europe to assist the suffering poor to go to America where they might find asylum.”⁵⁷ This Mormon story of utopian emigration impressed Taylor’s crowd, who, at that moment, was trying to fundraise to help Icaria thrive in Nauvoo. One person in Taylor’s audience, Louis Bertrand, a former 1848 revolutionary, socialist zealot, and Icarian, was particularly interested in the Mormon message. In fact, Bertrand spoke English fluently and had already published articles on the Mormon community in Salt Lake City for *Le Populaire*.

The next three chapters follow Bertrand’s story as a devoted Romantic Socialist and Mormon pioneer. His story, I show, sheds light upon a religious socialist movement that is much more transnational than heretofore realized. Rather than confining Mormonism to the United States and Romantic Socialism to Europe, we shall see that both crossed boundaries. Historians have labeled Mormonism as an American religious tradition, with its roots deep in the Second Great Awakening.⁵⁸ However, Bertrand did not merely embrace an American religious tradition, but rather an international social movement that he thought to be directed by God. Bertrand’s story demonstrates that European Romantic Socialism and American Mormonism are intimately connected through their utopian, religious, communal, and even revolutionary ideals.

⁵⁷ B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor* (Salt Lake City: Gorge Q. Cannon and Sons, 1892), 226.

⁵⁸ Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: the Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

Chapter 2: Bertrand and Europe

On January 11, 1808, Joseph Flandin and his wife Marie Tremellat gave birth to their first son, Jean-Francois Elie Flandin, in the provincial town of Roquevaire, France. The young Jean-Francois, later known as Louis Bertrand, grew up less than 30 miles from the port city of Marseille during the height of the Napoleonic Wars. Used to seeing soldiers and commercial sailors crossing through Roquevaire, Joseph Flandin- Jean-Francois' devout Catholic father and a spice merchant- desired his son to stay far from the worldly professions of business and soldiering. Joseph placed his son in the care of the famous Jesuit educator, Jean-Nicolas Loriguet, in hopes that his son would become a Catholic Priest. At the age of sixteen, Jean-François rejected his religious education and fled to work as a member of a shipping company that traveled throughout the Mediterranean. For the next twenty years of his life, Flandin never settled in one location; he traveled to Asia, Africa, North and South America, in hopes of making his fortune. In 1846, Flandin arrived in Paris.⁵⁹

Romantic Socialism was at its height among the Parisian intellectuals and left-leaning politicians; he quickly found his way into their circles. He first studied Phillipe-Buchez's revolutionary Catholic and Socialist doctrine, where he "dreamed an alliance

⁵⁹ To read a detailed account of Bertrand's childhood and youth experiences, see Christian Eurvard, *Louis Auguste Bertrand (1808-1875): Journaliste Socialiste et Pionnier Mormon* (Tournan en Brie : Ouest-Le Mans, 2005); or Richard D. McClellan, "Louis A. Bertrand: One of the Most Singular and Romantic Figures of the Age" (undergraduate honors thesis, Brigham Young University, 2000).

between the authority of the dogma and political liberty, between Catholicism and revolution [Je rêvais une alliance entre l'autorité du dogme et la liberté politique, entre le catholicisme et la révolution]."⁶⁰ After studying with the Radical Catholics, Flandin rejected Buchez's belief in Catholicism, but "the burning questions of socialism [les brûlantes questions posées par le socialisme]," and "the love of studying kept me [Flandin] in Paris [l'amour de l'étude m'avait fixé à Paris]."⁶¹ He soon found his place among the Icarian communists, who taught that socialist utopianism was true primitive Christianity but rejected the Catholic "dogma."

Bertrand was among many who advocated belief in Christ but rejected Catholicism. Icarians attracted those disenfranchised by the Catholic Church, who nevertheless believed that God's authority should be linked with social betterment. One Icarian convert wrote: "yes, let us leave this worm-eaten and gangrenous society! ... Apostles of the social regeneration, let us go to place the first stone in the edifice announced by Christ! ... for we shall leave behind the life in tombs in order to be born again in the promised land under the sun of the enlightenment."⁶² Among the Icarians, Bertrand hoped to find an improved religion and social situation. With his newfound devotion to the socio-religious philosophy of the Icarian communists, Bertrand made Paris his home. Furthermore, he showed signs of permanently settling when he married the Parisian Françoise Louise Lebordais.

When revolution broke out in 1848, Flandin joined fellow socialists fighting for the rights of workers. The violence and political volatility Flandin encountered in Paris

⁶⁰ Louis Bertrand, *Les Mémoires d'un Mormon* (Paris : E. Dentu, 1862), 7.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² *Le Populaire*, May 23. Also cited in Christopher H. Johnson, "Communism and the Working Class before Marx: The Icarian experience," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 76, no. 3(Jun., 1971), 686.

complicated his familial situation. His involvement in the Revolution could have resulted in arrest, deportation, or death. As a new husband and father, he wanted to provide safety to his family, but not break with his devotion to the revolutionary cause. Therefore, during the revolution, Jean-François Elie Flandin changed his name to Louis A. Bertrand. He never again publically used the name Flandin.

A Revolutionary

Bertrand's France during the mid-nineteenth century mixed violent revolution along with social and religious experimentation. From 1846 to 1851, the five years Bertrand lived in Paris, prior to his Mormon baptism, he witnessed violence and social upheaval. Furthermore, social rebellion was not unique to the years Bertrand worked and lived in Paris; there had been five different failed attempts at revolution, from 1830 to 1846.⁶³ Many French Romantic Socialists, discussed in the previous chapter, preached the need for a new social situation throughout these violent times. Not all Romantic Socialists advocated violence as means to a utopian end. However, revolution served as an instrument by which large scale social change could be wrought.

Bertrand fought alongside socialists, communists, and republicans in February 1848. Their demonstrations pressured King Louis Philippe to abdicate his throne. The King's abdication created a power vacuum in French politics. People from all social groups tried to influence politics in the void left by the fleeing monarch. Following the violence of the February Revolution, socialists and communists extended their influence into the Provisional Government. The temporary leaders created national workshops

⁶³ The years of 1830, 1831, 1832, 1834, and 1839 all contained moments of significant attempts to overthrow the July Monarchy in France. See Pamela Pilbeam, "Dream Worlds? Religion and the Early Socialists in France," *The Historical Journal* Vol. 43, no. 2 (Jun. 2000) 499-515.

guaranteeing all “the right to work” [le droit du travail]. This policy, implemented by socialist Louis Blanc, gave all who were willing to work a day’s pay, even if they accomplished no work at all. With growing socialist influence in government, and the birth of social policies such as the National Workshops, Bertrand had reason to rejoice in the romantic progress toward utopia.

Bertrand, along with thousands of other Romantic Socialists, joined political clubs to influence governmental reform. “The Revolution of 1848...,” Bertrand admitted in his *Mémoires*, “threw me into the rings of militant democracy.”⁶⁴ He was incarcerated, sometime during the year of 1848, because of his involvement in politics. Mormon missionary Curtis Bolton noted in 1851, that Bertrand had been imprisoned for his connection to the communists.⁶⁵ It is uncertain exactly what role he played in the revolutionary violence and political upheaval that resulted in his arrest. However, Bertrand could have been arrested during the months of April, May, or June, 1848.

On April 14, national guardsmen believed Icarians were behind a failed insurrection headed by Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), attempting to overthrow the Provisional Government. The National Guard gathered before *Le Populaire’s* office, in the rue Jean Jacques Rousseau, and threatened Icarians with death. In vivid display of their anger, they threw one Icarian into the river Seine.⁶⁶ Others Icarian communists were imprisoned, and Bertrand could have been among them. However, that was not the only moment he could have been incarcerated.

⁶⁴ Bertrand, *Mémoires*, 6

⁶⁵ Curtis Bolton Diary, 2 December 1851.

⁶⁶ Christopher H. Johnson, “Communism and the Working Class before Marx: The Icarian experience,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (Jun., 1971), 642. On the significance of April 16, and on Cabet’s place in the crisis, see: Jean Dautry, *1848 et la Deuxième République*, second ed. (Paris, 1957), 126-32; Georges Duveau, *1848* (Paris, 1965), 98-105, 229-32; Pierre Angrand, *Etienne Cabet et la Révolution de 1848* (Paris, 1948), 53-57.

It is also possible that Bertrand was arrested during the crisis of May 15, when workers and socialists protested against the April elections that proved a decisive blow to socialist reform. Protestors entered the National Assembly, in what some historians call an attempted coup. They declared the National Assembly dissolved and proclaimed a new Provisionary Government should be formed with fourteen members, all of them radical republicans or socialists, including: Louis Blanc, Etienne Cabet, and Victor Considerant. The National Guard eventually regained control of the Assembly and arrested many involved in the attempted coup.⁶⁷ Bertrand could have been among the workers that backed the Romantic Socialists and invaded the National Assembly.

