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JUDICIAL PROSECUTION OF PRISONERS FOR LDS PLURAL MARRIAGE:
PRISON SENTENCES, 1884-1895

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts


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by

Rosa Mae M. Evans

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This thesis by Rosa Mae M. Evans is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.


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Nov. 24, 1986
Date



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INTRODUCTION

A cursory perusal of any list of prisoners for plural marriage which shows their sentences and fines makes one wonder why there was such a difference in the penalties. Plural marriage would seem to be an offense which could command a more consistent penalty than the variety of sentences which ranged in prison time from five days to five years; from no fine to fines of twelve hundred dollars. What factors may have influenced the judges in the determination of penalty? Were they influenced by the age of the defendant? Were older men let off easier than young men? Was one judge more severe than another? The prisoners were convinced that was true. Eli Azariah Day, convicted and sentenced in the first District Court in Provo, wrote home in a letter from the penitentiary:

Some men here have hopes of a speedy release, others rest certain that they will stay a long time. All that come from Beaver court seem to get the full extent of the law, while, from the other courts, there is much leniency. Many are here serving a second term.¹

Were the sentences served by the Mormon polygamists more severe than those served by men convicted of murder, assault, or robbery? The prisoners were convinced that was also true. In his article "Life Behind Prison Bars,"

Melvin L. Bashore expresses their sentiments clearly, especially in regard to a judge who sat in the First District Court:

Most Mormons were embittered at the discrimination and discrepancy in sentencing shown by the judges. Men arrested for hideous and blatantly immoral crimes were let off with light sentences or reprimands. Judge John W. Judd, a former Tennessean assigned to the First District Court in Provo, was prominent in these proceedings. He gave deliberate murderers light or suspended sentences, but let the axe fall heavy on the Mormons.²

There has been no list published for the benefit of researchers which will provide particular information on the imprisonment of individuals. There are partial lists in special collections of libraries which preserve diaries or autobiographies of those who wrote about their imprisonment. A prisoner whose diary contains a list of his LDS brethren in the prison recorded, as a rule, the names of those whose sentences overlapped his own. His list would not contain the names of those who completed their terms and left before his arrival, nor of those who entered after his release. Assistant LDS Church Historian Andrew Jenson obtained permission from the warden to make a list of prisoners for the purpose of preservation of history. This was meant to be a complete list, but his scribes failed to record any admissions during a period of more than nine months in 1891, and there are none listed in his record after September 1892, even though new admissions continued to appear in the Territorial record until 1895.³ I have

extracted from the microfilmed volumes of the Utah Prison Admission Record a list of men who served prison terms for plural marriages contracted because of their belief in the doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This list, included in the appendix of this paper served as a basis for the statistical studies.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the 940 sentences given to men convicted on charges relating to plural marriage as taught by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It will show that the age of the prisoner influenced the decision of the judges, and that the younger men usually received heavier sentences than the older men. It will prove that the judges did differ in the severity of their sentences, but that the time period in relation to the beginning and end of the anti-polygamy crusade was a factor. In regard to the severity of the sentences given and the time actually served by the polygamists compared to sentences and time served by those convicted of murder, assault, or robbery, the study indicates that the blame for such disparities has to be placed not only on the judges, but on those who wrote the laws, and on the governors of the Territory, who had the power to pardon all criminals except those convicted for polygamy-related crimes.

During the past decade there has been a phenomenal development of interest in researching personal genealogy

and writing family history. There are thousands of descendants of the Mormon polygamist families, and for many the specter of an ancestor's prison term in territorial Utah could easily threaten the image of respectability that the family historian would like to establish. A better understanding of the circumstances of the times is a boon to such writers. For decades--probably for as long as they were alive who were affected by the crusade of the U. S. Government against polygamy--little was written for publication about personal experiences during those troubled times; it may have been that those people were willing to put aside that part of their lives. The present generation of grandchildren and great-grandchildren has found investigations into the details of those personal experiences less painful, so the publishing of scholarly studies, diaries, and autobiographies is increasing and is being received with interest. This study and the data on the list of Prisoners for Plural Marriage in the appendix should be of importance to such researchers.

This study of prison sentences fills a gap in the body of literature on Mormon polygamy in particular, and perhaps just as important in a broader sense, to the literature on civil rights and religious freedom. In many parts of the present-day world, the struggle for personal freedom goes on, as manifested by the sometimes violent civil disobedience in South Africa, the deadly guerrilla

action in Central America, or the outright war in Afghanistan. The perspective gained from a study of past events helps to determine the attitudes as well as the actions taken in the present.

A review of the secondary literature on this topic does not bring to light a similar statistical study, either in Mormon polygamy or in other criminal studies. Much has been published on the subject of Mormon polygamy--an avalanche of books and articles in the last decade. There are those scholars who have examined various legal aspects of the prosecution of polygamy, prominent among which are Orma Linford's dissertation, "The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases;" Richard D. Poll's thesis, "The Twin Relic: A Study of Mormon Polygamy and the Campaign by the Government of the United States for its Abolition, 1852-1892;" and Stewart L. Grow's "A Study of the Utah Commission, 1882-1896." More recently, Joseph H. Groberg's article in BYU Studies treats "The Mormon Disfranchisements of 1882 to 1892." In his article, "Charles S. Zane...Apostle of the New Era," Thomas G. Alexander concludes that this unpopular federal justice was basically fair in his decisions, and that he was merely sustaining federal law. My comparison of Zane's sentences of polygamists to his sentences of other criminals supports this conclusion, although the methods Zane used to get the convictions are still open to question.⁴

Studies of prison sentences on a national basis focus on contemporary debates about the efficacy of current legal practices such as plea bargaining, the use of the indeterminate sentence, probation, and parole. In the area of sex crimes, studies draw attention to sentencing indirectly as part of the debate over the kind of institution that should receive sex offenders--psychiatric, rehabilitative, or long-term retention institutions for the protection of society. Studies dealing with crimes of polygamy, bigamy, unlawful cohabitation, adultery, or fornication, under which the Mormon polygamists were prosecuted, presently focus on the question of whether these offenses should even be included under the criminal code, or instead, be restricted to civil procedures such as divorce.

Morris Ploscowe asserts that our law with respect to adultery and fornication is largely in a state of suspended animation. In New York State, when the only ground for divorce (1951) was adultery, Ploscowe wrote:

Every time a divorce is granted, therefore, a judge certifies to his belief that adultery was committed . . . (but) the granting of a divorce on the ground of adultery almost never leads to a criminal prosecution based on the same facts. During the twenty-eight months after the law became effective (in 1907), only forty-eight cases of adultery were tried throughout the state, although the number of divorces granted ran into the thousands.⁵

The only mention of bigamy in Ploscowe's book is in regard to the problem of legitimacy of the offspring of such a relationship. Polygamy is not mentioned in his entire

work although there is a chapter on "Marriage, Sex Crime, and Social Policy." James Allen Black's 1966 dissertation on "The Sentencing of Sex Offenders," demonstrates that concerns for many years now have been with such issues as prostitution, crimes involving children, and with perversion in general where the offense has been public enough to call attention.⁶

There is almost nothing in the various research indexes which leads the searcher to historical studies about prison sentencing.⁷ Harvey J. Graff pointed out in 1977 that jail registers could be an important source in the study of crime, but that this source is still largely untapped. He claimed that such registers are widely available, but also admitted that legal strictures may be enforced to protect confidentiality. Still, by omitting or changing names, Graff observed, "the registers could be a most fruitful source for the study of crimes and previously inarticulate populations, to answer both old and new questions in social history."⁸

One very recent work, a 1985 study by Nicole H. Rafter on women in state prisons from 1800 to 1935, did use prison records. However, it did not prove to be useful to this present study because of its focus on women and its comparisons of the sentences of white women with those of women of racial minorities.⁹

The essential primary source for my study was the

microfilm record, "Utah State Prison Admission," which was not a State prison record, but a Utah Territorial prison record. The films used covered the years 1875 to 1896.

The available court records were also helpful, especially in identifying persons whose names were not clearly legible on the microfilm. The usefulness was limited by the fact that all the court records of the period cannot presently be found. Those of the Second Judicial District Court in Beaver were destroyed by fire in 1888, according to the report of the Utah Commission for that year. Other sources appear in the notes and bibliography.

The chapters which follow will present a brief overview of the progress of judicial prosecution against plural marriage as practiced by some members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; will discuss the age distribution of those who served prison sentences and the possibility of age as an influence on the judges; will compare severity of the sentences of certain judges who were reputed to be less lenient than others; and finally, will report results of a comparison of the sentences of the "tough" prisoners with those of the prisoners for plural marriage.

NOTES

¹Robert B. Day, ed., "Eli Azariah Day: Pioneer Schoolteacher and Prisoner for Conscience Sake," Utah Historical Quarterly 35 (Fall 1937):332.

²Melvin L. Bashore, "Life Behind Bars: Mormon Cohabs of the 1880's," Utah Historical Quarterly 47 (Winter 1979):27.

³Andrew Jenson, "Prisoners for Conscience Sake," LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City. The introduction to Andrew Jenson's list reads in part: "Compiled by Andrew Jenson partly from perusing the original documents at the Utah Penitentiary, and from private journals of brethren who had been imprisoned. Warren B. Smith, who was serving a term in the penitentiary assisted Elder Jenson, who visited the prison for the purpose of getting the desired information by permission of the prison officials." Warren B. Smith served his prison sentence from October 20, 1890 to April 20, 1891. From the handwriting of the manuscript, it is obvious that more than one person served as scribe.

⁴Orma Linford, "The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases" (PhD Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1964); Richard D. Poll, "The Twin Relic: A Study of Mormon Polygamy and the Campaign by the Government of the United States for its Abolition, 1852-1890" (Master's Thesis, Texas Christian University, 1939); Stewart L. Grow, "A Study of the Utah Commission, 1882-1896" (PhD Dissertation, University of Utah, 1954); Joseph H. Groberg, "The Mormon Disfranchisements of 1882 to 1892," BYU Studies 16, (1975-76); Thomas G. Alexander, "Charles S. Zane, Apostle of the New Era," Utah Historical Quarterly 34 (Fall 1966).

⁵Morris Ploscowe, Sex and the Law (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1951), p.156.

⁶James Allen Black, "The Sentencing of Sex Offenders" (PhD Dissertation, University of Iowa, 1966).

⁷Combined Retrospective Index to Journals in History 1838-1974; Indexes to Recently Published Articles, 1976-1985; America: History & Life, 1964-1985; Comprehen-

sive Dissertation Index, 1885-1965 and 10-year cumulation 1973-1982; RLIN Inter-library Computer Catalog; Indexes of Utah Law Review, 1949-1985; Indexes of Utah Historical Quarterly.

⁸Harvey J. Graff, "Crime and Punishment in the 19th Century: A New Look at the Criminal," Journal of Inter-disciplinary History 7(3), (1977):477-491.

⁹Nicole Hahn Rafter, Partial Justice - Women in State Prisons (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1985). Another title found in the Comprehensive Dissertation Index which seemed related to the present study was "Criminal Sentencing in Three Nineteenth Century Cities: A Social History of Punishment in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, 1830-1880," by William F. Kuntz. Since it was at Harvard, there was no abstract in the index, nor was it available on either regular library circulation or Inter-library Loan. All efforts to obtain a copy have failed.

CHAPTER I

JUDICIAL PROSECUTION FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

Begun in secrecy and ended in secrecy, the practice of plural marriage among the leadership and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Mormons, was opposed by the American public to such a degree that legal action was attempted against it from the beginning. Joseph Smith was aware of an indictment against him for adultery in Nauvoo just a month before his death. The bill was brought on the testimony of William Law, a man who had been a counselor to Joseph, but had been excommunicated just one month before for "unchristianlike conduct." Disagreeing with Joseph on plural marriage, and on the church's increasing power over the social, economic, and political lives of the members, he immediately formed his own church and started his own newspaper, The Nauvoo Expositor. In the first issue, he made public his grievances and suggestions for reform. Joseph Smith and his followers responded by destroying Law's printing equipment, an act which led to Smith's arrest and assassination. Had Joseph Smith lived, he would have faced a court trial on that indictment accusing him of adultery.¹

The church leaders continued to practice plural marriage themselves and to authorize plural marriages for others, but they did so in secrecy, denying the practice publicly. The entire church membership was subjected to ridicule and persecution even though only a minority of Mormons ever entered into polygamous marriages. The Utah Commission estimated in 1887 that ". . . monogamous Mormons . . . are more than three-fourths of the Mormon population." Studies since that time show approximately the same estimate. Stanley S. Ivins estimated that at most fifteen to twenty percent were polygamous. Lowell "Ben" Bennion studied a large sample of Mormon settlements in 1880, attempting to determine what percent of the LDS population lived in polygamous households when the census was taken. On a basis of entire families living in "Dixie" and in Davis Stake, his study averages out to about twenty-five percent in each of the two geographical areas. Dean May's study of Kanab shows that 24 percent of all the town's inhabitants were members of polygamous families; seventeen percent of the married men had more than one wife, but May believes that the total number of men with plural wives was substantially greater, as many men with but one wife in Kanab had wives in other settlements as well.² Although there were other groups in the country experimenting with sex roles and family patterns, none of them ever attracted the vast number of converts that the Mormons did, and

partly for that reason they were paid less attention. Notable among these were the Shakers, adherents to the teachings of Mother Ann Lee, and the Oneida Community of Perfectionists, followers of John Humphrey Noyes.

Shaker membership rose, by 1850, to a peak of some 6,000 in approximately sixty communities from Maine to Indiana. The members grouped together, separated themselves from the world, eliminated private property, and dedicated themselves to pacifism and to celibacy. Although there was hostility toward them in some quarters, the demise of the Shakers was due mostly to internal causes, not to persecution, and certainly not to judicial prosecution. After all, celibacy and pacifism are hardly issues that would excite active opposition from the general public. Since the group never developed any consistent missionary system, and since the entire Shaker population was celibate, it died a natural death, becoming "more a curiosity than a religious force" after the Civil War.³

John Humphrey Noyes' two communities, one at Oneida, New York, and one at Wallingford, Connecticut, reached a peak stable level membership of only 300. These groups practiced "complex marriage" under which members exchanged sexual partners frequently, and they prohibited particular emotional preferences, regarding them as selfish behavior. In addition to a communistic form of economic control, their practices included "ascending and descending fellow-

ship," which limited the sexual contacts of those of lower status, and a system of birth control which eventually developed into "scientific propagation" or "stirpticulture." Certain community members would be allowed to have children, subject to the approval of a committee. Their unique marriage practices had earlier incited their neighbors in their original community in Putney, New York, and Noyes was arrested and charged with adultery. He forfeited a \$2,000 bond to avoid prosecution, and left town. In 1848, the group gathered again at Oneida in central New York state, and it wasn't until the mid-1870s that the public again voiced serious and threatening objections to them. By then, Noyes had died, and the young people and Community members of lower status had become discontent under the system of ascending and descending fellowship. There were further bad feelings because of stirpticulture, which permitted children only to those the committee judged fit. Finally, in 1879, the Community leaders terminated their distinctive sexual arrangements, even though their successful economic ventures continued to support those in the Community who chose to stay.⁴

The fact that the Mormons isolated themselves in the comparative wastelands of the western valleys of the Rocky Mountains did not diminish the outrage of a nation of people who looked upon any marriage practice other than monogamy as a crime. The national feeling was later

expressed by the Utah Commission in their report to Congress in 1887:

In a larger view polygamy is adjudged by the most enlightened nations to be a manifold evil. It is the parent of caprice, cruelty, and license. It enervates the male and degrades the female. Socially, politically, and physically it is corrupting and deteriorating. Despotic in the family, it is the prototype of despotism in the government. It largely accounts for the differing characteristic of the Asiatic and European; for the indolence and feebleness of the one, and the energy and enterprise of the other. Inferiority is its badge. In the armed contests of rival civilizations, alike in ancient Greece and modern India, it succumbed to the superiority of monogamy. It is at variance with the divine economy in that originally God created but one man and one woman, Adam and Eve, each as the only partner in wedlock of the other. Logically, and as a consequence, it is irreconcilable to the idea of the marriage covenant as practiced and revered by the masterful Teuton, Celt, and Anglo-Saxon. That covenant runs in these comprehensive and searching words: Wilt thou have this woman to be thy wedded wife, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy state of matrimony? Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honor her, and keep her in sickness and in health; and forsaking all others, keep thee unto her so long as ye both shall live?⁵

The issue of polygamy became one of national political importance as the anti-slavery politicians successfully argued that slavery and polygamy were related evils--the relationship of master and slave was of the same general nature as that of husband and wife--and that Congress had the power to intervene in the prohibition of both in the territories. The issue was made a part of the Republican party platform of 1856 which called slavery and polygamy "the twin relics of barbarism."⁶

Beginning in 1852, when public announcement was

made of the principle, practicing polygamists within the church enjoyed only ten years of what they considered their religious freedom before Congress passed the Morrill Act in 1862. This legislation made bigamy a punishable offense in the territories of the United States. The saints conscientiously ignored the law, convinced that it would be declared unconstitutional if a test case were ever brought to trial. No effective prosecution occurred until 1879 when the "test case" put George Reynolds behind bars, and the United States Supreme Court declared the law constitutional.

After the question of constitutionality was settled, three additional Acts of Congress, helped make prosecution effective. The Poland Act (1874) transferred jurisdiction to the federal courts from the Mormon probate courts where a polygamist was not likely to be convicted. The Edmunds Act of 1882 added to the Morrill Act, which had declared bigamy (polygamy) a felony, by making unlawful cohabitation a misdemeanor; by disfranchising polygamists and declaring them ineligible for public office; by disqualifying for jury duty anyone who practiced or believed in polygamy; and by dismissing all registration and election officers in the Territory and replacing them with a board of five commissioners, which came to be known as the Utah Commission, appointed by the President to administer elections temporarily.⁷

Even though prosecution proceeded very well under broad interpretations of the Edmunds Law, the Mormons were willing to suffer imprisonment for what they believed was the right to practice their religion. In September of 1886, the Utah Commission sent the following advice to Congress:

As the Government has to deal here with a people who are wonderfully superstitious and fanatically devoted to their system of religion, the public should not expect, as the immediate result of the present laws of Congress, nor indeed of any legislation, however radical, the sudden overthrow of polygamy; and the most that can be predicated of such legislation is, that it will, if no step backward be taken, soon ameliorate the harder conditions of Mormonism, and hasten the day for its final extinction.⁸

In response, Congress passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887. The law facilitated prosecutions by requiring that all witnesses be in attendance at court, and by permitting a lawful wife to testify against her husband. The law also permitted adultery charges to be brought by someone other than a spouse, and required that all marriages in the Territory be publicly recorded. Because county probate judges had a share in impaneling juries, those judges were to be appointed by the President. Even though thousands of Mormons had already been deprived of their voting privileges under the Act of 1882, the Act of 1887 also abolished women's suffrage in Utah and instituted a test oath for prospective voters, jurors, and office holders. Under the test oath, a man swore he would obey the 1882 Edmunds law,

and that he would not, directly or indirectly, aid or abet, counsel, or advise, any other person to commit any of said crimes.

The Act of 1887 further provided that boundaries for voting districts be changed, and the Utah Commission be given the responsibility to conduct elections and administer the test oath. To destroy the power of the Church itself, the Church was declared disincorporated, and any of its property valued over \$50,000 was to be escheated to the United States to benefit the Territory's public schools, which also were put in charge of a court-appointed commissioner. The Perpetual Emigrating Fund was dissolved to discourage immigration of Mormons, and the Territorial militia, the Nauvoo Legion, was abolished. This bill became law on March 3, 1887, without the endorsement of President Grover Cleveland.

The reports of the Utah Commission gave voice to many concerns opponents had felt for years, and they were basic to the legal action subsequently brought against the Mormon Church. In their 1887 Report, they stated that the rate of population growth and the disproportionate number of non-Mormons was a major concern. The first census of the territory of Utah in 1850 showed the population to be 11,380; the census of 1880 stood at 143,963. Calculating the rate of growth, and assuming it didn't change, the Commission estimated the population in 1887 at 200,000.

They reported the Mormon population on April 1, 1887 at 132,297, leaving non-Mormons the balance of 67,623. They pointed out, however, that of that number, there were many whose sympathies remained with the Church. "They have been raised in Mormonism and, although they have drifted away, they probably act with their former friends in political matters. The non-Mormon strength will probably not exceed 50,000."⁹

They had little hope that the imbalance would change, because consistent missionary efforts of the Church continued to bring members to Utah, and because they felt that the Church exercised control over the possession of the land itself. They reported that "wherever Mormonism goes it means dominion so far as numbers are concerned."¹⁰

The "dominion"--or political control--was an even more powerful factor in the movement toward judicial prosecution of the Mormons. It was the election booth that the Commission had been created to control. The Edmunds law of 1882 provided that polygamists and those living in unlawful cohabitation could not vote nor hold office. It was therefore the duty of the Commission's carefully appointed registration officers in each voting precinct to ascertain the eligibility of each voter. In so doing, they then had the obligation to report to the Commission the names of those they suspected were ineligible in order that they

could be brought to justice, tried, and punished for their crime.

There was a nagging apprehension nationally that the political power of the Mormon Church, which was already a fact in Utah, could be extended throughout the West. This is also shown in the reports of the Utah Commission when they reported that "the exercise of political control is the dream of empire which through their history has cheered them with its pleasing illusions of future power." They also reported that the "heads of the church teach and impress upon the people to be united and submissive in their political action to the will of the leaders of the Church." They then quote from President Taylor's admonition to the saints at a general conference:

We have to lay aside our covetousness and our pride and our ideas that are wrong, and be united in our political affairs, under the direction of the holy priesthood, and act as a mighty phalanx under God in carrying out his purposes here upon this earth.¹¹

The Utah Commission made every effort to carry out the responsibility they felt to break the political power of the Mormons, who voted as the People's Party against the Liberal Party of the non-Mormons. They were successful in depriving thousands of their right to vote.

Before the law of 1882, the courts had had a difficult time getting convictions on the charge of "polygamy." The only successful prosecution had been the case against George Reynolds in 1879 when the Church understood that his

would be a test case to prove the constitutionality of the law. The necessary evidence for conviction was supplied in order for the appeal to go to the U. S. Supreme Court. When the Supreme Court upheld the law, the Third District Court in Utah denied that it was to be a test case, and George Reynolds was sentenced to two years in prison. Even after that, however, the court had no success in gaining convictions, so the U. S. Congress provided more tools for their use. The Edmunds Act of 1882 restated the definition and penalty for polygamy -- any person having a husband or wife living, who thereafter married another, or a man who simultaneously, or on the same day, married more than one woman, was guilty of polygamy, and should be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars and by imprisonment for a term of not more than five years. Another provision of that Act declared that any male who cohabited with more than one woman would be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction should be punished by a fine of not more than three hundred dollars, or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court. Furthermore, it specifically allowed counts for polygamy and unlawful cohabitation to be joined in the same indictment.

The courts still were not immediately successful in gaining convictions on plural marriage charges. In fact, it was two and a half years after the passage of the Ed-

munds Act, when Judge Charles S. Zane took the bench in 1884, that the first conviction and resulting imprisonment of a Mormon polygamist took place under that law with the successful prosecution of Rudger Clawson, the courts using the charges of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation in the same indictment. Clawson changed a not guilty plea to guilty in response to pressure felt because his plural wife had been imprisoned on contempt charges for refusing to answer questions that would supply the necessary evidence of their marriage. He entered the prison early in November of 1884 to begin a forty-two month sentence for polygamy, to be followed by a six-month sentence for unlawful cohabitation. The same week, Joseph Evans joined him, also facing a forty-two month sentence for polygamy. Evidence against him had been furnished by "willing witnesses" -- his long estranged plural wife and her mother.¹² The courts were unable to obtain another Mormon conviction on the charge of polygamy for almost another year when William D. Newsome entered the penitentiary with a forty-two month sentence.¹³

Finding the charge of polygamy almost impossible to prosecute because the marriages were not publicly recorded and plural wives were now hidden, the court turned to the charge of "unlawful cohabitation." It was thought that unlawful cohabitation would be easier to prove. Over a period of years, and through the process of trial, convic-

tion, and appeal, judicial theory on unlawful cohabitation was gradually defined.¹⁴ It was not necessary to prove sexual intercourse between the man and woman involved. As expressed by the Utah Commission, "Heretofore the law made the marriage the crime. Now, the living together, the holding out of two or more women to the world as wives, was made a misdemeanor."¹⁵

In 1887, even though the courts were bringing convictions for unlawful cohabitation almost routinely, Congress passed the Edmunds Tucker Act which gave them yet another tool. It annulled the law of the Utah Territory which provided that prosecutions for adultery could only be commenced on the complaint of the spouse, declaring that adultery could thereafter be instituted in the same way as prosecutions for other crimes. Adultery was made punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding three years. An indictment for adultery could be procured through the testimony of witnesses who did not have to prove sexual intercourse. Adultery could be assumed in the same way that cohabitation could be -- that a man held out to the community that he had more than one wife. On May 20, 1887, the anti-Mormon Salt Lake Tribune reported the first case of adultery under the new law. However, the first prison admission for an adultery conviction of a Mormon for plural marriage didn't occur until November of that year.¹⁶

The number of convictions for fornication and incest which the Utah Commission reported from year to year were misleading. Fornication by definition was sexual intercourse by an unmarried person. The Mormon polygamist men were not accused of nor convicted for fornication, but the charge was used against their plural wives, the court refusing to recognize a plural wife as a married woman. When a plural wife was arrested for fornication, it brought a quick plea of guilty from her husband who would already have been arrested on a charge of adultery. His guilty plea always resulted in the release of the woman. Information on the prison admission record and/or the newspapers proved that none of the men or women convicted and sent to prison on the charge of fornication were found guilty because of involvement in LDS plural marriage. Only one conviction for incest out of eleven reported by the Utah Commission was the result of prosecution of Mormon polygamy. A seventy-year-old man had taken his thirty-five-year-old niece as a plural wife. He was given the minimum sentence of three years.¹⁷

Congress also appropriated money to help with expenses of prosecution, which was used for what became known as the "spotters' fund." Informers reportedly were paid an average of twenty dollars for each polygamist whose arrest they brought about. "Hunting cohabits" became a favorite pastime and a source of income for a great many in-

formers..¹⁸ A short item appearing in the Deseret News in February, 1885, when Clawson and Evans were the only ones in prison for LDS plural marriage, shows that at least the newspaper editors still had a sense of humor about the situation:

One of the despicable class who have of late been making it a business to go about prying into other people's domestic affairs, and seeking evidence to convict persons who have conscientiously patterned after the patriarchal examples in their family relations, lately found his way into one of the settlements of Sanpete, and on entering the town concluded to adopt the tactics that others of his class have pursued to obtain the desired information, and commenced by quizzing children. Seeing a small boy on the street, he approached him with a patronizing air, and asked confidentially if he could tell him of any man who had married more wives than one. "Oh, yes!" the urchin replied, and as his questioner brightened up at the prospect of getting a rich bit of information, the youngster proceeded to tell him about Father Abraham, and was going to follow with David and Solomon, and a number of others of whom he had read in the Bible, but his listener bolted without waiting for him to get through.¹⁹

The situation became grim however, as hundreds were forced into hiding under pressure of the crusade. Hundreds more were arrested and convicted under the liberal interpretation of the law. Several women were imprisoned, some for contempt for their refusal to answer questions they deemed improper, and some for fornication. Many men spent time in prison who were never convicted, but who were arrested and taken into custody to await trial, unable to post exorbitant bonds. Some stayed only a day or two while family or friends arranged the bond. Others spent weeks in the penitentiary awaiting the next session of the court.²⁰

The crusade was successful: the Mormons surrendered. The "Manifesto" in the fall of 1890 did not end the judicial prosecution, although many lighter sentences were given than had been given between 1885 and 1889. On January 4, 1893, President Harrison issued a proclamation of amnesty to polygamists for past offenses, but recommended vigorous prosecution against future infractions of the Edmunds law. The prison admission record shows that the marshals and the courts were still alert to such infractions, for after the amnesty proclamation, more than thirty-five admissions were recorded at the penitentiary of men convicted on charges relating to LDS plural marriage.

The courts finally had gained a wide range of charges and penalties to provide for the punishment of the Mormon men who took upon themselves more than one family. The penalties they selected depended upon the charge for which they were able to get evidence to gain a conviction. For polygamy, they could give up to five years and/or up to five hundred dollars; for unlawful cohabitation, up to six months and/or up to three hundred dollars; and finally, for adultery, up to three years without provision for a fine. Whatever influenced their decision to be lenient or severe in each individual case, any prison sentence was an unhappy interim in the life of an otherwise law-abiding man, and a hardship on him and his families.

