

ranchmen and sparse settlers. But the form of free local government, with arbitrary laws which take away the substance, has no standing in law or reason. It is neither government by the United States nor by the inhabitants. It is not free government in any sense."

He depicts the situation as it exists, but does not make himself clear as to his ideas of a settlement of the Utah problem. He would not turn over the government to blacklegs, pimps, adventurers, crazy miners and others who have nothing more than a passing interest in the Territory; and he does not proclaim himself in favor of statehood, but he leaves on the mind of his reader the impression that statehood would be better than a government which disgraces the republic, and makes tyrants, petty despots, rapacious officials and persecuting monsters of American citizens who happen to hold office in Utah. Of the executive and judiciary condition of Utah he says:

"The mind which has grown in the ideas of the limitations of law and the immunities of free political institutions cannot firmly believe in the legality of the anti-Mormon acts. It is hard to believe that an act of Congress limiting church property to \$50,000 can be made retroactive to confiscate property priorly acquired by the Church. It is hard to believe that the just and proper way to enforce such a retroactive limitation is by seizure and confiscation of the property. The appointment of a Receiver by the U. S. Court, to take possession of the Church property and administer it, seems an arbitrary, harsh and unjust act. It is hard to believe that it is law.

"It is hard to believe the lawfulness of an act which requires the voter to qualify by making oath that he is not guilty of conduct which the act makes a felony, nor guilty of countenancing or upholding it in others. In all the rest of the nation the punishment of offenses is by prosecution at law, not by disfranchisement on general suspicion, or by requiring the voter to purge himself. The name under which polygamous marriage is prosecuted at law is 'unlawful cohabitation.' Is the voter in any other part of the nation required to qualify by making oath that he does not unlawfully cohabit?"

"Even if Congress is under no limitations in imposing conditions of the suffrage on the citizens of a Territory, and if it is lawful to require voters to qualify by abjuring opinion and by swearing themselves not guilty of a statute of felony, yet this is different from law and free suffrage as they are understood in the rest of the nation.

"The requirement that juries for the trial of those charged with polygamous marriage shall qualify by abjuring polygamy in practice and renouncing and condemning it in opinion is, in effect, a requirement that they shall renounce the Mormon religion and shall condemn their church brethren, bishops, elders, apostles, and prophets. It violates the essential property of trial by jury as it is understood in all the judiciaries of English law. It is in

practice the making of an anti-Mormon jury to try a Mormon. The requiring of a Mormon wife to testify against her husband is a violation of the common law."

As a matter of course he touches upon polygamy, and devotes considerable space to the subject, though it is now a dead issue. Here is an extract:

"This departure from the traditions of law and liberty has been made in the attempt to give the form of government of the Territory by the inhabitants, while taking the substance from them because they are Mormons. It is justified by the existence of polygamy, which for this occasion is made a mortal sin, which warrants the deprivation of religious, civil and political rights, and demands the stamping out by persecution. But they who believe that the Israelite patriarchs had the close counsel of God in their conduct are not going to remove them from the polygamous Abraham's bosom to the opposite place because of their plural wives. No rational person believes it to be a mortal sin. It is an offense against our civilization. But there can be a rational way of treating it, and a legal way of prohibiting and prosecuting it. And, furthermore, the government which allowed the practice for a quarter of a century should provide some humane mode of living and legitimate status for the wives and children of plural marriages entered into prior to the prohibitory statute."

This is what he says of the religion itself as a whole:

"They are blind who think that the Mormon religion is so ill-begotten and so slight a system of faith that it will be abandoned. Their religion is Biblical and logical. It is the restoration of the Zion of the chosen people, with the addition of the atonement of Christ. It takes to itself and vitalizes all that idea of a rebuilding of Zion and a millennial reign which runs in all Biblical peoples. It holds that now, as before, the Church of God has prophets, inspiration and revelation. It believes the Bible to be the word of God, and likewise the Book of Mormon, revealed through the prophet, Joseph Smith. By its prophets, apostles, elders, bishops and other ecclesiastical officers it reaches into all the life of the people, and it unites with this a business organization which takes in all their temporal affairs.

"Conversing with a Saint on their theology, he spoke with a superior scorn of the theology which allows prophets then, but denies them now; allows revelation then, but cuts it off way back; which claims the possession of the Holy Ghost, but denies any manifestations; or which, like the Quakers, sits idly and waits for the moving of the spirit; or which has the manifestation of the spirit in fits, convulsions, spasms and epilepsies; all this in contrast with the well-ordered and Biblical Mormon system of consecrated prophets, apostles and continued revelations."

He falls into the error of the usual run of travelers in Utah with re-

gard to the Co-operative Institution, stating distinctly that it is a "church concern." Of course, he was crammed with this belief by the louts of Salt Lake City. To show what a gullible being he was when he trusted to alien sources for information, he says:

"The church relation of the great trading establishment, entitled 'Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution,' called, for short, 'The Co-op,' is not so plain. Nor is the co-operative part apparent, unless it be that all good Mormons must trade there. The store is 300 feet square, of three stories. It trades in everything. It has outside shops and factories. It has just started a boot and shoe factory, with modern implements. Whatever can be made in the country, it makes, and thus it has a great system of organized workmen and workwomen. It has absorbed or run out all the preceding Mormon stores. Once Brigham had a store, which he made a good thing in his various enterprises, but this was merged in the 'Co-op.'"

What strikes me as most extraordinary in all the writers who touch on Utah is that the whole of them harp on one string. They confine themselves to certain features of the church, but never enter into the principles of the religion, nor do they touch upon the spiritual part of its doctrine. Perhaps I cannot better illustrate what I am endeavoring to explain than by giving a conversation which General Sheridan held with one of his friends shortly before his death. It was published in the *Chicago Tribune*, and here is the part of it which illustrates my text. The General said:

"If I only had the simple faith of my wife, but I have not. To me the future seems oblivion. If we have a future beyond the grave, then we must have had an existence before this life. These are mysteries which I have often thought over, but I cannot fathom them. How much comfort the great mass of mankind get out of that little and yet potential instinct summed up in the word faith. I was born into the Catholic Church and cannot get out of it. But I have my own views. We must do our duty in life. We are here and must make the best of it."

This is pretty explicit, and shows that the first soldier and the most exemplary citizen of the continent died a Mormon when he died with this belief, because it is a cardinal Mormon doctrine, and one that whenever polygamy is touched ought never to be ignored. If General Sheridan had the good fortune to understand Mormonism, or to have read Mormon literature, he would have died in the faith of that religion without doubt. And what a glorious thing it would have been for that great man to have dropped into the bosom of a religion in harmony with his spiritual instincts and religious promptings. Mormonism should be preached in the high places of the land.

JUNIAS.

CHICAGO, Jan. 18, 1889.