

position, her immense agricultural and mineral resources, her accumulated wealth, and the general intelligence and industrious and energetic character of her people, it is of national importance that Utah should have a State government.

Your committee will present, however,

#### THE OBJECTIONS THAT ARE URGED AGAINST ADMISSION.

The objections are—

- (1) The existence of polygamy.
- (2) The power and the teachings of the Mormon Church on that subject.

The facts in respect of these will be presented in their order.

It is not denied by the advocates of admission that polygamy is practiced in that Territory. But they claim that it is not obligatory upon the members of the Mormon Church; that it has been gradually dying out, until now there are comparatively few who are living in polygamous relations, and that this few are chiefly past the meridian of life. They claim that polygamous marriages have ceased to be solemnized; that in the near future polygamy will have ceased to exist altogether, and is even now practically dead; and that it is unjust to deprive the many of political rights because a comparatively few are violating the law in this regard.

Your committee therefore present such facts as have come to their knowledge on this subject for the consideration of the House.

The Utah Commission in 1882, when both males and females voted, found that there were 12,000 persons of both sexes who were, or had been, in polygamous relations. Of those who had been but were not then in polygamy, there were 3,000, leaving 9,000 men and women *then* (1882) in polygamy. How many of these were men and how many women can only be estimated. The estimate has been made that there were on an average three women to one man, and this is probably a low estimate, and would show that there were not more than 2,250 men in polygamy in 1882, and probably less than that number.

It is asserted by Mormons who should know that they have no knowledge that there have been any polygamous marriages for several years. There is no evidence that there have been any in the past three years, but it should be also stated that the non-Mormons allege that the absence of evidence to the contrary is because such marriages are secret. But the fact, nevertheless, is that there is no evidence that such marriages have been solemnized since that time. The probabilities are, in the light of the stringent legislation by Congress and the active prosecutions, that there have not been.

If that be true, then the number in polygamy, through death and otherwise, must have been greatly reduced since 1882, and must be comparatively small now.

The only additional evidence on the subject is found in Ex. Doc. No.

447, first session Fiftieth Congress, a report by the Attorney-General of the convictions for polygamy and unlawful cohabitation under the anti-polygamy acts of 1882 and the amendment of 1887.

An examination of these acts will show that Congress went as far as was reasonably possible in granting power to prosecuting officers and the courts to ferret out and convict persons who were in polygamous relations.

The result, as stated in that report, has been that there were convictions as follow:

For polygamy since November, 1884, 10 persons were convicted.

For unlawful cohabitation between April, 1885, and September, 1888, 453 persons were convicted.

This indicates very strongly that the fact is, as claimed, that polygamy is rapidly disappearing, and that, compared with the whole population, but a small portion, not as much as 1 per cent, are men who ever were in polygamy; and not to exceed 2 per cent of the present adult male Mormon population are in polygamous relations.

If it is thus rapidly disappearing, and becomes absolutely extinct as a fact, as the indications certainly are that it soon will be, Congress will be brought face to face with the question, whether a Territory will be excluded for *opinions* entertained by a majority of the people.

The facts above stated are given to the end that the House may determine whether the violations of the law in this regard are sufficiently numerous to justify rejection of this application to be admitted.

#### OTHER CONTENTIONS.

In connection with the existence of polygamy as a fact, there are other contentions which will be here stated.

The parties advocating admission insist that less than 1 per cent. of the population are men in polygamy; that the doctrines of their church do not command polygamy, but only permit it; that while by the creed of the church it is permissible, it is only permissible *when there is no law of the State to the contrary*, and they propose to make a law by a constitutional provision whereby it is forever prohibited; and they have placed such a provision in the constitution, which will be hereafter noticed.

On the other hand, it is claimed that it is not *permissive* merely, but *obligatory*; and that this offer to prohibit it forever is only a device to secure admission; and that after being admitted the State will amend that constitution, and then Congress will be without power to restrain or control.

These are the respective contentions; and we now proceed to state what has been offered in support of them, respectively:

- (1) The Mormons present their church creed as it is taught in their churches and Sunday schools, for the purpose of showing that *obedience to the laws as enacted by the State* is enjoined by the Church.

[The Articles of Faith are here given in full.]

They also present the following "On governments and laws in general," as found in their Book of Doctrine and Covenants:

[The article named is here presented.]

(2) To show that polygamy is not obligatory, but only permissive when not prohibited by the laws of the State, they present paragraphs 61 and 62 of the revelation in relation to celestial marriage, which are as follows:

61. And again, as pertaining to the law of the priesthood: If a man espouse a virgin and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent, and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins and have vowed to no other man, then he is justified; he cannot commit adultery, for they are given unto him; for he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth unto him and to no one else.

62. And if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law he can not commit adultery, for they belong to him, and they are given unto him, therefore is he justified.

(3) Further, to show that polygamy is not commanded, and that they may, therefore, without any conflict with their duties as members of that church, in good faith and in entire harmony with their belief, prohibit it as proposed, they present and urge the fact, heretofore mentioned, that a very large majority of the adult males never did enter into polygamy, and they urge this fact as conclusive that the doctrines of the church do not require it.

(4) They further present the fact that a law has been enacted by the Utah legislature prohibiting such marriages, and inflicting penalties on any person who shall solemnize them.

The other side, to support their contention, to wit, that the Church does command polygamy, produce extracts from the same revelation above quoted from. But the portions thus cited relate to "celestial marriage," which is the marriage of a man and a woman for time and eternity, and does not necessarily include polygamy.

All of this revelation will be found in the printed report of the hearing.

Your committee do not feel called upon to give an opinion as to the true interpretation of this document, as each member of the House will form his own judgment upon his own analysis of it; it being the purpose of the committee in this report not to express opinions as to the meaning of church creeds, but to deal only with such matters, outside of mere belief or opinion, as affect the subject under consideration.

The Mormons say they do not believe polygamy is obligatory.

The non-Mormons say they *do* so believe.

The Mormons say they do *not* believe the Church is superior to the State. The non-Mormons assert that they *do* so believe.

The Mormons say that their church tenets require them to obey the laws enacted by the State, notwithstanding any teaching of the