The third time Bertrand could have been arrested was during the insurrection in June. The “June Days” uprising broke out over the new government’s decision to annul the national workshops. Louis Blanc claimed that Jesus Christ was the true founder of the workshops⁶⁸, but they proved extremely expensive and quickly drained the feeble economy. The conservative representatives, elected in April, chose to abandon the national workshops, which forced thousands of workers into unemployment. Already disgruntled by the conservative turn in the Revolution, these workers flooded the streets in Paris hoping to regain control of the political situation. As a reactionary measure to the uprising, the frightened leaders called in the National Guard, led by General Eugène Cavaignac, to subdue the riots. The violence between the National Guard and the rebels resulted in arrests, deaths, and deportations. The government blamed the Communists and socialists for the violence. Cabet himself escaped arrest; however, Bertrand could have been arrested during the brouhaha. Since Bertrand did not start publishing articles

⁶⁷ William Fortescue, *France and 1848: the End of Monarchy* (New York: Rutledge, 2005), 119.

⁶⁸ Pilbeam, “Dream Worlds?” 501.

in Cabet's newspaper until May 1849, it can be hypothesized that he served his prison sentence sometime between April of 1848 and May of 1849.⁶⁹

Bertrand rarely mentioned his role in revolution following 1848, but did explain briefly that he was "extensively known in that city and by the French Government."⁷⁰ Mormon missionary, Curtis Bolton, in his personal diary claimed that Bertrand had served as a member of the Revolutionary committee and a leader in the Red-Republican Party.⁷¹ With all the tumult in Paris during the 1840s, many details remain obscure to Bertrand's exact role in politics, or the exact time he changed his name. However, Bertrand stayed with the communist Icarians throughout the revolution. And in 1849, after his prison sentence, he worked as editor for Etienne Cabet's political column in *Le Populaire*.⁷²

Icarians and Mormons

In 1849, Etienne Cabet left France to join the Icarians in America, that same year Bertrand started editing *Le Populaire*. During his employer's absence, Bertrand was charged with reporting politics to the Icarian community in France. Therefore, when Cabet purchased Nauvoo from the Mormons, Bertrand searched for information on the political, social, and religious nature of Latter Day Saint community. In his research,

⁶⁹ For more of the June Day Uprising see William Fortescue, *France and 1848: the End of Monarchy* (New York: Rutledge, 2005)113-134; John Merriman, *The Agony of the Republic: the Repression of the Left in Revolutionary France 1848-1851* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978).

⁷⁰ Louis A. Bertrand, "Letter to Brigham Young, August 25, 1859," Collection of Letters to Brigham Young available in the Church History Library and Archives in Salt Lake City.

⁷¹ Curtis Bolton, "Curtis Bolton Diary, December 2, 1851," located in the LDS Church History Library and Archives.

⁷² Bertrand wrote the monthly political review in *Le Populaire* from November 1849 – December 1850. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Bertrand found the Mormons' mix of religiosity and community similar to the socio-religious beliefs held by Icarians. He published his findings in May 20, 1849:

In concluding our examination of the Mormon's religious and social system, we continue to note here that it is based on the principles of *the community*, that they draw their strength principally through the brotherly devotion and love of their numerous members, and finally that they legitimize their existence on the texts of gospel scriptures and precepts. We see by this how many similarities there are with the Icarian doctrine. [*En ajournant notre examen sur le système religieux et social des Mormons, nous nous bornons à constater ici qu'il est basé sur les principales de la communauté, qu'il puise sa force principalement dans le dévouement et l'amour fraternel de ses nombreux adeptes, et qu'enfin Il légitime son existence sur le texte même des écritures et les préceptes évangéliques. On voit par là combien il a d'analogie avec la doctrine icarienne.*]⁷³

Before meeting the Mormons, Bertrand drew a profound analogy between the Mormons and the Icarians; both groups based their existence on community, and gospel doctrine.

Another column he authored in *Le Populaire* delved deeper into Mormons' social policy. "Mormons put all in common and are united by the bonds of brotherhood and socialism. [*Les mormons mettent tout en commun et sont étroitement unis pas les liens de la fraternité et du socialisme.*]"⁷⁴ For Bertrand, these Mormons could have served as socialist allies to the Icarian newcomers in America. In this same article he hoped that Cabet would learn from the Mormons. "We love to believe that our dear father Cabet will profit from his sojourn in the United States to become familiar with them [the Mormons], and that our Icarian brothers will fraternize with the American Communists [*Nous aimons à croire que notre cher Père Cabet profitera de son séjour aux Etats-Unis pour se mettre en rapport avec eux, et que nos frères Icariens fraterniseront désormais avec les*

⁷³ Louis Bertrand, *Le Populaire*, (no. 47 May 20, 1849). Located on microfilm at La Bibliothèque Nationale de France cite François Mitterrand, Paris.

⁷⁴ Louis Bertrand, *Le Populaire*, (no 94, February 18, 1849).

Communistes américains].”⁷⁵ Bertrand saw these Mormons as living examples to the Icarians in how to create a successful communal society in a foreign land.⁷⁶

Bertrand’s research on Mormonism reinforced his belief that religion was essential to socialism. Bertrand argued that the mix of religion and community he found among the Mormons should be an example to all socialists. In an article entitled “Solidarity between all the Socialists [*Solidarité entre Tous Les Socialistes*],” he described religion, non-Catholic Christianity in particular, as crucial to socialism. He attacked Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), the famous French socialist and anarchist who in 1848 released *Les Confessions d’un Révolutionnaire*. Bertrand claimed Proudhon was individualistic, egotistical, and self-loving, who tore down Christianity and therefore communism. “It is obvious that his [Proudhon’s] only goal is to make an obstacle of the rise of Socialism, under the flag of Socialism itself... in preaching individualism and at the same time, denying the principles of Christianity which are nothing but those of Communism... [*Il est évident que son but unique est de faire obstacle à l’avènement de socialisme, sous le drapeau de socialisme...en prêchant l’individualisme et la concurrence, en niant les principes de Christianisme qui ne sont autres que ceux du Communisme*].”⁷⁷ Bertrand viewed Proudhon’s rejection of religion as a threat to socialism. His search for “*Le Vrai Christianisme*,” or true Christianity, differed greatly from the atheist socialism espoused by Proudhon, and his German counterparts Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. In fact, the utopianism of the Icarians resembled Mormonism far more than it did Marxism, or atheist socialism.

⁷⁵ Louis Bertrand, *Le Populaire*, (no 94, February 18, 1849).

⁷⁶ Bertrand claimed twice in *Le Populaire* that Mormons were communists.

⁷⁷ Louis Bertrand, “Solidarité entre tous les Socialistes” *Le Populaire*, no 103, (December, 1849).

Mormon Missionaries on French Communism

When Mormons arrived in Paris in 1849, the missionary and apostle John Taylor found France's religious and political circumstances significantly different than they were in America. He wrote, that in France, Catholicism was the only prominent form of Christianity and it was corrupt. Furthermore, most sincere French people, he believed, looked upon the Catholic Church as "moonshine and folly." Nonetheless, Taylor wrote that there were "thousands of good spirited honest hearted men" in France disenfranchised with Catholic Christianity. He blamed the absence of religiosity upon the Catholic Church. "I am not surprised that infidelity should prevail, in such countries," he declared, "personally, if I could see nothing better than what is called Christianity there [in France], I would be an infidel too." He thought "Socialism, Fourierism, and several other isms" were examples of these "good spirited, honest hearted" infidels. Taylor wrote specifically about the Icarian communists' institution, stating, "they call it religion," and "are actually sincere in their religion." Taylor sympathized with these Romantic Socialists.⁷⁸

Taylor thought that the Romantic Socialists needed more religion mixed with their social doctrines. He believed they did not understand true religion, but "when they come to see it [Religion]," he claimed, "they rejoice in it." He taught that Mormons should preach to the French people differently than protestant Americans. Romantic Socialists were used to intellectual and philosophical argumentation on the social situation; therefore, Taylor hoped to convert through reason using Mormon

⁷⁸ Brigham Young, his Two Counselors, the Twelve Apostles, and others, "John Taylor's Mission to Europe," *Journal of Discourses, Volume 1* (Liverpool: F.D. and S.W. Richards, 15, Wilton Street), 22-23. <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/JournalOfDiscourses3/id/9599/rec/1> (accessed on March 25, 2013).

communalism as a conversion tool. Taylor proudly proclaimed that he was able to “make it appear that our philosophy is better than theirs, and then show them that religion is at the bottom of it.” Therefore, the common philosophy behind Mormon communitarian practices would attract socialists to listen to the LDS missionaries. And after their initial interest was piqued, Mormon religiosity would influence socialists, such as Bertrand, to convert to Mormonism.⁷⁹

Bertrand’s Conversion to Mormonism

Bertrand’s religious conversion to Mormonism started in his communist newspaper office. During Bertrand’s stint as political editor in 1850, John Taylor and his missionary companions Curtis Bolton, and John Pack, knocked on the office door of *Le Populaire*. These missionaries knew that Cabet had purchased Nauvoo and were aware of their ideological similarities with the Icarians. Furthermore, the missionaries looked to publish their religious beliefs and translate the Book of Mormon into French. They planned to use their publications as tools to convert many French speaking citizens to immigrate to Salt Lake City and build the Mormon community in Utah. By contacting *Le Populaire* they hoped to find allies and especially potential converts.

