

CHAPTER XVI.¹

THE MORMON THEOCRACY.

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“The worst man in Utah”—Quorum of Apostles— “The Twelve”—
A dozen men with fifty-two wives—President of Seventies—
Patriarch— “A blessing for a dollar”—Bishops—Division of the City
and Territory—Their magisterial capacity High Council—
Judge and jury—Ward teachers—The confessional—The priesthood—
Aaronic and Melchisedec—Evangelists—Secret police or “Danites”—
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appointed by Brigham Young—Voting system—Marked ballots—
“Protecting the ballot”—The Hooper-McGroarty race—
Plurality of offices as well as wives—Tyranny of the Church—The
Mormon vs. the American idea—The evils of which Gentiles complain.*

IN government, as in doctrine and practice, the Mormons have adopted the most ancient model. But it was not quite possible even for them to entirely ignore the popular element, hence they have pieced out their theocracy with a shred of universal suffrage, proving themselves eclectic in politics as well as theology. Government in Utah is to be viewed in three relations, or rather, there are as many distinct governments:—

I. The recognized and openly acknowledged ecclesiastical government of the Mormon Church.

II. The secret and irresponsible government operated by a few of the leading men.

III. The Territorial government, which was for years but the mere convenient machine of the Church, and has but lately stood forth in anything like its intended character.

¹ Original chapter page numbers: 381-401.

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For the success of such an institution as Mormonism, it was absolutely necessary there should be a recognized priesthood, through which channel alone, all commands from heaven should come. If any man who "felt the moving of the Spirit" was at liberty to prophesy, prophets would soon cease to have any honor. It was necessary, too, that this priesthood should bear complete rule, and to this end an ignorant laity was necessary. These conditions have all been filled, and the Mormon Church stands forth complete as a theocratic absolutism. I present in the order of their rank, the various officers of the Church, and the duties connected with them.

FIRST PRESIDENT.

This officer stands at the head of all the affairs of the Church, temporal and spiritual, financial and priestly; he alone has the power of "sealing," though in some cases he may delegate it, and he only is acknowledged revelator. This office, first filled by Joseph Smith, is now held by Brigham Young, who is "Prophet, Priest, Seer, Revelator in all the world. First President and Trustee-in-trust of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints," and doubtless *ex-officio* the repository of any other needed office or power.

To consider him in all these *roles*² would exceed my present space; his various powers will appear more fully in the course of the work. Suffice it to say, that as Prophet, he holds the "keys of the kingdom," and without his permission *none can enter the Church or be saved*; as Revelator, he unfolds to the people the will of God concerning them; as Seer, he is warned to avoid any danger which may be in the future for him or his people, and, as Priest, he "seals" men and women for eternity. In temporal matters he is equally absolute. As President, he orders all the concerns of the Church, appoints new bishops and elders, and determines the political bearings of the community; as Trustee-in-trust, all the title to the Church property is in his name, he buys,

² BEADLE FOOTNOTE: "Those who are curious to learn more fully of Brigham Young, and his wives and children, will find this with much other valuable information, in the ably written and only authentic work on the subject: THE MORMON PROPHET AND HIS HEREM, Written by MRS. C. V. WAITE. Printed at the Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1866."

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sells, and conveys it *with no fixed system of rendering account*, and as Treasurer of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, his draft alone can be honored where the funds are on deposit. He claims and is acknowledged by his followers, to be the Supreme Pontiff of the world in all spiritual matters, and entitled to the obedience of all Mormons.

True, there are various parties now rising up among the Mormons, who claim that the President is entitled to their obedience only within certain limits; but they are generally held as heretics, "governed by an apostate spirit," and all "good Mormons" claim that they are bound by the orders of the Prophet, even to matters of life and death. The doctrine has lately been still more authoritatively declared by the First President and his Counselors, that "it is apostasy to differ with the Priesthood—though ever so honestly—a man may honestly differ, and go to hell for it." If there is any limit to his power, it is not apparent to the Gentile mind.

THE FIRST PRESIDENCY.