NOTES

¹Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1984), pp.178-180. Also see D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904," Dialogue 18 (Spring 1985):9. Sections I - VIII trace the development of the practice of polygamy in the Church.

²U.S. Department of the Interior, Report of the Utah Commission 1887, p.1349; Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy" Utah Historical Quarterly 35 (Fall 1967):309; Lowell "Ben" Bennion, "The Incidence of Mormon Polygamy in 1880: "Dixie versus Davis Stake," Journal of Mormon History 11 (1984):27; Dean L. May, "People on the Mormon Frontier: Kanab's Families of 1874," Journal of Family History 1 (December 1976):169-192.

³Lawrence Foster, Religion and Sexuality (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1984), pp. 22, 23, 243, 244.

⁴See Foster, Chapter 3.

⁵U.S. Utah Commission 1887, p. 1351.

⁶See Linford, 192-195; U.S. Congress, House, Mr. Packard speaking on the Policy of the Republican Party, 41st Cong., 2d Sess., February 5, 1870. Congressional Record (Globe), Part 2:1056.

⁷For a detailed study of the Utah Commission, its powers and activities, see Stewart L. Grow, "A Study of the Utah Commission" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1954).

⁸Utah Commission 1886, p. 5.

⁹Utah Commission 1887, p. 1322.

¹⁰Utah Commission 1888, p. 16.

¹¹Utah Commission 1887, p. 1321.

¹²Utah Prison Admission Records, 1879-1896; Deseret News, Nov. 6, 1884.

¹³Utah Prison Admission Records.

¹⁴See Linford, Chapter VI for a discussion of the details of such appeals and the resulting decisions.

¹⁵Utah Commission, 1887, p. 1328.

¹⁶Utah Prison Admission Records.

¹⁷Utah Commission, 1895, p. 637; Deseret News, May 15, 1890.

¹⁸Linford, p. 323.

¹⁹Deseret Evening News, February 25, 1885.

²⁰Utah Prison Admission Records.

CHAPTER II
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PRISONERS
FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

Men in age from their twenties to those in their seventies were included on the roster of those admitted to prison to serve sentences for LDS plural marriage. The sentences ranged in prison time from a few days to a few years. Were the judges influenced by the age of the convicted one when they pronounced sentence?

Newspaper articles from the period give some indication of how some judges felt at given times. In March of 1885, a short article from Beaver noted:

Father Morrell of Circle Valley, a patriarchal old gentleman who is alleged to have more than one family, appeared to plead to an indictment for unlawful cohabitation. The bonds had been placed at fifteen hundred dollars, but when the venerable old man, whose age is seventy-two years, went before the Judge, the amount was reduced to five hundred dollars.¹

Apparently Morrell escaped conviction, since his name does not appear on the prison admission records; nevertheless, Judge Boreman, who was on the bench in Beaver at the time, later sentenced seventy-six-year-old Walter Granger to the full penalty for unlawful cohabitation.²

An item in the Deseret Evening News in May, 1888,

reported that a charge of unlawful cohabitation had been dismissed against W. Pool, upon its being shown that the defendant, who was over seventy years of age, could not possibly survive imprisonment in the penitentiary.³ This was two months after sixty-four-year-old John Johnson had died, five days after being admitted to serve a six-month term.⁴ The men had come to trial in two different courts.

On the day that he suspended sentence on Jens Jensen and Samuel Briggs, Judge Judd was reported to have said: "I want to tell these people who have been sentenced today, that for these old men I have much sympathy, but if you come back here you'll get all there's in it. For the young men I have no sympathy at all."⁵ Forty-six-year-old Joseph S. Horne was sentenced on March 5, 1889, by Judge Judd to eighteen months for alleged adultery, and noted in his diary for that day: "A few elderly and feeble men were not sentenced to any imprisonment, but fines and cost were levied upon them, some of the fines were light."⁶

Judd's successor, John W. Blackburn, apparently did not have the same sympathy for the old men. In October, 1890, he sentenced James H. Jenkins, age sixty-seven, to two years for adultery.⁷ Four months later in February, 1891, President Harrison commuted his sentence to four months upon being petitioned because Jenkins was "in a dying condition." The Deseret News declared that Father

Jenkins was feeble and sick when sentenced, and editorialized that "much of the suffering and anxiety of this cruel crusade might have been avoided if a little mercy had been mingled with that sort of justice which has been dealt out in the courts."⁸

The prison records show 940 admissions to serve sentences for LDS plural marriage. Age distribution of the total number of convictions is shown in Table 1. The median age was fifty-one. Men in the age group twenty to twenty-nine comprised only 2 percent of the total; those in the group seventy to seventy-nine, 3 percent. Age groups between forty and fifty-nine made up sixty-five percent of the total, and men in their sixties a larger percentage than those in their thirties.

Table 1

AGE DISTRIBUTION ON TOTAL PRISON SENTENCES		
Age Range	Total Convictions	Percentage
20 - 29	19	2%
30 - 39	119	13%
40 - 49	277	30%
50 - 59	333	35%
60 - 69	165	17%
70 - 79	27	3%
TOTALS	940	100%

Source: Prison Admission Records

The small number of men in their twenties receiving prison sentences may be partly accounted for by the fact that fewer men that young had yet taken a plural wife. According to the composite profile described by Stanley Ivins, the polygamist first married at the age of twenty-three, taking his second wife thirteen years later, which would put him well into his mid-thirties before he was subject to prosecution. The fact that even that many were convicted may be accounted for by a phenomenon also noted by Ivins, that the rate of polygamous marrying accelerated in response to governmental action against polygamy in 1862 and 1882. The Mormons responded to the Edmunds Act of 1882 with their last major revival of polygamous activity, which reached its height in 1884 and 1885.⁹ James H. Langford's plural marriage in 1883 at age twenty-one, for example, was no doubt part of that revival, when at the urging of their widowed father, he took sisters simultaneously upon his first marriage experience.¹⁰ At age twenty-seven, he was convicted of unlawful cohabitation and was sentenced to the maximum penalty.¹¹

Men in their seventies made up only 3 percent of the total number of prisoners. The small number of prisoners in this category can be accounted for by the fact that many polygamists and wives died before reaching their seventies, and by the evidence that at least some of the judges were inclined to be more lenient with the aged.

In order to determine whether the age of the convicted one influenced the judge in his decision, it is necessary to examine each of the three charges separately. Penalties for conviction on charges of unlawful cohabitation and polygamy included possible fines of up to \$300 and \$500 respectively, and most of the men in these categories were given fines. The fines were disregarded in this analysis of prison sentences. In Table 2 - Age Distribution Unlawful Cohabitation, the sentences are divided into three categories. The first shows prison sentences for terms of less than six months, comprising 318, or 41 percent of the total 780 unlawful cohabitation sentences. The second category shows the lawful maximum sentence of six months, making up 54 percent of the total; the third, terms of more than the lawful maximum of six months, affecting twenty-six men, or 3 percent. The latter category includes the men who were indicted under the "segregation" policy which was later declared illegal. This interpretation permitted dividing the period of a supposed offense into segments with separate indictments for each one.

Table 2 also shows a category of men who served thirty days in prison even though they had not been given a prison sentence, but only fines and court costs as punishment. Lacking the money to pay such fees, they were required to serve time in prison.¹² There were twelve such

prisoners, or 1.5 percent of the total for unlawful cohabitation.

Table 2

AGE DISTRIBUTION UNLAWFUL COHABITATION

Age Group	No. in Group	Time for fine		Less than six mos.		Maximum six mos.		More than six mos.	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
20-29	10	0	0	1	10%	9	90%	0	0
30-39	93	3	3%	29	31%	58	62%	3	3%
40-49	228	4	2%	98	43%	116	51%	10	4%
50-59	283	2	0.7%	112	40%	163	58%	6	2%
60-69	144	1	0.6%	69	48%	68	47%	6	4%
70-79	22	2	9%	9	41%	10	45%	1	5%
Totals	780	12	1.5%	318	41%	424	54%	26	3%

Source: Prison Admission Records

Two laws affected the amount of time served on any sentence. One, referred to in Prison Admission Records as the Copper Act, provided for deductions from the terms of sentence of United States prisoners, rewarding good behavior with shortened prison time.¹³ For the prisoners for plural marriage, it meant that if they paid the fine and court costs, and were otherwise on good behavior, they could be released after serving five months of a six-month term. Most fines and/or court costs were levied with the provision that the man be held in prison until he paid.¹⁴

Another law provided that poor convicts who were sentenced to pay fine and costs, and imprisoned for thirty days for non-payment, could be discharged upon written application and approval of the court.¹⁵ Thus a man sentenced to six months and a fine (prisoner to be held until paid), with good behavior, could be discharged after six months even though he couldn't pay. John Groves, sentenced in 1889 to seventy-five days and \$75.00, served the required extra thirty days for fine and costs, then paid "all he had" for his release -- \$34.89.¹⁶

It wasn't until February of 1890 that Judge Zane ruled that prisoners under the Edmunds Act could not be held over their term of sentence for costs alone. Joseph S. Horne was in prison at the time, and recorded that good news in his journal:

On the 22nd, word was sent to Warden Amos to turn out all who were now held for cost alone, and hereafter hold no one on account of costs. This was good news to many of us; while Bro. Jens Jorgensen was the only one to be released immediately, there are several who will be free thirty days earlier than they had anticipated, according to the former custom.¹⁷

The median age for unlawful cohabitation sentences falls within the age group of fifty to fifty-nine. Table 2 shows that a higher percentage of the men in their twenties and thirties received the maximum sentence than in any of the other age brackets. This would tend to confirm speculation that judges were influenced to give heavier sentences for unlawful cohabitation to younger men in order to

discourage others from entering into plural marriage at all. Only twenty-two men in their seventies served prison terms for unlawful cohabitation. Two of those served because they were unable to pay the fine and costs assessed to them, and one was a victim of segregated sentencing.¹⁸ Of the remaining nineteen, ten were given maximum prison terms, or 45 percent of the men in their seventies, the smallest percentage of any of the age groups for this category. The next smallest percentage for the maximum prison term category shows that the men in their sixties, with 47 percent appear to be "favored" by the judges, while 51 percent of the prisoners in their forties, and 58 percent of those in their fifties were given the maximum sentence. Of the seven men in the advanced age groups who were convicted on segregated indictments, only Lorenzo Snow, age seventy-one, and William G. Saunders, age sixty-eight, served more than the maximum lawful sentence, each serving eleven months.¹⁹ Eight other men in other age groups, however, served longer than six months under segregated sentences.

Table 3, Age Distribution - Adultery Sentences, is based on 146 men who served prison sentences for adultery. A margin of error of about 5 percent should be allowed, since a surprising number of men served prison sentences for adultery after being convicted on charges brought by the wife, and not related to LDS polygamy. Of the hundreds

of adultery cases on the Prison Admission Record, some could be proved to be polygamists, some proved not to be; but a few who could not be proved either way were left on the list. The terms of sentence were divided arbitrarily into four time categories, shown in Table 3. Of the total, 44 percent, or sixty-three men, served sentences of six months or less, a prison term which compared with the terms for cohabitation. Another fifty men, 35 percent, were sentenced to terms from seven to seventeen months.

Table 3

AGE DISTRIBUTION - ADULTERY SENTENCES

Age Group	No. in Group	Six Mos. or Less		7 to 17 Mos.		18 to 23 Mos.		24 to 36 Mos.	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-29	7	3	43%	2	29%	1	14%	1	14%
30-39	24	13	54%	7	29%	2	8%	2	8%
40-49	45	14	31%	18	40%	9	20%	4	9%
50-59	47	24	51%	14	30%	7	15%	2	4%
60-69	20	7	35%	9	45%	1	5%	3	15%
70-79	3	2	67%	1	33%	0		0	
Totals	146	63	44%	51	35%	20	14%	12	8%

Source: Prison Admission Records

Only three men in the age group seventy to seventy-nine served sentences on adultery charges, two of those sentences falling in the shortest time category, and resulting

in a high 67 percent of that age group serving six months or less. The sixty to sixty-nine age group shows the highest percentage (15 percent) in the maximum sentence time period, twenty-four to thirty-six months. In contrast to the expectation that the young men might receive the longest sentences, the table shows that the men in their twenties and thirties received short sentences more often than any other group except for the three men in their seventies. Lacking good correlation of the age groups to any sentencing pattern, the figures apparently deny that age was an influence in the severity of the sentence for the charge of adultery.

Anyone convicted on the charge of polygamy could expect to receive the longest sentences of all, since the maximum prison term was five years. Furthermore, the law had provided that counts for polygamy and unlawful cohabitation could be joined in the same indictment, each charge carrying its separate penalty. A case in point was that of William Felstead, seventy-two years old, sentenced on the same day to thirty-six months for polygamy and six months for cohabitation, the terms to be served consecutively.²⁰ Since men and their plural wives understandably went into hiding, few were convicted on the charge of polygamy--only thirteen of the 940 went to prison on that charge. Orma Linford's table, compiled from the reports of the Utah Commission shows thirty-five convictions on the charge of

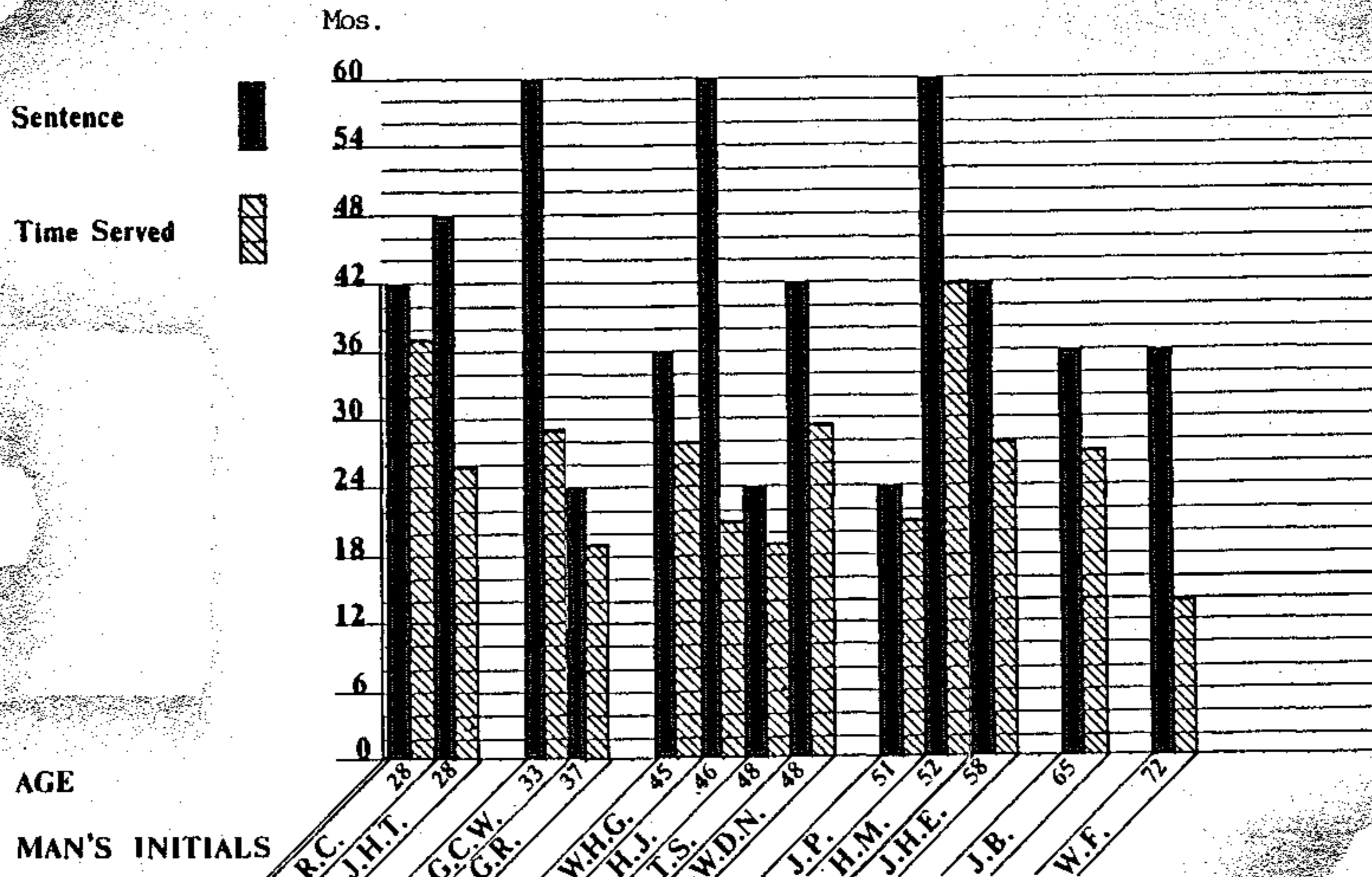
polygamy (or bigamy).²¹ The general assumption has been that all of these were a result of Mormon plural marriage, but in reality, at least fourteen of those served prison terms as a result of charges brought by a wife, or by an otherwise interested party, and the cases had nothing to do with LDS plural marriage.²² If there were indeed thirty-five convictions for polygamy and bigamy, the remaining eight were not admitted to prison as a penalty.

Table 4, Age Distribution: Individual Sentences and Time Served on Charge of "Polygamy," shows the sentences by age group, as well as by individual. A five-year sentence appears in each of three age groups of men in their thirties, forties, and fifties, as do sentences of twenty-four months. The one man in his sixties and the one in his seventies each show a thirty-six month sentence, and the two men in their twenties drew forty-two and forty-eight month sentences respectively.

Six of the thirteen men who were convicted on polygamy charges were also indicted on a charge of cohabitation, and another was sentenced for adultery on a joint indictment. The latter, Hans Jespersen, received what was probably the heaviest sentence of all, five years for polygamy and three years for adultery. However, it was specified that both sentences were to commence at one time, and both were subsequently commuted to twenty-one months by President Harrison.²³

Table 4

AGE DISTRIBUTION
SENTENCES AND TIME SERVED ON CHARGE OF "POLYGAMY"



Source: Utah Prison Admission Records

The mitigating factor for six of the men in prison on the charge of polygamy was the pardoning power of the President. Table 4 shows the actual time served by each of the thirteen men. Harvey Murdock, age fifty-two, served a longer time in prison than any of the prisoners for plural marriage, serving forty-two months of a sixty-month sentence, from January 3, 1887 to June 2, 1890. That time represented the expiration of his term, shortened by the provisions of the Copper Act which gave time off for good behavior.²⁴

The figures for the charge of polygamy do not indicate that the judges were influenced by youth or old age to be lenient or severe. There was evidence that they were influenced in some cases by whether or not the man sentenced was a Mormon. The two young Mormon men in their twenties received sentences of forty-two months and forty-eight months, but three non-Mormon men in their twenties, who had been charged by the first wife of marrying a second wife without benefit of divorce, received shorter sentences than any Mormon convicted on that charge. One was sentenced to one month, and the other two were sentenced to six months.²⁵

The evidence of one age group being treated more leniently or more severely than another is not at all clear from the figures of the sentences for adultery and polygamy. However, when the figures for unlawful cohabitation,

which constituted the majority of the sentences, 780 of 940, are considered, a pattern emerges which would seem to indicate that the young ones were consistently given maximum sentences, while the oldest were not. Figures that are lacking are those for men who were not given prison sentences or whose sentences were suspended because of advanced age. Nevertheless, when evidence from prison records is combined with that from diaries and newspapers, it seems safe to conclude that many aged men escaped imprisonment, in spite of the fact that others were dealt harsh prison sentences.

NOTES

- ¹Deseret Evening News, March 11, 1885.
- ²Utah Prison Admission Records.
- ³Deseret Evening News, May 18, 1888.
- ⁴Utah Prison Admission Records.
- ⁵Deseret Evening News, February 12, 1891.
- ⁶Joseph S. Horne, Diary, March 5, 1889, LDS Church Archives.
- ⁷Utah Prison Admission Records.
- ⁸Deseret Evening News, February 12, 1891.
- ⁹Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," Utah Historical Quarterly 35 (Fall 1967):312, 316.
- ¹⁰Ida-Rose Langford Hall, The Progenitors and Descendants of Fielding Langford (Provo, Utah: By the Author, 1711 N. Lambert Lane, 1970), p. 141.
- ¹¹Utah Prison Admission Records.
- ¹²Utah Prison Admission Records.
- ¹³Utah, Laws. March 11, 1886, "Act to Lessen the Terms of Sentence of Convicts for Good Behavior." This new law was published in the Deseret News, March 12, 1886. No reference there was made to the name "Copper Act," but James Moyle recorded in his diary on March 11, 1886: "Great rejoicing with the prisoners tonight over the passage of the Copper Act which reduces the time of those sentenced to long terms to almost one half." Prison records, for years, used the term "Copper Act" as authority for early release of a prisoner. See Appendix B for the conditions of the law.
- ¹⁴Utah Prison Admission Records.

¹⁵An Act to Further the Administration of Justice, June 1, 1872, Ch. 255, Sec. 14, 17 Stat. 196. See Appendix A.

¹⁶Utah Prison Admission Records.

¹⁷Joseph S. Horne, Diary, February 25, 1890.

¹⁸Utah Prison Admission Records.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Linford, p. 307.

²²As I compared the list of prisoners I extracted with the lists of Andrew Jenson, Albert Jones, and John Penman, I found many discrepancies. To resolve the differences, I double-checked my work from the prison records, checked the newspaper accounts, the court records, Andrew Jenson's Church Chronology, family group sheets, all in the archives of the Genealogical Library of the LDS church, and with permission, certain names in the Temple Index Bureau. Through this process I eliminated from the list cases of polygamy (bigamy), adultery, incest, and fornication which were not related to LDS plural marriage.

²³Utah Prison Admission Records.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Prison Admission Records and newspaper accounts: Deseret News, June 20, 1889, case of Ed Blake who was sentenced to thirty days for bigamy; Ogden Standard Examiner, January 3, 1891, Dell Wright, six months for polygamy; Deseret News, February 13, 1891, Alfred G. Jackson, six months for polygamy.

CHAPTER III

THE JUDGES AND THE PLURAL MARRIAGE SENTENCES

Any law passed by a legislative body is ineffectual unless it has the support of the courts in pronouncing judgment upon parties convicted of breaking the law. Because national feeling ran high against the practice of polygamy among the Mormons, the presidents appointed judges to the Utah courts who would give sentences severe enough within the confines of the law to convince the Church that the practice of plural marriage must be abandoned.

After the Edmunds Act was passed by Congress in 1882, no efforts at prosecution of the polygamists under that law were successful until Judge Charles S. Zane took the bench at the opening of the 1884 fall term of the Third District Court in Salt Lake City. As Chief Justice of the U. S. courts in Utah Territory, he was influential over Orlando W. Powers and Henry S. Boreman, his associate justices, when his policies began to bring successful convictions of those accused of plural marriage. By this time political pressure against the Church had already been brought to bear under the authority of the Utah Commission

whose members had arrived in Utah two years earlier and who had successfully deprived thousands of Mormons of their voting privilege. Elwin A. Ireland, the U. S. Marshal, after two years of frustrating experiences in bringing in to trial polygamists who were never convicted, was willing and ready to use his corps of deputies to get on with successful prosecution.

The work and character of Charles S. Zane and his impact on Utah between 1884 and 1892 has been treated by Thomas G. Alexander. Zane was fifty-three years old when he arrived in Utah, bringing a background of law practice in Illinois, a state whose government evoked only bad memories among the old Mormons in Utah. Although born in New Jersey, he followed his brother to Illinois, and studied for three years at McKendree College in Lebanon, and for two years in the law office of James C. Conkling, finally being admitted to the bar in 1857 at the age of twenty-six. Two years later, he married Margaret Maxcy, the niece of William H. Herndon, law partner of Abraham Lincoln. Zane was a supporter of Lincoln, and became Herndon's law partner after Lincoln was elected president. When Herndon retired, Zane formed a law partnership with Shelby M. Cullom who later was influential in securing for Zane the commission from President Arthur as Chief Justice of the Utah Supreme Court. Before coming to Utah, he had held electoral offices, including city and county attorney,

and elected judge of the Fifth Circuit Court in Illinois.¹

Judge Zane was immediately successful in his prosecution of two polygamy cases, those of Rudger Clawson and Joseph H. Evans. Although evidence of polygamous marriages was furnished in each case, both Clawson and Evans submitted an appeal on the grounds that the jury selection had not been in accordance with the law. Clawson's appeal went to the U. S. Supreme Court which ruled that the Edmunds Act excluded from duty on either grand or petit jury any person who was a polygamist or who believed the practice of plural marriage to be right, and that anyone offered for jury duty could be challenged on those points. It was therefore deemed permissible to select a jury of men who were not members of the Mormon Church if normal lists had been exhausted. The Mormons, defeated on that point, waited for what would happen next.

In February, 1885, at the beginning of the new term of the Third District Court, the Deseret News commented upon the instructions of Judge Zane to the grand jury:

However much we may have had occasion to differ from some of Judge Zane's judicial methods hitherto, we have no special strictures to offer in regard to his charge to the grand jury. Taken as a whole, it is dignified, and the tenor or the instructions unexceptionable. If the grand jury shall be governed by their purport in their deliberations, no reasonable person will find fault with them. If so, their operations will be characterized by an absence of malice or prejudice against individuals or classes, a spirit against which there has been good ground for complaint in recent preliminary prosecutions, which have been notoriously one-sided and bitter . . .The glaring prejudice

hitherto displayed as against "Mormons" has been extremely disgraceful, and it is to be hoped that the gentlemen comprising the grand jury will not allow themselves to be swayed from the path of an impartial performance of duty by any consideration whatever.²

This was only the beginning of their frustrations with the courts under the new laws.

In Utah during the decade of the 1880s, the geographical divisions of the U. S. court system were, to say the least, awkward. Until June, 1892, there were three district courts: Third District served Salt Lake County, Tooele, and the southern end of what is now Davis County; Second District Court sat in Beaver, and served all the area south, east, and west of Beaver; First District Court bore the heaviest load, its geographical area of jurisdiction split to include Utah Valley, Sanpete, and south toward Beaver, as well as everything north of the Third District Court, which included the Ogden and Cache Valley areas up to the borders of Idaho and Wyoming. The judge who was assigned to First District held court in Ogden, then traveled south to Provo and held court there for a few weeks, then back to Ogden. This continued until September term of 1888 when a fourth judge was appointed to accommodate the four geographical areas, but the Fourth District Court was not formed until mid-1892, with headquarters in Ogden. First District Court continued jurisdiction of the middle of the state with headquarters in Provo. Table 5

charts the three district courts and their judges for the years 1884 to 1890.