The missionaries were accepted with open arms at the offices of *Le Populaire*. John Taylor first met with the newspaper’s editor, Ludwik (known as Louis in France) Krolikowski. Taylor told Korlikowski that the Mormons planned to ameliorate the human condition through “the simple plan ordained of God, vis: repentance, baptism for

⁷⁹ Brigham Young, his Two Counselors, The Twelve Apostles, and others, “John Taylor’s Mission to Europe,” *Journal of Discourses, Volume 1* (Liverpool: F.D. and S.W. Richards, 15, Wilton Street), 22-23. <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/JournalOfDiscourses3/id/9599/rec/1> (accessed on March 25, 2013).

the remission of sins, and the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.” He went on to explain these religious practices had social benefits: “Our people have not been seeking the influence of the world, nor the power of government, but they have obtained both.” For Taylor, the simplicity of true religion would change the world and the way it was governed. Taylor, however, criticized the Icarians’ for overemphasizing the human component to social change. Icarians had “been seeking to build up a system of communism and a government” that was according to Taylor, “independent of God.” He believed that the Icarians misunderstood the religious component of communal societies. Taylor claimed that God, not man, should govern. Kirlokowski did not engage in a religious debate with Taylor, but instead agreed that God should be a focal point of any social movement.⁸⁰

John Taylor’s teachings of the religious aspects of Mormonism attracted Bertrand. He had already published multiple articles on the LDS community and was intrigued by the Mormon communal society. He wrote, months before having met the Mormon missionaries, “Of all the American communist societies, there is not one more interesting than that of the Mormons.”⁸¹ Furthermore, he spoke fluent English and could communicate with the American missionaries better than anyone else at *Le Populaire*. John Taylor and John Pack had difficulty speaking French, and Cutis Bolton, spoke without native fluency. Bertrand naturally gravitated toward Taylor, Bolton, and Pack.⁸²

Bertrand, already intrigued by Mormon socio-religious doctrine, inquired to learn first-hand about their religion and social principles. In return, the missionaries asked Bertrand to study their religious doctrine, in hopes that he might convert. Bertrand wrote,

⁸⁰ B.H. Roberts, *the Life of John Taylor*, 227.

⁸¹ Louis A. Bertrand, *Le Populaire*, (no. 47, May 20, 1849), BNF.

⁸² Euvrard, *Louis Auguste Bertrand*, 151.

“My knowledge of English permitted me to familiarize myself with the doctrines of this new Church, I found in their writings, but especially in a work titled *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon* by Orson Pratt, the complete demonstration of the divinity of this work [Ma connaissance de l’anglais me permettant de m’initier moi-même aux doctrines de la nouvelle Eglise, je trouvai dans leurs écrits, mais surtout dans l’ouvrage intitulé *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon*, par Orson Pratt, la démonstration complète de la divinité de cette œuvre].” After Bertrand researched Mormon doctrine, out of both professional curiosity and religious interest, he believed to have found the work of God.⁸³

Bertrand’s belief in Mormonism turned to faith. He wrote, “All the questions, all the objections that I asked them [the Missionaries] were cleared or refuted to my entire satisfaction. After three months of study and serious reflection, I accepted baptism.”⁸⁴ Bertrand described his conversion to Mormonism as a rational process of deciding if he truly believed the doctrines of the Mormon Church, and then accepting their doctrines as truths in addition to his previous affiliations. The religious historian of conversion Arthur Darby Nock would have viewed Bertrand’s conversion similar to an early pagan in how he seemed to be “adding on” to his existing belief system, more than repudiating previous religious beliefs.⁸⁵ A more recent historian, Craig Harline, explained Bertrand’s sort of conversion as “not merely turning around, as suggested by the Latin root *convertere*; not merely undergoing a change, as in conversion’s usual sense of changing from one thing to another; not merely a conversion table, as finding an equivalent form; but rather

⁸³ Bertrand, *Memoires*, 7.

⁸⁴ Bertrand, *Memoires*, 8.

⁸⁵ A. D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933); see also Lewis Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

conversion as discovering what you have always been, or believed”⁸⁶ Needless to say, Mormonism fit, and added to, Bertrand’s romantic socialist belief in community and spirituality.

⁸⁶ Craig Harline, *Conversions: Two Family Stories from the Reformation and Modern America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 66.

Chapter 3: From France to America

On December 1, 1850, the Mormon missionary and Apostle, John Taylor waded into the Seine River, with Communist journalist and French revolutionary Louis Alphonse Bertrand awaiting his new birth. Taylor lifted his right arm toward heaven: “Having been commissioned of Jesus Christ,” he boldly announced, “I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.” Taylor then placed his right arm on Louis Bertrand’s upper back and immersed the new convert into the cold river.⁸⁷

After Bertrand’s baptism, he continued his work with *Le Populaire*, finding no contradiction in being both a Mormon and an Icarian. For almost a year, Bertrand preached the religiosity of the Mormons while publishing Icarian doctrine in *Le Populaire*. However, Bertrand’s life as both communist journalist and Mormon missionary was short-lived. Circumstances in Paris, Salt Lake, and Icaria (Nauvoo) pushed him to become fully Mormon.

Cabet Returns and Bertrand is Fired

The Icarian leader and *Le Populaire*’s founder, Etienne Cabet, returned to France from the Icarian settlement in Nauvoo facing charges of corruption. Embittered Icarians from the 1848 failure in Texas claimed Cabet had cheated them and embezzled their

⁸⁷ This is text from the LDS baptismal prayer found in the Mormon canon: *The Doctrine and Covenants*, sect 20, verse 73.

funds. Cabet received a quick acquittal of the charges; however, while in Paris he altered the organization of *Le Populaire*. Cabet changed the newspaper's name from *Le Populaire* to *La Republique* and relieved most of his journalists and editors of their employment. When Bertrand was fired in November 1851, his feelings toward Cabet changed from adoration to anger.

Bertrand had been abandoned by the Icarians, out of work, and providing for a family. Married with two boys, his wife was in her last trimester of pregnancy with a third child.⁸⁸ Many in Paris were starving and Bertrand feared a dire situation among the hungry unemployed. "Corpses of starving proletarians were by now a common sight on the corners of the most fashionable boulevards," Historian Andrew Hussey wrote of this moment in Parisian history.⁸⁹ Colin Jones went further into detail of Paris' situation during this period, "The city's death rate was higher than that of the rest of the country. One third of all births were illegitimate, and around one-tenth of new babies were abandoned to the founding hospital."⁹⁰ Bertrand was greatly distressed. Mormon missionary Curtis Bolton wrote in his journal of this experience:

Bro Bertrand came in a few minutes after [ten o'clock] and said with tears in his eyes that Cabet had turned him out of his office and that he was without resources. My Joy was extreme, for I knew that as long as he remained in the Newspaper Office (Communist) government would be inimical to us. But he looked only on the dark side of the picture and saw nothing but starvation staring at his face.⁹¹

⁸⁸ His daughter was born on January 14, 1852. Bertrand showed his daughter to Bolton the day of her birth; she was a very large child with lots of hair. See Curtis Bolton, "Letter from Curtis Bolton to John Taylor, January 14, 1852," (Collection of Letters to John Taylor, LDS Church History Library and Archives Salt Lake City).

⁸⁹ Hussey. *Paris: a Secret History*, 246.

⁹⁰ Colin Jones. *Paris: The Biography of a City*, 295

⁹¹ Curtis Bolton, "Curtis Bolton's Diary, November 18, 1851," located in the LDS Church History Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Bolton was ecstatic and Bertrand horrified. The new French government looked down upon the communists. Because of Bertrand's association with Icarians, and the communal and utopic teachings of the LDS missionaries, Mormons were viewed unfavorably to the suspicious government. Furthermore, the missionaries' association with Bertrand was seen as Mormon support of Icarian communism. Curtis Bolton thought ridding the Church of its public image as communist was necessary to convert more Parisians. Thus Bolton found Bertrand's firing a joyful moment.

Bertrand fortunately found refuge with the Mormons. Bolton and Taylor hired him to aid in the translation of *The Book of Mormon* into French. After November 18, Bertrand labored full time for the Mormons. This new profession, more than his baptism, would alter the projection of Bertrand's life. This change in occupation, from communist journalist to religious translator fully completed his transformation from Icarian to Mormon. Initially, at least, Bertrand's abandonment of Icarianism was not out of choice but out of financial necessity.

Napoleon III and Translation

Not long after he started on the translation of *The Book of Mormon*, France's political situation changed. The first president of France's Second Republic, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of the great Emperor Napoleon, staged a coup on December 2, 1851. With the goal to extend his presidency, he dissolved the Legislative National Assembly. In revolt, many displeased Parisians barricaded the streets to protest against the coup. Many of these protesters were imprisoned or exiled by Louis Napoleon's troops. Among those arrested were Bertrand's former employer Etienne

Cabet for being a “political agitator and leader of the Socialist School.”⁹² The famous author, poet, and revolutionary, Victor Hugo was exiled for opinions contrary to those of Louis Napoleon. Bertrand’s former involvement with the socialist and republican circles might have led to his arrest had he not been busily translating the *Book of Mormon*.