This consists of the First President and his First and Second Counselors, George A. Smith and Daniel H. Wells. The first place was formerly filled by Heber C. Kimball, who died³ a short time before I entered the Territory, and at the ensuing Conference, Smith was chosen to the place. These last also have the title of President, they are the Lieutenants and Prime Ministers of the President to do all his commands, and are authorized to act in various capacities in his absence. In addition George A. Smith is Church Historian, and Daniel H. Wells is Mayor, Justice of the Peace and Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion. He seems to bear about him less of the ecclesiastical character than his colleague, and is generally denominated 'Squire Wells; but he is probably the worst man in the Hierarchy, being both a half-crazy fanatic and a blood-thirsty bigot.

QUORUM OF APOSTLES.

The body third in importance in the Church is the College or Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. They come much nearer to the people than the First Presidency, as the whole Mormon territory

³ Heber C. Kimball died on 22 June 1868, aged 67.

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is nominally divided between them, and it is their duty to inspect their various districts and see "that each stake is set in order." Individual Apostles are often put in charge of foreign missions, sent away to edit newspapers or magazines, or to preside over some newly selected "stake" of the extending settlements, in either of which cases, another Apostle is chosen in place of the absent. Thus there are sometimes as many as fifteen acting Apostles, but only the Twelve are entitled to seats in the Quorum at one time.

I present the list as it stood during my residence in Utah, and as an Apostle's dignity, like that of most other officers, depends largely upon the number of his wives, I give their number also:

ORSON HYDE,	First Apostle,	Five Wives.
ORSON PRATT,	Second "	Four "
JOHN TAYLOR,	Third "	Seven "
WILFORD WOODRUFF,	Fourth "	Three "
JOSEPH F. SMITH,	Fifth "	Three "
AMASA LYMAN,	Sixth "	Five "
EZRA BENSON,	Seventh "	Four "
CHARLES RICH,	Eighth "	Seven "
LORENZO SNOW,	Ninth "	Four "
ERASTUS SNOW,	Tenth "	Three "
FRANKLIN RICHARDS,	Eleventh "	Four "
GEORGE Q. CANNON,	Twelfth "	Three "4

Ezra Benson died⁵ last summer, and his place had not been supplied when I left Utah. With the exception of John Taylor the Apostles are reported to be poor men; Orson Pratt particularly is in very moderate circumstances, and Orson Hyde has the reputation of being "an inveterate beggar," in an ecclesiastical way, of course.

PRESIDENT OF SEVENTIES.

This office appears to rank next to that of an Apostle, and arises as follows: The great working body of male Mormons is divided into seventy Quorums, each having nominally seventy mem-

⁴ Fifty-two wives; a *full deck* for the twelve Apostles.

⁵ Ezra T. Benson died 3 September 1869, aged 58.

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bers, though, in reality, they range everywhere from ten to seventy. Each has a President and these, collectively known as the Seventy, constitute a grand missionary board, which has the general control of all matters connected with propagating the faith. These seventy Presidents have also a President, filling the office under consideration. These offices have no special rank in the Church, as an Apostle or leading elder may be but a lay member in this order.

PATRIARCH.

I place this office fifth in rank because, though of great sanctity and honor, it is entirely spiritual, conferring no power. His business is merely to grant "blessings," written out and signed by him. The usual fee therefor is one dollar, and the "blessings," as far as I have read any of them, consist of vague and general promises that the recipient will "be blessed if faithful." The first Patriarch in the Church was "Old Father Smith," or Joseph [Senior], father of the Prophet, who was succeeded by the latter's brother Hyrum, he by "uncle" John Smith, cousin of Joe, and he in turn by William Smith, son of "Hyrum the martyr." To hold this office the only qualifications which seem necessary, are that one should be an "uncle" and a Smith, neither of which is liable to fail for some time.

BISHOPS.