Prisoners admitted for plural marriage began to arrive at the penitentiary from the First District Court after Justice Orlando W. Powers took the bench during the summer of 1885. He was an unmarried man at the time, thirty-five years old, with over ten years of experience in law practice and political activity in the Democratic Party. Although he was born in Wayne County, New York, and received his early education there, he chose to study at the University of Michigan, and it was in Michigan that he began and progressed in his practice of law and his involvement in the business of the Democratic Party. In 1885, after having lost a bid for a seat in Congress, he was serving for the second time as elected city attorney for Kalamazoo when President Grover Cleveland appointed him associate justice of the court in Utah. He took the oath of office in May, 1885, and entered upon his duties, holding court alternately in Ogden and Provo as the situation demanded.³

Zane and Powers shared their duties as justices of the Supreme Court of Utah with Jacob S. Boreman, appointed associate justice in January, 1885, sitting in Beaver as judge of the Second District Court. Boreman had previously served as a judge in Utah during the time of Brigham Young's struggles with the courts, and had at that time

Table 5

U. S. JUDGES IN THE COURTS OF UTAH
1884 - 1890

	First District		Second District	Third District
	Ogden	Provo		
Sept 1884-Sept 1886 Sentences:	Orlando W. Powers (New Judge) 18 unlawful cohab.		Jacob S. Boreman (New Judge) 12 unlawful cohab	Salt Lake Charles S. Zane (New Judge) 91 unlawful cohab 5 polygamy
Sept 1886-Sept 1888 Sentences:	Henry P. Henderson (New Judge) 180 unlawful cohab. 5 polygamy 3 adultery		Jacob S. Boreman (Continuing) 33 unlawful cohab. 1 polygamy	Charles S. Zane (Continuing) 111 unlawful cohab. 1 polygamy 1 adultery
Sept 1888-Sept 1889 Sentences:	H. P. Henderson (Continuing) 69 un. cohab. 6 adultery	John W. Judd (New Judge) 124 un. cohab. 45 adultery 2 polygamy	Jacob S. Boreman (Continuing) 18 unlawful cohab. 2 adultery	Elliot F. Sandford (New Judge) 36 unlawful cohab. 2 adultery
Sept 1889-Sept 1890 Sentences:	H. P. Henderson (Continuing) 13 un. cohab. 7 adultery	John W. Blackburn (New Judge) 11 un. cohab. 5 adultery	Thomas L. Anderson (New Judge) 9 unlawful cohab. 3 adultery	Charles S. Zane (Re-assigned) 10 unlawful cohab. 4 adultery

been labeled anti-Mormon. The Mormons had not yet forgotten that it was Judge Boreman who almost a decade earlier had used their law against lascivious unlawful cohabitation to prosecute LDS plural marriage, the Deseret News claiming that he "found it convenient to ignore the U. S. Statute of 1862, for the punishment of polygamy, and tried and convicted a man in his court for that offense under a Territorial Statute, which had not the slightest applicability to the case."⁴ Since 1852, the Mormons had had Territorial laws against adultery and lascivious cohabitation, but provisions for those two offenses were left out of a superseding Act of the Utah Legislature in 1876 because the penalties attached to those crimes had been wrongly applied to persons living in plural marriage.⁵

Boreman's previous term of office as a judge in Utah had expired on October 1, 1880, his last memorable opinion issued on that day, an opinion dissenting from the majority which upheld the Woman Suffrage Act of Utah. Boreman held that the act enfranchising the women of Utah was invalid, and that the Court ought to compel the Registrar to erase the names of female voters. So it was with no great respect that the LDS people anticipated his return to the bench. Orson Whitney commented that "there had been times when Judge Boreman's Anti-Mormon bias was more pronounced than during the period of the crusade. His course was then quite conservative."⁶

Perhaps in retrospect, it may have seemed to historian Whitney that Boreman's course was quite conservative, but the Deseret News greeted his approach to the bench in Beaver with something less than enthusiastic anticipation. Judge Boreman had been working in Salt Lake City with Judge Zane for two weeks and was about to leave for Beaver to open the March term of the Second District Court. Declared the News:

He has doubtless by this time received many useful suggestions in relation to judicial procedure and the means by which certain ends can be accomplished; and while it would doubtless be idle to expect him to vary from the programme duly arranged and outlined before his appointment to the bench here, still let us cherish the hope that his honor may have gained something by reason of past experience, and decided to employ so much of the time as may remain to him in the interpretation of law as the law is, not as he and others would like to have it. If, however, he sees fit to continue the course set in motion here, by having indictments drawn on hearsay and prosecutions waged before open venire (a euphemism for packed) juries, his reign at Beaver is likely to be as inglorious as it is tolerably certain to be brief. We have no special ill-will for Judge Boreman, and only oppose him when in our judgment he opposes the plain intent, meaning and application of the law⁷

Ten days later, Boreman gave instructions to the grand jury which had been chosen to serve in issuing indictments for the Second District Court. His words angered the Mormons, and the Deseret News editorialized at length on his speech, while the Salt Lake Tribune commented only on the anger of the Mormons over the "truth." Among other things, Boreman said, as he called their special attention to the crime of polygamy, "The loathsome effects of this

crime, you see as well as I do, all around you. It pollutes the whole community. The very low tone of morals throughout this Territory is due mainly to the prevalence of this crime." He said that it drags men down to the level of the beast and that while the rest of the world was trying to elevate man, the rising generations in Utah were being taught that the loftiest aim is to live a low animal life. He went on to say that it bred incest, seduction, adultery, and a long train of other crimes, and that its companion, unlawful cohabitation follows its train. He ended his instructions that were specific to polygamy by telling them that unlawful cohabitation was different from bigamy and polygamy in that it did not require any marriage; and the fact that a man went into polygamy before the law of 1862 or of 1882 did not shield him from the consequences.⁸

The Deseret News commented that Boreman, in beginning his instructions to the jury, had said they should "not be governed by malice, hatred or ill-will" and, said the News, "thus counseled them to take a course the antipodes of his own. . . ." ⁹ There was nothing to do but await the outcome of the ensuing terms of court to determine whether the polygamists would be treated without malice or ill-will. Fifty witnesses were already under subpoena to appear before the grand jury in Beaver.

All this bitterness and apprehension in place, and

only two men, Clawson and Evans, were as yet in prison for plural marriage. Inevitably, others, shortly, would join them. Judge Zane's first conviction on unlawful cohabitation was not punished with a prison sentence, but with a fine of three hundred dollars and costs of twenty-one dollars. John Aird could not pay such an amount assessed him, so instead, was compelled to spend thirty days in prison. He entered the penitentiary in Sugar House on April 30, 1885, and was followed within the next few days by Parley P. Pratt on May 2; James C. Watson, A. M. Musser, and Angus Cannon on May 9, all with maximum sentences of six months and three hundred dollars. Judge Boreman's court in Beaver sent only one that spring -- William Fotheringham on May 23, with what proved for Boreman to be a merciful sentence of three months and three hundred dollars. Judge Powers, whose appointment was not effective until May, sent the first prisoners from First District Court in mid-summer: Job Pingree began a five-month term on July 16, and Moroni and Francis A. Brown six-month terms on July 22, all three with the maximum fine of three hundred dollars.

In September of 1885, the policy of "segregation" was initiated by Judge Zane in his instructions to the grand jury of the Third District Court. This was the theory that although the maximum penalty for unlawful cohabitation was six months in prison and a fine of three

hundred dollars, there was no reason why the period covered by the offense couldn't be divided into years, months, and weeks, and a separate indictment issued for each. Judge Powers in the First District instructed his grand jury that an indictment could be found against a man guilty of cohabitation for every day that he offended. In February of 1886, the first "segregated" sentence was pronounced by Judge Powers, and sixty-eight-year-old W. G. Saunders entered the prison on February 18, facing twelve months on two indictments of unlawful cohabitation. He was joined less than a week later by Amos Maycock from Judge Zane's court, who had eleven months to serve, and by H. H. Tracy on the 26th, again from Powers' court, with twelve months of prison ahead of him.

Lorenzo Snow was the next one convicted on a segregated bill, with an eighteen-month sentence and three maximum fines totaling nine hundred dollars. Snow appealed, and a Territorial Supreme Court composed of Judges Zane, Powers, and Boreman, upheld Powers' decision. An appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court was denied at first, but when Snow had served his six months, he applied for a writ of habeas corpus, alleging that he was being punished more than once for the same crime. The U. S. court reversed the decision of the Territorial court, and the segregated sentences were declared illegal. By that time, Lorenzo Snow had served eleven months and had paid the nine hundred dollar fine.

Powers had sentenced almost half his convictions, eight of eighteen, to segregated sentences, and Zane had sent sixteen to prison for more than the maximum six months by using the segregated bills of indictment. Boreman sent only one man to prison on a segregated count. Although Powers held the record for the highest percentage of his cases on multiple indictments, Zane gave the longest sentence. John Bergen was admitted to the penitentiary from Zane's court in April, 1886 with four maximum sentences: twenty-four months in prison, and \$1200.00 in fines, plus \$144.70 in court costs! By the time the Supreme Court ruled against that type of sentence, Bergen had served almost a year. He was released on March 24, 1887, and did not pay the fine or costs.

Young Orlando Powers did not last long in the Utah court. His appointment was never confirmed by Congress, and he left the bench at the end of the summer term of the court in 1886, his last two sentences segregated ones delivered upon Nicholas H. Groesbeck, nine months and over six hundred dollars in fines and costs; and William M. Bromley, ten months and over five hundred dollars in fines and costs. Powers went back to Michigan, where he became editor of the Daily Democrat at Grand Rapids. A year later in October, 1887, now married, he returned to Utah, where he became a leader in the Liberal Party.¹⁰ When the Liberal Party finally won an election, the Deseret News pub-

lished the following note:

Ex-judge Orlando W. Powers was banquetted by the Liberals in Salt Lake City and presented with \$10,000 as a reward for manipulating the Liberal municipal campaign.¹¹

Powers remained in Utah, failing in attempts as a candidate for U. S. Senator, eventually contenting himself to activity in the Democratic Party and to his practice of law, which became extensive. The Salt Lake Tribune credited him with being a forceful and brilliant orator, and having few equals, and probably no superiors, as an advocate.¹² His record during his year of unconfirmed appointment on the bench in the First District Court established for him an unfavorable reputation among the members of the Mormon majority, which probably accounted for his lack of success as a candidate for an office representing them in Washington, D. C. He had sentenced only eighteen men to prison for plural marriage, but his enthusiasm for the segregated sentence was not forgotten. He had handed out only four sentences that were less than the maximum the law allowed, and eight that were more than the law allowed. Adding insult to injury, he was the one who had presided over the prosecution of the highest church authority yet to be brought to the courts when Apostle Lorenzo Snow was put on trial in his courtroom.

Judge Boreman, south in Beaver, was less notorious only because he was in a more sparsely settled geographic

area. By the end of the summer term of 1886 when Powers left the First District Court bench, Boreman had sentenced only twelve men to prison for plural marriage. He had not as yet used the segregated sentence technique for compounding prison time and fines, but of his twelve cases, only the first two escaped with less than the maximum punishment.

Judge Zane had, by that time, sentenced sixty-one men for unlawful cohabitation, only five of whom entered the prison with less than the maximum six months. Fifty-three had been given the maximum time and fine, and only one of those was fined less than the maximum. Three men indicted on segregated counts had been sentenced to prison in Zane's Third District Court. Judge Zane was by then ahead of the other two courts, both in the number of men who had been sentenced to prison terms, and in the percentage of that number to whom he had given the maximum sentence or more -- 92 percent, compared to Boreman at 83 percent, and Powers at 78 percent.

During the year 1886, there were other changes besides that brought about by the departure of Judge Powers. Shortly after Democrat Grover Cleveland took office in 1885, Utah's congressional delegate, John T. Caine, presented him with a petition from a committee of Church leaders, describing the Mormon predicament. Caine assured Cleveland, "All we ask is that the law be impartially

administered." Cleveland promised, "You are entitled to that and so far as I am concerned, I shall see that it is done."¹³

The first steps the president took included the removal of Governor Murray and of Marshal Ireland. Caleb West was appointed governor, and Frank H. Dyer, U. S. Marshal. The new governor continued the fight against plural marriage, but his personal involvement in that fight lacked the bitterness characteristic of Governor Murray's administration. Cleveland also demonstrated humane as well as political considerations when he refused to sign the Edmunds Tucker Act, which had potentially devastating implications.¹⁴

Marshal Dyer wasted no time at his work in making arrests. From the time he took office in June, fifty indictments were returned by grand juries by August.¹⁵ Governor West went to the prison, offering amnesty to all those who would promise to obey the law, but left disappointed, as they all stood by their perceived religious obligation. Their refusal to sign the amnesty oath may have been not so much that they refused to obey the law, but that the oath required that they swear that they did not now believe in polygamy, and that in the future they would "oppose the Mormon Church in its efforts to oppose the laws and obstruct the due course of justice."¹⁶

To replace Orlando W. Powers, President Cleveland

nominated Henry P. Henderson to be Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Utah. Henderson was born in New York, but moved to Michigan with his parents when he was quite young. There he acquired his legal education by reading law in the offices of experienced lawyers. When he arrived in Utah, he was forty-three years old, recently married, and had held the office of county clerk of Ingham County, Michigan; had been clerk of the supreme court of Michigan for two years, and prosecuting attorney of Ingham County for two years; had served as a member of Michigan legislature in 1879; and had been elected mayor of Mason, county seat of Ingham County.¹⁷

For the next two years, the three courts in Utah had no changes among the judges. Boreman continued to sit in the Second District Court at Beaver, grinding out his maximum sentences. He made it a perfect record during this two-year period -- he sentenced thirty-three men to prison for unlawful cohabitation without giving one sentence less than the maximum six months and three hundred dollars. He did, however, outdo himself one time, pronouncing judgment on two indictments of a segregated bill for R. H. Sudweeks, sending him to prison with not one, but two maximum sentences. Judge Zane sentenced 111 men on charges of unlawful cohabitation during the period from September 1886 to June 1888, and only ten of them escaped with less than maximum sentences, thirteen burdened with "maximums plus"

under segregated sentences. The remaining eighty-eight faced maximum time sentences, although the fines varied.

Judge Henderson, having to accustom himself to the role of judge in the busiest of the three Utah courts, traveling between Ogden and Provo, sentenced 180 men to prison for unlawful cohabitation during the two-year period from September 1886 to August 1888. He fell in line with his associates in regard to the severity of sentencing, except in the matter of the segregated sentence, for which he did not share their zeal. Thirty of the 180 were for less than the maximum prison term, but those thirty represented only 17 percent of his total cohabitation sentences. Maximum time sentences with varied fines were given to 83 percent.

During the year 1888, significant changes took place, not the least important of which was the opening of a new structure at the prison. A representative of the Deseret News visited the prison late in May, and was shown through the buildings. It was expected that the prisoners would be transferred to their new quarters by the first of June. The representative gave such a glowing report, it may even have helped influence some of the tired law-evaders to turn themselves in. It probably sounded better than sleeping in the fields, or hiding in two feet of water in a duck blind, which some had been forced to do to evade arrest by the deputies. The News reported:

. . . in the new cell department, the floors, walls, doors, ceilings, etc., are all of iron. There are three stories of cells, covering about 30 x 120 feet of ground. Each cell is 5 x 7 feet and seven feet high. It is provided with two cots, and will accommodate two prisoners. There is also a pipe running clear to the roof, giving thorough ventilation. . . . Each row of cells numbers 40, and the whole are unlocked from one end, at one time. . . . On each floor is a lavatory which has eight neat wash basins, with a tap to each, for the use of prisoners. In addition the arrangements for bathing are excellent. Eight bath tubs are provided, supplied with warm and cold water. . . . all the prisoners can bathe in a day and a half, while formerly it took four days of the week.¹⁸

Another change in 1888, pleasing to the Mormons, was Cleveland's long promised removal of Chief Justice Zane. This finally came about as a result of negotiations carried on for months by Frank J. Cannon, son of George Q. Cannon, in an effort to settle the problems between the Church and the government over polygamy. Leo Lyman describes the negotiations carried on through the efforts of Frank Cannon:

Essential to the plan was the appointment of a judge who would allow Cleveland to pledge him "to show leniency to every man who should come in and make voluntary answer to process in court." It was understood that if a humane and fair judicial policy were guaranteed, it would bring from hiding many Mormon polygamists who would "rather go to prison for a short time and then be free than to continue in their present unfavorable circumstances."¹⁹

Accordingly, on July 9, 1888, President Cleveland appointed two new judges: Elliot F. Sandford, a New York judge, to take the bench in the Third District Court and to act as Chief Justice; and John W. Judd, of Tennessee, to help with the load of the First District Court. His as-

signment was to Provo, while H. P. Henderson retained the Ogden jurisdiction of the First District. Lyman explains the subsequent negotiations:

In early July, Delegate John T. Caine recommended to the President and solicitor general that the new judges should be advised of the administration's adopted policy regarding the Mormons. Caine emphasized the appointees "should be made to understand that they were not going as missionaries to interfere with religion or politics, but were to administer the law in justice and in the spirit of humanity." The delegate later interviewed Sandford and Judd and confided to his Salt Lake brethren that such a message had indeed been conveyed to them. Sandford was quoted as responding he would not go to Utah if anyone expected him "to torture the law into an engine of persecution against any people or their religion." Judd pledged he would administer the law "in a spirit of moderation and kindness."²⁰

Sandford arrived in Salt Lake City on Sunday evening, August 26th, and took the oath of office the next day. Orson Whitney gives some insight into the way Sandford came to be regarded in Salt Lake City, at least from the point of view of the Mormons:

He was a gentleman of culture and refinement, and the possessor of a brave and independent soul. We regret that the materials are not at hand for a more extended biography of this upright and virtuous magistrate, whose only enemies in Utah were those who could not appreciate the wise and humane motives that actuated him. . . . Judge Sandford took the view that there was no need of so much harshness as had been shown. . . . As a matter of course, he was much criticised for his lenity toward polygamous defendants, being deemed by the Anti-Mormons as enemy to the cause of progress and reform. But he was as brave as he was considerate and humane, and steadily held on his way, doing his duty conscientiously, and winning the respect and esteem of the majority of the best people of all classes.²¹

There were also changes in law in effect by 1888.

The Edmunds-Tucker Act had become law, so adultery was becoming a useful charge for convicting Mormon polygamists, and longer sentences could be given. More pressure could be brought to bear by imprisoning the plural wife on a charge of fornication, thus gaining a guilty plea from the husband. While part of the law aimed at disincorporating the Church and escheating its property, still another part took away the women's vote and required that in order to vote, hold office, or serve on juries, men take an oath, swearing that they did not live in polygamy, nor teach, aid, or abet its continuance. As the new judges took their places in the Utah courts, along with Henderson and Boreman, they were pledged to be more fair and lenient, while all other legal pressures on the Mormons were more severe.

As Judge Sandford opened the September term of the Third District Court, his instructions to the petit jury in his first cohabitation case were published by the Deseret News, and editorial comment was favorable. Sandford reminded the jury that in order to convict the defendant, John Irving, they had to find that he committed this act of unlawful cohabitation at the time set forth in the indictment, passing on the credibility of the witnesses themselves. Almost apologetically, he defined unlawful cohabitation to them:

What is unlawful cohabitation has been laid down by the Supreme Court, in the case of Cannon vs. the United States. According to this decision, that offense was

--and I am bound to present to you this law as the law of the land, which you will accept and to which you will conform--the court says: The offense of cohabiting with more than one woman, created by the third section of the Act of Congress of March 23, 1882, in regard to polygamy in the Territory of Utah, is committed by a man who lives in the same house with two women, and eats at their respective tables one third of his time, or thereabouts, and holds them out to the world by his language or conduct, or both, as his wives, and it is not necessary to the commission of the offense that he and the two women, or either of them, should occupy the same bed, or sleep in the same room, or that he should have sexual intercourse with either of them. . . .²²

John Irving, sixty-five years old, was eventually sentenced to four and a half months and \$250 fine, but by the time he entered the prison, twelve other men had entered from Sandford's Third District Court September term, among them, George Q. Cannon.²³

Leo Lyman relates the surrender of George Q. Cannon, who gave himself up for sentencing on the promise of light punishment. His son, Frank Cannon, had reported to his father that Cleveland and George A. Jenks then acting attorney-general, had assured him that if George Q. Cannon would surrender and submit to a trial, he would be treated fairly. Cannon had previously forfeited bond and had been avoiding apprehension on two counts of unlawful cohabitation. Lyman adds:

On September 14, Abraham Cannon commented that his father was prepared to surrender, saying "it has been arranged with the prosecutor that his punishment shall not be severe." Under the terms of trial and sentence that had been agreed upon, President Cannon would not receive even the full penalty for the one offense...²⁴

Further, Lyman states that the judge imposed a sentence of two hundred dollars and imprisonment for seventy-five days and that without further delay Cannon was conveyed to the penitentiary. The prison admission records show, however, that Cannon was indeed sentenced on both indictments, and was given two fines and two prison terms: one, seventy-five days and \$200, after which one hundred days and \$250. Together, this was just days short of the maximum six months, and half again the maximum fine. Cannon paid the fine, thus gaining his release under the Copper Act in five months.

Sandford's record with unlawful cohabitation sentences was remarkable. Besides the Cannon sentence, the only maximum sentence he gave was that of George B. Bailey, who received a six-month prison sentence, but no fine. Thirty-four other men were sentenced by Sandford for cohabitation, and they had much shorter sentences, most of them of three months or less.²⁵

Jacob Boreman continued to pronounce maximum sentences of six months and three hundred dollars in every cohabitation case he handled, but the new judges did bring more leniency to the courts than had previously been experienced. Judge Henderson followed the example of Judd and Sandford, and drastically reduced the number of maximum sentences he gave. In sharing the load of the First District Court, Judd and Henderson were able to handle as many

cases in one year as Henderson had handled alone in the two previous years. In the year from September 1888 to September 1889, in the northern part of the state, Henderson sentenced sixty-nine men for cohabitation. Barely one-fourth of them entered the prison with maximum sentences, compared to his own previous rate of 83 percent with maximum. Judd, in Provo, sentenced 124 men to prison on cohabitation charges, only seven of whom received the six-month maximum time, and only three of those with maximum fines.²⁶

During the year that Sandford was Chief Justice, other Mormon polygamists were going to prison on the charge of adultery, for which three years was the maximum legal penalty. Sandford sentenced five men on that charge, giving prison sentences ranging as high as eighteen months. In Beaver, Boreman sentenced to prison for six months and nine months, respectively, two men convicted of adultery. Henderson, in First District Court in Ogden, had sentenced seventeen men on the new charge with prison terms ranging up to thirty months. Most of them, however, (twelve of the seventeen, or 70 percent) had sentences ranging from six to twenty-four months. Again, Judd's load in Provo proved the heaviest. During the term of his office, from September of 1888 until mid-October of 1889, he sentenced forty-five men who had been convicted of adultery with their plural wives. Twenty-two entered the prison with sentences of less than a year. Twenty-three had sentences of more

than a year, including two who were sentenced to the maximum thirty-six months.²⁷

In spite of the fact that the statistics show there was much greater leniency in sentencing during the tenure of Elliot Sandford, the grand juries, whose members were chosen because they did not practice or believe in LDS plural marriage, tried a new tactic, combining indictments for adultery and cohabitation. An important case in Judd's Provo court was that of Hans Nielsen in which an indictment was brought for unlawful cohabitation covering a given period of time, and a second indictment charged him with adultery on a day outside of the time period covered by the cohabitation. After Nielsen had served the sentence for unlawful cohabitation, he came up for trial on the other indictment. He claimed that the adultery was part of the first offense, since the same woman was involved in both, and since unlawful cohabitation was a continuing offense. He was convicted and sentenced to a term of 125 days by Judge Judd, but brought a suit for a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that he was being punished twice for the same offense. The U. S. Supreme Court agreed, and he was immediately released from prison, as were William H. Maughn and Charles S. Hall, who had been similarly sentenced. Others were released as their terms expired on one count, without serving the second.²⁸

By spring of 1889, more important changes were

taking place. Grover Cleveland was out of office, and Republican President Harrison took over. Governor West's resignation was requested, and he was succeeded by Arthur L. Thomas, who had been Secretary of the Territory under Governor Murray, and later, a member of the Utah Commission. The next resignation requested by President Harrison through his attorney general, was that of Elliot Sandford. Sandford delayed, inquiring whether there were any charges of misconduct or any complaints against him. He thought it "unwise, unbecoming and improper" to resign without such possible charges being proved or disproved, but if his resignation was requested for political reasons only, he would finish the matters at hand and resign. The prompt reply from the attorney-general was that

. . . there are on file in this department some papers complaining of the manner in which your judicial duties are discharged. Independently of these particular complaints, however, the President has become satisfied that your administration of the office was not in harmony with the policy he deemed proper to be pursued with reference to Utah affairs, and out of courtesy gave you an opportunity to resign. As you did not see fit to embrace this opportunity, the President has removed you and appointed your successor.²⁹

Sandford's return comment to the attorney-general was that his purpose on the bench had been to administer justice and the laws honestly and impartially to all men, under the obligations of the oath of office, and that if the President had any other policy to carry out than the one he had pursued, the attorney-general could tell the President that

he had done well to remove him.³⁰

The judge that Harrison appointed to succeed Elliot Sandford was none other than Charles S. Zane, who took over again as Chief Justice in Utah and as judge of the Third District Court, opening the September term of 1889. Another change in the courts had occurred in Beaver, where Jacob Boreman had resigned after four years in the Second District Court and as an associate justice of the Supreme Court.

Early in September, J. W. Judd sent his resignation to President Harrison, to take effect October 10, 1889. Under the circumstances of the removal of Judge Sandford, Judd felt that if he stayed, it would be assumed that he was in full accord with the "policy" of President Harrison. He resented the implication that he was subservient to a political master.³¹

The next resignation went to Washington from U. S. Attorney Peters, and still another from Marshal Dyer. Even though Dyer had vigorously pursued the duties of his office, he was weary of the burdens and the criticism. He stated that

. . . during the period of time he was in office, the U. S. marshal not only had to perform the same duties as marshals elsewhere, but he also was ministerial officer with power to serve processes in all the courts in territorial business, both civil and criminal. He was authorized to make arrests without complaint or warrant, and authority in searches and seizures was given in the same manner. He could arrest witnesses without attachments, writs or processes and could sit

as a committing magistrate. The marshal could hold to bail persons or witnesses arrested.³²

His resignation was tendered in response to the same kind of political pressure that had removed Elliot Sandford from his position. His replacement was Elias H. Parsons.

Judge Thomas L. Anderson was appointed in January 1889 by Cleveland just before he left office in favor of Harrison. Anderson was one of the Democrats allowed by Harrison to stay in office. He had been serving for a year as Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington, D. C. when the appointment was made that was to take him to Utah. The Utah Enquirer of Provo reported that Anderson had been a widower for some years, and was married immediately before his departure for Utah to Mrs. Julia T. Stocum, a wealthy society lady of Washington, D. C. Although this was to be his first experience on the judicial bench, he had practiced law successfully in Iowa for thirty years.³³ Anderson was assigned to Second District Court in Beaver, replacing Jacob Boreman whose term had expired.

The replacement for John W. Judd in Provo was John W. Blackburn. He was a recent arrival in Utah, and received his appointment from President Harrison on October 11, 1889. In taking his seat on the bench of the First District Court in Provo, he also was to serve as associate justice for the Supreme Court of Utah. That court was now composed of Chief Justice Charles S. Zane, and Associate

Justices Henderson, Blackburn, and Anderson.

The government now had declared the Church disincorporated and had confiscated much of its property, had disfranchised all the women in Utah, and thousands of the Mormon men, forbidding public office or jury duty as well to any who did not swear to uphold the law of the land. Hundreds of men had been imprisoned, hundreds more had taken their families into exile to Mormon communities now established in Mexico and Canada. Others had separated themselves from their wives and children. By the end of this year, Wilford Woodruff would issue the Manifesto, officially proclaiming an end to the practice of polygamy in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Comparatively few men were sentenced to prison under the new justices in Utah, a total of only forty-three men for the year September 1889 through September 1890. Judge Zane pursued the same course in his sentencing that he had in his previous term of office. The difference was that he did not affect so many. During that year, he sentenced only ten men to prison for cohabitation, but to nine of them, he gave the maximum prison sentence of six months. Judge Anderson in Second District Court pronounced prison terms upon nine men, seven of whom received the maximum six months and three hundred dollars. Judge Blackburn in Provo sentenced sixteen men, eleven of whom faced the maximum six months in prison, five others less

than that. In Ogden, Judge Henderson pursued the course of leniency he had taken the previous year -- only three of the thirteen cohabitation sentences he gave were for the maximum six months in prison.³⁴

All the judges were inclined to leniency in the matter of adultery charges. There were a great many adultery sentences given to men whose crime was not related to LDS plural marriage. It may have been that because women saw that the current methods of declaring a man guilty of adultery did not include proving sexual intercourse, they were less reluctant to press charges in court against erring husbands. Whatever the reason for the increase of cases outside of Mormon polygamy, numerous men were in and out of the prison on short terms for adultery.

Late September 1890 brought the capitulation of the Church on the issue of plural marriage. It did not, however, bring an abrupt end to the prosecution of those men the law perceived to be maintaining relationships with more than one family. Prison admissions for adultery and unlawful cohabitation continued up to 1895. During the five years between President Woodruff's Manifesto and Utah's admission as a state to the Union, more than 125 men served prison terms for plural marriage on charges of unlawful cohabitation or adultery. Probably the last one was Lorenzo Huish, who entered the prison on February 25, 1895, to serve a thirty-day sentence for unlawful cohabitation.

In conclusion, it may be said that certainly the judges differed in their personal views of severity and leniency, but the inclination of the candidate for an appointment as judge was taken into consideration by the President and those who influenced him in the selection. From 1884 to 1888, even though Grover Cleveland was not of the political party which worked the hardest to rid the world of polygamy, national public pressure had a bearing on his selection of judges who would prosecute in the spirit of the Edmunds Law. Cleveland did not sign the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887, and before he left office, he appointed judges who he felt assured would be more lenient.