Napoleon III’s empire in France, well aware of its many enemies, reinforced its social dominance by quashing groups considered to be threats. Socialists, communists and many minority religious groups were suppressed under the new regime.

Proselytism, by those other than Catholics, Protestants, or Jews became illegal.

Mormons, who were considered by the government as religious outsiders connected to the communists, were no longer allowed to preach publicly. Because of the illegality of public preaching, Bertrand and Curtis Bolton focused on translation and publication.⁹³

When violence broke out in Paris, Bolton and Bertrand thought it best to leave the city until the fighting died down. Outside of Paris they could better concentrate on their work translating. After two days, the rebels were subdued and Bertrand and Bolton returned to Paris to finish up. During the final stage of the translation effort, Bertrand’s wife gave birth to their third child, a daughter. Curtis Bolton wrote to John Taylor the morning of her birth, “Brother Bertrand’s wife has just presented him a young giantess with hair as long as a child of three months. He is quite proud of his young daughter. She was born this morning. Her name is Marie-Josephine.”⁹⁴ Five days after the birth of Bertrand’s child, Bolton and Bertrand finished the translation of *The Book of Mormon*.⁹⁵

⁹² Etienne Cabet translated by Thomas Teakle, *History and Constitution of the Icarian Community* (Iowa City: the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1917), 231.

⁹³ For more reading on the suppression of left groups in France see John Merriman, *The Agony of the Republic*.

⁹⁴ Curtis Bolton, “Letter from Curtis Bolton to John Taylor, Paris, 14 January 1852,” LDS Church historical Archives.

⁹⁵ Euvrard, *Louis Auguste Bertrand*, 175. They finished the 19 of January 1852.

In December 1852, Bertrand was haunted by his past, once again, when Louis-Napoleon, a year after his original coup, changed the government from a republic to an empire and crowned himself Emperor Napoleon III. Many in Paris revolted against the change. Once again, the new emperor arrested protestors and political opponents. This time Bolton returned home to the United States permanently, while Bertrand stayed in Paris.

Channel Islands and Mission Presidency

On April 28, 1853, a new mission president named Andrew Lamoureaux replaced Bolton. Lamoureaux called Bertrand as his counselor to the mission presidency. The political situation in France worsened for the Mormons. They were still not allowed to preach in Paris, and owing to the political instability and Bertrand's past as a communist, the Mormons were in jeopardy. Lamoureaux decided to leave France and set up mission headquarters on the British Island of Jersey, off the west coast of France.

Bertrand left Paris to answer his Church calling as counselor to the new missionary president. He communicated this experience later in his memoirs, "By counsel, I left my occupation, my wife and my children, and country, and took up my abode on the Island of Jersey."⁹⁶ The exact date of his departure was not noted. French historian Christian Euvrard argued, "If we consider [Lamoureaux] arrived at Jersey April 28, one can think that it is very soon after this date that Bertrand arrived on the island."⁹⁷ If this is the case, Bertrand left his wife, family and country less than a month before his

⁹⁶ Louis A. Bertrand, "Letter to Erastus Snow, June 17, 1855," LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

⁹⁷ Euvrard, *Louis Auguste Bertrand*, 225.

baby daughter Marie-Josephine died on May 18, 1853.⁹⁸ Bertrand stayed in Jersey and did not write of this incident. There is no record available of how the death of his daughter and his absence from home affected his family life. However, his wife and two sons did not convert to Mormonism and refused to follow him and the Mormons.

Bertrand, as a missionary on the Channel Islands, found himself amidst numerous political exiles and revolutionaries. Victor Hugo, the famous French Romantic poet, author, and political activist, lived on Jersey at the same time. Hugo's role in the Revolution of 1848 was his reason for exile and a possible reason for acquaintance with Bertrand. Hugo, a former member of the National Assembly, detested Napoleon III and criticized him in his writings while on Jersey. During Hugo's stay on the Island, Bertrand preached to him. A friend of Bertrand wrote of this experience to Brigham Young:

The island of Jersey was an asylum to the refugees from France and other nations; Victor Hugo the great dramatist and poet and others were there and gave the Emperor much uneasiness. Elder L.A. Bertrand... belonged to the Red Republican party. Victor Hugo and his fellow refugees granted him a hearing; they listened with attention at the time, but their heads were too full of revolution to think much about the gospel of Jesus Christ.⁹⁹

Hugo and the other exiles listened to Bertrand's discourse on Mormonism. This meeting highlighted the political place of Mormons in the 1850s amidst the larger group of socialists, revolutionaries, and political outcasts on Jersey. Bertrand had no desire to join the ranks of the other exiles because he believed that they should accept the teachings of Mormonism. For Bertrand, Mormonism was revolution, socialism, and

⁹⁸ Euvrard, *Louis Auguste Bertrand*, 114. The author found the birth and death certificate of his daughter Marie- Josephine in (L'état civil reconstitué aux Archives de la Ville de Paris)

⁹⁹ John Oakley, "John Oakley's letter to Brigham Young," *Manuscript History of Brigham Young* (1853), 133.

pure religion together, and those who focused only on revolution or social justice without religion were missing the mark.

After his stint in Jersey, on April 17, 1855, Bertrand immigrated to America to join the larger Mormon community in Utah. He was ready to leave France for the Mormons, even though throughout the 1840s he never chose to immigrate with the Icarians to their colony in America. This could have signified a greater devotion to the Mormons or merely a difference in circumstance. When the Icarans emigrated, Bertrand was employed by Cabet in Paris. Bertrand's employment by the Icarians enabled him to stay in Paris and at the same time remain committed to the Icarians. However, when Bertrand left Jersey, all members of the Mormon Church in France and on the Channel Islands were encouraged to immigrate to Utah. Bertrand may also have been pushed to immigrate because he had no occupation in France or Paris, and the Mormons paid for his travel. Furthermore, Bertrand had always had a taste for adventure, and was faithful to Mormonism.¹⁰⁰ His family, however, refused to accompany him on the trip to America.

Voyage to America

Bertrand left the Channel Islands to first board a ship from Liverpool, England, to New Orleans, Louisiana. In New Orleans, Andrew Lamoreaux, the Mormon Mission President traveling with Bertrand, died from dehydration.¹⁰¹ From New Orleans he sailed up the Mississippi River to St. Louis, Missouri. From St. Louis, Bertrand boarded

¹⁰⁰ As a young adult, he traveled to all the countries bordering the Mediterranean, as well as countries in North America, South America, Africa and Asia.

¹⁰¹ Joseph Smith before his death gave Lamoreaux a blessing and stated that he would die on a Mission for the LDS Church. Lamoreaux's wife originally discouraged him to go on this mission to France, but he told her that he would die on a future mission, and not to worry. Nevertheless, Lamoreaux's story is often told as a fulfillment of one of Smith's Prophecies.

another boat in the direction of Kaneshville, Iowa. After a brief stop in Iowa, he joined a camp of Mormon pioneers. In covered wagons they journeyed across the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains, until reaching their final destination in Salt Lake City. The voyage from Liverpool to Salt Lake City spanned 7,840 miles.¹⁰² Having traveled over one thousand miles farther west than the Icarian settlement in Nauvoo, Bertrand finally reached the great Mormon community of Salt Lake City.

Communalism and Mormonism in Utah

Salt Lake City had been the gathering place for the LDS faithful since 1847. When Bertrand arrived on October 29, 1855 he joined thousands of other Mormons anxiously building their community through cooperation.¹⁰³ In Texas, on April 22, six months before Bertrand's arrival in Utah, Victor Considerant settled in *La Reunion* and had commenced the construction of his Fourierist Phalanx. The Icarian communists in Nauvoo had been established for over five years. Among Mormons, Icarians, and Fourierists, communal experimentation was at its high point. One Mormon convert wrote why he believed religion and communalism was so enticing during the late 1840s and early 1850s:

They speak to the common feeling; they minister to Universal want... They Speak the language of hope and promise to the weak, weary hearts, tossed and troubled, who have wondered from sect to sect, seeking in vain for the primal manifestations of the divine power.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Euvrard, *Louis Auguste Bertrand*, 214.

¹⁰³ To understand the difference between consecration and informal cooperation in Salt Lake City, see Leonard Arrington, Dean May, and Feramorz Y. Fox, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 41-62.

¹⁰⁴ John Greenleaf Whittier, 1847; Cited from Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: a History of The Latter Day Saints, Second Edition* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 20.

To John Whittier, Mormons fulfilled the universal desire of social equality and divine power.