We now consider purely temporal officers, a set of men who direct municipal regulations and are, as occasion demands, either officers of the Church or Civil Magistrates. Of these the most important is the bishop. Salt Lake City is divided into twenty-one wards, each of which has a bishop, and the entire Territory is in the same manner conveniently divided into wards with a bishop over each. They "hear and determine" all complaints, and as they are, under the peculiar statutes of Utah, also Probate Judges in their respective counties, they govern Gentiles in that character. Thus, as spiritual guide in all matters of dispute among members of his flock, and civil magistrate, in all cases where Gentiles are concerned, the bishop is equally "master of the situation," and fully apprized of whatever is going on. Hence, also, his character as informer. From his decision as Judge the Gentile may appeal to

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the Superior Court, at Salt Lake City; from his episcopal adjudications the Mormon can appeal to the

HIGH COUNCIL.

This body is composed of fifteen men, chosen from the High Priests. Twelve act as a jury, of whom a majority decide the case, and the other three pass sentence, or fix the damages and costs. From this tribunal there is an appeal to the First Presidency. The bishop is assisted in his labors by the

WARD TEACHERS.

Their duty is to visit all the people in their ward, report all suspected persons, catechize every one as to personal feeling, belief, etc., to report all irregularities, heresies, false doctrine and schism, and generally to act as spies and informers. On these visitations every person is obliged to formally subscribe to all the doctrines of the Church, and many misdemeanors and even criminal[i]ties are hushed up in the ward where they occur, without the slightest knowledge thereof being made public. Hence much of the reputation for good order, claimed by the Mormons. In one instance, which came to my knowledge, an atrocious rape, committed upon a girl thirteen years old, was not known outside of the ward where it occurred until one year after, and it would probably not have been then made known, had not the father of the girl apostatized. In many cases boys of fifteen years fill the place of Teacher, and are required to report the doings of their fellows. All Mormons are solemnly sworn to keep no secrets from the Teachers, and on their monthly visits to each family these have the right to see each person alone, and hold a strict and nasty "confessional." This, with the "Danite" or secret police system, makes of Mormon society a united and tyrannized whole.

THE PRIESTHOOD.

Thus far I have treated rather of the temporal offices, but all officiating Mormons are divided into two bodies—The *Aaronic* and the *Melchisedec Priesthood*. The latter is the superior, and in many respects includes the former; it is both spiritual and temporal, while the former is exclusively temporal. A High Priest of the *Melchisedec* order may always officiate in place of an *Aaronic*

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Priest; but without special ordainment, the latter is always confined to temporal affairs. All the higher officials belong to the *Melchisedec* order. The High Priest ranks next to the Apostle, and after him some order of Elders, below whom are simple Priests and ordinary Elders. In these different ranks all Mormons are Priests of some sort, and in religious cant speak of themselves as "Kings and Priests of the most High God."

EVANGELISTS.

These, as the name implies, are propagandists. The name seems to indicate a kind of work rather than specific rank or office.

Such is the recognized ecclesiastical polity of the Church. But lest this should not prove effective in all cases, or some should grow restive under such restraint, the Church has often used an order of secret police, popularly known as "Danites." This order was first instituted during the troubles in Missouri; it was remodeled in the third or fourth year of their residence at Nauvoo, and has been continued since. By some of the Mormons its existence is denied, by others defended on the score of self-protection. That thousands of honest Mormons are ignorant of and do not believe in its existence, I am well aware; but that it has been, and to some extent is yet, an active working force, is as clearly proved as any fact can be. From the nature of the case but little can be known of its secret organization; its work plainly appears in the course of Mormon history.

With all their ecclesiastical organization, both public and private, much would have remained beyond their power to compass without a civil government; and the manner in which they have used it, merely to further Church policy, is a singular comment on the forbearance of a republican government.

The most common perversion of right, and yet the most is difficult to be comprehended by residents in the East, the peculiar manner in which the laws and local courts of the Territory are made an engine of tyranny in the hands of the ruling oligarchy. Like every other territory, Utah has Federal District Courts and local Probate Courts; but unlike any other State or territory in the Union, the powers and jurisdiction of the latter are made superior

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to those of the former. Section 29, page 31 of the Territorial Statutes, gives the Probate Courts general jurisdiction in all matters, civil and criminal; while section 1 of an "Act in relation to Bills of Divorce and Alimony," gives the Probate Courts exclusive jurisdiction over all such cases, thus making them superior to the Federal District Courts in such matters, and equal to them in every other respect.