Four years of relentless pursuit and strict punishment of Mormon polygamists had brought persistent passive resistance, and comparatively few promises from individuals to obey the law. The continuous efforts of the Church leaders and Utah congressional representatives, helped by a few influential friends had persuaded President Cleveland by 1888 to try a course of leniency. That course had been reversed by a new President of the Republican party whose vow was to stamp out polygamy. The lenient judges were replaced -- Sandford was removed by President Harrison, and Judd resigned rather than be thought a party to political policy. By then, however, other provisions of the Edmunds-Tucker Act had been gaining a stranglehold on the Church, and imprisonment of polygamists became only part of the

pressure. The severity of the judges was not as big an issue after 1890 as it had been in the intervening years since 1884.

Table 6 shows that the most consistently severe judge appears to have been Jacob S. Boreman who sat in Beaver over the Second District Court. Eli A. Day was right when he observed that "all that come from Beaver court seem to get the full extent of the law."³⁵ In the entire four years that Boreman was judge of the Second District Court, only the first two sentences he gave for unlawful cohabitation were less than the maximum six months and three hundred dollars.

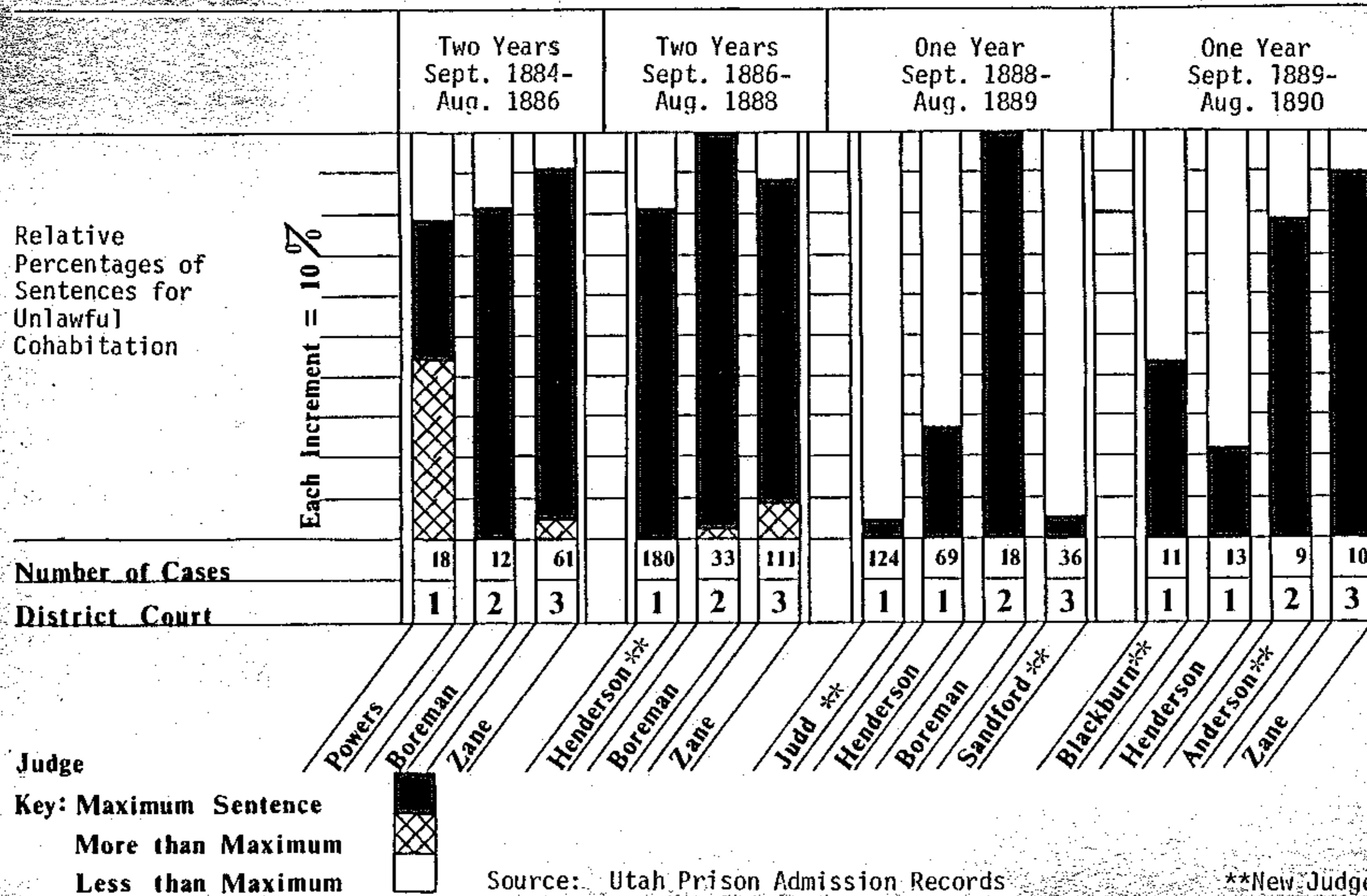
Judge Zane in Salt Lake City maintained a record perhaps even more impressive because it affected more men. In the four years he was in the Third District Court, ninety-two percent of the cohabitation sentences he gave were for the maximum prison time, or more in the cases of the segregated sentences.

Judges of the First District Court during those first four years, Powers and Henderson, averaged about 80 percent maximum time sentences, Powers being the enthusiast for segregating sentences.

In September 1888, an abrupt shift in the direction of leniency was evident in all the courts except Boreman's. Chief Justice Sandford and Judge Judd of Provo both gave only 6 percent maximum time sentences for cohabitation.

Table 6

THE JUDGES AND THE UNLAWFUL COHABITATION CASES



Judge Henderson of Ogden gave only 28 percent compared to his own 83 percent the previous years when Zane was Chief Justice. The following year, with Zane as Chief Justice again, Henderson maintained his low percentage of maximum time sentences, while the new justices Blackburn and Anderson followed a course that was closer to Zane's 90 percent maximum sentences, Blackburn with 54 percent maximum and Anderson with 78 percent.

Table 6 shows the percentage of maximum and less-than-maximum sentences given by the various judges during the six-year period from 1884 to 1890. Even with the lenient year of 1888-89, if the percentages for less-than-maximum sentences are averaged out, it appears that only one-third of those convicted of unlawful cohabitation received sentences that were less than the maximum permitted by law. Since some of the Mormons complained that prisoners for violent crimes received lighter sentences than the polygamists did,³⁶ the next chapter will report results of a study of the sentences given to those who committed crimes against person and property to compare the punishment they received with that given to men punished for the crime of plural marriage, lived by them as a religious principle.

NOTES

- ¹Alexander, "Zane," p. 292-3.
- ²Deseret Evening News, February 2, 1885.
- ³Sketches of the Inter-Mountain States Together with Biographies of Many Prominent and Progressive Citizens Who Have Helped in the Development and History-Making of this Marvelous Region. (Salt Lake City: The Salt Lake Tribune, 1909) p. 136.
- ⁴Deseret Evening News, March 10, 1885.
- ⁵Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1898)3:164.
- ⁶Ibid., p. 361.
- ⁷Deseret Evening News, February 20, 1885.
- ⁸Deseret Evening News, March 10, 1885; Salt Lake Tribune, March 11, 1885.
- ⁹Deseret Evening News, March 10, 1885.
- ¹⁰Sketches of the Inter-Mountain States, p. 137.
- ¹¹Deseret Evening News, February 15, 1890.
- ¹²Sketches of the Intermountain States, p. 137.
- ¹³Gustive O. Larson, "The Crusade and the Manifesto," in Utah's History, ed. Richard D. Poll; Thomas G. Alexander; Eugene E. Campbell, David E. Miller (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), p. 265.
- ¹⁴Larson, "The Crusade and the Manifesto," p. 266.
- ¹⁵Vernal A. Brown, "The United States Marshals in Utah Territory to 1896" (Master's Thesis, Utah State University, 1970), p. 156.
- ¹⁶Washington, D.C., National Archives, Utah Amnesty

Case Papers. See Appendix C for sample Application for Amnesty.

¹⁷Deseret Evening News, May 24, 1888.

¹⁸Edward Leo Lyman, "The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 1981), p. 202.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 203.

²⁰Whitney, 3:633, 638.

²¹Deseret Evening News, September 19, 1888.

²²Utah Prison Admission Records.

²³Lyman, p. 204.

²⁴Utah Prison Admission Records.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.; Salt Lake City, LDS Genealogical Library, Minutes of the First District Court, March 7, 1889.

²⁹Whitney, 3:670.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., 3:672.

³²Brown, p. 162.

³³Provo Utah Enquirer, March 22, 1889.

³⁴Utah Prison Admission Records.

³⁵Day, p. 332.

³⁶Bashore, p. 27.

CHAPTER IV

THE JUDGES AND CRIMES AGAINST PERSON AND PROPERTY

When Melvin Bashore studied the diaries of several of the Mormon prisoners for plural marriage, he came to the conclusion that not only did they feel that they were victims of discrimination, but they felt that men arrested for "hideous and blatantly immoral crimes were let off with light sentences or reprimands."¹ In order to determine whether or not such men were, in fact, given inordinately light sentences, I have made a comparison of their sentences with the sentences of the plural marriage prisoners, based on maximum vs. less-than-maximum sentences within the limitations of the law. Most laws which punish a crime with imprisonment provide for a range of time in prison, which allows certain discretionary power to the judge, within that time range. The judge may give the maximum prison sentence, or something less, according to his best judgment in each case.

As the analysis in the previous chapter shows, one-third of the prisoners for unlawful cohabitation were given less-than-maximum sentence, while two-thirds were given the maximum or more, since in some cases, a judge permitted the

jury to use tactics which allowed him to sentence for a longer prison term than Congress had intended when they wrote the law. In the cases of prisoners convicted of crimes against person and property in the same courts as the polygamists, did two-thirds receive maximum sentences for their crimes? Did the judges go beyond their prescribed discretionary power in giving light sentences, just as they had exceeded their power in heavy sentences for the plural marriage prisoners?

The laws and sentences to be examined here are those which pertain to crimes against person or property, excluding some of the so-called "white collar" crimes, for the sake of limiting the scope of the study. The crimes of embezzlement and forgery, for example, are certainly just as serious as grand larceny, but are not treated in this analysis.

First to be considered are felonies resulting in the death of a person which were punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary. They were defined under various classifications in the laws of Utah which were in effect from 1884 to 1890.²

MURDER was the unlawful killing of a human being with malice aforethought. Murder in the first degree was defined as the killing of a human being by poison, lying in wait, or any other kind of willful, deliberate, malicious, and premeditated killing; or committed in the perpetration

of or attempt to perpetrate any arson, rape, burglary, robbery . . . or perpetrated by any act greatly dangerous to the lives of others and evidencing a depraved mind. The penalty for murder in the first degree was death, or imprisonment in the penitentiary for life at hard labor.³

During the period from the beginning of Judge Zane's term in September of 1884 until the end of 1890, the prison admission records show that three men were admitted under sentence for murder in the first degree. Wilford H. Halliday entered the prison December 28, 1886 to await trial on a charge of murder. Five months later, he was convicted of first degree murder, and on May 24, 1887, began a life sentence pronounced by Judge Boreman in the Second District Court. After fifty months, on July 4, 1891, he was pardoned by Governor Thomas and released. Andy Calton was condemned to death by Judge Boreman, to be shot on November 26, 1887. Shortly before that date, however, in response to the defense attorney's application for an appeal to the Territorial Supreme Court, Judge Boreman granted a stay of execution. Calton was released on bail pending the appeal and was never re-admitted to the prison. Charlie Lung, a Chinese known as "Little Charlie," entered the prison in October, 1887 to await trial. He was sentenced to life at hard labor on May 4, 1888 by Judge Zane in the Third District Court. There was no release recorded for him by the time the prison record for the

Territory ended in 1896.⁴

These examples illustrate that even though a judge had little leeway in sentencing a person convicted of murder in the first degree, there were other ways out for the prisoner--the governor's pardon after four years for one; release on bail during appeal proceedings for another.

Murder in the second degree was any other homicide (i.e., non-first degree) committed under such circumstances as would have constituted murder. The penalty was imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than five years nor for more than fifteen years at hard labor.⁵ Of twelve men who entered the prison to serve terms for second degree murder, none had been given the maximum sentence.

Table 7

PRISONERS FOR MURDER, SECOND DEGREE

Name	Judge	Sentence	Served	Release Authority
Olson	Powers	14 yrs.	62 mos	Pardon
Mulloy	Zane	12 yrs.	56 mos	Pardon
Irrick	Boreman	12 yrs.	87 mos	Exp.Sent.
Harrington	Henderson	11 yrs.	74 mos	Pardon
Stern	Henderson	10 yrs.	57 mos	Pardon
McBride	Henderson	10 yrs.	45 mos	Pardon
Quinlan	Henderson	7 yrs.	No data	No data
Sullivan	Henderson	7 yrs.	No data	No data
F. Tidwell	Powers	75 mos.	30 mos.	Pardon
T. Tidwell	Powers	63 mos.	30 mos.	Pardon
Jones	Zane	5 yrs.	36 mos.	Pardon
Taylor	Zane	5 yrs.	No data	No data

Source: Utah Territorial Prison Records.

For these prisoners, too, there were avenues to

early release, regardless of the severity of the judge. One was referred to in the notations of the prison admission record as the Copper Act. As noted before, it provided for reduction of time as reward for good behavior.⁶ This would amount to sixty days deducted from each twelve months if there was no misconduct resulting in the loss of the month's five-day deduction. On a ten-year prison sentence, the Copper Act would lessen the sentence to five years and ten months. Table 7 shows that Stern's ten-year sentence, for example, was commuted by a pardon from the Governor, which gave him freedom after less than five years. McBride's ten-year sentence was shortened to less than four years by a pardon from the Governor.

From the prisoner's point of view, a pardon from the Governor was certainly to be sought after. Eight of the twelve serving sentence for murder in the second degree (Table 7) were shown by the prison record to have received pardons from the Governor. "Expiration of sentence" appeared on only one record, that of Irrick, and he obviously had benefited from the terms of the Copper Act. Even so, the seven years and three months he served of his twelve-year sentence, amounted to more time than any of those convicted of murder in either the first or second degree, with the possible exception of "Little Charlie," whose date of release (or death) was not in the Territorial Prison Record. The governor of the Territory wielded a great deal

of power in the release of prisoners convicted of breaking Territorial laws, and he used it extensively.

Another way a prisoner's sentence might be modified was by the recommendation of the convicting jury for leniency or for the mercy of the court. The Deseret News reported that a verdict of guilty had been rendered in the case of Neal Mulloy, who shot and killed George J. Hughes of Park City. The attorney for the defense was quoted as having plead that the fact that the jury recommended Mulloy to the mercy of the court indicated that the case closely balanced between murder in the second degree and manslaughter. He thought there were many extenuating circumstances. Judge Zane didn't agree, and said that were it not for the recommendation of the jury, he would give the maximum sentence--not for revenge, but for protection. The guilty must be punished that the innocent may live in peace. He would give some weight to the recommendation of the jury, however, and fix the penalty at twelve years in the penitentiary, at hard labor.⁷ As it eventually proved, Mulloy served even less than the time shortened by both the jury's recommendation and the benefits of the commutation act, receiving a pardon from Governor Thomas before he had served five years.

VOLUNTARY MANSLAUGHTER was another crime against the person which was punishable by imprisonment. It was defined as "the killing of a human being upon a sudden

quarrel or heat of passion," and the penalty was imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding five years.⁸ During the period from 1884 to 1890, there were three convictions with prison sentences for manslaughter. None received the maximum of five years, although one came close. Two were sentenced to prison for two years. One of these served until the expiration of his term, twenty months under the terms of the commutation act; the other was pardoned by acting-Governor Sells after six months. The third was a sixty-year-old man sentenced to four and a half years, which turned out to be a life sentence for him because he was released a few hours before he died after serving nineteen months.⁹

RAPE was a crime upon the person that the imprisoned polygamists would have considered "hideous and blatantly immoral."¹⁰ The Territorial law covering punishment for this crime provided for a minimum sentence, but not for a maximum: imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than five years.¹¹ Thus a judge had practically unlimited discretionary power beyond five-year terms in sentencing anyone convicted of rape.

The prison records show several admissions to the prison of men convicted of rape. Judge Zane sentenced a sixteen-year-old to the minimum five-year term, but he was pardoned by Governor Thomas after three years and three months. Judge Henderson sentenced a young man to six years

for attempted rape, for which the lawful punishment was one to ten years.¹² He was pardoned by Governor West after twenty-six months.

The most severe punishment for rape was dealt by Judge Judd in Provo. Three young black soldiers were convicted of rape, and Judd sentenced each to twenty-four years imprisonment. Judd was from Tennessee, and may have been influenced by the traditional severity of punishment of blacks for rape in the southern states. One of the men, twenty-five years old, took his own life by cutting his throat just three months after he entered the prison. The other two were pardoned by Governor Thomas after four years, even though one of them did not have a record of good conduct. He had escaped the year before and had been at large for two months before being recaptured.¹³ Whatever influenced Judge Judd in the severity of the sentence, the polygamist prisoners could not have accused him of leniency in these cases.

ASSAULT was a crime which was categorized and defined many ways in the law. The crime of assault (using the term without modification) was punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary for up to five years, or up to one year in the county jail, and/or \$300 fine.¹⁴ Judge Henderson in Ogden gave one twelve-month sentence for assault, which was shortened to ten months by the terms of the Copper Act. Two others were given unusual sentences. One

man was sentenced to six months plus \$137 in fines and costs, and ordered to serve one additional day for each dollar he didn't pay. He was released from prison in eight and a half months. Another culprit was fined \$50 and costs amounting to \$159.70 with the same provision--that he be committed to prison until he paid, one day for each dollar. He was out in nine days. The prison admitting officer failed to record the district court of the cases, so the sentencing judge is unknown.¹⁵

Assault with a deadly weapon was punishable by imprisonment not exceeding two years, or by a fine not exceeding \$1000, or both.¹⁶ Only one man was sentenced on that charge during the 1884-1890 time period. He received the only maximum prison sentence of the crimes studied--two years, which he served with good conduct, thus obtaining release after nineteen months. Unfortunately, the prison admitting officer failed to record the district court, and no mention of the sentence could be found in the newspapers. The judge must therefore go unnamed.¹⁷

The categories of the crime of assault included definitions for assault with intent to commit murder, rape, mayhem, or robbery. The penalty for all were the same: imprisonment for a term of not less than one year, and not more than ten years.¹⁸ This left a wide range of prison time to the discretion of the judge after he or a jury found a person to be guilty. None of the judges gave the

maximum sentence for any of these categories of assault. Table 8 shows the sentences found in the prison admission record from Sept 1884 to the end of 1890.

Table 8

SENTENCES FOR ASSAULT

Judge	Sentence	Time Served	Release Authority
Boreman	60 mo.	20 mo.	Pardon, Thomas
Boreman	12 mo.	9 mo.	Pardon, West
Sandford	15 mo.	12 mo.	Copper Act
Henderson	96 mo.	43 mo.	Pardon, Thomas
Henderson	48 mo.	27 mo.	Pardon, Thomas
Henderson	60 mo.	27 mo.	Pardon, Thomas

Source: Prison Admission Records

Even though the judges gave long prison terms in some cases, as noted in Table 8, the governors granted pardons which shortened the punishment considerably--even more than would have been the case under the provisions of the territory's Copper Act rewarding good behavior.

ROBBERY was classified as a crime upon the person, defined as "the taking of personal property from the person or immediate presence, against his will, or by force or fear." The punishment for anyone convicted of robbery was imprisonment for not less than one year nor more than ten years.¹⁹ Of nine admissions to the prison between 1884 and 1890 of men under sentence for robbery, none had received the maximum sentence. It is apparent from Table 9 that far fewer pardons were granted to the men serving

sentences for robbery than was the case for crimes of killing and assault.

Table 9

SENTENCES FOR ROBBERY

Judge	Sentence	Time Served	Release Authority
Zane	36 mo.	29.5 mo.	Copper Act
Zane	24 mo.	20 mo.	Copper Act
Zane	60 mo.	41 mo.	Pardon, West
Zane	12 mo.	10 mo.	Copper Act
Zane	12 mo.	10 mo.	Copper Act
Sandford	60 mo.	40 mo.	Copper Act
Sandford	18 mo.	15.5 mo.	Copper Act
Sandford	18 mo.	6 mo.	Died in Prison

Source: Prison Admission Records

GRAND LARCENY was the most common crime against property. Table 10 shows a listing of the sentences given by the various judges, the time actually served, and the authority for release from prison. The sixty-six cases on Table 10 represent approximately 80 to 85 percent of the prisoners sentenced for grand larceny between 1884 and June, 1889, a time period during which the most controversial judges served. Information was incomplete on the records of the remaining 15 to 20 percent, so they were not useful for this study. Grand larceny was punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than one year nor more than ten years. It was defined as stealing--taking, carrying, leading, or driving away the personal property of another "in either of the following cases: (1)

Value exceeds \$50; (2) Property taken from the person of another; and (3) When property is horse, cow, goat, sheep, etc."²⁰

Seven of thirteen sentences for grand larceny were for five years or more, and perhaps not coincidentally, the highest percentage of pardons by the governor were granted to men Judge Boreman sentenced. It is noteworthy that Boreman, who was the most consistent in giving the maximum sentence in the unlawful cohabitation cases, also gave more sentences for long prison terms for grand larceny than the other judges. Ten of the thirteen men he sentenced were pardoned by the governor, or 77 percent, compared to 50 percent of Judge Powers' sentences, 59 percent of Judge Henderson's, and 25 percent of Judge Zane's. Overall, there were thirty-two prisoners from the list of sentences for grand larceny who were granted pardons, or 48 percent.

Table 10

SENTENCES FOR GRAND LARCENY

Judge	Sentence	Served	Release Authority
Powers	60 mos.	47 mos.	Pardon, Thomas
Powers	60 mos.	27 mos.	Pardon, Thomas
Powers	60 mos.	23 mos.	Pardon, West
Powers	54 mos.	3 mos.	New Trial
Powers	48 mos.	28 mos.	Copper Act
Powers	48 mos.	16 mos.	Pardon, West
Powers	36 mos.	34 mos.	Copper Act
Powers	36 mos.	29 mos.	Copper Act
Powers	36 mos.	14 mos.	Pardon, Murray
Powers	24 mos.	20 mos.	Copper Act
Powers	24 mos.	21 mos.	Copper Act
Powers	12 mos.	1 day	Pardon, Murray

Boreman	72 mos.	8.5 mos.	Pardon, West
Boreman	60 mos.	10.5 mos.	Pardon, Murray
Boreman	60 mos.	41 mos.	Pardon, West
Boreman	60 mos.	39 mos.	Pardon, West
Boreman	60 mos.	11 mos.	Pardon, West
Boreman	60 mos.	41 mos.	Pardon, West
Boreman	60 mos.	48 mos.	Copper Act
Boreman	24 mos.	3 mos.	Pardon, Thomas
Boreman	24 mos.	19 mos.	Copper Act
Boreman	12 mos.	10 mos.	Copper Act
Boreman	12 mos.	1.5 mos.	Pardon, West
Boreman	12 mos.	4 mos.	Pardon, West
Boreman	12 mos.	8.5 mos.	Pardon, West
Henderson	96 mos.	58 mos.	Copper Act
Henderson	96 mos.	58 mos.	Copper Act
Henderson	84 mos.	7 mos.	Pardon, West
Henderson	60 mos.	32 mos.	Pardon, Thomas
Henderson	60 mos.		No rel.data
Henderson	30 mos.	13 mos.	Pardon, West
Henderson	30 mos.	23 mos.	Copper Act
Henderson	24 mos.	19 mos.	Pardon, Thomas
Henderson	18 mos.	15 mos.	Copper Act
Henderson	18 mos.	14.5 mos.	Copper Act
Henderson	16 mos.	13 mos.	Pardon, Thomas
Henderson	16 mos.	12 mos.	Pardon, West
Henderson	12 mos.	8 mos.	Pardon, West
Henderson	12 mos.	10 mos.	Copper Act
Henderson	12 mos.	4 mos.	Pardon, West
Henderson	12 mos.	2.5 mos.	Pardon, Act-G.Hall
Henderson	12 mos.	4 mos.	Pardon, West
Zane	84 mos.	46 mos.	Pardon, Thomas
Zane	60 mos.	32 mos.	Pardon, Thomas
Zane	36 mos.	29.5 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	36 mos.	3 mos.	Escaped
Zane	36 mos.	29.5 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	36 mos.	29.5 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	36 mos.	27 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	36 mos.	27 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	36 mos.	27 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	24 mos.	19 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	24 mos.	21 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	24 mos.	8.5 mos.	Pardon, West
Zane	12 mos.	11 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	12 mos.	10 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	12 mos.	10 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	12 mos.	3.5 mos.	Pardon, West
Zane	12 mos.	10 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	12 mos.	10 mos.	Copper Act
Zane	12 mos.	10 mos.	Copper Act

Zane		12 mos.		10 mos.		Copper Act
Zane		12 mos.		10 mos.		Copper Act
Zane		12 mos.		10 mos.		Copper Act
Zane		12 mos.		7 mos.		Pardon, West

Source: Prison Admission Records

It seems reasonable to conclude that the polygamist prisoners had cause to feel that prisoners for other crimes were not punished as severely as they were. On the basis of percentage of sentences given for the maximum punishment prescribed by law for any given crime, the sentences dealt to the polygamists were by far more severe than those given to persons guilty of crimes against person or property . . . the "hideous and blatantly immoral crimes."²¹ Of the 107 cases studied, selected by crime classification from the Prison Admission Records, the only men receiving maximum sentences were two adjudged guilty of murder in the first degree, and one sentenced for assault with a deadly weapon. The overall pardon rate for all the crimes against person and property included in the study was 49.5 percent. Of the 940 men who served prison sentences in Utah for LDS plural marriage, there were forty-one pardons granted, or a rate of 4 percent. Half of those pardons were granted from the last half of 1891 to 1893 as the nation became convinced that the Mormons were sincere in abandonment of the principle of plural marriage. This means that only twenty pardons were granted between 1884 and 1890 from approximately 825 who had been sent to prison up to that time, or

a pardon rate of 2 percent.

The comparison between the two groups of prisoners of maximum sentence time was certainly lopsided. Less than 3 percent of those sentenced for crimes against person or property were given maximum sentences, compared to 67 percent of the prisoners for plural marriage. Furthermore, in no case of crime against person or property did a judge violate the limitations of sentence prescribed by law, while sentences of 2.5 percent of the polygamists exceeded the legal limit.

Polygamist Harvey Murdock served forty-two months; Wilford Halliday, convicted of first degree murder, served only fifty months. The Tidwells, a father and son convicted of murder,²² served only thirty months for their crime, the same amount of time as the sentences of many of the prisoners for plural marriage. However, the judges had sentenced these murderers to longer terms than they served, but the governor pardoned them, making their time in prison far shorter than either the judges or the law intended, including the law for commutation of sentence for good behavior. The governor could not pardon the polygamists because they were convicted under federal law. Only the president of the United States could pardon them, and pardons from him for the Mormon polygamists were few and far between. The national attitude toward polygamy, exploited by those who had political and economic ambitions,

prohibited him from being generous, had he even been so inclined. That same national attitude influenced the judges to be more severe toward the polygamists than they normally were toward criminals who ordinarily appear in their courts.

NOTES

- ¹Bashore, p. 27.
- ²Compiled Laws of Utah 1876, pp. 586-607.
- ³Ibid., p. 586.
- ⁴Utah Prison Admission Records.
- ⁵Compiled Laws of Utah, p. 586.
- ⁶"Act to Lessen Terms for Good Behavior," published in Deseret News March 12, 1886. See Appendix B.
- ⁷Deseret News Semi-Weekly, March 9, 1888.
- ⁸Compiled Laws of Utah, p. 586.
- ⁹Utah Prison Admission Records.
- ¹⁰Bashore, p. 27.
- ¹¹Compiled Laws of Utah, p. 595.
- ¹²Ibid., p. 590.
- ¹³Utah Prison Admission Records.
- ¹⁴Compiled Laws of Utah, p. 592.
- ¹⁵Utah Prison Admission Records.
- ¹⁶Compiled Laws of Utah, p. 593.
- ¹⁷Utah Prison Admission Records.
- ¹⁸Compiled Laws of Utah, p. 590.
- ¹⁹Ibid., p. 589.
- ²⁰Ibid., p. 625.
- ²¹Bashore, p. 27.
- ²²Deseret Evening News, January 3, 1886.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In 1896, Utah was finally admitted to the Union with a provision in its constitution which made polygamy illegal in the new state. The Mormon leaders had finally been brought to deny new polygamous marriages as a practice of the Church. It had taken the Republican party almost forty years to fulfill its political goal to rid the nation of polygamy. Just as important, the non-Mormon Liberal Party and the Mormon People's party had been abandoned as vehicles of political expression, and the members of both groups had affiliated themselves with the national Republican and Democratic parties. As Orma Linford concluded after her intensive study of the legal aspects of the prosecution of polygamy among the Mormons, "To maintain that the national government was engaged only in the eradication of plural marriage is to ignore the scope of the provisions and applications of the laws."¹ The Mormons had been driven from New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, before polygamy ever became a major issue. As has been pointed out in preceding chapters, Mormons were viewed as a political threat to their neighbors because of their con-

stantly growing numbers and their tendency to work together as a group to fulfill their perceived social, economic, and political needs.