Even though Salt Lake was growing in number, they were no longer living total communalism, or the law of consecration that Joseph Smith had preached in 1831. One historian claimed that “Joseph Smith’s economic system could have been realized only under favorable circumstances.”¹⁰⁵ And since the Mormons had been driven from Ohio to Missouri, from Missouri to Illinois, and from Illinois to Utah, Church leaders were hesitant to reinstate full consecration of property not knowing if they would be forced to soon leave their new settlement. Instead of consecration, Mormons practice informal business cooperation between the Church leadership and members, as well as the implementation of the law of tithing. The law of tithing asked that each family give ten percent of all its goods for the benefit of the community. Other remnants of the communal system were also prevalent. All of the land owned by the Church was sold for the same price: one dollar and twenty five cents per acre.¹⁰⁶ Also water access was regulated and shared equally. These economic principles were enacted while the Latter Day Saints did not fully live the law of consecration.¹⁰⁷

Church leaders, such as Brigham Young did not reject the principle of communal living. Consecration remained a part of the LDS Church doctrine even when it was not practiced. Young preached that Consecration would be reinstated, when the Saints were ready. Bertrand joyfully awaited the day the Law of Consecration would be lived again, explaining it as such,

¹⁰⁵ Arrington, *Building the Kingdom of God*, 41.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 259.

¹⁰⁷ Bertrand, *Memoires*, 250.

All of the goods of the Church, instead of being morseled and individually possessed as they are today, will be reunited into one general fund, managed by strict but impartial laws. Instead of being individual the property will become national. Each member of the church will be a co-owner of the general fund. . . every year, each family will receive, according to their personal interview, a sufficient portion of objects for consumption and all agricultural and manufactured products, following a maximum base on the state of the public prosperity and on the number of individuals composed in each family.¹⁰⁸

This law of consecration was more similar to the ideas of the community of the Icarians than was the Mormons system of tithing and cooperation. Bertrand argued that private property should be abandoned, then given to a general fund, and finally distributed according to the need of each family.¹⁰⁹ Communal living, according to Bertrand and Brigham Young, would eventually return to the Mormons, in God's time. In 1856 when the Mormons were not fully communalistic, the Icarians were also struggling to live their own communalism in Nauvoo.

Demise of the Icarianism and the Promise of Mormonism

In 1852, Cabet wrote to his son-in-law, Jean Pierre Beluze of his troubles. Icarians had "found a great relaxation in the execution of our rules." On return to Nauvoo, after a trip to Paris he found "a great deal of small disorders resulting from allowances and concessions that my absence had made inevitable."¹¹⁰ Cabet was also angered by an increase in smoking and drinking among the Icarians. In reaction to the Icarians' defiance, he announced a "great reform" with forty-eight new rules for the

¹⁰⁸ Bertrand, *Mémoires*, 255-256.

¹⁰⁹ Bertrand, *Mémoires*

¹¹⁰ Found in Robert Sutton, *Les Icarians: The Utopian Dream in Europe and America* (Urbana:University of Illinois Press, 1994), 81.

Icarian people. They were, for example, no longer to drink whiskey or consume Tabaco. There would be no more envy or jealousy. All should be frugal, temperate, and simple. There would be no talking at work or complaining about food quality. Fishing and hunting were forbidden. And all were to obey Cabet as their leader.¹¹¹ These austerity measures led to a revolt among the Icarians against their leader. “Dissension led to an expulsion of Cabet and his followers. Cabet in turn dissolved the colony and took his followers, around 180, to Saint Louis where he died a few days later.”¹¹² Icarians without Cabet were not able to create a lasting community.

In 1856, after Etienne Cabet was rejected by many in his own community, Bertrand argued in behalf of the Mormon system. He believed the superiority of Mormonism over Icarianism was evident by comparing and contrasting each group’s accomplishments and failures. Salt Lake City had grown in size and when “the utopias (such as Icaria) have so miserably aborted in America.”¹¹³ Bertrand boasted, after all, these sorts of disasters did not exist in Salt Lake.¹¹⁴ However, contrary to Bertrand’s argument, Mormons had lessened their communal practices when consecration proved difficult to live. Cabet, on the other hand, created austerity measures in reaction to struggles. In this circumstance, Cabet’s reaction resulted in rebellion. Ideologically, Mormonism and Icarianism were extremely similar. However, Mormon and Icarian leaders reacted very differently when their respective communal practices were challenged.

¹¹¹ Jules Jean Prudhommeaux. *Icarie et son fondateur, Étienne Cabet* (Paris: Cornély, 1907)348-361.

¹¹² National Icarian Heritage Society, “History of the Icarian Movement”, <http://nihs.info/history.html>, (accessed on June, 24, 2010).

¹¹³ Bertrand, *Mémoires*, 253.

¹¹⁴ Bertrand, *Mémoires*, 253.

The progress of the Mormon community in Salt Lake was for Bertrand the commencement of a quest for the perfect society with the ideal mix of community and religiosity. Mormons, Bertrand believed, would establish the perfect version of communism, and Law of Consecration would be soon fully reestablished. Bertrand believed that Brigham Young, in contrast to Etienne Cabet, would be a perfect leader for true communalism. Bertrand wrote of Young, “Brigham directs all of the members, not by personal interest, but for the general wellbeing of all. He is the soul, the idol of his people, because he is worthy to govern them.”¹¹⁵ He was, in Bertrand’s eyes the social, political, and religious leader who could lead the Mormons to their perfect social order.

During his time in Salt Lake City, Bertrand witnessed many important events in Mormon history. Mormons announced in 1852 that they were going to publicly preach polygamy, which until then, the Church had denied. In 1857, Bertrand witnessed the standoff between the U.S. Army and the Mormon Church that would later be called the Utah War. In September of that same year, he lived in Salt Lake City when news of the deadly Mormon Massacre at Mountain Meadow was blamed upon Southern Piute Indians. During this volatile period in Utah, Mormons began to call more missionaries to preach their gathering to Zion in hopes to prepare for the Second coming of Jesus Christ, when all would be equal under Christ’s rule. Bertrand hoped to be involved in this missionary effort in Europe. On a personal level he hoped to return to France to convert his family, in order to save their souls and have them join him in Zion.

¹¹⁵Bertrand, *Mémoires*, 265.

A Desire to Serve a Mormon Mission

Bertrand often wrote the Mormon leader Brigham Young while he resided in Utah. He pleaded with Prophet to be called as the mission president in France. In one of his letters to Young, he claimed that he would have great success: “I am well known, in that city” he wrote proudly. By the end of the letter he began to ask permission:

I should be very glad at any time to fill such a mission; and, God [being] my helper, I will bear a faithful testimony before my countryman of the divinity of that strange work. Mormonism is now everything for me in this world. The only favour I ask at your hands is to let me know as soon as convenient your own determination on that subject.¹¹⁶

Young eventually agreed to send Bertrand to France.

Bertrand was truly convinced that Mormonism was the will of God. Before he returned to France, he wrote of his current situation, “I am, nevertheless, wifeless... I came here penniless, and I am penniless still, but I don’t care a fig about gold or silver: I am rich, indeed, very rich in my faith.” He was ready to preach the message of the community and religion to his fellow countrymen. Bertrand returned to Paris as the president of the French Mission, with the goal to convert his family and as many souls as possible to Mormonism¹¹⁷

Bertrand was convinced that multitudes would convert to Mormonism in Paris. He viewed the Mormon Church as a successful communal society that would attract all formerly enamored by Romantic Socialism. By the 1860s, however, Romantic Socialist influence had all but disappeared in Paris, and few associated themselves with the former Icarians, Fourierist, or other utopists. Bertrand felt Mormonism would replace the void left by Romantic Socialism’s absence. He would teach: “the Lord called his people Zion,

¹¹⁶ “Letter to Brigham Young, August 21, 1859,” LDS History Library and Archives.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them.”¹¹⁸ He was confident the message of God’s restored Church mixed with the alleviation of poverty would convince many to follow him to Zion. However, on Bertrand’s return to Paris, the conversion of his family and compatriots proved far more difficult than he had anticipated.

¹¹⁸ Revelation to Joseph Smith, *The Pearl of Great Price, The Book of Moses*, Chapter 7, verse 18, (Salt Lake City: the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints).

Chapter 4: Return to Europe

Paris Changed

On his return to Paris in 1859, Bertrand noticed many changes in French society. The religiosity espoused by French Romantic Socialists during the 1840s had diminished throughout the following decade. In fact, by 1859, Romantic Socialism appeared as a thing of the past. Etienne Cabet and the Icarians, once the most popular communist group in France, by 1859, had no political or social sway. The Icarians and Fourierists, by the 1860s, had all but forgotten Victor Considerant and Etienne Cabet. And Louis Blanc, the leading socialist force in the provisional government following the 1848 Revolution, was in exile, unable to influence his followers in Paris. By the 1860s, Napoleon III's second empire had severely altered the utopian "foire aux idées" of 1848.¹¹⁹

Napoleon III's empire enacted anti-minority-religion politics that influenced the decline of religious socialism. Religions outside of Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism were prohibited to be preached publicly. Furthermore, many socialists who espoused non-traditional religion, such as religious Romantic Socialists, had fought against Louis Napoleon and were forced into exile or emigrated out of fear of arrest.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Bertall, "La Foire aux Idées," *Journal Pour Rire*, no. 37 (Paris: Lithographie à la plume, October 1848) Located in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

¹²⁰ Louis Blanc, Victor Considerant, Victor Hugo, Karl Marx and many other republicans and socialist could not return to France while Napoleon III was in power.