All this in opposition to the fact that the Organic Act of Utah gives the Legislature no power to build up such local courts, and in other territories this matter has been settled by appeal to the Supreme Court, and by its decision the Probate Courts limited to probate matters and a very limited civil jurisdiction. But the Organic Act provides that the Probate or County Courts shall have "such jurisdiction as shall be prescribed by law," and from this loose wording the Legislature claims the right to give them jurisdiction over all subjects whatever. This anomaly in the judicial system is not without good cause. The District Judges are United States officials, and are supposed to be supporting the national authority; the Probate Judges are simply the bishops or elders in the different counties, over whom Brigham's power is absolute. In former days, Brigham divorced whomsoever he saw fit, on his own motion, and on payment of a fee of ten dollars. He boasted once in a sermon, that he made enough this way, "by their d—d foolishness, to keep him in spending money." But of late years it has been thought best to give some attention to forms of law; and now, though parties must first be divorced by Brigham, or a special deputy within the Church law, yet, after that, they must have a legal divorce in the Probate Courts. Of course, it never happens that Brigham's wishes are disregarded in the Probate. But this is their own affair; it is with their criminal jurisdiction that Gentiles have to do. A case which occur[re]d in a southern settlement, while I was in Utah, illustrates in so forcible a manner their style of getting rid of obnoxious citizens, that I set it forth entire.

In 1860, a lad of that district, of more than ordinary intelligence, left for California, where he remained for eight years, when he returned home with a considerable amount of money, and of course, with no disposition to submit to the exactions of

Mormonism. His parents being Mormons, and that his native place, he properly belonged to the class known as "hickory Mormons" or "Come-outers." With plenty of money, and being well dressed, he went into all their dances and social parties, became a great favorite with the Mormon girls, did not hesitate to express his opinion about the bishops and elders, and, in short, his example was, as the bishop said, "d—d demoralizing." One evening he accompanied a Mormon's daughter from the village, to her home in the country. On their way was a narrow ravine, about half way between two houses which were just a furlong apart. They remained some minutes in this hollow, and were afterwards seen chatting for half an hour at her father's gate. One week afterwards he was arrested on a charge of rape! He was first taken before a magistrate, where he demanded a jury of twelve men, and was by them unanimously acquitted. Then the Bishop of the settlement, also a Probate Judge, issued a bench warrant, pronounced all the proceedings before the magistrate void, brought the young man before himself, and by the aid of her father, absolutely forced the girl to testify against him, and upon evidence that would have been laughed out of court in any State, pronounced him guilty, and sentenced him to the penitentiary for ten years! He was started at once for the prison in Salt Lake City, but managed to inform Judge Strickland, a lawyer of the city, who succeeded in having him brought before Chief Justice Wilson, of the District Court, by writ of *habeas corpus*, where the girl refused to testify to anything criminating him, and he was released. This atrocious perversion of legal principles, is practiced all over the country settlements by these bishops—judges, who are directed in their proceedings by "authority," and use their offices to drive out, or scare away all "Come-outers" or recusant Mormons. If the accused is brought to Salt Lake City, the United States officials are often able to interfere; but no matter how plain and direct the evidence, as in the case above, nine-tenths of the Mormons merely think it another case, in which a vile criminal is let loose upon them by Gentile Judges.

As might be expected, the Brighamites are very tenacious of this great power in their hands, and threaten and bluster whenever it is questioned. In a case tried before Chief Justice Wilson, the

power of the Probate Courts was put in issue, and on the 20th of November, 1868, when this case was argued, Z. Snow, a Mormon lawyer, and Attorney-General for Utah, said: "If his Honor decided against such jurisdiction, blood would flow in the streets of this City." From the known character of Judge Snow, it is highly probable he never would have made such a statement but by express direction from Brigham Young. The statement was made in open court, in presence of the entire bar of the city, and a few moments after consultation with his associate counsel, also a Mormon. The plain meaning of this was, that the Brighamites intended to obey the law only when construed in their favor, but otherwise to evade it, and, when safe, try violence. Fair notice was thus given to all officials to yield, or be crushed. Judge Snow also said that, until within a few years. "United State Judges, had not resided here but a very small portion of their time, though he did not know why."

