

though there are still living in Utah those who practiced polygamy at Nauvoo. The incident shows that mendacity and deceit are not new characteristics of orthodox Mormonism.)

#### ADHERENCE TO POLYGAMY.

The last official expression of the Mormon people in regard to polygamy, other than the proposed State Constitution, was made May 2nd, 1885, and is as follows:

"As to our religious faith, it is based upon evidence which to our minds is conclusive; convictions not to be destroyed by Legislative enactments or the judicial decisions. Force may slave the body, but it cannot convince the mind. To yield to the demand of the Legislature or judge the rights of conscience would prove us recreant to every duty we owe to God and man. Among the principles of our religion is that of immediate revelations from God; one of the doctrines so revealed is celestial or plural marriage, for which ostensibly we are stigmatized and hated. This is a vital part of our religion, the decisions of courts to the contrary notwithstanding."

This candid admission of their position is as true to-day as when it was first made, and expresses the situation at this time. Some young Mormons, probably 150, at the late election broke away from the ancient discipline and voted as they pleased. I hope the number will be increased on the next election. In that way the church is losing a few adherents at the outer side, but there is no change in the position of the leaders and the sincere Mormons will never renounce polygamy until they are convinced that God has commanded it; and they will, whenever they have the power, enforce and practice polygamy, and every other interest of the church, whether it conflicts with law or not, and will believe that in doing so, they are serving the divine will, and will gladly accept any punishment which may come to them because of this, in the spirit of martyrs. This fact stands out very clearly. There has been no change in the doctrines of the church or its teaching and it will not do to claim they have assumed a loyal attitude because they refuse to sanction violations of law. They must teach their people that the law is supreme and cease to honor those who violate it.

#### CHURCH AND STATE.

The claim is made that the Church does not now interfere in political matters, but, like all other religious organizations, leaves its members free to act for themselves.

The Gentiles claim that the past and the present history of the Church does not support this claim; that the Church is a political organization with aims that are political, and that it manifests greater zeal in preserving and perpetuating its political power than in promoting the religious purposes for which it was ostensibly organized.

They call attention to the fact that the money which it collects from its people, as tithing, under the plea of religious duty, is mainly used in promoting political ends in and out of the Territory, and notably at Washington City, the Capital of the Nation.

The Mormon people are constantly

advised to be united in their temporal and spiritual matters. This advice does not come from the laymen; but is given from the pulpit. A union of temporal and spiritual affairs means that the people must be "obedient to counsel," and the "counsel" always emanates from the high priesthood.

The non-Mormons are amazed that the fact of the church interfering in political matters should be denied. Every apostate Mormon in the Territory bears willing testimony to the fact, and the acts of the Mormon leaders confirm it. At the last legislative election there was a contest in the Ninth Council District, between two Mormons, one the candidate of the Mormon party and one who ran as an independent candidate, and whose candidacy was a protest against the political methods of the Mormon church. In a letter received from a prominent citizen of the District occurs the following statement: "Apostle John Henry Smith made his appearance in our county on Friday, the 2nd instant. The people at Huntington were drummed together on said evening, and Smith called their attention to the fact that he was an apostle of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; that they had chosen and sustained him in that position, and had covenanted to sustain him as their counselor and advisor, and he now wished them to thoroughly know and understand that he was there to see, to counsel and advise, and to persuade all to sustain the People's (Mormon) ticket."

In Davis county at the same election there was a contest between two Mormons for the office of selectman. One nominated by the People's party, the other as an independent candidate. A prominent citizen of the county, and an official, in a letter makes the following statement: "I had the pleasure of listening to him (George Q. Cannon) the last day of the meeting. He dwelt wholly upon politics, and among other things said, 'Now brethren you will shortly have an election here (referring to the county election) and how will you act, after the order of the world to stir up strife and contention, or will you do it after the order of God, and elect the men whom God wants?' That sermon, with a visit from Penrose, editor of the *Deseret News*, settled the election. If you will turn to the election returns from Davis county, you will see David Stoker was run for selectman by the Liberals. The priesthood prevented his election." Another well known citizen of Davis county makes substantially the same statement, with the further statement that it occurred at a "priesthood meeting," and that "on election day teachers were delegated to see that every one of the People's party voted the straight ticket."

#### A CHURCH MATTER.

I submit these statements for consideration in connection with the assertion that the church does not interfere in political matters, but leaves its members free to act for themselves, and will only state that Mr. Cannon is not a member of any committee of the People's party, and had no other relation to the people of Davis county than that given by his official position as an apostle in the church.

If a member of the church acts independently of the People's party, he is made to understand in a very pronounced way that he has displeased the church; that he has taken a step which is wrong, and is frequently declared to be "an enemy of his people." The result has been that few men have had the courage to avail themselves of the opportunity to be independent under such circumstances. While there are many Mormons who would gladly welcome some action on the part of the church abandoning polygamy, and remaining the church to its appropriate sphere as a religious organization, the greater number still adhere to the old faith with all its teachings and practices. The church and people stand to-day where they stood when the first colony was planted in Salt Lake valley. In conversation with a Mormon member of the Legislative Assembly on this subject, he said, "Well, this is God's work. If it is right, it will go ahead; if it is wrong, it will not. It is in His hands, and He will take care of it." This probably expresses the opinion of the orthodox Mormon.

It will now be seen why political officers in political reports, refer to church doctrines and practices. It is because they involve the body of the people and are disloyal and hostile to the laws, and hence the subject becomes in the strictest sense political. In fact, the church doctrines and their practices are so intimately interwoven with the political affairs of Utah that they cannot be considered separately.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS.

Means Suggested Whereby the Troubles Here May be Mitigated.

Elsewhere in this report I have recommended that the public schools be placed under the control and authority of some Federal agency; that certain county officers be made appointable by some Federal authority; that a new Legislative apportionment be made after the taking of the next census, and that prisoners confined in the Penitentiary be placed at work.

I believe it is the intention of the American people to extirpate polygamy and its kindred evils from their land; and that Congress is determined to give force and effect to this intention by appropriate legislation. The reports made by previous Governors of the Territory, and by the Utah Commission, recommend special measures for consideration by Congress, all of which, so far as they are now essential, have my hearty endorsement and support. Encouraging Gentile immigration has been suggested. The walls are up against it, unless a great increase in mining, the establishment of manufacturing on a large scale, or the founding and enlargement of industrial pursuits, other than agriculture, take place. The founding, example and teaching of Christian churches has been recommended. Several denominations have established churches, but the converts from Mormonism are none too numerous. There is a self-sufficient complacency in the Mormon, which entirely satisfies him with his religion. Establish schools throughout the Territory, others say.