Cabet's former followers in Paris wanted no connection to Icarianism and its problems and ultimate failure. Christopher Johnson, the leading historian of Icarianism in France, claimed that after Cabet's failure in Nauvoo, "Cabet and the specific content of Icarianism itself were soon forgotten."¹²¹ Other Romantic Socialist groups fell into obscurity during the 1850s. Victor Considerant, in 1858, returned to Paris after six years of struggling to build his utopia in Texas, to find that his "Ecole Societaire"—referring to his socialist school—in Paris was dead.¹²² Clarisse Coingnet, Considerant's contemporary and biographer also wrote on the fleeting state of Fourierism in 1858: "there was no longer a group resolutely affirming the doctrine or propagating it with pride or passion."¹²³ Mormonism might have experienced the same fate as did the Romantic Socialists in France, had Bertrand not been called back to Paris as Mission President.

Mormonism's return to France

Prior to Bertrand's arrival, the Mormon Church in Paris experienced a decline in numbers and struggled structurally. LDS converts in Europe throughout the 1840s and 1850s were encouraged to immigrate to Salt Lake City. This mass emigration pushed the most fervent French Mormons from Paris. In addition to emigration, in 1855, the mission president over France withdrew all missionaries because of the volatile political climate while France was at war with Russia in the Crimean peninsula. Salt Lake City's contact with French members had been through the missionary hierarchy. Therefore, with

¹²¹ Christopher Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians 1839-1851* (Ithica and London: Cornell University Press, 1974), 297.

¹²² Beecher, *Victor Considerant*, 357.

¹²³ Clarisse Coignet, *Victor Considerant, sa Vie et Son Oeuvre* (Paris:Felix Alcan, 1895), 88.

missionaries absent, the few Mormons who remained in France had very limited contact with Church leaders in Salt Lake City.¹²⁴

In 1858, one self-proclaimed Mormon leader, Elder Herail, influenced the Mormons in Paris to reject Brigham Young's appointed ecclesiastical leader Thomas Leiz. Herail instead placed himself as head of the Mormon branch in Paris. After news arrived in Salt Lake City of Herail's perceived rebellion, Brigham Young also received a letter from Herail explaining his side of the situation. Bertrand was asked to translate Herail's letter to Young. Bertrand candidly wrote the Mormon prophet of Herail's character stating: "hell is quite full of such poor, miserable curses." About Herail's letter, Bertrand claimed it was "nonsense, unworthy of a perusal, and only fit to be burnt."¹²⁵ Brigham Young, therefore, asked Bertrand to translate the letter of ex-communication into French so Herail would understand its contents. When Herail received the letter, he claimed that only the people in the Paris branch should be able to decide if he deserved ex-communication.

Herail disliked Bertrand to start. He thought Bertrand could not be trusted, because years earlier, he had left his wife and children in order to immigrate to America. "His conduct, according to our judgment, leads us to suppose that he is hardly walking in the fear of the Lord," Herail told Brigham Young. "What can we expect of a man who has been baptised and who has abandoned a wife and two children in Paris. We don't know Dear Brother how you do at Salt Lake Valley, but here, we judge the tree by its

¹²⁴ Richard D. McClellan, "President Louis Bertrand and the Closure of the French Mission, 1859-64," in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Europe*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and Brent L. Top (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2003), 25.

¹²⁵ Letter from Louis Bertrand to Brigham Young, 16 May 1859. LDS Church Archives

fruits.”¹²⁶ Less than a month after this letter was sent, in July 1859, Brigham Young called upon Bertrand to serve as the Mission president in France.

Therefore, Bertrand, who had previously pleaded with Brigham Young to be called to Paris as mission president, was also put in charge of resolving the problem of division among the Parisian Mormons. At a time when Romantic Socialism was on a steep decline, Bertrand hoped to revitalize the Mormon faithful. In doing so, he would form a congregation ready to return with him to build Salt Lake City at mission’s end.

President Louis Bertrand in Paris

When in Paris, Bertrand lived with his family, for the first time since 1853. In letters to Brigham Young, he claimed his family was warming to the church, and he hoped they would return with him to Utah. Likewise, Bertrand expressed hope for the French people in his first letters as mission president. However, his hopes were soon dashed owing to discouragement at the restrictions that inhibited his ability to preach publicly. On April, 10, 1860, Bertrand wrote to Brigham Young that he had been informed by the Prefecture of Police that his “request for preaching publically the Gospel in Paris has not been granted,” furthermore, he “was forbidden to attend the private meetings of the saints.” Enraged with the French government’s decision, he sardonically wrote: “here is a very singular sample of political liberty and religious tolerance, as we now enjoy in France.”¹²⁷ Without permission to preach or even hold religious meetings, Bertrand found himself in the same position as Louis Blanc and other socialists

¹²⁶ Letter from Herail to Brigham Young, July, 20, 1859. LDS Church Archives

¹²⁷ Letter to Brigham Young April 10, 1860. LDS Archives.

unwelcome to France, “having nothing on earth but their pens.”¹²⁸ It was through publication that another Frenchman would bring Mormonism into French public conversation.

In 1860, the French explorer Jules Rémy published an account of his stay among the Mormons titled *Voyage au Pays des Mormons*. In *Voyage*, Rémy described his visit to Salt Lake City during the 1850s where he had spoken to Brigham Young and many other leaders. He analyzed the Mormon way of life, specifically their agricultural, economic, social, and religious practices. He observed Mormon flora and fauna, while scrutinizing the history of the Mormon movement. His two tome series of *Voyages au Pays des Mormons* portrayed Mormonism in a positive light.¹²⁹

Bertrand wrote to Brigham Young applauding Rémy’s book as “most magnificent.” “The general account of M. Rémy on Mormonism is extremely favorable, and his testimony on the morality and industry of the Saints in Utah is a proof that the Lord will open soon the doors of France to the Gospel of the Kingdom.”¹³⁰ Rémy thought of Mormonism “as socialism, but religious socialism.” For Rémy, Mormonism defied the negative stereotype of socialists who depended on the funds of the rich. He argued that in Salt Lake City, the rich would come to the assistance of the poor, but the poor would “make every effort to become independent of the rich, and to find themselves the resources they require.”¹³¹ Mormonism was used as a positive example to religious socialists.

¹²⁸ Louis Blanc, 1848. *Historical Revelations: inscribed to Lord Normandy* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1858), vii.

¹²⁹ Jules Remy, *Voyage au Pays des Mormons, Tome I* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1860).

¹³⁰ Letter to Brigham Young, December, 2, 1860. LDS library and archives.

¹³¹ Remy, *Voyage au Pays des Mormons*, lxxi.

Bertrand thought that the excitement surrounding Rémy's work could lead masses of French men and women to convert to Mormonism. "In order to hasten such an event," Bertrand wrote the Mormon Prophet, "I did write myself a work of about 400 pages entitled: The Mormons or a residence of four years in Mormondom by a french Mormon. It will soon be published, and then I will try to present a copy of it to Louis Napoleon in [his] own palace."¹³² The work that Bertrand eventually published was given the title *Les Mémoires d'un Mormon* and was edited and sold by the same publisher as Rémy's *Voyage au Pays des Mormons*, E. Dentu.

In *Les Mémoires d'un Mormon*, Bertrand recounted little about his life experience in France, but instead focused on his involvement with the Mormons in Utah. *Les Mémoires* was similar to Rémy's *Voyage* in its portrayal of the landscape in Utah and focalization on historical and political events that took place in the Utah territory. However, the two works differed in purpose. Bertrand used his *Mémoires* to make a philosophical argument on why God would call prophets, and specifically why Mormonism was the true church of God, while Rémy attempted to create an exposé of the Mormon faith and society from the point of view of a French citizen.¹³³

Bertrand used *Les Mémoires d'un Mormon* as a conversion tool to access the French public to whom he was forbidden to preach. He also addressed the Civil War, and what he believed to be the coming end of the world and the beginning of Christ's second coming and millennial reign.¹³⁴ Unlike Rémy, Bertrand shifted away from the Mormons' religious beliefs and focused on the cataclysmic events that he believed would lead to Christ's second coming. Bertrand's millennial zeal was manifest in the letter he wrote to

¹³²Letter from Bertrand to Brigham Young, Dec, 2, 1860.

¹³³ Jules Remy, *Voyages au pays des Mormons* (Paris : E. Dentu, 1860).

¹³⁴ Louis A. Bertrand, *Les Mémoires d'un Mormon* (Paris : Collection Hetzel Dentu, 1862).

Brigham Young about Jules Rémy's *Voyage*. "Mighty [things] are coming in Europe," he mused. He preached a revolution would route out existing religious, governmental, and social order to make way for Mormonism. "The popes shall leave Rome soon and forever, and the Austrian empire shall fall to the ground next year."¹³⁵ Bertrand hoped this revolutionary message would attract many to the Mormon gospel.