This hint opens to remembrance a melancholy view of the dishonor to our Government through its officials in Utah. Not that Brigham Young has tried violence in many cases. He is far too wary for that. Brute force is the last resort of a really astute mind, like that of Brigham. Chicane is his natural weapon, and with it he has completely circumvented the majority of the judges; assisted too often by the imbecile appointments from the time of Fillmore until Lincoln's Administration. The first judge, Perry E. Brochus, was incautious in his attacks upon polygamy, and, having been led to believe that his life was in danger, left the Territory. Another official was detected in immorality, and resigned to avoid exposure; another disgraced his office by taking a prostitute upon the bench with him; another impaired his efficiency by secret drinking; and still another allowed himself to be completely entrapped by two of Brigham's "decoy women." One of these delinquents was followed into Weber Cañon by a self-appointed committee of "Mormon boys," and received at their hands a severe castigation.

It is a prime principle of the Mormon faith that their affairs ought not to come before a Gentile Court at all; and if they must go there in a case where a Gentile is interested, the jury should be governed by "counsel" in making up their verdict. But there seem

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to have been restive spirits, even in the most palmy days of the Church government, who were often chastised from the Mormon pulpit, as witness the following from a sermon delivered in the Tabernacle by Jedediah M. Grant, one of Brigham Young's counsellors, on Sunday, March 2d, 1856

“Last Sunday the President chastised some of the Apostles and Bishops who were on the grand jury. Did he fully succeed in clearing away the fog that surrounded them, and in removing blindness from their eyes? No; for they could go to their room and again disagree, though to their credit be it said, a little explanation made them unanimous in their action.[”] But how is it with the little jury? [“]Some [Several] of them have [had] got into the fog to suck down the words and eat the filth of a Gentile [law] court, ostensibly a court in Utah[, though I call it a Gentile court.]”⁶ This extract gives a sufficiently clear idea of the jury system in Utah, and from all that has yet appeared the attempt to enforce any Federal statute by Mormon juries, would simply amount to a solemn farce. To render the matter worse, these Bishop-judges are not elected by the people, but under the provisions of the Judiciary Act, are appointed by the Territorial Legislature, which means in effect by Brigham Young; thus the Judiciary are as completely under his management as the officers of the ecclesiastical organization. One might think there was still some chance for the people in voting, and many are inclined to ask: If there is dissatisfaction, or opposition to Brigham Young's government, can it not make itself felt in the elections? Even this outlet is effectually barred by the following Section of “An Act regulating elections,” passed in January, 1853:

“[SEC 5.] Each elector shall provide himself with a ballot [vote] containing the names of the persons he wishes elected, and the offices he would have them fill, and present it neatly folded to the judge of the election, who shall number it and deposit it in the

⁶ Jedediah M. Grant - 2 March 1856, *Journal of Discourses - Volume 3* (Liverpool, England: Orson Pratt, 1856), 232-236. Slightly paraphrased.

ballot-box. The clerk shall then write the name of the elector and opposite thereto the number of his vote.”⁷

With a sarcasm which is almost amusing, the Mormon leaders call this a measure “to protect the freedom and purity of the ballot.”⁸ Thus artistically do they abolish the free vote while they retain the ballot. “Thus,” says the English Captain Burton, their apologist, “they retain the privilege of voting, while they avoid the evils of universal suffrage; subjecting, as it always should be, the ignorant many to the supervision of the intelligent few.”