Although the Mormons attempted to isolate themselves in the far West, there were eventually many non-believers who settled among them and who resented living as a hopeless political minority under the government of local leaders elected by the Mormon majority. As the California gold rush, and later the transcontinental railroad brought more and more non-Mormons into the Territory, the dissenting voices made themselves heard through the newspapers nationally, and through influential friends in Washington. Apostates and disgruntled federal appointees returned to the East and told stories of superstition, immorality, and civil disobedience. It was easy for unsympathetic non-Mormons to believe these widespread reports.

Judge James B. McKean, appointed by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1870, prepared a statement at the time Brigham Young was arrested for plural marriage on a charge of "lascivious cohabitation." He declared that in reality, a system of government was on trial in the person of Brigham Young. He said that the government of the United States had within its jurisdiction another government claiming to come from God--imperium in imperio--whose policy and practice were at variance with its own.² A foreign commentator on the American scene, James Bryce similarly

observed that the hostility to Mormonism was due not merely to the practice of polygamy, but also to the notion that "the hierarchy of the Latter-day Saints constitutes a secret and tyrannical imperium in imperio opposed to the genius of democratic institutions."³

Even though a system of government may have been on trial in the person of Brigham Young and subsequently of those hundreds of others who were convicted and sentenced to prison terms, the fact remained that the American people were, in general, outraged by the Mormon violation of the moral standards of the time. Bruce C. Hafen has recently pointed out that the law reflects social attitude.⁴ Judge Zane expressed the then current attitude when he stated, before sentencing Rudger Clawson to prison on charges of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation, that the American people, through their laws, had pronounced polygamy a crime, and that his court must execute these laws.⁵

Indeed, the prosecution of polygamy took first priority in all the Utah courts. By 1887, the civil cases needing to be heard in Utah were almost hopelessly backed up. The Salt Lake Daily Tribune reported that because of 165 criminal cases, not a single civil suit was tried during the fall term of the First District Court at Provo, with a like experience at Ogden; while the Third District was so crowded that all civil business was suffering for want of time to pass upon the hundreds of cases on the

calendars. This was having so serious an effect on business affairs that there was talk of sending a delegation to Washington to have an additional judge appointed. In fact, the Tribune was of the opinion that five judges were needed in the Utah courts instead of three.⁶

This study has sought to determine (1) whether the age of the convicted polygamist was a factor in severity or leniency of sentence; (2) whether one judge was more severe than another; and (3) whether the sentences served by the Mormon polygamists were more severe than those served by men convicted of murder and other crimes against person and property. A study of the prison sentences, and a comparison of those given by the various judges brought the results here reported.

As was shown in Chapter III, the judges took into consideration the age of the convicted person, and they occasionally showed more sympathy toward the older men than toward the younger ones. However, since some of the old men did receive long sentences, it seems apparent that the motivation was more complex than the matter of age alone. An example is seen in Judge Zane's very first sentence, that of Rudger Clawson, who was a young man of twenty-seven. The following was a part of the dialogue which took place in the courtroom on November 3, 1884, just before Clawson was sentenced to a total of four years:

Zane: In your case there is one circumstance, pro-

bably, that should be taken into consideration. You have been taught. . .that polygamy was right, and those who taught you are to some extent, almost as much to blame as you. . .But you are an intelligent man over thirty years of age.

Clawson: No, sir.

Zane: Well, I am mistaken as to the testimony on that point. What is your age?

Clawson: Twenty-seven.

Zane: Well, I am mistaken then; twenty-seven. You were probably between twenty-four and twenty-five when the offense was committed as charged in the indictment. You unquestionably knew of the existence of this law--

Clawson: Yes, sir.

Zane: --and understood it, and you deliberately violated it. . . .That being so it makes the case somewhat aggravated. . . .There is a large class of persons in this Territory. . . who claim that it is right to violate this law. The object of the law is to prevent it, and it is the duty of the court to so fix the punishment that it will be most likely to prevent other persons from committing like offenses against society. . . .⁷

Zane's next case, that same week, was an older man, Joseph H. Evans. Upon being asked if he had anything to say why sentence should not be pronounced, Evans remained silent. Judge Zane then said:

The object of this punishment is to protect society against a recurrence of such crimes, and such punishment should be fixed as would deter others from committing like offenses. You appear to be pretty well advanced in years. How old are you?

Evans: Fifty-eight years, sir.

Zane: The evidence shows that you must have known that your first wife opposed your second marriage. You have done her a great wrong. . . It may be you did this under the superstition that you were doing right; . . . Society must be protected, and I cannot treat this

class of crimes lightly. I shall fix your imprisonment for three years and six months in the penitentiary and a fine of two hundred fifty dollars.⁸

Even though Evans was pretty well advanced in years, and even though Clawson was so young that his legal transgression might be partly the responsibility of those who taught him, Judge Zane felt it the responsibility of his office to respond to social attitude, and to mete out punishment severe enough to deter others, and eventually to prevent the crime. Thus, though the age of the convicted man was considered, it was not necessarily the primary influence on the judge in using his discretionary powers in sentencing.

The reputations that the various judges had for severity proved to be deserved except for Judge Judd, who was accused by some of being especially hard on those convicted in his court. In general, however, it appears that if it came to a choice between being sentenced by Boreman or Judd, most would take their chances with Judd. The following article appeared in the Daily Tribune regarding the First District Court at Provo. Judge Judd had apparently been away from the bench during the week, Boreman sitting in for him.

About seventy-five unlawful cohabitation cases will come up before Judge Judd next week. Those who were arraigned before Judge Boreman this week took the statutory time to plead, evidently preferring to take their dose from Judge Judd as against a certainty of six and three from Judge Boreman.⁹

This obviously referred to the fact that Judge Boreman consistently gave the full penalty of six months and three hundred dollars for every conviction. The present study showed Judd and Sandford to be definitely more lenient than the others.

It must be remembered in regard to the severity of the judges that they had been selected by the President of the United States because of their personal feelings toward the "Mormon question." Judge Boreman's anti-Mormon attitude was evident in Utah for a decade before his reappointment to the bench after the Edmunds Act went into effect. Judge Zane had been recommended by his former law partner, Shelby M. Cullom, who in 1870 was the sponsor of a bill in Congress against polygamy and the Mormons.¹⁰ Although the bill was unsuccessful, most of its important provisions found their way into the Poland, Edmunds, and Edmunds-Tucker acts.¹¹ If Zane had not been in sympathy with those provisions, Cullom would not have recommended him.

After four years of persistent all-out prosecution of the polygamists, representatives from Utah persuaded President Cleveland to exercise leniency and to find replacement justices who would agree to be less severe than the justices of the previous court. As soon as Republican President Benjamin Harrison was in power, the lenient judges were ousted and still another court was called to carry out the policies President Harrison saw fit to put

into effect. This study of the prison terms clearly showed the differences in the severity of the judges in the sentences they gave. The sentences given by Judges Powell, Boreman, and Zane were the most severe. The latter two served over a period of four consecutive years and were consistent over the entire period in the overall severity of their sentencing.

As has also been shown, the sentences given to and served by the polygamists were in many cases longer than terms given to those guilty of crimes against person and property. The federally-appointed governor had the power to pardon any prisoners except the polygamists, and used it with 49 percent of the cases studied. The rate of presidential pardon for polygamists during that same time period was 2 percent. Again it is important to look beyond the judges, or even the governor, to the legislative bodies which wrote the laws. The laws governing punishment of crimes against person and property were the laws of the Territory of Utah, and reflected Utah's attitude toward crime. Those laws punishing polygamy were from the United States Congress, and reflected national attitude toward the Mormon marriage system. Penalties were deliberately designed to stamp out polygamy, if not Mormonism, and were not necessarily scaled to compare with the Mormon perception of just punishment for crimes against person and property. The sentences of the judges were within those

prescribed by the respective laws.

// The Mormons of one hundred years ago felt that they were entitled to practice polygamy as part of their religious freedom, but American law denied it. In all parts of the world, the struggle for freedom continues today, be it for political, religious, or personal freedom.¹¹ In a discussion of "The Family and the Law," Bruce C. Hafen has recently stated that as values and social expectations change, the law reflects those attitudinal shifts.¹² Utah's law against polygamy is still on the books, purportedly still in effect. Yet there are thousands of polygamists in Utah today, many living and working side by side with their monogamous neighbors, known by them to be polygamists. Alex Joseph of southern Utah, and Royston Potter of Murray, are probably the most visible, locally and nationally. Both have been included in feature articles in magazines, and have appeared on the nationally televised "Donahue" show.¹³ Potter came into the national spotlight when he was fired as a Murray policeman after an anonymous phone caller informed his superiors that he was living in violation of Utah law. Potter filed suit to challenge Utah's law against polygamy, but the U. S. Supreme Court, upon appeal, failed to reverse the decision of the lower court: Polygamy was not a constitutional right.¹⁴

Failing to win reinstatement as a police officer, Potter ran unsuccessfully for the office of Salt Lake

County sheriff, a candidate on the Libertarian party ticket. During his campaign, he commented in an interview with Utah Holiday about the impact of his plural marriage on his political efforts:

The Mormon majority and other anti-Mormons do not like polygamists. I can see how that might hamper what I'm going to say to them. I would hope that people would not encumber their minds with tradition to the point where they become unable to see the benefits of true freedom.¹⁵

In spite of the fact that Potter went to the courts in an unsuccessful attempt to prove his right to practice polygamy, he has never been indicted for breaking the law. The attitude of society has changed, and people are more tolerant of lifestyles which do not hold to the values the nation has traditionally held for marriage--and more specifically, monogamous marriage. Furthermore, just as Potter feels that the Mormons do not like polygamists, Richard Van Wagoner states that no group seems to be more anti-polygamous than the Mormons.¹⁶ Even though the Mormons may be anti-polygamous, Mormon Utah does not prosecute the polygamists. Van Wagoner explains this apparent contradiction:

Experience has convinced law enforcement officials that strict enforcement of anti-polygamy laws is both non-productive and unacceptably expensive. Utah's Salt Lake County Attorney, Ted Cannon, for example, said in 1983 that although polygamous cases are not considered insignificant, his office is "busy with cases involving property loss or personal harm."¹⁷

Potter claimed that one judge said he wouldn't have encountered this difficulty (losing his job) if he had simply

been cohabiting. Potter added: "I know where I stand with God on this issue, and I won't budge come hell or high water."¹⁸

It is interesting that Potter used the same arguments used by the Mormons one hundred years ago. It is also interesting to compare statements made by Zane and Hafen, one hundred years apart. After Rudger Clawson had been found guilty, and before Judge Zane pronounced sentence, Zane said:

The institution of marriage is one of the most important to society of any that exist. When free love, polygamy, or any other system shall be substituted for the monogamic marriage, then this great social fabric which is now protected by law, will probably be crumbling about us; and chastity, virtue, and decency, will fall with it . . . And that seems to be the judgment of the American people, and of the whole civilized world.¹⁹

Mormons would probably even today become indignant at hearing polygamy and free love spoken in the same breath as similarly classed "marriage" systems, but otherwise would probably agree with Zane. Hafen, in 1986, also comments on marriage and the social fabric:

We have traditionally thought of marriage as a critical part of the social fabric, with the family as the key structural element in society. . .²⁰

Despite their anti-polygamous attitude of today, many Mormons believe plural marriage to be the law of the highest degree of heaven, although earthly laws prohibit its practice.²¹ Certainly many feel today, just as Zane did, that our present day tolerance of free love is indeed

threatening to crumble our social fabric, and that chastity, virtue, and decency are also threatened as social virtues.

Hafen also points out that today the courts are not very willing to sit in judgment on somebody's moral standards. Interest in preserving traditional values

. . . has now shifted to where individual interests have priority over social interests . . . In my view, our willingness to subordinate immediate personal liberty to larger social interests . . . actually provides greater long term individual freedom, even though it seems at first to limit our preferences.²²

Was Zane really trying to say the same thing about the larger social interests from a point of view outside the religious doctrine of the Mormons? In any case, the fact remains that polygamy was vigorously prosecuted because the idea of plural marriage was repugnant to so many, and therefore, the enemies of the Church found that to exploit the issue was the best way to get at Mormon political and economic power. Orma Linford has stated that the zeal and concentration of the campaign against this "crime" is unequalled in the annals of federal law enforcement.²³

Hundreds of men went to prison for plural marriage because enough people in the country abhorred it--incited by a political minority in Utah who fought statehood so they would have the benefit of non-Mormon federal rule in the Territory. On the other hand, the Mormons wanted statehood so that they could elect their own governor and

rid themselves of federal appointees. The irony was that they could not obtain statehood until they put aside the very practice they were striving to protect--polygamy. The Republican party had at last accomplished the eradication of the second of the "twin relics of barbarism." They had liberated "the white slaves of Utah," as they had liberated the black slaves of the South.²⁴ But they had not done it with just the prison sentences given for plural marriage, however harsh they were. Polygamy was given up because, in addition to the suffering of individuals through imprisonment of the head of house, other provisions of the Edmunds Tucker Act deprived Mormons of political freedom, and threatened the very existence of the Church. Thus the willing sacrifice made by the imprisoned polygamists and their dependent families was not sufficient to preserve the practice of the principle in which they so firmly believed.

NOTES

- ¹Linford, p. 513.
- ²Deseret News, October 18, 1871.
- ³James Bryce, The American Commonwealth, 2 vols. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1914), 2:767.
- ⁴James P. Bell, "The Family and the Law: An interview with Bruce C. Hafen," BYU Today, August 1986, p. 15.
- ⁵Deseret Evening News, November 3, 1884.
- ⁶Salt Lake Daily Tribune, November 23, 1887 and November 24, 1887.
- ⁷Salt Lake Daily Tribune, November 3, 1884.
- ⁸Salt Lake Daily Tribune, November 9, 1884.
- ⁹Salt Lake Daily Tribune, March 2, 1889.
- ¹⁰Alexander, "Charles S. Zane..", p. 293.
- ¹¹Linford, p. 204.
- ¹²Bell, p. 15.
- ¹³Carolyn Campbell, "Royston Potter: Policeman, Politician, Polygamist." Utah Holiday, May, 1986, p. 40; Richard S. Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy A History, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), pp. iv, v.
- ¹⁴Van Wagoner, p. v.
- ¹⁵Campbell, p. 40.
- ¹⁶Van Wagoner, p. iii.
- ¹⁷Ibid., p. v.
- ¹⁸Campbell, p. 40.

¹⁹Deseret Evening News, November 3, 1884.

²⁰Bell, p. 16.

²¹Van Wagoner, p. v.

²²Bell, p. 16.

²³Linford, p. 512.

²⁴U.S. Congress, House, Packard on Policy of Republican Party, 41st Con., 2d Sess., February 5, 1870. Congressional Record (Globe), Part 2:1056.

APPENDIX A

An Act to further the Administration of Justice.
June 1, 1872. Ch. 255, Sec. 14, 17 Stat. 196.

That when a poor convict, sentenced by any court of the United States to be imprisoned and pay a fine, or fine and cost, has been confined in prison thirty days, solely for the non-payment of such fine, or fine and cost, such convict may make application in writing to any commissioner of the United States court in the district where he is imprisoned, setting forth his inability to pay such fine, or fine and cost, and after notice to the district attorney of the United States who may appear, offer evidence, and be heard, the commissioner shall proceed to hear and determine the matter; and if on examination it shall appear to him that such convict is unable to pay such fine, or fine and cost, and that he has not any property exceeding twenty dollars in value, except such as is by law exempt from being taken on execution for debt, the commissioner shall administer to him the following oath: "I do solemnly swear that I have not any property, real or personal, to the amount of twenty dollars, except such as is by law exempt from being taken on civil precept for debt by the laws of (state where oath is administered); and that I have no property in any way conveyed or concealed, or in any way disposed of, for my future use or benefit. So help me God." And thereupon such convict shall be discharged, the commissioner giving to the jailer or keeper of the jail a certificate setting forth the facts.

APPENDIX B

An Act to lessen the terms of sentence of convicts for good conduct.
Approved March 11, 1886. "Copper Act."

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah: That it shall be the duty of the Warden of the Utah Penitentiary to keep a record in which he shall enter a statement of every infraction of the prison rules committed by any of the convicts. At the end of each month, he shall certify upon said record to the good conduct of each convict who has not been guilty of an infringement of any of the rules.

Section 2. Each convict sentenced for any period less than life, who has not been guilty of a breach of the rules of discipline of the prison, shall be entitled to a reduction of the period of sentence, as hereinafter provided; and when the full term of imprisonment for which any convict has been sentenced by the court shall be diminished by his good conduct under the provisions of this act, so that the term of imprisonment has thereby expired, the warden of the penitentiary shall immediately furnish the Secretary of the Territory a certificate stating the length of his term of imprisonment has been so diminished, and no objections appearing to the Governor, the convict shall be released.

Section 3. The following deductions shall be allowed to convicts for good conduct:

From the term of sentence of three months, fifteen days; from a term of six months, thirty days; from a term of one year, two calendar months; thus a one year convict shall be entitled to a discharge at the expiration of ten months.

If the term be for any time greater than one year, the service for the second year, or portion thereof, shall begin at the expiration of ten months, which shall stand for a service of one year. In a second year, the convict shall be entitled to a reduction of three calendar months; thus a service of one year and seven months shall be sufficient for a term of two years.

The service of a third year, or fraction thereof, shall begin at the expiration of one year and seven months; four calendar months shall be allowed on said third year; thus a service of two years and three months shall be sufficient for a term of three years.

For a term of four years, the service of the fourth, or portion thereof, shall begin at the expiration of two years and three months, and on the fourth year five months shall be allowed, thus a service of two years and ten months shall be sufficient for a term of four years.

In a term of five years the service of the fifth year, or portion thereof, shall begin at the expiration of two years and ten months, and from the fifth year there shall be a deduction of six calendar months; thus a service of three years and four months shall be sufficient for a term of five years.

For all time in excess of five years there shall be a deduction of one-half for such time.

Section 4. In all terms of sentence terminating intermediately between those terms hereinbefore specified, the deductions shall be proportionate to those named in the foregoing section.

Section 5. For a violation of the rules, the convict shall be liable to forfeit all of his reduction time for the month in which the infraction occurs. If the offense or offenses be aggravated or frequent, the Warden or other officer in charge shall have power to punish the offender by depriving him of all or any portion of his reduction time earned previous to the commission of said offense or offenses. Provided, That any convict who may feel himself aggrieved by the action of the Warden or other officer in charge in such cases, shall have the right to appeal, in writing to the Governor of the Territory, which writing shall include a statement of facts, and the evidence and reasons of the appellant for considering himself unjustly dealt with. Should the Governor, upon investigation, deem the complaint of the convict well grounded, he shall have power to credit back to said convict the earned reduction time of which he has been deprived.

Section 6. This act shall take effect forthwith after its passage and approval, and all unexpired terms of sentence then pending shall be treated in accordance with the foregoing provision.

Section 7. That Chapter XI of the Laws of Utah, 1880, entitled "An Act allowing reward to convicts and commuting their term of sentence for Meritorious Conduct," be and the same is hereby repealed.

APPENDIX C

APPLICATION FOR AMNESTY

TERRITORY OF UTAH

County of _____

I, _____ being first duly sworn, do depose and say: That I have not been in the practice of bigamy or polygamy since the _____ day of _____, 18____, that I am not now a bigamist or polygamist, that I have not since the _____ day of _____, 18____, nor do I now believe in, advocate, or in any way uphold or countenance the practice of bigamy or polygamy, and that in the future I will do all I can to oppose the Mormon Church in its efforts to oppose the laws and obstruct the due course of justice, and that I will not violate any law of the United States.

[signed] _____

Date _____

We recommend the above named _____ as a proper person to receive amnesty under the sixth section of the act, entitled: "An act to amend section 5352 of the Revised Statutes, in reference to bigamy, and for other purposes.

[signed] _____
Governor

Judges of the
Supreme Court

APPENDIX D

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

The list on the following pages has been extracted from the Utah Prison Admission Records, and contains the names of men who were convicted of plural marriage as practiced by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Key

Name Alphabetically arranged.
Age As it appeared on the Prison Record.

Dist Ct District Court. Location of the courts were:
 3rd D.C. Salt Lake City
 2nd D.C. Beaver
 1st D.C. Provo and
 Ogden (until June 1, 1892)
 4th D.C. Ogden (after June 1, 1892)

Chg Charge. Plural Marriage was prosecuted under
 U Unlawful Cohabitation
 P Polygamy
 B Bigamy
 A Adultery
 I Incest

Mos. Sent. Months Sentenced. (Some of the shorter sentences in later years of the "crusade" were pronounced in terms of days: i.e., ten days, eighty days. These have been rounded to the nearest half-month.)

Mos. Servd. Months Served. (Same rounding to nearest half-month.)

Date in Expressed: year, month, day.
Date out Expressed: year, month, day.
Fine Fine assessed by the court.
Costs Court costs assessed by the court.
Total Sum of Fine and Costs.
Pd Y = Yes Prisoner's total was paid.
 N = No Prisoner's total was not paid.
 ? = No record of payment.
 - = No record of assessment.

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	AGE	CT	CHG	DIST	MOS.	MOS.	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
				SENT.	SERVD							
AAGAARD, NIELS	55	1	U	02	01.5		89/03/23	89/05/11	00.00	71.00	71.00	Y
ADAMS, HUGH	57	1	U	06	06		87/01/03	87/07/05	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
ADAMS, JOHN	51	3	U	06	06		87/02/21	87/08/22	300.00	92.80	392.80	N
ADAMS, JOSHUA	54	1	U	06	05		88/03/24	88/08/24	100.00	53.25	153.25	Y
AHLSTROM, PETER	65	1	U	02.5	02.5		89/09/24	89/12/07	00.00	42.00	42.00	Y
AIRD, JOHN	35	3	U	00	01		85/04/30	85/05/29	300.00	21.00	321.00	N
ALBERTSON, JACOB P.	53	1	U	02	02		92/11/07	93/01/07	00.00	69.25	69.25	N
ALLEN, CHARLES A.	43	2	U	04	03		93/12/20	94/03/14	00.00	10.45	10.45	?
ALLEN, IRA	74	1	U	06	05		88/02/13	88/07/13	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
ALLEN, IRA	77	1	U	00.5	00.5		91/01/06	91/01/16	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
ALLEN, JOHN M.	32	2	U	02	01.5		94/05/24	94/07/08	00.00	00.00	0.00	N
ALLRED, JAMES M.	53	1	A	02	02		91/10/14	91/12/14	00.00	67.80	67.80	?
ALLRED, REDDICK N.	66	1	U	02	03		88/09/24	88/12/22	50.00	43.35	93.35	Y
ALLRED, SAMUEL	36	1	U	06	05		88/03/06	88/08/06	00.00	63.60	63.60	Y
ALLRED, STEPHEN H.	45	1	U	03	03		89/09/28	89/12/23	00.00	47.00	47.00	Y
ALLRED, WILSON M.	59	1	U	06	06		88/03/06	88/09/06	100.00	69.35	169.35	N
ALLSOP, THOMAS	51	3	U	15	05		86/12/14	87/05/13	50.00	53.15	103.15	N
ALLSOP, THOMAS	52	3	U	03	02.5		88/03/13	88/05/29	50.00	36.30	86.30	Y
AMUNDSEN, ANDREW	54	3	U	02.5	02.5		88/12/19	89/03/08	65.00	00.00	65.00	Y
ANDELIN, OLOF A.	47	1	U	04	04		89/11/09	90/03/17	300.00	69.00	369.00	N
ANDERSEN, CHARLES A.	42	1	U	02	01.5		88/02/12	88/04/03	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
ANDERSEN, CHRISTIAN	49	1	A	17	14		89/09/23	90/11/15	00.00	47.00	47.00	Y
ANDERSEN, JOHN L.	61	1	U	03	02.5		87/12/23	88/03/08	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
ANDERSEN, PETER	52	1	U	06	05		87/01/03	87/06/06	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
ANDERSEN, PETER C.	54	1	A	18	14.5		88/12/13	90/02/28	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
ANDERSEN, SAMUEL	55	3	U	06	06		87/10/12	88/04/12	50.00	81.60	131.60	N
ANDERSON, ANDREW	54	2	U	06	06		88/12/19	89/06/17	300.00	20.00	320.00	N
ANDERSON, ANDREW O.	45	1	U	06	05		90/03/07	90/08/07	300.00	63.00	363.00	Y
ANDERSON, ANDREW R.	44	1	U	04.5	04		88/10/09	89/02/01	50.00	46.50	96.50	Y
ANDERSON, CHRISTIAN	47	1	A	06	05		91/10/12	92/03/12	00.00	78.30	78.30	Y
ANDERSON, GUSTAV	67	1	U	06	05		87/06/21	87/11/20	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
ANDERSON, JAMES	54	1	U	02.5	03.5		89/10/10	90/01/22	50.00	52.00	102.00	N
ANDERSON, JAMES	57	1	U	01	01		92/11/07	93/01/06	50.00	00.00	50.00	?
ANDERSON, JENS	65	1	U	03	03.5		88/10/13	89/01/28	50.00	57.00	107.00	N
ANDERSON, MONS	60	1	A	12	10		89/03/23	90/01/23	00.00	53.60	53.60	Y
ANDERSON, NEILS	54	1	U	02.5	02.5		89/09/24	89/12/07	00.00	42.00	42.00	Y
ANDERSON, NEILS C.	34	1	U	06	06		88/05/28	88/11/28	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
ANDERSON, NEILS C.	37	1	U	00	01		91/05/18	91/06/18	50.00	28.55	78.55	N
ANDERSON, O.J.	39	1	U	04	04		88/11/19	89/03/27	50.00	44.00	94.00	N
ANDERSON, PETER	53	1	U	06	06		89/02/27	89/08/26	00.00	41.00	41.00	N
ARAVE, NELSON	60	4	U	02	02		93/03/06	93/05/05	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
ARCHIBALD, JOHN	44	1	U	03	03		90/12/29	91/03/29	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
ARCHIBALD, WILLIAM	55	1	U	02.5	03.5		90/01/30	90/05/14	50.00	40.00	90.00	N
ARGYLE, LORENZO	37	1	U	06	06		88/09/29	89/03/30	150.00	88.20	238.20	N
ARNOLD, ORSON P.	48	3	U	15	05		86/10/21	87/03/20	450.00	101.80	551.80	Y
ARROWSMITH, J. T.	58	1	U	06	05		87/04/12	87/09/11	100.00	000.00	100.00	Y
ARTHUR, C. J.	57	2	U	06	05		89/05/18	89/10/24	300.00	16.00	316.00	Y
ASH, JOHN SR.	70	1	U	06	05		88/12/24	89/05/24	00.00	59.00	59.00	Y
ASHWORTH, WILLIAM	49	1	U	02	02		94/02/26	94/04/17	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
AUGUSTSON, LARS J.	60	1	U	02	02		92/09/22	92/11/19	00.00	85.00	85.00	N
BADGER, RODNEY C.	39	3	U	06	05		87/11/21	88/04/21	100.00	70.20	170.20	Y
BAILEY, CHARLES	52	1	U	04	03.5		88/11/24	89/03/04	100.00	53.00	153.00	Y
BAILEY, GEORGE B.	53	3	U	06	06		86/05/10	86/11/10	300.00	98.30	398.30	N
BAILEY, GEORGE B.	56	3	U	06	05		88/11/26	89/04/26	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
BAIRD, ALEXANDER	56	1	U	06	06		88/06/23	88/12/23	50.00	00.00	50.00	N
BAIRD, JOHN	45	2	A	04	03.5		92/05/11	92/08/20	00.00	00.00	0.00	-