Mormons and Religious Revolution

The millennial message of an age of peace and social justice was common among socialists during the 1840s, and secular revolution was still a popular theme among socialists in Europe. Arguments swirled around the means by which this age of peace would be realized. Icarians believed that the millennium would start through the governmental imposition of communism.¹³⁶ Mormons believed that on Christ's return, large scale destruction would end in millennial peace and social equality. However, Karl Marx, living in London, harshly criticized Icarian communism and romantic socialism in his writings and pointed out its short-comings when speaking of revolution and social justice linked with religion. Marx claimed that the communism of the Icarians and other utopian socialists was unrealistic even superstitious. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* he argued that Icarians were merely attempting to create, "duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem."¹³⁷ He condemned the Icarians' "New Jerusalem" for being impractical, religious and illusory.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Letter to Brigham Young December 2, 1860.

¹³⁶ Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor*.

¹³⁷ Frederich Engels and Karl Marx, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, www.marxist.org, (accessed, September 14, 2012), Ch 3, sec. 3.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

Marx pinpointed one fundamental belief of Icarianism and Mormonism in his use of the term “New Jerusalem.” In *The History and Constitution of the Icarian Community*, Cabet wrote of this concept: “Icarians are true Christians... working to realize His Kingdom of God, His new City, and His Paradise on earth.”¹³⁹ Similar to the Icarians, the Mormons too believed in the realization of the holy city of God. Joseph Smith described this paradisiacal place as “an Holy City...and it shall be called Zion, a New Jerusalem.”¹⁴⁰ The term “New Jerusalem” was employed multiple times in Mormon canonical scriptures to describe the perfect city of God where no poor could exist.¹⁴¹

Mormons, Icarians and other socialist groups believed that to create a new society one must first start anew. The Icarians, Mormons, and Fourierists tried to create small-scale utopias in an unblemished American west. Mormons also believed that some sort of revolution would be necessary for large-scale change in society. However, the means by which Mormons viewed revolution differed greatly from Marxist revolutionaries. Marxists believed that the working classes would revolt against the heads of state to create a new and more just government. Mormons, Icarians, and other Romantic Socialists believed that Christ would stand at the head of revolutionary action. “Religion was part of the idea of class struggle,” claimed historian Pamela Pilbeam, “with Jesus the first sans-culotte, representing the interests of the suffering workers.”¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Etienne Cabet translated by Thomas Teakle, *History and Constitution of the Icarian Community* (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1917), 243.

¹⁴⁰ Joseph Smith ed., *The Pearl of Great Price*. Moses 7. Verses 62, 25.

¹⁴¹ See *Doctrine and Covenants*, *Pearl of Great Price* and *The Book of Mormon*.

¹⁴² Pamela Pilbeam. *Republicanism in Nineteenth Century France: 1814-1871* (London: Palgrave Macmillan. 1995), 156.

The Mormon Revolution and Millennialism

Bertrand's message in France during the 1860s proved revolutionary in nature as did Marxist revolution. He would preach Christ's revolution in his *Mémoires*, letters to Brigham Young and Emperor Napoleon III. Bertrand's intrigue with revolution was peaked when he heard of the commencement of Civil War in America. He saw the violence between the Northern and Southern States as a heavenly sign that revolution had commenced. He used one of Joseph Smith's prophecies, written in 1832, as evidence that revolution was imminent and that Mormonism was the true religion of Christ.

Joseph Smith wrote in 1832:

The Southern States shall be divided against the Northern States, and the Southern States will call on other nations, even the nation of Great Britain, as it is called, and they shall also call upon other nations, in order to defend themselves against other nations; and then war shall be poured out upon all nations. And it shall come to pass, after many days, slaves shall rise up against their masters, who shall be marshaled and disciplined for war... until the consumption decreed hath made a full end of all nations; That the cry of the saints, and of the blood of the saints, shall cease to come up into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, from the earth, to be avenged of their enemies.

Wherefore, stand ye in holy places, and be not moved, until the day of the Lord come; for behold, it cometh quickly, saith the Lord. Amen.¹⁴³

In 1861, when violence broke out at Fort Sumter, in South Carolina, as Smith prophesied, and slavery was one of the key issues in the Civil War, Bertrand was not timid teaching Joseph Smith's prophecy of the "full end of all nations" that would lead to world peace. This Civil War was a sure sign for Bertrand that Christ's revolution had commenced.

In 1861, Bertrand wrote a personal letter to the Emperor Napoleon III in another attempt to publicly preach in France. He warned that America and all of Europe would

¹⁴³ Joseph Smith, *Doctrine and Covenants*, Ch 87.

eventually fall, and be controlled by Christ and his true church, just as Smith had foretold. He wrote to the emperor, “Let me affirm to Your Majesty that you could do nothing more beneficial to strengthen your throne and dynasty than to grant me the privilege of giving my testimony in Paris....the revolution which is raging on the other side of the Atlantic will have immediate consequences for all European nations....the work of George Washington was only a provisional government, in order that His Kingdom might be founded on earth....The work of Washington is going to miserably destroy itself.”¹⁴⁴ Instead of limiting his request to the Emperor and simply asking for the right to preach, Bertrand insinuated that if Napoleon III did not accept Mormonism, he would fall, as America was already doing through its bloody Civil War. Bertrand also implied that the violent destruction preceding Christ’s return was imminent.

Mr. Moquard, Napoleon III’s private secretary, hand delivered the letter to the emperor. He was unmoved. Moquard later informed Bertrand that the emperor had received the letter, read it, laughed out loud, and tore it into small pieces.¹⁴⁵ Bertrand was outraged. He claimed in a correspondence with the prominent Mormon, George A. Smith, that he knew the French government would fall, and before it did he would write a disparaging pamphlet entitled “Mormons and Louis Napoleon,” blaming the emperor for not letting France be saved by the Mormons.¹⁴⁶ Bertrand never actually published this diatribe. But he did continue to foretell the downfall of America and France.

Bertrand wrote to Brigham Young, in 1861, “Uncle Sam, President Davis, President Lincoln, M. Seward, M. Douglas, and all the states are going right way to

¹⁴⁴ *Millennial Star* 23, no. 14 (1861), 220-21; also included in Chard’s thesis as appendix B, 147-49 as well as in McClellan’s *Closure of the French Mission*, 31-33.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 33

¹⁴⁶ *Manuscript History of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1860), 52.

destruction.”¹⁴⁷ In *Les Mémoires d’un Mormon*, he went into further detail, expanding upon Smith’s prophecy and warning that after the Civil War the United States would divide into the North and South, and, “California will later proclaim its national independence, and, calling on Oregon and the Washington territory, will constitute the federation of the Pacific... Before five years, the United States will form a dozen small republics.”¹⁴⁸ Bertrand claimed that the Civil War and the dispute over slavery would precipitate a breaking away of multiple states, creating republics that would eventually destroy themselves. “These Americans will give to the new world a memorable example of the instability of human institutions.”¹⁴⁹ However, this prophesied destruction of the American government served a purpose in the plan of God. It would lead to the destruction of human institutions and precipitate the rise of true religion (Mormonism) and eventually the second coming of Christ.

Marxists, who were gaining popularity in France during the 1860s made similar predictions on revolution leading to a perfect society. In Marx and Engels’ conclusion of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, communists “openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions.”¹⁵⁰ Marx claimed that the goal of a new social order was only possible through the destruction of the existing political situation. Both Mormons and Marxists believed that the overthrow of the government was necessary to build the perfect community. However, Marx claimed that the working class would be the ones fighting, when Mormons believed that Christ would fight for them, and the non-believers would destroy themselves. For both

¹⁴⁷ Louis Bertrand, “Letter to Brigham Young, 26 May 1861,” LDS Library and Archives.

¹⁴⁸ Bertrand, *Memoires*, 306-307.

¹⁴⁹ *Mémoires*, 311.

¹⁵⁰ Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, Chapter 4.

Mormons and French Romantic Socialists before them, Christ, not the proletarian working class, would enable the destruction of the existing social order, for he was “the Christ of the barricades.”¹⁵¹ This destruction of the social order is what Bertrand touted in his letter to Napoleon III and in *Les Mémoires d'un Mormon* claiming that the American Civil War was the harbinger of this international revolution.

Bertrand went on to claim that during the self-destruction of America, Utah would serve the role of savior. He believed that “Utah will form a camp of asylum par excellence.”¹⁵² And Salt Lake City, he believed, would serve as a refuge from the violence: “At this present time, Brigham [Young] and his people will prepare with ardor to harvest, to save the sunken ships from shipwreck of the States heretofore United. [*Dès à présent, Brigham et son peuple se préparent avec ardeur à recueillir, à sauver les épaves du grand naufrage des Etats ci-devant Unis.*]”¹⁵³ His faith in the approaching leadership of the Mormons was a total as Marx’s faith in the working class.

This new political system directed by the Mormons would, Bertrand believed, bring about social equality. The promised land of Joseph [Smith],” he prophesied, “will save without doubt sooner or later millions of French of all ranks, of all classes.”¹⁵⁴ God, not man, would correct society’s ills. The victors of Christ’s revolution would hail from Utah.

Bertrand’s prophecies of revolution guided by God, enabling the realization of a New Jerusalem, proved similar to the utopian goals of other French Romantic Socialists

¹⁵¹ Pamela Pilbeam, “Dream Worlds? Religion and the Early Socialists in France”, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Cambridge University Press, Jun. 2000), 499-515 and F. P. Bowman, *Le Christ des barricades: 1789-1848* (Paris, 1987).