Under this system, Brigham Young’s emissary can go into any precinct in the Territory and discover just how any man has voted at any election for the last fifteen years! And with this ignorant people, alive to spiritual terrors, and knowing too well what temporal trouble *may* be brought upon them, it is plain that the opposition must be in a majority before it can venture to make itself known. It cannot make a start to consolidate. It may be worthy of note here, that all the officers of the Mormon Church are proposed for re-election or rejection, twice every year, at the General Conferences, thus apparently tempering this theocratic absolutism with universal suffrage, women voting as well as men. But only three instances have been known of persons daring to vote against the known wishes of the Hierarchy; and in each case the offenders were promptly cited before the High Council and required to explain, in default of which they were “cut off” as being in a “spirit of apostasy.” Practically, one man in each settlement or ward might just as well do all the voting. The Church puts her ticket in the field, and the bishop directs the people to vote it, which they do accordingly.

On one memorable occasion, it is said, a sort of spiritual rebellion occurred in the Utah Lake district, where many American converts reside, and the opposition candidate to the Legislature was elected. On reaching Salt Lake City the successful candidate was simply “counseled” to resign, did so quietly, and the regular

⁷ *Acts and Resolutions passed at the Second Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah*, “Ballots.” (Great Salt Lake City, UT: Authority of the Legislative Assembly, 1853), 10.

⁸ Gamaliel Bailey/Editor, *Fact For The People—New Series*. Vol. 1. No. 11. (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin, 1 March 1856), 168.

nominee was declared entitled to the seat. Three years ago the Jews, Gentiles, Apostates and recusant Mormons of the Thirteenth Ward, in the city, found they had a majority, as nearly all of these classes in the city lived in that ward. They elected Bishop Wooley, a good Mormon, however, for Councilman, against the regular nominee. The Bishop was at once cited before Brigham, promptly resigned according to "counsel," and the other candidate was admitted to the seat.

When the celebrated and somewhat amusing Hooper-McGroarty race, for delegate to Congress, took place, hundreds who would have voted for an available Gentile nominee, but who regarded McGroarty's candidacy as a mere burlesque, did not vote at all; consequently that gentleman received less than two hundred votes, while, as the Mormons did their best, Hooper received some fifteen thousand. It is yet a standing joke in Utah to repeat portions of McGroarty's speech, prepared to be delivered before Congress; he employed a lawyer to write it for him, and while committing it to memory, he could never talk ten minutes with a friend without running into his speech, assuming an oratorical manner, and the plural number, as if addressing Congress.

The evils of this system of voting are numerous, besides the immense power it gives a few leaders; but one is particularly noticeable, the number and variety of offices held by the same man. In the town of Fillmore, the old capital, at one time one man held the offices of County Clerk and Recorder, Town Clerk and Justice of the Peace, Assessor and Collector of Internal Revenue, and *ex officio* Overseer of the Poor. While I was in Salt Lake City, one Robert T. Burton was Collector of Internal Revenue for the Territory, Sheriff of the County, Assessor and Collector of Territorial and County taxes, and a General in the Nauvoo Legion; besides being a prominent elder in the Church, the husband of three wives, and one of the chiefs of the secret police. This Burton is the man who led the *posse* to capture the Morrisites, a sect of recusant Mormons, and, according to his own account, shot four of those people after their surrender, and his continuance in the revenue office was a damning blot upon the Johnson administration in Utah. He is in appearance

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“The mildest mannered man
That ever scuttled ship or cut a throat.”

But if there is truth in one-fourth the private memoirs of apostates, he is a most cruel and blood-thirsty bigot.

All the various civil officers are at the same time leading dignitaries in the Mormon Church, active agents of its will, chosen to their civil position solely on that account; they consider the latter far inferior in importance, and, in fact, subordinate in policy to their Church dignities, and knowing little, if any, law, they are guided by ecclesiastical authority and “counsel.”

Let one travel wherever he will through the outer settlements, he rarely if ever hears the people speak of the Probate Judges *as* judges; it is always “the bishop decided so and so.” With them he is always acting in his character as bishop, never as judge. Nor need we be surprised at this; it is the natural conflict under such a system, between the theocratic, the ecclesiastical, and the popular, the democratic and laical. The American idea is that power is derived from the people, is merely delegated to the officer, and rests upon the just consent of the governed. The Mormon idea is exactly the reverse: power and authority come from above and operate downward through all the grades; the official is not responsible to those below him—to them he is the voice of God—but to those above him; from them he derives his authority, and to them he must render an account.