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	DIST			MOS.	MOS.	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
	AGE	CT	CHG	SENT.	SERVD						
BAKER, ALBERT M.	56	1	U	01	01	90/01/10	90/02/10	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
BALL, JOHN P.	57	3	U	06	06	86/02/27	86/09/02	300.00	103.00	403.00	N
BALL, SAMUEL F.	37	3	U	06	06	86/03/01	86/09/04	300.00	83.35	383.35	N
BALL, WILLIAM	56	1	U	03	02.5	89/03/23	89/06/15	00.00	56.00	56.00	Y
BALLARD, HENRY	54	1	U	02	01	89/02/08	89/04/08	38.50	00.00	38.50	Y
BARKDULL, PETER S.	57	3	U	06	06	87/02/21	87/08/22	300.00	53.50	353.50	N
BARNES, JOHN R.	55	3	U	03	01.5	88/04/30	88/06/22	300.00	137.05	437.05	Y
BARNEY, BENJAMIN	57	1	U	03	03	89/09/20	89/12/13	00.00	102.50	102.50	Y
BARNEY, JOSEPH S.	41	2	U	06	06	88/12/23	89/06/21	300.00	20.00	320.00	N
BARRETT, THOMAS	58	1	U	04	03.5	88/09/22	89/01/02	00.00	44.75	44.75	Y
BARSON, PETER S.	37	1	U	06	04.5	87/11/21	88/04/04	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
BARTON, HYRUM	35	3	U	03	02.5	89/02/15	89/04/30	100.00	41.25	141.25	Y
BARTON, JOSEPH P.	56	2	U	06	06	87/05/25	87/11/25	300.00	40.45	340.45	N
BARTON, JOSEPH P.	59	2	U	00	02	89/12/14	90/02/07	300.00	51.15	351.15	N
BARTON, JOSEPH P.	63	2	A	05	03	93/09/19	93/12/25	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
BARTON, PETER D.	43	3	A	15	05.5	89/02/06	89/07/20	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
BARTON, STEPHEN S.	50	2	U	06	06	87/12/23	88/06/22	300.00	78.35	378.35	N
BARTON, STEPHEN S.	55	2	A	05	03	93/09/19	93/12/25	00.00	00.00	0.00	N
BASTIAN, JACOB	53	2	U	06	06	88/06/02	88/12/01	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
BATEMAN, SAMUEL	56	3	U	03	03	88/12/19	89/03/13	75.00	00.00	75.00	Y
BATES, NEPHI J.	37	1	U	03	02.5	86/04/14	86/06/29	1.00	293.20	294.20	Y
BEAL, HENRY	53	1	U	03	02.5	87/10/24	88/01/08	200.00	00.00	200.00	Y
BEARD, THOMAS	54	3	U	00	01	91/02/17	91/03/18	75.00	12.50	87.50	N
BEAUREGARD, CHRISTIAN	66	1	U	02	03	88/09/29	88/12/27	50.00	69.70	119.70	N
BECK, JOHN F.	45	1	U	05	04	89/10/10	90/02/13	200.00	47.00	247.00	Y
BECKSTEAD, HENRY	60	3	U	06	05	87/09/26	88/02/26	100.00	70.90	170.90	Y
BECKSTRAND, E. A.	57	1	U	03	04	89/09/24	90/01/16	00.00	52.00	52.00	Y
BEESTON, WILLIAM	56	1	U	04	04	88/09/29	89/02/08	200.00	69.70	269.70	N
BELL, M. S.	50	1	U	06	05	89/02/27	89/07/27	00.00	41.50	41.50	Y
BENCH, WILLIAM	57	1	A	00.5	00.5	91/11/27	91/12/17	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
BENNETT, H. B.	68	1	A	12	03	90/09/20	90/12/23	00.00	69.10	69.10	N
BENNETT, JOSIAH	47	1	U	00.5	00.5	91/09/23	91/10/03	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
BENSON, PETER	57	1	U	06	05	87/12/23	88/05/24	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
BERG, LUDWIG	47	3	U	06	06	86/06/01	86/12/02	300.00	52.60	352.60	N
BERGEN, JOHN	44	3	U	24	11.5	86/04/17	87/03/24	1200.00	144.70	1344.70	N
BERGEN, JOHN (SR)	65	1	P	36	27	87/12/23	90/03/23	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
BERLIN, ANDREW C.	38	1	U	06	06	87/10/25	88/04/25	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
BERRETT, C. H.	51	1	U	03	02.5	88/12/06	89/02/19	00.00	22.50	22.50	Y
BEST, ALFRED	56	3	U	06	05	85/10/05	86/03/08	300.00	167.30	467.30	Y
BICKLEY, WILLIAM G.	44	2	U	06	06	86/05/27	86/11/29	300.00	185.15	485.15	N
BIGELOW, DAVID	52	1	U	02	02	94/11/22	95/01/10	146.68	00.00	146.68	?
BILLS, ALEXANDER	33	3	U	06	05	87/09/20	88/02/20	100.00	50.90	150.90	Y
BINGHAM, SANFORD	68	1	U	02	03	89/01/07	89/04/06	100.00	45.00	145.00	N
BINGHAM, THOMAS	42	1	U	03	02.5	92/09/23	92/12/05	00.00	145.10	145.10	Y
BINGHAM, WILLARD	57	1	U	06	05	87/05/28	87/10/27	00.00	.	0.00	Y
BIRD, KELSEY	53	1	U	06	06	89/10/22	90/04/21	300.00	47.00	347.00	N
BISHOP, MAHONRI M.	41	1	U	06	05	90/09/19	91/02/17	00.00	82.20	82.20	?
BLACK, J. S.	52	1	U	02.5	02.5	89/10/10	89/12/23	00.00	92.00	92.00	Y
BLOOD, WILLIAM	48	3	U	06	05	87/09/30	88/02/29	150.00	44.00	194.00	Y
BLUNT, JOSEPH	43	3	U	06	06	87/02/21	87/08/22	300.00	31.70	331.70	N
BORG, OLE P.	40	1	A	09	07.5	88/09/29	89/05/16	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
BORGSTROM, CARL M.	45	1	U	04	04.5	88/02/13	88/06/25	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
BORRENSON, NIELS H.	63	1	U	02	02	88/10/13	88/12/11	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
BORRENSON, NIELS H.	65	1	U	06	05	90/09/19	91/02/17	00.00	81.80	81.80	?
BOTT, JOHN HENRY	30	1	U	06	06	88/06/23	88/12/23	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
BOURNE, ELIJAH	37	1	U	05	04	88/09/22	89/01/28	00.00	039.45	39.45	Y
BOWEN, JOHN	43	3	U	06	06	86/02/17	86/08/20	300.00	160.75	460.75	N
BOWMAN, ROBERT	59	3	U	06	02	91/10/15	91/12/15	100.00	13.50	113.50	N
BOX, ELIJAH	45	1	U	06	05	88/12/24	89/05/24	300.00	170.00	470.00	Y
BOYER, FRANCIS C.	45	1	U	02	02	88/09/19	88/11/19	200.00	64.90	264.90	Y
BOYLE, HENRY G.	64	1	U	06	06	88/03/24	88/09/24	100.00	45.80	145.80	N

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	AGE	CT	CHG	DIST	MOS.	MOS.	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
				SENT.	SERVD							
BRADFORD, SYLVESTER	49	1	U	03.5	02.5		89/04/20	89/07/11	25.00	88.40	113.40	Y
BRAIN, EDWARD	60	3	U	06	05		85/10/02	86/03/05	300.00	139.50	439.50	Y
BREINHOLT, JENS C. L.	47	1	U	03	03.5		88/10/24	89/02/05	00.00	44.00	44.00	N
BRIGGS, EPHRAIM	34	3	U	06	05		88/03/15	88/08/15	25.00	32.90	57.90	Y
BRINGHURST, WILLIAM H.	49	2	U	06	06		88/03/25	88/09/24	300.00	25.80	325.80	N
BROADBENT, THOMAS	55	1	U	03.5	03.5		89/10/14	90/01/29	100.00	77.00	177.00	Y
BROCKBANK, ISAAC	49	3	U	06	05		87/02/15	87/07/14	300.00	22.05	322.05	Y
BROMLEY, WILLIAM M.	46	1	U	10	06		86/08/03	87/02/09	300.00	207.80	507.80	Y
BROWN, ALEXANDER	33	3	A	01	01		88/06/20	88/07/20	00.00	187.80	187.80	Y
BROWN, FRANCIS A.	53	1	U	06	06		85/07/11	86/01/13	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
BROWN, JAMES H.	58	1	U	04	04.5		88/12/01	89/04/11	200.00	65.00	265.00	N
BROWN, JAMES S.	60	3	U	03	02.5		88/03/12	88/05/28	100.00	24.10	124.10	Y
BROWN, JENS LARSON	65	1	A	07	06		89/09/24	90/03/20	00.00	52.00	52.00	Y
BROWN, JENS LARSON	68	1	U	01	01		93/12/19	94/01/18	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
BROWN, MORONI	45	1	U	06	06		85/07/11	86/01/13	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
BRYNER, CASPER	54	2	U	06	06		88/06/02	88/12/01	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
BULLARD, WILLIAM	33	2	U	06	05		93/03/11	93/08/07	00.00	10.10	10.10	Y
BULLOCK, ISAAC	63	1	U	02	01.5		87/11/12	88/01/01	300.00	72.00	372.00	Y
BULLOCK, THOMAS H.	48	1	U	06	05		86/12/01	87/04/30	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
BULLOCK, THOMAS H.	50	1	U	04	04.5		89/05/11	89/09/21	100.00	43.00	143.00	N
BULLOCK, THOMAS H.	52	1	A	18	14.5		91/12/05	93/02/20	00.00	64.45	64.45	?
BURGESS, CHARLES	55	3	U	06	05		87/10/11	88/03/11	25.00	42.90	67.90	Y
BURGESS, MARK	52	2	U	06	06		88/06/02	88/12/01	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
BURNINGHAM, THOMAS	44	3	U	06	06		86/02/17	86/08/20	300.00	128.45	428.45	N
BURR, JOHN A.	44	1	A	01	01		90/03/25	90/04/25	00.00	58.00	58.00	N
BURT, ALEXANDER	50	3	U	06	05		88/03/26	88/08/27	00.00	168.20	168.20	Y
BUTLER, WM.	60	1	U	06	06		87/06/21	87/12/21	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
BYBEE, DAVID B.	55	3	U	06	06		87/10/25	88/04/25	50.00	52.40	102.40	N
BYWATER, JAMES	63	1	U	06	06		88/05/28	88/11/28	50.00	00.00	50.00	N
BYWATER, JAMES	64	1	U	06	04.5		89/07/09	89/11/28	150.00	48.00	198.00	N
BYWATER, JAMES)	66	1	U	03	12		91/11/28	92/12/01	00.00	33.40	33.40	Y
BYWATER, JAMES)	66	1	A	24	12		91/11/28	92/12/01	00.00	44.00	44.00	Y
CAMPBELL, ELISHA	45	1	U	06	05		87/06/21	87/11/20	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
CANNON, A. H.	27	3	U	06	05		86/03/17	86/08/17	300.00	56.10	356.10	Y
CANNON, ANGUS	50	3	U	06	07		85/05/09	85/12/14	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
CANNON, GEORGE Q.	61	3	U	06	05		88/09/17	89/02/21	450.00	00.00	450.00	Y
CARLISLE, JOSEPH	64	3	U	03	03		89/03/02	89/05/25	100.00	27.25	127.25	Y
CARLSON, C. F.	38	1	A	12	10		89/09/28	90/07/27	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CARTER, SAMUEL	51	1	U	04	03		87/06/21	87/09/30	100.00	43.00	143.00	Y
CARTER, SYDNEY R.	54	1	A	06	05		88/10/20	89/03/20	00.00	57.00	57.00	Y
CARTER, WILLIAM	67	2	U	06	06		88/06/02	88/12/01	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
CASADY, WILLIAM H.	35	3	A	06	05		93/02/13	93/07/13	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CHADWICK, ABRAHAM	66	1	U	06	06		87/01/08	87/07/08	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
CHAMBERLAIN, THOMAS	34	2	U	06	05		88/12/19	89/05/18	300.00	20.00	320.00	Y
CHANDLER, GEORGE	50	1	U	06	06		86/12/07	87/06/07	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
CHATTERTON, JONATHON	53	3	U	03	03.5		86/02/08	86/05/25	150.00	52.25	202.25	N
CHIDESTER, DAVID	47	2	U	06	06		87/12/23	88/06/22	300.00	29.60	329.60	N
CHRISTENSEN, AXEL	51	1	U	04	04.5		88/06/23	88/11/03	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
CHRISTENSEN, CHRIS L.	34	2	U	06	06		89/12/10	90/06/09	300.00	22.35	322.35	N
CHRISTENSEN, FRANDS C.	54	1	U	02.5	03.5		89/03/14	89/06/26	00.00	52.00	52.00	N
CHRISTENSEN, HANS	49	1	A	16	13		89/03/05	90/04/05	00.00	118.00	118.00	N
CHRISTENSEN, HANS	53	1	U	02	02		93/10/14	93/12/14	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CHRISTENSEN, JAMES	57	1	U	06	06		87/12/23	88/06/23	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
CHRISTENSEN, JENS	54	1	U	06	06		88/05/26	88/11/26	50.00	00.00	50.00	N
CHRISTENSEN, JENS C.	52	1	A	00.5	00.5		90/05/24	90/06/07	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CHRISTENSEN, LARS P.	52	1	U	03	03.5		89/03/05	89/06/27	50.00	103.00	153.00	N
CHRISTENSEN, MADIS	63	1	A	08	06.5		88/02/13	88/09/03	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CHRISTENSEN, NIELS P.	67	1	A	12	10		91/05/02	92/03/02	00.00	99.70	99.70	Y
CHRISTENSEN, PETER C.	59	1	U	03	02.5		89/02/18	89/05/03	00.00	53.00	53.00	Y
CHRISTENSEN, SOREN C.	62	1	U	02	02		88/10/02	88/11/30	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CHRISTIANSEN, C. P.	50	1	U	06	05		87/03/07	87/08/06	00.00	00.00	0.00	-

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	AGE	CT	CHG	DIST	MOS.	MOS.	SERVD	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
CHRISTIANSEN, FRED J.	62	1	U	04		03.5		88/10/09	89/01/29	50.00	44.60	94.60	Y
CHRISTIANSEN, WILLIAM	55	1	U	03		03.5		88/11/19	89/03/06	00.00	47.00	47.00	N
CHRISTOPHERSON, JOHN	35	1	U	03		02.5		89/12/12	90/02/24	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CHUGG, WILLIAM	50	1	U	06		06		87/12/17	88/06/18	200.00	00.00	200.00	N
CHURCH, HYRUM S.	42	2	U	06		06		88/03/25	88/09/24	300.00	14.20	314.20	N
CLARK, EZRA T.	64	3	U	06		05		87/02/21	87/07/20	300.00	117.20	417.20	Y
CLARK, JOSEPH	59	1	U	06		06		87/09/21	88/03/21	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
CLARK, JOSEPH)	61	1	A	36		08		89/03/23	89/11/30	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CLARK, JOSEPH)	61	1	U	06		08		89/03/23	89/11/30	300.00	83.00	383.00	N
CLAWSON, H. B.	59	3	U	06		05		85/09/29	86/03/02	300.00	37.90	337.90	Y
CLAWSON, RUDGER)	28	3	U	06		37		84/11/03	87/12/13	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
CLAWSON, RUDGER)	28	3	P	42		37		84/11/03	87/12/13	500.00	0.00	500.00	N
CLIFF, EDWARD	57	1	U	06		06		87/10/14	88/04/14	200.00	00.00	200.00	N
CLOWARD, THOMAS P.	65	1	U	02		01.5		89/03/09	89/04/27	00.00	53.60	53.60	Y
CLUFF, HARVEY H.	52	1	U	06		05		88/04/14	88/09/14	300.00	159.90	459.90	Y
CLUFF, S.S.	51	1	U	04		03		88/11/19	89/02/27	50.00	38.00	88.00	Y
COLLETT, RICHARD	45	3	U	06		05		87/04/30	87/09/29	100.00	42.35	142.35	Y
CONDY, GIBSON	43	1	U	04		03.5		88/10/09	89/01/20	200.00	57.80	257.80	Y
CONNELLY, JOHN	33	3	U	06		06		85/10/06	86/04/12	300.00	41.95	341.95	Y
COOK, P. W.	69	1	U	01		01		88/12/01	89/01/01	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
COOLEY, ANDREW W.	49	3	U	06		06		85/10/05	86/04/08	300.00	100.20	400.20	N
COOLEY, ANDREW W.	50	3	U	06		05		87/03/01	87/07/31	25.00	34.55	59.55	Y
COOPER, FREDERICK A.	48	3	U	06		06		86/03/08	86/09/11	300.00	90.10	390.10	N
COTTAM, JOHN	64	3	U	06		06		87/09/29	88/03/29	50.00	33.40	83.40	Y
COVINGTON, JOHN T.	48	2	U	06		06		88/12/19	89/06/17	300.00	20.00	320.00	N
COX, EDWARD	63	3	U	06		05		88/02/27	88/07/27	50.00	31.40	81.40	Y
COX, F. W.	54	1	A	00.5		00.5		91/10/24	91/11/13	00.00	58.00	58.00	Y
COX, WILLIAM J.	41	2	U	06		06		86/05/28	86/11/29	300.00	24.65	324.65	N
COZIER, GEORGE E.	29	3	A	12		04.5		92/05/22	92/10/03	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CRABTREE, CHARLES	63	1	U	03		02.5		90/05/29	90/08/14	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CRAWFORD, G. M.	47	2	U	06		06		90/09/14	91/03/12	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
CRAWSHAW, ROBERT	52	1	U	03		03.5		88/12/24	89/04/08	00.00	42.00	42.00	N
CRISMON, GEORGE	53	3	U	06		05		87/03/07	87/08/06	150.00	22.00	172.00	Y
CROCKETT, ALVIN	57	1	U	04		03.5		88/02/13	88/05/24	.	.	.	Y
CROSBY, GEORGE H.	44	2	A	03		02.5		90/12/09	91/02/23	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CROWTHER, E. D.	49	3	U	06		05		90/04/19	90/09/19	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CROWTHER, RICHARD	54	1	A	03		02.5		94/09/21	94/12/05	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CURTIS, GEORGE	66	1	U	02		02		89/10/10	89/12/08	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
CURTIS, LEVI	53	1	U	06		05		88/03/24	88/08/29	100.00	58.35	158.35	Y
CUTLER, MARTIN B.	35	2	U	06		05		89/05/22	89/10/22	300.00	073.50	373.50	Y
CUTLER, THOMAS R.	44	1	U	06		05		88/10/19	89/03/19	300.00	158.00	458.00	Y
DALLEY, JAMES	66	2	U	06		06		87/03/22	87/09/21	300.00	114.45	414.45	N
DALLEY, ROBERT B.	31	2	A	18		07.5		93/09/19	94/05/08	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
DALLEY, WILLIAM	68	2	U	06		06		87/03/22	87/09/21	300.00	59.90	359.90	N
DALRYMPLE, L. A.	29	3	A	04		03.5		92/03/05	92/06/15	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
DAVIDSON, ROBERT	49	1	U	04		04.5		88/12/05	89/04/15	100.00	22.50	122.50	N
DAVIS, DAVID E.	44	3	U	06		06		85/10/05	86/04/08	300.00	143.70	443.70	N
DAVIS, EDWIN L.	40	3	U	02.5		02.5		88/09/18	88/12/01	70.00	45.60	115.60	Y
DAVIS, GEORGE	53	1	U	03		03.5		88/12/01	89/03/12	00.00	45.00	45.00	N
DAY, ELI A.	32	1	U	05		05		88/11/19	89/04/24	150.00	00.00	150.00	N
DAY, ELI A.	36	1	A	01		01		92/12/21	93/01/20	00.00	45.00	45.00	Y
DEAN, J. H.	31	3	U	06		06		86/09/27	87/03/28	300.00	162.10	462.10	Y
DEAN, JOSEPH	60	3	U	03.5		04		89/05/24	89/09/21	200.00	00.00	200.00	N
DEDRICKSON, THEODORE	61	1	U	02		03		89/03/12	89/06/14	00.00	130.00	130.00	N
DENNEY, CHARLES	36	3	U	06		06		86/06/01	86/12/01	300.00	60.80	360.80	N
DILWORTH, JOSEPH	57	1	A	01		01		92/03/02	92/04/01	00.00	52.50	52.50	?
DINWOODY, HENRY	61	3	U	06		05		86/02/23	86/07/26	300.00	51.95	351.95	Y
DOPP, WILLIAM H.	40	4	A	04		03.5		92/06/01	92/09/10	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
DORIUS, C.C.N.	57	1	U	06		05		88/03/10	88/08/10	100.00	73.10	173.10	Y
DORIUS, JOHN F.F.	56	1	U	04		04.5		88/11/19	89/03/29	50.00	46.00	96.00	N
DOUGLAS, RALPH	64	1	U	06		05		87/05/28	87/10/27	00.00	.	0.00	Y

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	AGE	CT	CHG	DIST	MOS.	MOS.	SERVD	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
DOUGLAS, WILLIAM	52	1	U	06	05			87/06/21	87/11/20	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
DRIGGS, APPOLLOS	45	3	U	06	05			87/02/19	87/07/18	300.00	76.25	376.25	Y
DRIGGS, B. W.	54	1	A	06	03.5			91/04/10	91/07/20	00.00	79.00	79.00	?
DUCE, THOMAS	43	1	U	03	02.5			88/11/09	89/01/25	100.00	42.50	142.50	Y
DUE, O. F.	40	3	U	06	06			86/03/01	86/09/06	300.00	165.70	465.70	N
DUNFORD, GEORGE	64	3	U	06	05			86/11/24	87/04/23	150.00	28.45	178.45	Y
DUNHAM, LEVI S.	41	1	A	16	13.5			89/10/10	91/11/22	00.00	77.00	77.00	Y
DUNN, CHARLES O.	33	1	U	06	06			87/12/10	88/06/11	150.00	00.00	150.00	N
DUNN, JAMES	49	3	U	12	06			86/09/23	87/03/23	300.00	95.20	395.20	N
DUNN, JOHN J.	63	1	U	06	06			87/05/28	87/11/28	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
DUNNING, JOHN M.	24	2	U	06	06			88/09/26	89/03/23	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
DURFEY, FRANCILO	38	1	U	06	06			87/12/23	88/06/23	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
DURRANT, JOHN	46	1	U	06	05			86/10/21	87/03/20	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
DURRANT, JOHN	52	1	A	18	14.5			88/09/29	89/12/14	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
EARDLY, BEDSON	54	3	U	06	06			87/02/21	87/08/22	300.00	37.60	337.60	Y
EARDLY, BEDSON	57	3	A	18	15			89/10/04	90/12/19	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
EDWARDS, ALEXANDER	46	3	U	06	05			87/04/30	87/09/29	100.00	57.75	157.75	Y
ELLIS, FRED W.	40	1	U	06	05			86/12/13	87/05/17	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
ELLIS, FRED W.	44	1	A	02	02			90/12/13	91/02/11	00.00	42.15	42.15	?
ELLSWORTH, GERMAN	38	1	U	06	05			87/11/17	88/04/17	100.00	54.20	154.20	Y
ELLSWORTH, GERMAN	43	1	U	01	01			92/11/07	92/12/07	00.00	32.50	32.50	?
EMMERTSEN, KANUTE	58	1	U	06	06			87/06/21	87/12/21	200.00	00.00	200.00	N
EMMERTSON, KANUTE	60	1	U	06	06			89/05/25	89/11/25	00.00	39.00	39.00	N
ENCE, GOTTLIEB	48	1	U	03	03.5			89/03/05	89/06/27	50.00	86.00	136.00	N
ENGLAND, JOHN	47	3	U	06	06			87/03/21	87/09/21	150.00	107.10	257.10	N
ERICKSEN, N. C.	36	4	A	12	10			92/06/01	93/04/01	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
EVANS, H. H.	33	3	U	06	06			87/10/03	88/03/03	50.00	46.30	96.30	Y
EVANS, JOSEPH H.	58	3	P	42	28			84/11/08	87/03/15	250.00	00.00	250.00	N
EVANS, W. P.	26	3	A	12	10			89/07/16	90/08/09	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
FACER, GEORGE	54	1	U	04	03.5			89/03/21	89/07/01	150.00	38.00	188.00	Y
FARLEY, ISAAC	49	1	U	06	06			87/11/09	88/05/09	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
FARR, WINSLOW	51	1	U	06	06			88/05/26	88/11/26	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
FARRER, JAMES	63	2	U	06	06			86/09/26	87/03/26	300.00	50.00	350.00	N
FEATHERSTONE, THOMAS	56	1	U	01	01			91/03/18	91/04/18	50.00	43.00	93.00	Y
FELSTEAD, WILLIAM)	72	3	P	36	14			86/09/14	87/11/23	150.00	00.00	150.00	N
FELSTEAD, WILLIAM)	72	3	U	06	14			86/09/14	87/11/23	150.00	39.75	189.75	N
FISHER, JAMES M.	54	3	U	06	05			87/09/29	88/02/29	100.00	76.30	176.30	Y
FOLSOM, H. P.	45	3	U	06	05			86/09/25	87/02/24	300.00	51.10	351.10	Y
FORBES, JOSEPH B.	46	1	U	04	04.5			88/09/22	89/02/01	100.00	43.65	143.65	N
FORSGREN, PETER A.	62	1	U	03	03.5			88/12/13	89/03/28	00.00	45.00	45.00	N
FOSTER, WM. H.	54	3	U	06	05			87/02/21	87/07/20	300.00	41.90	341.90	N
FOTHERINGHAM, WILLIAM	59	2	U	03	02.5			85/05/23	85/08/11	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
FOULGER, HERBERT J.	38	3	U	06	06			86/02/26	86/09/02	300.00	93.65	393.65	N
FOX, ISAAC H.	71	1	U	01	01			89/03/23	89/04/26	00.00	53.60	53.60	Y
FRANDSEN, JENS	65	1	U	06	06			87/06/21	87/12/21	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
FRANDSEN, JENS	70	1	U	00	01			91/05/27	91/06/27	100.00	118.55	218.55	N
FRANDSEN, JOHN	52	1	A	13	10.5			89/03/05	90/01/25	00.00	52.00	52.00	Y
FRANK, CHARLES	58	1	U	06	05			87/01/08	87/06/07	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
FRANK, CHARLES	62	1	A	12	06.5			89/12/07	90/06/23	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
FRASER, ROBERT G.	63	1	U	00	01			88/11/03	88/12/03	100.00	64.60	164.60	N
FRY, RICHARD	57	1	U	06	05			87/11/19	88/10/19	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
FUHRIMAN, JACOB	59	1	U	03	03.5			88/12/10	89/02/23	50.00	30.00	80.00	Y
FULLER, SANFORD	55	1	U	06	05			87/04/12	87/09/11	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
FUNK, HANS	48	1	U	06	06			87/11/19	88/05/19	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
FUNK, MARCUS	45	2	U	06	06			88/03/25	88/09/24	300.00	10.65	310.65	N
FURSTER, JOHN B.	71	3	U	06	06			86/10/01	87/04/01	300.00	44.70	344.70	N
GALBRAITH, W. W.	48	3	U	06	05			86/09/22	87/02/21	300.00	52.55	352.55	N
GALE, HENRY	68	2	U	06	06			85/12/17	86/06/21	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
GALLUP, WILLIAM	35	1	U	03	02.5			88/11/19	89/02/01	00.00	41.00	41.00	Y
GARDINER, JESSIE	59	1	U	03	03.5			88/09/19	89/01/04	00.00	70.85	70.85	N
GARDINER, JOHN W.	48	1	U	05	04			88/09/29	89/02/03	00.00	00.00	0.00	-