¹⁵² Bertrand, *Mémoires*, 312.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

that by the 1860s no longer had a significant following in France of the United States. Bertrand never specifically indicated that his prophecies were aimed to convert the many French men and women who formerly followed Cabet, Considerant, Blanc or any other Romantic Socialist. However, Bertrand's prophecies and writings seemed to argue for the Christ-led Revolution Louis Blanc had advocated, and the gathering to the utopia or a New Jerusalem that Cabet and Considerant had failed to realize.

Bertrand may have had little success as a missionary because what he was teaching was so similar to Romantic Socialism that had fallen out of public favor. His prophecies of Utah's role in saving the world from total destruction were associated with the Romantic Socialists' "castles in the air" that Marx had mocked since February 1848. However, Bertrand was asked to speak at one of Paris' Freemason lodge's on religion and utopianism.¹⁵⁵ He wrote of the Masons stating, "they were particularly pleased with my remarks on the social system of the Utopian. Since that day, many important houses are open to me in Paris. Unfortunately, nearly all the learned men in my native land are infidels; and it is difficult to persuade a man who rejects any kind of revelation."¹⁵⁶ Although, he had not been technically preaching Mormonism in the Masonic lodge, Bertrand had hoped his speech would have led to conversion, which was not the case.

He took the lack of success personally and claimed that "I am far from the Saint I wish to be"¹⁵⁷ His disappointment in the French mission peaked in 1863, "An experience of 4 years has taught me that the Frenchmen are certainly the most skeptical and the most corrupt people of Europe." Later that year he wrote of the French: "That's the reason why the Lord is now governing them with an iron rod. The lack of religious liberty has

¹⁵⁵ Freemason lodges were a safe haven to preach because it was not considered a religious meeting.

¹⁵⁶ Letter to Brigham Young, April, 25 1861.

¹⁵⁷ Letter to Brigham Young, 27 June–30 July 1863.

been the greatest impediment to my labours in France.” As proof of religious injustice he recounted that “Bro. Renard, the president of the Bordeaux Branch, has been lately sentenced to six days imprisonment and its beautiful press has been destroyed by the police of that important city. Such is the liberty we now enjoy under the imperial dynasty.”¹⁵⁸ By 1864, Bertrand had no hope for France under Napoleon III’s government. He asked for permission from Brigham Young to return to Salt Lake City and with his departure, the French Mission, once again, closed.

The Mormons suffered the same fate as did Romantic Socialists in France. The few members left were encouraged to emigrate, and Mormon membership quickly disappeared. Both Romantic Socialism and Mormonism shared the same place under Napoleon III’s second empire after 1865, as nonentities. They were outcast because of the social and religious beliefs that threatened the Emperor’s suspicious government.

Return to Sal Lake City

Bertrand returned to Salt Lake wallowing in disappointment. Not only had he failed to convert France, he even failed to convert his wife and children. Downhearted, he wrote to Brigham Young about his personal situation at the end of his mission: “I am returning home wifeless and entirely penniless... The only thing I want is a good young Zion wife, and a little farm to make several agricultural experiments.”¹⁵⁹ Bertrand, who had previously declined opportunities to take on plural wives while living in Utah, now at the end of his French mission in 1864, hoped to marry a new young wife.

¹⁵⁸ Letter to Brigham Young, 26 June, 1864.

¹⁵⁹ Letter to Brigham Young, 26 May 1864.

On returning to Utah, he chose not to marry, but did accomplish many agricultural experiments. He spent a great amount of time experimenting on silk production (sericulture) in Utah. He presented himself as an expert, having had great success in France and New York earlier in his life. Brigham Young, who hoped that sericulture could financially profit the Mormon community in Salt Lake City, funded a cocoonery and asked Bertrand to look after the silk worms and research. However, the sericulture experiments proved disastrous for Bertrand and for his relationship with Brigham Young. In 1870, Bertrand served as head of the cocoonery when one third of the eggs used in production died. He grew frustrated and enraged. In an outburst, he destroyed many important documents that served as sources of information for production, along with his notes and details from past experiments. When Brigham Young heard of the lack of success and destroyed documents, he called Bertrand incapable and an imposter. Bertrand spent the next two years writing Young repeatedly, asking to be pardoned.¹⁶⁰

Bertrand lived alone in Salt Lake City throughout the 1870s. On March 11, 1875, the Salt Lake based newspaper, the *Deseret News*, published an article on Bertrand:

The many friends of Monsieur Louis A. Bertrand, of this city, will regret to learn that that aged and respected gentleman has become seriously affected in his mind. The cause of affliction has evidently proceeded from some intelligence he received a few weeks since, from Paris, of the serious illness of some members of his family residing there, which has appeared to weigh heavily upon his mind. He manifested no signs of mental derangement, however, until last Monday, when his reason began to give way. When in full command and possession of his faculties he was a man of superior intelligence, and considerable ability in some directions, having had the advantage of a good education, and withal he was a respectable and unobtrusive gentleman. He is now under the care of the city authorities.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ See McClellan, "Closure of the French Mission"; Euvrard, *Journaliste Socialiste*, 294-298; Chris Rigby Aarington, "The Finest of Fabrics: Mormon Women and the Silk Industry in Early Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 46 (1978), 384-385.

¹⁶¹ *The Deseret Evening News*, 11 March 1875.

On March 25, fourteen days after this article ran, Bertrand died in the Salt Lake City asylum. He was later buried in an unmarked grave in the Salt Lake City Cemetery. The most valuable possessions he owned at the time of death were bottles of olive oil and alcohol.¹⁶²

Bertrand's death alone and in poverty did not symbolically encapsulate his life. He was part of a romantic, volatile and violent world that he constantly tried to understand and improve. He continually searched for life's purpose and divine truth through study and experience. After a transient adolescence as a sailor and merchant, he found social and religious purpose in Romantic Socialist philosophy. However, it was with the Mormons that he truly found his place. From his baptism in 1851 until his death in 1875 he never deviated from his status as a Mormon. There he found the hope for utopia that he had been seeking, a form of Romantic Socialism directed by God's divine authority.

¹⁶² Euvrard, *Journaliste Socialiste*, 36.

Conclusion

On February 9, 1874, one year before Bertrand's death, Brigham Young called members of Saint George, Utah, to reinstate the Law of Consecration by creating what he called the "United Order of Enoch." When introducing this new social order, Brigham Young blamed society's problems on "struggle between capitol and labor." According to Young, consecration would correct the problems in society; it would bring back Zion. The Mormon prophet named the United Order after an Old Testament Prophet, Enoch, who God had saved from death.¹⁶³ Joseph Smith taught God saved all of Enoch's community: "The Lord blessed the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the high places, and did flourish. And the Lord called his [Enoch's] people Zion, because they were of one mind and dwelt in righteousness; and there were no poor among them."¹⁶⁴ Living communally would, according to Smith, Young, and Bertrand, fulfill God's Kingdom on earth by alleviating poverty and bringing them closer to God.

Brigham Young chose to create individual societies as "families" of no more than "one thousand persons." These families consecrated their goods and work for the betterment of the entire community. When Bertrand died, in 1875, there were over one-hundred and fifty "family" communities participating in this United Order of Enoch.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ *The Holy Bible*, (King James Version), *Genesis*, Chapter 5 verse 24.

¹⁶⁴ *The Pearl of Great Price, the Book of Moses*, 7:18.

¹⁶⁵ Brigham Young, April 7, 1869, *The Deseret News*; Arrington, Building the Kingdom of God, 139-141.

Bertrand, however, never lived in one of these communities, but must have been proud to witness the restoration of communal practices to Utah.¹⁶⁶

Bertrand's story portrayed a Mormon community that was not simply an American religious tradition, but part of an international communal, revolutionary, and religious social movement. Victor Considerant, Etienne Cabet and others also viewed the Mormon Church as a communal society with religious belief centered on Christ, akin to French Romantic Socialism. Furthermore, the French population in general, as Jules Remy noted, considered Mormons socialists and "accused" them of practicing communism, which they considered, synonymous with Icarianism.¹⁶⁷ After all, Bertrand found the Mormons to be the most interesting communist society. And his millennial prophecies of a Mormon revolution sounded quite similar to French socialist rhetoric.

The volatility and violence of the nineteenth century encouraged many to attempt to create a different and better world. This was why both Mormons and Romantic Socialists sacrificed to realize their New Jerusalems. They used the comparable religious language, held similar beliefs in communal practices, rejected dominant religion and government, and advocated revolution. In short, Mormons and Romantic Socialists believed that a socio-religious utopia was the remedy for the politically, socially, and religiously sick world. This message of hope, prominent in France and America, must have been attractive in other countries. Perhaps an international desire for social

¹⁶⁶ The United Order was not a successful venture, after the death of Brigham Young in 1877 few communities still lived communalism. The one major exception was Orderville in Southern Utah that fizzled out in 1882.

¹⁶⁷ Rémy, *Voyage au Pays des Mormons*, ix.

betterment throughout the nineteenth century, could explain why Mormonism, though born in America, attracted those from Europe and around the world.

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