In the words of a Mormon polemic, “It is not consistent that the people of God should organize or be subject to man-made governments. If it were so, they could never be perfected. There can be but one perfect government—that organized by God; a government by apostles, prophets, priests, teachers and evangelists; the order of the original Church, of all churches acknowledged by God.”⁹ I am thus minute in my statements, because so many people in the East have an idea that polygamy is the only great evil of Mormonism. There are many evils felt more than that; in fact, polygamy in itself is but a slight annoyance to the Gentile residents of Utah.

⁹ From Orson Pratt's *Discourse on Government*.

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Mormonism was an unmitigated evil before they had polygamy; the priests ruled the ignorant people with spiritual terrors, and that made them dangerous neighbors and troublesome citizens wherever they lived. Probably some of these other evils grew out of or have been strengthened by polygamy, but that of itself troubles other residents very little. It is that the Territory is ruled by a Church, that civil and legal measures are carried by ecclesiastical policy rather than law; that residents, not Mormons, are subjected to all the annoyances of petty tyranny; that in their business and social life they are constantly subjected to the secret espionage of the Church; that they are hampered in business by church hostility and the imposition of excessive taxes; that friends and fellow-countrymen have been secretly murdered, and the Church prevents them from obtaining justice; in short, they are exposed to the tyranny of an unopposed majority, and that majority controlled by a small and compact hierarchy, working out its Star-chamber decrees against liberty by secret and, to the people, irresponsible agents.

It is this that grinds the feelings of American citizens, not polygamy, though that is a great moral and social evil. The Mormon people as a mass are naturally disposed to deal justly, but, unfortunately, the people are ciphers, and it seems to be the policy of their leaders to keep them in a constant state of irritation and hostile feeling towards all outsiders, and to the Government of the United States.¹⁰

Thus it is the union of Church and State, or rather the absolute subservience of the State to the Church, the latter merely using

¹⁰ The political landscape of 21st century Utah continues to exhibit this tendency. Spending time among Mormons makes it clear that they hold the opinions of their religious leaders in higher regard than those of their political leaders, even though these leaders often overlap. While the church now prohibits political campaigns in their meeting houses, members recognize that the conservative principles of the Republican Party more closely align with the notions of their leaders. Despite their religious teachings emphasizing virtues such as compassion, charity, kindness, and forgiveness, their voting patterns tend to favor austere figures who preach *against* greed while *embracing* diverse political strategies to preserve their personal financial resources. Outsiders rarely feel embraced by the Saints, unless there is a motivation to convert, and the LDS distrust of the federal government is palpable.

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the outside organization to carry into effect decrees already concluded in secret council, that makes Mormonism our enemy. Missouri and Illinois found, at dear cost, that no State could tolerate a church exercising an absolute temporal jurisdiction, within the State, but independent of and often hostile to it; dominating and directing the action of courts within its influence, subverting free institutions, and exercising a greater right over the consciences of its subjects than is claimed by the laws of the State. In short, it is not the social, immoral, or polygamic features that so chiefly concern us, but the hostile, the treasonable and the mutinous. The law against polygamy should be strictly enforced, as every other law of the Government; but, it is idle to say, as so many do, that that is the only objection to the Mormons, or to the admission of Utah as a State. If polygamy were blotted out tomorrow, we could never admit Utah in her present condition. Such a State organization would be opposed to every principle of our political structure, and our Constitution was never meant to recognize the temporal government of a church. Happily the present Administration have recognized many of the needs of Utah, and begun by removing all polygamists and Mormon sympathizers from office, filling their places with good men. Much remains to be done by the Executive and Congress, but it is gratifying to note that something of a reform has set in, and that Utah is no longer what it was through three Administrations, "the Botany Bay of worn-out politicians."