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	DIST			MOS.	MOS.	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
	AGE	CT	CHG	SENT.	SERVD						
GARN, MARTIN	30	3	U	04	03.5	89/02/19	89/05/30	200.00	00.00	200.00	Y
GEDDES, WILLIAM	54	1	U	06	05	86/12/06	87/05/05	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
GEE, WILLIAM	62	1	U	06	05	89/12/18	90/05/18	00.00	42.00	42.00	N
GEERTSEN, PETER C.	51	1	U	06	05	89/01/22	89/06/22	00.00	41.50	41.50	Y
GERBER, JOHN T.	50	3	U	06	06	87/10/11	88/04/11	100.00	34.45	134.45	N
GIBBS, JOHN L.	38	1	U	06	05	87/04/12	87/09/11	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
GILLESPIE, JOHN	57	3	U	06	06	86/09/30	87/03/31	300.00	154.15	454.15	N
GODFREY, GEORGE	49	4	A	18	06.5	92/10/17	93/05/03	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
GODFREY, THOMAS	42	1	U	04	04.5	89/06/01	89/10/10	100.00	49.00	149.00	N
GOFF, HYRUM	35	3	U	06	06	86/03/03	86/09/09	300.00	93.45	393.45	Y
GOSS, P. T.	49	3	U	03	03	89/02/20	89/05/15	75.00	00.00	75.00	Y
GOUGH, JOSIAH	44	1	A	06	04	93/04/10	93/08/07	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
GOWANS, HUGH S.	54	3	U	06	06	86/02/26	86/08/30	300.00	220.05	520.05	N
GRAEHL, GEORGE L.	78	1	U	00	01	88/05/25	88/06/25	10.00	47.50	57.50	N
GRAHAM, JOHN	32	1	A	12	10	90/05/27	91/03/27	0.00	0.00	0.00	-
GRANGER, WALTER	76	2	U	06	06	88/06/02	88/12/01	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
GRANT, WILLIAM	48	1	U	04	03.5	86/04/14	86/07/24	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
GRANT, WILLIAM	51	1	A	20	16	89/04/20	90/08/20	00.00	130.00	130.00	?
GRAY, JOHN C.	67	3	U	06	05	86/10/30	87/03/29	50.00	34.90	84.90	N
GREENWELL, AMBROSE	53	1	U	12	08.5	86/05/26	87/02/09	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
GREENWELL, CHARLES H.	29	1	U	06	05	86/02/26	86/07/29	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
GREENWELL, FRANK	29	1	U	05	05	88/06/30	88/11/05	00.00	.	0.00	Y
GREENWELL, FRANK	33	4	A	03	03	94/02/17	94/05/13	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
GRETHER, HERMAN	30	3	U	06	06	87/02/21	87/08/22	300.00	28.20	328.20	N
GRIFFIN, THOMAS	33	1	U	06	06	89/06/01	89/12/02	100.00	38.00	138.00	N
GRIFFIN, WILLIAM H.)	45	1	U	06	28	88/02/13	90/06/13	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
GRIFFIN, WILLIAM H.)	45	1	P	36	28	88/02/13	90/06/13	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
GRIMSHAW, DUCKWORTH	49	2	A	12	10	91/10/13	92/08/13	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
GROESBECK, NICHOLAS H.	44	1	U	09	06	86/08/02	87/02/08	450.00	155.80	605.80	Y
GROESBECK, NICHOLAS H.	48	1	A	18	04	90/12/01	91/04/02	00.00	47.00	47.00	?
GROESBECK, NICHOLAS H.	50	3	A	12	10	92/05/26	93/03/26	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
GROO, ISAAC	58	3	U	06	06	85/10/05	86/04/08	300.00	61.70	361.70	N
GROVES, JOHN	58	3	U	02.5	03.5	89/03/15	89/06/27	75.00	00.00	75.00	Y
GROW, HENRY	70	3	U	05	04	87/03/19	87/07/24	50.00	117.10	167.10	Y
GUNDERSON, THOMAS	38	3	U	02.5	03.5	89/01/21	89/05/10	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
GURNEY, WILLIAM	54	1	U	03	03	89/03/23	89/06/15	00.00	53.60	53.60	Y
GURR, REUBEN	39	1	A	12	11	89/03/05	90/02/04	00.00	103.00	103.00	N
GWILLIAM, H. B.	51	1	U	06	06	86/12/13	87/06/13	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
GYLLENSKOG, NILS GOTRIK	68	1	U	02	01.5	87/12/10	88/01/31	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HADLOCK, FRANKLIN P.	38	3	U	06	08	92/06/20	93/02/20	00.00	13.00	13.00	?
HAFEN, JACOB	53	1	U	03	04	89/03/09	89/07/01	50.00	48.00	98.00	Y
HALE, JOSEPH	49	1	A	09	11	90/02/03	91/01/04	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HALES, GEORGE	64	2	U	06	06	86/09/26	87/03/26	300.00	50.00	350.00	N
HALGREEN, JOHN	60	1	U	01	01	88/11/30	88/12/29	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HALGREEN, JOHN	62	1	U	01.5	01.5	91/01/06	91/02/20	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HALL, CHARLES S.	45	1	U	01	01	91/05/27	91/06/26	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HALL, CHARLES S.)	43	1	A	18	09	89/01/08	89/10/16	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HALL, CHARLES S.)	43	1	U	06	09	89/01/08	89/10/16	00.00	33.00	33.00	N
HALLIDAY, GEORGE	66	1	U	02.5	02.5	88/10/27	89/01/09	00.00	43.80	43.80	Y
HAMER, SAMUEL	57	3	U	03	03	90/03/26	90/06/23	00.00	17.50	17.50	Y
HAMILTON, HENRY	56	1	U	06	06	88/03/24	88/09/24	100.00	57.80	157.80	N
HAMILTON, JAMES C.	43	3	U	02.5	02.5	88/10/12	88/12/25	150.00	1.25	151.25	Y
HAMPSHIRE, CHARLES	44	1	U	04	04.5	89/03/13	89/07/30	50.00	48.00	98.00	N
HANSEN, ANDERS	49	3	U	18	06	86/09/27	87/03/28	300.00	79.40	379.40	N
HANSEN, ANDREW	50	1	U	06	05	88/12/08	89/05/08	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HANSEN, AUGUST	29	1	A	06	05	91/02/19	91/07/19	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HANSEN, CHRISTIAN	67	1	U	06	06	87/10/27	88/04/27	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
HANSEN, FERDINAND F.	54	1	U	04	03.5	87/12/22	88/04/02	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
HANSEN, HANS C.(GUNSN)	52	1	U	03	02.5	87/11/03	88/01/17	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HANSEN, HANS C.(LOGAN)	59	1	U	06	06	88/06/23	88/12/23	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
HANSEN, HANS P.	44	1	U	06	05	88/02/13	88/07/13	200.00	00.00	200.00	Y

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	DIST		MOS.		SERVD	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
	AGE	CT	CHG	SENT.							
HANSEN, JAMES	61	1	U	06	06	88/02/13	88/08/13	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
HANSEN, JAMES P.	62	1	U	02	02.5	89/03/05	89/05/23	00.00	101.00	101.00	N
HANSEN, JENS (BRG CTY)	63	1	U	06	06	87/12/10	88/06/11	150.00	00.00	150.00	N
HANSEN, JENS (GUNSN)	49	1	U	03	03.5	88/11/19	89/03/06	50.00	45.00	95.00	N
HANSEN, JENS N.	47	1	U	02	03	89/05/25	89/08/24	00.00	44.00	44.00	N
HANSEN, JENS(ML CRK)	49	3	U	06	06	86/06/02	86/12/02	300.00	90.00	390.00	N
HANSEN, O.	56	1	U	05	05	87/11/19	88/04/25	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
HANSEN, PETER C.	53	1	U	02	01.5	87/10/24	87/12/13	000.00	000.00	0.00	-
HANSEN, WILLARD	32	1	U	04	03.5	88/11/24	89/03/04	200.00	48.00	248.00	Y
HANSON, FREDERICK H.	39	3	U	06	06	85/11/05	86/05/10	300.00	172.00	472.00	N
HANSON, NATHAN	60	3	U	06	05	87/10/12	88/03/12	100.00	49.10	149.10	Y
HANSON, NELS	36	1	U	02	02	90/01/20	90/03/20	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HARDING, THOMAS	54	1	U	06	05	88/03/24	88/08/24	00.00	38.45	38.45	Y
HARDY, AARON	48	1	U	06	05	87/10/14	88/03/14	000.00	43.95	43.95	Y
HARDY, AARON	50	1	U	06	06	90/10/06	91/04/85	300.00	52.00	352.00	N
HARDY, WARREN	48	2	U	06	06	88/06/02	88/12/01	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
HARMER, LOREN	34	1	U	04	03	88/11/19	89/02/27	100.00	42.00	142.00	Y
HARMON, GEORGE	41	3	U	00	01	87/09/14	87/10/13	100.00	18.00	118.00	N
HARPER, JOHN C.	43	1	U	05	04	89/04/20	89/09/26	200.00	151.20	351.20	Y
HARPER, THOMAS	58	1	U	06	06	88/05/28	88/11/28	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
HARRIS, CHARLES	58	2	U	03	02	93/05/12	93/07/18	00.00	9.20	9.20	?
HARRIS, JOHN	69	1	U	01	02	88/02/28	88/04/23	50.00	00.00	50.00	N
HARRISON, WILLIAM	59	1	U	06	05	87/03/21	87/08/20	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
HART, JOHN	58	1	A	18	14.5	89/03/23	90/06/07	00.00	55.60	55.60	Y
HARVEY, DANIEL	57	3	U	06	06	87/09/29	88/04/04	150.00	70.15	220.15	N
HAWKINS, CHARLES	43	1	U	04	04.5	88/10/09	89/02/19	100.00	55.60	155.60	N
HAWKINS, ELI B.	35	1	U	05	05	88/11/03	89/04/08	200.00	77.35	277.35	N
HAWS, ALBERT	52	1	U	03	03.5	88/11/26	89/03/14	50.00	62.00	112.00	N
HEGSTEAD, HANS C.	57	1	U	06	06	87/05/28	87/11/28	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
HEINER, ANTHONY	45	1	U	03	02.5	89/04/01	89/06/16	200.00	45.00	245.00	Y
HELM, THOMAS B.	52	1	U	06	06	86/12/13	87/06/13	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
HELM, THOMAS B.	54	1	U	06	06	88/06/02	88/12/02	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
HENDERSON, ROBERT	61	1	U	06	06	87/01/03	87/07/05	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
HENDERSON, THOMAS	49	3	U	06	03	87/11/14	88/02/13	100.00	37.90	137.90	Y
HENNINGSON, RASMUS	66	1	U	03	02.5	88/10/09	88/12/22	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HERRIN, ORLANDO F.	51	1	U	06	05	87/10/27	88/03/27	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
HERRIN, ORLANDO F.	52	1	A	02	02	88/11/19	89/01/17	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HERRIN, ORLANDO F.	55	1	A	04	03.5	91/03/28	91/07/08	00.00	.	0.00	Y
HICKS, JOHN F.R.	64	3	U	06	06	89/11/06	90/05/06	300.00	39.50	339.50	N
HIGGINS, JAMES	64	3	U	18	05	86/09/30	87/02/28	400.00	99.20	499.20	Y
HIGGINS, SILAS G.	65	2	U	06	06	88/03/25	88/09/24	300.00	10.80	310.80	N
HIGGINSON, JAMES G.	54	1	U	06	05	88/03/24	88/08/24	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HIGHAM, THOMAS S.	33	3	U	06	06	89/09/30	90/03/31	300.00	30.70	330.70	N
HILL, ARCHIBALD N.	72	3	U	02	01.5	88/09/17	88/11/05	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
HILL, DANIEL	44	1	U	06	05	88/11/09	89/04/09	100.00	43.00	143.00	Y
HILL, SAMUEL H.	47	3	U	02	02	88/09/17	88/11/15	75.00	00.00	75.00	Y
HILL, WILLIAM H.	49	3	U	02.5	02.5	88/12/10	89/02/22	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
HOCHSTRASSER, R.	48	1	U	06	05	87/11/22	88/04/22	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
HOGAN, G.	60	1	U	01	01	89/11/25	89/12/25	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HOGAN, JOSEPH	37	3	U	06	05	87/02/21	87/07/20	300.00	52.30	352.30	Y
HOLYOAK, GEORGE	58	2	U	06	06	87/12/23	88/06/22	300.00	94.65	394.65	N
HOMER, ANDREW	71	3	U	05	04	87/10/14	88/02/18	50.00	115.10	165.10	Y
HOOPER, WM. J.	65	3	U	06	06	87/02/23	87/08/23	300.00	24.80	324.80	N
HOPKINS, JOHN	58	4	U	03	02.5	93/11/13	94/01/28	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
HORNE, JOSEPH S.	46	1	A	18	14.5	89/03/05	90/05/20	00.00	88.50	88.50	N
HOSKINS, OLIVER C.	62	1	U	03.0	02.5	89/01/25	89/04/10	100.00	40.00	140.00	Y
HOWARD, JAMES	43	3	U	03	02.5	89/02/11	89/04/26	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
HOWARD, JOHN R.	50	3	A	12	10	91/11/13	92/09/13	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HUGHES, HENRY	62	1	U	06	05	87/11/26	88/04/26	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
HUIH, LORENZO	40	1	U	01	01	95/02/25	95/03/27	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HUMPHREYS, RICHARD N.	41	1	U	03	03.5	89/10/31	90/02/12	300.00	76.00	376.00	N

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	AGE	CT	CHG	SENT.	MOS.	MOS.	SERVD	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
HUNSAKER, ALLEN	47	1	U	06	05			87/05/21	87/10/20	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
HUNTER, EBENEZER	56	1	U	02	02			88/09/22	88/11/22	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
HUTCHINGS, WILLIAM	59	1	A	11	09			89/03/23	89/12/28	00.00	53.60	53.60	Y
INGALL, JAMES K.	45	1	U	00	01			91/10/11	91/11/10	50.00	102.20	152.20	N
IRVING, JOHN	65	3	U	04.5	04.5			88/10/18	89/02/10	250.00	00.00	250.00	Y
IVERSEN, HANS P.	54	2	U	06	06			90/03/16	90/09/15	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
JACKSON, ISAAC	42	3	A	06	07.5			90/01/24	90/09/12	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
JACKSON, JOHN W.	40	1	A	10	08.5			89/10/01	90/06/11	00.00	57.00	57.00	Y
JACKSON, THOMAS R.	46	1	A	12	10			89/04/20	90/02/21	00.00	120.00	120.00	?
JACOBS, JOHN	63	1	A	10	08.5			89/03/23	89/12/03	00.00	53.60	53.60	Y
JACOBSEN, LARS	55	1	U	06	05			87/10/13	88/03/13	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
JACOBSEN, SOREN	39	3	U	03	04			89/02/23	89/06/17	75.00	00.00	75.00	N
JANSON, ANTON A.	63	1	U	03	02.5			89/12/24	90/03/08	00.00	42.00	42.00	?
JANSON, CARL	60	3	U	18	05			86/09/30	87/03/07	300.00	91.35	391.35	Y
JARDINE, JOHN	57	1	U	06	06			88/06/02	88/12/03	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
JEFFS, WILLIAM	59	3	U	19	05			86/09/22	87/02/21	400.00	60.80	460.80	N
JENKINS, JAMES H.	67	1	A	24	04			90/10/04	91/02/11	00.00	29.50	29.50	N
JENKINS, JOHN	42	1	U	06	05			87/11/19	88/04/19	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
JENKINS, RICHARD	54	1	U	04	04			88/11/19	89/03/28	50.00	41.50	91.50	N
JENKINS, RICHARD	56	1	U	03	02.5			91/03/18	91/06/03	50.00	42.00	92.00	Y
JENKINS, WILLIAM J.	44	3	U	06	06			86/03/03	86/09/07	300.00	97.85	397.85	N
JENKINS, WILLIAM J.	46	3	U	06	06			88/04/21	88/10/22	50.00	109.80	159.80	N
JENSEN, ANDREW	44	3	U	06	06			86/05/10	86/11/10	300.00	95.90	395.90	N
JENSEN, CHARLES	34	1	U	05	06			89/09/24	90/03/01	200.00	57.00	257.00	N
JENSEN, CHRISTIAN	49	1	U	02	02			88/12/01	89/02/01	150.00	44.00	194.00	Y
JENSEN, FRED	57	1	U	06	06			87/12/10	88/06/11	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
JENSEN, FRED	59	1	U	06	06			89/11/26	90/05/26	100.00	35.00	135.00	N
JENSEN, HANS	44	1	U	06	05			86/10/21	87/03/20	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
JENSEN, HANS (HYRUM)	70	1	U	06	06			87/06/21	87/12/21	100.00	000.00	100.00	N
JENSEN, HANS (MANTI)	59	1	U	05	04.5			88/09/27	89/02/02	00.00	43.30	43.30	Y
JENSEN, HANS(GOSHEN)	47	1	A	24	19			89/09/30	91/04/30	00.00	42.00	42.00	Y
JENSEN, JENS L.	62	1	U	02	03			89/09/30	89/12/30	00.00	47.00	47.00	N
JENSEN, JENS P.	40	1	U	06	06			87/06/04	87/12/05	200.00	00.00	200.00	N
JENSEN, JENS P.	42	1	A	18	14.5			89/12/24	91/03/11	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
JENSEN, OLE A.	49	1	U	06	06			88/11/30	89/05/31	100.00	46.00	146.00	N
JENSEN, PETER C.	61	1	U	06	05			88/12/13	89/05/13	100.00	45.00	145.00	Y
JENSEN, SOREN C.	43	1	U	04	04.5			88/11/19	89/03/29	50.00	47.50	97.50	N
JEPPSON, JEPPE	56	1	U	03	02			88/12/13	89/02/26	00.00	44.00	44.00	Y
JESPERSON, HANS)	46	1	P	60	21			89/10/10	91/07/27	00.00	52.00	52.00	?
JESPERSON, HANS)	46	1	A	36	21			89/10/10	91/07/27	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
JESSOP, RICHARD	51	1	U	02	02			89/05/27	89/07/27	00.00	35.00	35.00	Y
JOHN, DAVID	54	1	U	06	05			87/03/07	87/08/06	300.00	74.00	374.00	Y
JOHNSON, A.	28	2	A	04	03.5			92/09/25	93/01/01	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
JOHNSON, J.P.R.	65	1	U	04	03.5			88/10/09	89/01/20	200.00	57.35	257.35	Y
JOHNSON, JOHN B.	64	3	U	06	00.5			88/02/24	88/03/05	150.00	43.15	193.15	N
JOHNSON, LARS P.	51	1	A	02	02			90/12/13	91/02/11	00.00	54.30	54.30	?
JOHNSON, OLAUS	54	3	U	06	06			88/02/29	88/08/29	50.00	108.65	158.65	N
JOHNSON, THOMAS	67	1	A	06	05			89/09/24	90/02/24	00.00	52.00	52.00	Y
JOLLEY, JOSEPH L.	43	1	U	03	02.5			89/10/10	89/12/31	50.00	89.00	139.00	Y
JONES, ALBERT)	49	1	A	10	11.5			88/11/19	89/11/08	00.00	32.00	32.00	Y
JONES, ALBERT)	49	1	U	04	11.5			88/11/19	89/11/08	200.00	37.00	237.00	Y
JONES, DANIEL	48	3	U	06	05			88/04/11	88/09/11	300.00	28.05	328.05	Y
JONES, JOHN L.	49	1	U	06	06			87/12/10	88/06/11	150.00	00.00	150.00	N
JONES, JOHN LEE	44	2	U	06	06			86/12/28	87/06/27	300.00	59.90	359.90	N
JONES, JOHN P.	68	2	U	06	06			86/12/28	87/06/27	300.00	74.20	374.20	N
JONES, JOSEPH S.	42	1	U	06	05			88/03/10	88/08/10	100.00	44.10	144.10	Y
JONES, S. F.	40	2	U	06	06			88/12/23	89/06/21	300.00	20.00	320.00	N
JONES, THOMAS C.	61	3	U	06	06			86/02/27	86/08/30	300.00	87.40	387.40	N
JONES, THOMAS J.	51	2	U	06	06			89/12/15	90/06/13	300.00	118.05	418.05	N
JONES, WILLIAM E.	63	2	U	06	06			87/05/25	87/11/25	300.00	35.80	335.80	N
JONES, WILLIAM E.	69	2	A	05	03			93/09/19	93/12/25	00.00	00.00	0.00	N

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	AGE	CT	CHG	DIST	MOS.	MOS.	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
					SENT.	SERVD						
JORGENSEN, JENS	66	1	A	12	11		89/03/29	90/02/22	00.00	125.50	125.50	N
JORGENSEN, JENS #2	66	1	U	02	03		89/09/24	89/12/18	00.00	52.00	52.00	N
JORGENSEN, JOHAN G.	52	2	U	06	06		89/03/14	89/09/12	300.00	12.50	312.50	N
JORGENSEN, JOHN G.	55	1	U	02	02		92/11/08	93/01/07	00.00	179.50	179.50	N
JORGENSEN, MADS	63	1	U	06	05		90/03/25	90/08/25	00.00	48.00	48.00	?
JORGENSEN, PETER	43	1	U	03	03.5		88/12/13	89/03/28	00.00	44.00	44.00	N
JUSTESON, RASMUS	48	1	A	24	10		90/10/06	91/08/06	00.00	66.50	66.50	?
KEDDINGTON, JOHN W.	35	3	U	06	06		85/11/21	86/05/25	300.00	44.90	344.90	N
KELLAR, JAMES	62	1	U	06	05		88/12/13	89/05/13	00.00	47.00	47.00	Y
KEMP, JAMES	36	1	U	06	06		87/12/13	88/06/13	200.00	00.00	200.00	N
KENT, SYDNEY	62	1	U	02	02		89/12/02	90/02/02	00.00	35.00	35.00	Y
KERSHAW, ANDREW J.	61	1	A	18	14.5		88/10/25	90/01/09	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
KIMBALL, A. A.	42	1	A	08	02		88/11/03	88/12/27	000.00	69.00	69.00	N
KING, BYRON W.	42	3	U	06	06		87/10/22	88/04/23	50.00	45.35	95.35	N
KING, CULBERT	50	2	U	06	06		85/12/25	86/06/28	300.00	112.50	412.50	N
KING, DANIEL	53	1	U	02	02		88/09/24	88/12/22	50.00	43.05	93.05	N
KING, ROBERT T.	53	1	U	06	05		88/03/24	88/08/24	00.00	59.80	59.80	Y
KIRBY, THOMAS	55	1	U	06	06		87/01/08	87/07/08	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
KIRKHAM, GEORGE	34	1	U	06	05		87/03/21	87/08/20	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
KIRKHAM, JAMES	38	1	U	06	05		87/03/21	87/08/20	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
KIRKWOOD, ROBERT C.	53	1	U	06	05		87/03/07	87/08/06	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
KNUDSEN, PETER	45	1	A	06	05.5		92/02/14	92/08/01	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
LABRUM, THOMAS	40	3	U	03	02.5		87/10/05	87/12/20	25.00	61.40	86.40	Y
LAMBERT, GEORGE C.	38	3	U	06	06		86/05/11	86/11/11	300.00	98.50	398.50	N
LAMBERT, JOHN T.	65	1	U	06	05		87/10/14	88/03/14	00.00	44.20	44.20	Y
LAMBORN, EDWIN	41	1	U	01	01		91/11/28	91/12/27	00.00	62.60	62.60	?
LAMMERS, PETER J.	48	1	U	06	06		87/06/21	87/12/21	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
LANG, JOHN	55	2	U	03	03.5		85/10/05	86/01/21	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
LANGFORD, JAMES H.	27	2	U	06	06		88/12/19	89/06/17	300.00	20.00	320.00	N
LARSEN, BENDT	42	1	U	06	06		88/03/16	88/09/16	50.00	94.00	144.00	N
LARSEN, BENDT	47	1	U	01	01		92/11/07	92/12/07	00.00	79.50	79.50	?
LARSEN, L. C.	44	1	U	04	03.5		88/10/13	89/01/20	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
LARSEN, LARS C.	62	1	U	06	05		87/12/23	88/05/23	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
LARSON, LARS	52	1	U	03	03.5		88/09/24	89/01/09	100.00	54.10	154.10	-
LARSON, LARS JAMES	36	1	A	24	19		89/10/11	91/05/11	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
LARSON, LEWIS	50	1	U	03	01.5		88/10/20	88/12/07	100.00	52.00	152.00	N
LARSON, O. C.	52	1	A	05	05		88/11/19	89/04/24	00.00	44.00	44.00	N
LATIMER, JAMES	37	1	U	06	05		88/03/24	88/08/24	300.00	50.75	350.75	Y
LEAKER, DAVID W.	53	3	U	06	06		86/10/06	87/04/06	300.00	86.85	386.85	N
LEATHAM, JAMES	59	3	U	06	05		90/04/14	90/09/14	00.00	21.80	21.80	Y
LEE, S. N.	37	1	U	03	02.5		89/05/23	89/08/09	100.00	39.00	139.00	Y
LEE, WM. H. (TOOELE)	50	3	U	06	06		86/02/26	86/09/02	300.00	217.05	517.05	N
LEE, WM. H. (WDRUF)	61	1	U	04	03.5		88/12/24	89/04/04	150.00	53.00	203.00	Y
LEWIS, BENJAMIN M.	52	4	A	06	05		93/09/30	94/03/02	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
LEWIS, CRESTON	49	3	U	03.5	03.5		89/02/23	89/06/15	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
LEWIS, DANIEL	54	3	U	02	02		88/09/18	88/12/17	60.00	00.00	60.00	N
LEWIS, WILLIAM J.	56	1	U	05	05		88/09/22	89/02/27	100.00	41.85	141.85	N
LINDBERG, JONAS	53	3	U	18	06		86/09/20	87/03/22	300.00	89.95	389.95	N
LINTON, SAMUEL	63	1	U	03	02.5		91/03/19	91/06/04	00.00	44.00	44.00	Y
LIVINGSTON, CHARLES	52	3	U	06	02		87/10/14	87/12/15	100.00	75.00	175.00	N
LOVELESS, JAMES W.	58	1	U	06	05		86/10/21	87/03/20	300.00	97.40	397.40	Y
LOVERIDGE, LEDRU	39	1	U	06	05		88/03/24	88/08/24	50.00	39.00	89.00	Y
LOYND, JAMES	48	3	U	06	05		87/10/12	88/03/12	50.00	36.00	86.00	Y
LUNCEFORD, JOSEPH	59	1	U	06	06		88/03/24	88/09/24	50.00	47.20	97.20	N
LUTZ, JOHN H.	36	4	A	06	04.5		93/12/07	94/04/21	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
LYMAN, FRANCIS M..	49	3	U	03	03		89/01/14	89/04/08	00.00	.	0.00	Y
MACFARLANE, DANIEL L.	50	2	U	06	06		87/12/23	88/06/22	300.00	23.05	323.05	N
MADSEN, ANDREW	49	1	U	06	05		87/12/17	88/05/17	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
MADSEN, ANDREW	51	1	A	08	07		89/12/26	90/07/17	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
MADSEN, NIELS P.	55	1	U	03	03.5		87/10/14	88/01/30	200.00	43.70	243.70	N
MADSON, PETER	63	1	U	06	05		87/06/04	87/11/04	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	AGE	CT	CHG	DIST	MOS.	MOS.	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
				SENT.	SERVD							
MANN, CHAS. W.	50	3	A	15	12		89/02/18	90/02/24	00.00	00.00	0.00	N
MANNING, HENRY W.	54	1	U	04	03.5		88/06/23	88/10/03	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
MANWARING, GEO.	35	3	U	04	03.5		89/03/02	89/06/12	00.00	00.00	0.00	N
MANWELL, JOHN F.	55	2	A	06	05		89/05/22	89/10/22	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
MARCHANT, GILBERT J.	34	3	U	03	02.5		92/10/08	92/12/23	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
MARCHANT, JOHN A.	39	3	U	06	05		87/09/30	88/02/29	100.00	64.10	164.10	Y
MARQUARDSON, E. P.	45	1	U	04	03		89/09/23	90/01/01	00.00	52.00	52.00	Y
MARRIOTT, JOHN	70	1	U	06	05		87/01/08	87/06/07	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
MARTIN, JESSE B.	64	1	U	02	01.5		89/10/10	89/11/29	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
MAUGHN, WM. H.)	56	1	U	12	09.5		89/01/03	89/10/16	200.00	65.00	265.00	N
MAUGHN, WM. H.)	56	1	A	30	09.5		89/01/03	89/10/16	00.00	29.00	29.00	N
MAY, JAMES	54	1	U	06	05		86/12/13	87/05/12	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
MAYCOCK, AMOS	49	3	U	11	10		86/02/24	86/12/01	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
MCALLISTER, JOSEPH W.	35	2	U	06	06		89/12/22	90/06/19	300.00	28.95	328.95	N
MCCARTY, CHARLES	37	1	U	06	06		87/10/13	88/04/13	200.00	66.45	266.45	N
MCFARLAND, ARCHIBALD	59	1	A	03	02.5		91/01/06	91/03/22	00.00	66.90	66.90	Y
MCKELLAR, JOHN	32	1	A	08	06.5		94/10/15	95/05/04	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
MCKELLAR, WILLIAM	41	1	A	12	10		89/10/10	90/08/10	00.00	42.00	42.00	Y
MCKENDRICK, ROBERT	58	2	U	06	06		86/03/18	86/09/18	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
MCKINNON, A.	52	1	U	03	02.5		88/12/24	89/03/09	00.00	45.00	45.00	Y
MCMURRIN, JOSEPH	64	3	U	06	06		86/02/23	86/08/26	300.00	84.25	384.25	N
MCNEAL, THOMAS	64	1	U	06	06		87/01/03	87/07/05	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
MCNEIL, WILLIAM	49	1	U	03	03.5		89/06/17	89/10/02	100.00	65.00	165.00	N
MCREAVEY, CORNELIUS	43	2	U	06	06		88/12/19	89/06/17	300.00	20.00	320.00	N
MELLOR, JAMES	40	1	U	05	04		88/11/03	89/03/09	00.00	54.00	54.00	Y
MERRILL, M. W., JR.	31	1	U	05	04.5		88/02/13	88/06/18	.	.	.	Y
MILES, EDWIN R.	50	1	U	06	05		88/05/12	88/10/12	50.00	41.00	91.00	Y
MILLER, JACOB	46	1	U	02	02		87/12/17	88/02/06	00.00	00.00	0.00	N
MILLER, LOWRITZ B.	40	1	U	06	06		90/10/04	91/04/04	50.00	62.20	112.20	N
MINER, AURELIUS	54	3	U	06	05		85/10/17	86/03/20	300.00	158.30	458.30	Y
MINNERLY, L.	59	1	U	05	04		86/05/25	86/09/29	000.00	00.00	0.00	N
MONK, CHARLES	57	1	U	04	03.5		88/04/14	88/07/25	100.00	54.00	154.00	Y
MONSON, CHRISTIAN H.	51	1	U	06	06		88/06/23	88/12/23	200.00	00.00	200.00	N
MORRIS, ROBERT	42	3	U	06	05		86/02/15	86/07/18	150.00	45.40	195.40	Y
MORRISON, THOMAS H.	40	3	U	06	05		87/03/01	87/07/31	25.00	30.40	55.40	Y
MORTENSEN, JENS	43	1	U	04	03.5		89/02/16	89/05/28	00.00	40.00	40.00	Y
MORTENSEN, JOHN P.	54	3	U	06	05		87/02/19	87/07/18	300.00	67.40	367.40	Y
MORTENSEN, M. P.	53	1	U	04	04		87/12/17	88/04/28	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
MORTENSEN, NIELS C.	56	1	U	06	05		87/01/08	87/06/10	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
MORTENSEN, NIELS C.	59	1	A	12	10		91/12/12	92/10/12	00.00	58.50	58.50	?
MORTENSON, LARS	56	1	U	04	04		87/12/17	88/04/28	150.00	00.00	150.00	N
MORTON, T.F.H.	54	3	U	06	05		86/10/01	87/02/28	300.00	41.80	341.80	Y
MOTT, STEVEN	66	1	U	02.5	02.5		89/03/23	89/06/05	00.00	52.40	52.40	Y
MOUSLEY, LEWIS H.	54	3	U	06	05		87/02/19	87/07/18	300.00	51.55	351.55	Y
MOWER, HENRY	65	1	U	01.5	01.5		89/10/10	89/11/24	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
MOWER, JOHN A.	42	1	A	03	02.5		91/03/03	91/05/19	00.00	52.00	52.00	Y
MOWER, JOHN A.	43	1	U	00.5	00.5		92/03/17	92/03/26	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
MOYLE, JAMES	50	3	U	06	05		86/03/01	86/08/04	300.00	86.80	386.80	Y
MUHLESTEIN, NICHOLAS	58	1	U	02	02		90/04/09	90/06/09	00.00	46.00	46.00	N
MUIR, WILLIAM S.	66	3	U	06	06		87/10/12	88/04/12	100.00	107.40	207.40	Y
MURDOCK, HARVEY	52	1	P	60	42		87/01/03	90/06/02	500.00	00.00	500.00	?
MURDOCK, JOHN M.	70	1	U	01	01		91/04/21	91/05/21	00.00	52.00	52.00	?
MURDOCK, JOSEPH S.	66	1	U	01	01		89/04/20	89/05/24	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
MUSSER, A.M.	55	3	U	06	05		85/05/09	85/10/12	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
NAEF, JACOB I.	53	1	U	03	02.5		89/04/13	89/07/01	00.00	35.00	35.00	Y
NAISBITT, H. W.	56	3	U	06	06		86/05/11	86/11/11	300.00	158.40	458.40	N
NAISBITT, H. W.	60	3	U	06	05		90/05/12	90/10/12	00.00	18.95	18.95	?
NAYLOR, GEORGE	49	3	U	06	05		86/12/03	87/05/02	300.00	57.30	357.30	Y
NEBEKER, HENRY	71	1	A	06	05		88/10/27	89/03/27	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
NEFF, A. H.	61	3	U	12	06		86/10/11	87/04/13	600.00	188.20	788.20	Y
NEILSON, MONS	54	1	U	04	04.5		88/09/26	89/02/05	200.00	43.85	243.85	N

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	DIST			MOS.	MOS.	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
	AGE	CT	CHG	SENT.	SERVD						
NELSON, ANTON	33	1	A	03	02.5	92/11/07	93/01/22	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
NELSON, JAMES H.	46	1	U	06	06	86/01/16	86/07/20	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
NEWBERGER, FRED A.	29	1	U	06	06	88/12/10	89/06/10	100.00	20.50	120.50	N
NEWMAN, HENRY J.	37	1	U	05	04	90/12/18	91/04/18	300.00	58.10	358.10	Y
NEWMAN, L. H.	47	1	U	02	03	89/10/10	90/01/07	00.00	57.00	57.00	N
NEWSOME, WM. D.	48	3	P	42	29.5	85/10/17	88/04/04	800.00	191.80	991.80	N
NEWSOME, WM. D.	55	3	U	06	06	90/05/16	90/11/15	300.00	125.25	425.25	N
NICHOLSON, JOHN	46	3	U	06	05	85/10/13	86/03/13	300.00	115.25	415.25	Y
NIELSEN, ANDREW	60	1	U	02	03	89/03/05	89/06/03	00.00	84.00	84.00	N
NIELSEN, CHRISTIAN	39	2	U	06	06	89/03/14	89/09/12	300.00	12.50	312.50	N
NIELSEN, CHRISTIAN P.	63	1	U	03	03.5	88/09/22	89/01/07	00.00	30.35	30.35	N
NIELSEN, HANS	49	1	U	03	03.5	88/11/19	89/03/06	100.00	44.50	144.50	N
NIELSEN, HANS	49	1	A	04	02	89/03/12	89/05/15	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
NIELSEN, HANS C.	36	1	U	05	05	89/09/24	90/03/01	200.00	57.00	257.00	N
NIELSEN, LARS	55	1	U	06	05	87/06/21	87/11/20	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
NIELSEN, LARS	58	1	A	00.5	00.5	90/12/01	90/12/21	00.00	45.50	45.50	?
NIELSEN, NIELS	48	1	U	04.5	04.5	88/10/09	89/03/02	00.00	44.85	44.85	N
NIELSEN, NIELS P.	39	1	U	04	03	88/11/20	89/02/28	00.00	23.00	23.00	Y
NIELSEN, NIELS P.	40	1	U	03	03.5	89/03/05	89/06/21	50.00	86.00	136.00	N
NIELSEN, PETER	51	1	U	06	05	91/11/28	92/04/28	00.00	51.85	51.85	?
NIELSEN, RASMUS (HNTR)	45	3	U	06	06	87/02/19	87/08/19	300.00	86.60	386.60	N
NIELSEN, RASMUS (SPFK)	40	1	U	04	03.5	88/10/09	89/01/20	200.00	21.00	221.00	Y
NOKES, CHARLES MORMON	35	3	U	03	03.5	88/10/18	89/02/09	150.00	00.00	150.00	N
NORTH, HYRUM B.	45	3	U	06	06	87/02/24	87/08/24	300.00	31.00	331.00	N
NORTH, LEVI	69	3	U	06	06	87/02/23	87/08/23	300.00	30.75	330.75	N
NORTON, ALONZO	75	1	U	02	03	88/12/24	89/03/26	50.00	43.00	93.00	N
NYE, STEPHEN	39	1	U	03	03.5	88/12/24	89/04/08	00.00	41.00	41.00	N
OBBERG, JOHN	46	1	U	03	03.5	89/03/05	89/06/26	50.00	86.50	136.50	N
OBBERG, JOHN	50	1	A	06	05	92/11/07	93/04/07	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
OBBERHANSLI, FERDINAND	42	1	U	06	05	87/11/17	88/04/17	50.00	54.20	104.20	Y
OBORN, JOHN	44	3	U	06	05	87/10/07	88/03/07	50.00	59.50	109.50	Y
OBORAY, THOMAS L.	68	1	U	03	02.5	90/05/24	90/08/09	00.00	114.00	114.00	?
OBORAY, THOMAS W.	42	1	U	05	04	88/11/26	89/04/01	00.00	45.00	45.00	Y
OBORAY, THOMAS W.	43	4	A	04	03.5	92/06/01	92/09/10	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
OCKEY, CHARLES R.	45	1	U	04	03.5	89/02/04	89/05/16	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
OGDEN, THOMAS	39	1	A	19	15.5	89/03/05	90/06/18	00.00	103.00	103.00	?
OGDEN, THOMAS	45	1	U	03	02.5	94/10/09	94/12/31	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
OKELBERRY, PETER	44	1	U	06	05	90/03/25	90/08/25	00.00	53.00	53.00	Y
OLDHAM, SAMUEL	37	1	U	06	06	89/04/26	89/10/26	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
OLDROYD, ARCH. T.	45	1	U	04	03.5	88/10/13	89/01/24	50.00	77.00	127.00	Y
OLDROYD, ARCHIBALD	48	1	A	01	01	92/09/21	92/10/20	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
OLSEN, CARL	58	1	U	02.5	03.5	89/03/05	89/06/17	50.00	52.00	102.00	N
OLSEN, EMIL	36	3	U	06	06	85/10/13	86/04/16	300.00	89.20	389.20	N
OLSEN, LEWIS	47	1	U	04	04.5	88/09/24	89/02/04	200.00	42.20	242.20	N
ORCHARD, WILLIAM J.	46	4	U	03	02.5	93/12/11	94/02/20	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
ORMSBY, OLIVER C.	49	3	U	02.5	02.5	88/10/18	88/12/31	200.00	00.00	200.00	Y
ORTON, ALEX	51	2	U	06	06	87/05/25	87/11/25	300.00	37.45	337.45	N
OTTESON, CHRISTIAN	68	1	U	01	01	90/09/22	90/10/22	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
PACE, WILLIAM B.	58	2	A	12	07	90/09/14	91/04/13	00.00	00.00	0.00	N
PACE, WILSON D.	59	2	U	06	05	90/09/14	91/02/11	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
PALMER, HIRAM S.	40	1	U	01	01	90/03/25	90/04/25	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
PALMER, WILLIAM	56	1	U	06	05	87/01/03	87/06/02	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
PARKER, JOSEPH F.	52	1	U	04	03.5	93/12/05	94/03/16	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
PARKIN, WILLIAM J.	46	3	U	02	02	88/09/17	88/11/05	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
PARKINSON, T.	46	1	U	06	05	86/11/23	87/04/22	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
PARRY, JOSEPH	62	1	U	06	05	87/01/08	87/06/07	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
PAXTON, JAMES M.	45	1	A	10	08.5	89/09/21	90/06/01	00.00	59.00	59.00	Y
PAYNE, HARRY M.	32	1	U	06	06	90/03/07	90/09/06	300.00	83.60	383.60	N
PEAY, EDWARD	58	1	U	06	05	87/03/07	87/08/06	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
PEAY, GEORGE T.	50	1	U	06	05	87/04/30	87/09/29	100.00	75.00	175.00	Y
PENMAN, JOHN	51	3	P	24	21	86/02/10	87/11/13	25.00	138.75	163.75	N

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	DIST			MOS.	MOS.	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
	AGE	CT	CHG	SENT.	SERVD						
PENMAN, JOHN	53	3	U	03	04	87/11/13	88/03/06	25.00	59.65	84.65	N
PERKIN, BENJAMIN	44	2	U	06	06	88/12/19	89/06/17	300.00	20.00	320.00	N
PERRY, JOSEPH C.	57	3	U	06	06	87/09/30	88/03/30	50.00	25.70	75.70	N
PETERSEN, CHRISTIAN	42	1	U	06	06	87/10/25	88/04/25	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
PETERSEN, F. A.	53	1	A	18	15	87/11/05	89/01/25	00.00	00.00	0.00	N
PETERSEN, FREDERICK R.	54	3	U	06	06	87/10/04	88/04/04	100.00	94.85	194.85	N
PETERSEN, JENS	70	1	U	06	06	87/12/10	88/06/11	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
PETERSEN, P. M.	51	1	U	02	02	92/09/24	92/11/19	00.00	32.00	32.00	?
PETERSEN, PETER	45	1	U	06	05	86/12/30	87/05/29	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
PETERSEN, PETER M.	46	1	U	03	02.5	87/10/24	88/01/08	00.00	55.10	55.10	Y
PETERSON, H. J. (KNSVL)	48	1	U	06	06	87/06/21	87/12/22	200.00	00.00	200.00	N
PETERSON, HANS JOHAN	54	1	U	04	03.5	88/11/24	89/03/04	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
PETERSON, HANS PETER	48	1	U	04	04.5	88/10/20	89/03/02	100.00	57.00	157.00	Y
PETERSON, LARS C.	48	1	U	06	05	87/06/21	87/11/20	50.00	28.00	78.00	Y
PETERSON, NIELS L.	68	1	U	05	04	88/09/21	89/01/27	00.00	00.00	0.00	N
PETERSON, SOREN C.	46	1	U	06	05	87/03/07	87/08/06	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
PHILLIPS, ISHMAEL	72	3	U	06	06	87/02/14	87/08/14	300.00	94.55	394.55	N
PICKETT, MATTHEW	64	3	U	06	06	87/02/23	87/08/23	300.00	85.80	385.80	N
PIDCOCK, WILLIAM	54	1	U	13	07.5	86/06/30	87/02/09	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
PIERCE, ISAAC	41	3	U	15	05	86/10/09	87/02/09	100.00	45.90	145.90	Y
PIERPONT, THOMAS	52	3	U	06	05	88/03/01	88/08/01	100.00	42.95	142.95	Y
PINGREE, JOB	47	1	U	05	04	85/07/16	85/11/17	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y
POPPLETON, WILLIAM	46	1	U	01.5	01.5	91/01/06	91/02/20	00.00	126.35	126.35	?
PORCHER, THOMAS	47	3	U	06	06	85/11/21	86/05/25	300.00	45.30	345.30	N
POULSEN, ENGEIRD	50	1	U	05	04	88/10/09	89/02/12	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
POULSEN, JAMES O.	59	3	U	06	06	86/03/01	86/09/07	300.00	88.45	388.45	N
POULSEN, PAUL	34	1	U	04	04.5	88/09/24	89/02/04	200.00	37.50	237.50	N
POULSON, PAUL	70	1	A	09	07.5	88/11/22	89/07/08	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
POULSON, PAUL	49	1	U	01	01	94/10/12	94/11/10	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
POWELL, JOHN	67	1	U	02.5	03.5	89/09/20	90/01/02	00.00	102.50	102.50	N
POWELL, JOHN A.	46	1	A	12	05	90/10/04	91/03/27	00.00	42.00	42.00	?
PRATT, PARLEY P.	48	3	U	06	05.5	85/05/02	85/10/14	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
PRATT, TEANCUM	38	1	U	06	06	90/02/25	90/08/25	100.00	38.00	138.00	N
PROUSE, WILLIAM C.	62	1	U	02	03	89/03/05	89/06/07	00.00	32.00	32.00	N
PUTNAM, S. C.	40	1	U	01	01	91/11/28	91/12/28	00.00	69.85	69.85	?
QUARNBERG, JOHN	69	1	A	06	05	89/09/24	90/02/24	00.00	42.00	42.00	Y
QUIST, PETER L.	49	1	U	04	04.5	89/09/26	90/02/05	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
RALPH, F. G.	43	1	U	04	04.5	89/01/08	89/05/20	00.00	43.00	43.00	N
RAMPTON, HENRY	60	3	U	03	02.5	89/02/16	89/05/01	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
RASMUSSEN, ANDREW	56	1	U	02	02.5	89/03/16	89/06/03	00.00	55.00	55.00	N
RASMUSSEN, NEAL P.	45	1	U	06	06	88/12/24	89/06/24	100.00	47.00	147.00	N
RAWLINS, EDWIN	50	3	U	02.5	02.5	88/09/24	88/12/07	75.00	1.25	76.25	Y
RAWLINSON, C. W.	42	1	U	01	02	90/10/06	90/12/05	25.00	77.00	102.00	N
RAWSON, DANIEL B.	60	1	U	06	05	87/05/28	87/10/27	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
REED, WM. T. (WDRF)	49	1	U	04	03.5	89/06/01	89/09/10	100.00	65.00	165.00	Y
REID, WM. T. (MANTI)	57	1	U	03	02.5	88/03/10	88/05/26	300.00	75.40	375.40	Y
REISER, HENRY	55	3	U	06	05	87/02/14	87/07/13	300.00	38.38	338.38	Y
REYNOLDS, GEORGE	37	3	P	24	19	79/06/14	81/01/20	500.00	00.00	500.00	Y
REYNOLDS, JOSEPH B.	56	1	U	02.5	02.5	89/03/04	89/05/17	50.00	52.00	102.00	Y
REYNOLDS, W. F.	65	3	U	01.5	01.5	89/02/23	89/04/13	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
RIDDLE, ISAAC	57	2	U	06	05	87/09/30	88/02/29	300.00	450.70	750.70	Y
RIDGES, JOS. H.	60	3	U	06	06	87/09/26	88/03/26	25.00	42.00	67.00	N
RIGBY, WILLIAM F.	55	1	U	06.	05.	87/12/23	88/05/23	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
RITCHIE, JAMES	56	1	U	04	03.5	89/02/28	89/06/08	200.00	23.00	223.00	Y
ROBERTS, BRIGHAM H.	32	3	U	04	04.5	89/05/01	89/09/10	200.00	18.25	218.25	N
ROBINSON, WILLIAM	55	2	U	06	06	86/09/26	87/03/26	300.00	50.00	350.00	N
ROBINSON, WILLIAM	59	2	A	12	10	89/12/14	90/10/14	00.00	31.30	31.30	?
ROGERS, R. M.	54	1	U	03	02.5	87/03/21	87/06/06	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
ROMNEY, GEORGE	54	3	U	06	05	85/10/10	86/03/13	300.00	28.00	328.00	Y
ROSENLUND, MONS	55	1	U	02.5	03.5	89/03/05	89/06/27	50.00	51.00	101.00	N
ROSSITER, WILLIAM A.	43	3	U	06	05	85/10/10	86/03/13	300.00	92.75	392.75	Y

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	AGE	CT	CHG	DIST	MOS.	MOS.	SERVD	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
ROUNDS, WM. C.	58	1	U	04	03.5			89/02/14	89/05/26	00.00	39.00	39.00	Y
RUSHTON, EDWIN	64	3	U	04	03			87/10/03	88/01/12	50.00	48.30	98.30	Y
SAMPSON, WILLIAM T.	51	1	U	03	02.5			90/04/03	90/06/18	00.00	58.00	58.00	?
SAMPSON, WILLIAM T.	55	1	U	03	02.5			94/02/26	94/05/11	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
SANDERS, D. A.	40	3	U	03.5	04			89/02/23	89/06/15	150.00	00.00	150.00	N
SANDERSON, H. W.	59	1	U	03	03.5			89/03/04	89/06/26	100.00	56.00	156.00	N
SANDGREN, VICTOR	51	1	U	06	06			87/10/13	88/04/13	100.00	64.75	164.75	N
SAUNDERS, WILLIAM G.	68	1	U	12	11			86/02/18	87/01/22	25.00	92.55	117.55	N
SAVAGE, LEVI	67	2	U	06	06			87/09/30	88/03/29	300.00	13.60	313.60	N
SCHETTLER, B. H.	55	3	U	06	02			88/02/29	88/04/25	300.00	101.45	401.45	Y
SCHOENFELD, EDWARD	55	3	U	06	05			87/03/01	87/07/31	50.00	47.70	97.70	Y
SCHOFIELD, THOMAS	60	2	U	06	06			86/09/26	87/03/26	300.00	50.00	350.00	N
SCHOW, ANDREW P.	50	2	U	06	06			90/05/18	90/11/13	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
SEAL, CHARLES	52	2	U	06	06			85/10/05	86/04/08	300.00	143.20	443.20	N
SEAMONS, ELIJAH	51	1	U	06	06			88/05/25	88/11/26	050.00	00.00	50.00	N
SELLERS, JAMES	44	1	A	18	14.5			89/03/05	90/05/20	00.00	88.50	88.50	N
SHEETS, ELIJAH F.	68	3	U	02.5	02.5			88/10/13	88/12/31	150.00	34.35	184.35	Y
SHEPHERD, M. L.	61	2	U	06	05			86/05/28	86/10/27	300.00	149.25	449.25	Y
SHERWOOD, LUKE	31	1	A	02	02			90/11/24	91/01/24	00.00	66.35	66.35	?
SHIPP, MILFORD B.	52	3	U	02.5	02.5			88/09/18	88/12/01	65.00	00.00	65.00	Y
SINGLETON, ALBERT	43	1	U	06	05			87/03/21	87/08/20	300.00	64.40	364.40	Y
SISAM, JOSEPH H.	32	3	U	00	01			86/02/18	86/03/20	200.00	85.70	285.70	N
SKANCHY, A. L.	50	1	U	04	03.5			89/12/07	90/03/18	100.00	32.00	132.00	Y
SLATER, ALBERT G.	44	1	U	06	06			87/06/21	87/12/21	50.00	00.00	50.00	N
SLATER, ALBERT G.	47	1	A	24	14			90/05/31	91/07/31	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
SMART, THOMAS H.	57	3	U	06	06			87/09/19	88/03/19	300.00	87.10	387.10	N
SMITH, ANDREW	49	3	U	06	06			85/10/13	86/04/16	300.00	129.05	429.05	N
SMITH, CHAS. D., SR.	42	1	A	12	05			91/02/25	91/07/27	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
SMITH, JAMES	58	1	U	06	06			87/09/22	88/03/22	300.00	75.00	375.00	N
SMITH, JAMES A.	42	2	U	02	01.5			94/05/24	94/08/08	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
SMITH, JOHN Y.	52	3	U	06	06			86/02/27	86/08/30	300.00	87.90	387.90	N
SMITH, LEWIS	56	1	A	01	01			92/10/22	92/11/22	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
SMITH, RALPH	52	1	U	06	05			87/11/21	88/04/21	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y
SMITH, REUBEN	29	1	U	06	05			86/05/25	86/10/24	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
SMITH, S.H.B.	46	3	U	06	05			86/02/20	86/07/23	300.00	111.30	411.30	Y
SMITH, WARREN B.	45	1	U	06	06			90/10/20	91/04/20	200.00	42.00	242.00	N
SMITH, WILLIAM R.	62	3	U	06	04			88/03/31	88/07/21	300.00	91.25	391.25	Y
SMUIN, JAMES	50	1	U	03	04			89/04/20	89/08/12	50.00	79.00	129.00	N
SNELL, GEORGE D.	51	1	U	06	05			87/04/12	87/09/11	200.00	50.00	250.00	Y
SNELL, JOHN W.	44	3	U	06	08.5			86/03/09	86/11/23	300.00	120.80	420.80	N
SNOW, DON C.	45	1	U	06	05			87/04/12	87/09/11	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
SNOW, LORENZO	71	1	U	18	11			86/03/12	87/02/08	900.00	00.00	900.00	Y
SNOW, WILLARD L.	45	3	U	18	05			86/10/01	87/02/28	300.00	47.70	347.70	Y
SORENSEN, HANS	67	1	A	06	05			89/09/30	90/03/01	00.00	52.00	52.00	Y
SORENSEN, SOREN N.	50	1	U	04	03.5			88/02/29	88/06/09	50.00	65.85	115.85	Y
SORENSEN, CHRISTIAN	53	1	U	03	02.5			88/09/29	88/12/14	00.00	.	0.00	Y
SORENSEN, JAMES L.	40	1	U	03	02.5			89/05/16	89/08/02	00.00	38.00	38.00	Y
SORENSEN, JENS	43	1	U	03	02.5			88/11/28	89/02/13	50.00	67.00	117.00	Y
SORENSEN, LARS C.	72	1	U	01	01			88/11/21	88/12/20	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
SPENCER, JOHN	52	1	U	04	03			88/11/19	89/02/27	00.00	48.00	48.00	Y
SPENCER, O. J.	40	1	U	03	02.5			90/02/12	90/04/27	100.00	45.00	145.00	Y
SPERRY, HARRISON	55	3	U	06	05			87/02/28	87/07/27	300.00	22.50	322.50	Y
SQUIRES, JOHN	67	3	U	06	04			88/05/31	88/10/05	300.00	123.05	423.05	N
STANDER, HENRY	58	1	A	06	05			88/11/26	89/04/26	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
STANDER, HENRY	63	4	A	04	03.5			93/05/26	93/09/05	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
STANDLEY, MICHAEL	41	1	A	18	14.5			90/03/15	91/05/30	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
STANDRING, EDWIN	58	1	U	06	05			87/04/12	87/09/11	200.00	00.00	200.00	Y
STAUFFER, ULRICH	50	1	U	06.	05.			88/02/13	88/07/13	00.00	.	0.00	Y
STEELE, JAMES I.	67	3	U	12	06			86/10/14	87/04/14	600.00	107.75	707.75	N
STEERS, ELIJAH	52	2	U	06.	06.			87/12/23	88/06/22	300.00	38.05	338.05	N
STEPHENSON, THOS. C.	64	1	U	06	05			89/10/28	90/03/26	00.00	69.00	69.00	Y

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	AGE	CT	DIST	CHG	MOS.	SERVD	MOS.	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
STEWART, J. M.	39	1	U	06	05	90/09/19	91/02/17	00.00	62.40	62.40	?		
STEWART, WILLIAM A.	59	1	U	04	03.5	90/03/07	90/06/17	50.00	56.50	106.50	Y		
STEWART, WILLIAM A.	63	1	U	03	02.5	93/11/24	94/02/08	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
STEWART, RANDOLPH H.	53	1	A	07	06	88/11/19	89/05/16	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
STICKNEY, JOSEPH C.	70	1	A	06	05	89/04/20	89/09/20	00.00	45.80	45.80	Y		
STIMPSON, WILLIAM	65	1	U	08	06.5	86/06/05	86/12/20	300.00	86.60	386.60	Y		
STIRLAND, THOMAS	33	1	A	30	10	91/01/17	91/11/17	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
STODDARD, JOHN	50	1	U	06	06	86/11/29	87/05/31	300.00	59.90	359.90	N		
STRATFORD, ANDREW W.	46	1	U	06.	06.	87/12/23	88/06/23	100.00	00.00	100.00	N		
STRATFORD, ANDREW W.	47	1	U	06	05	89/06/25	89/11/25	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
STRATTON, JAMES A.	24	2	A	18	14	94/09/20	95/11/28	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
STROMBERG, ANDREW G.	54	1	U	06	06	87/10/27	88/04/27	100.00	00.00	100.00	N		
STROMBERG, ANDREW G.	55	1	A	06	05	88/04/27	88/09/27	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
STUART, DAVID M.	60	1	U	06	06	86/01/04	86/07/08	300.00	00.00	300.00	N		
STUMPF, TRAU GOTT	48	1	P	24.	19	87/12/17	89/07/17	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
STUTZ, LORENZO	47	3	U	12	06	86/11/29	87/05/31	100.00	60.50	160.50	N		
SUDWEEKS, HENRY	75	2	I	36	13.5	90/05/14	91/06/27	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
SUDWEEKS, R. H.	35	2	U	12	06	86/09/26	87/03/26	600.00	100.00	700.00	N		
SWAIN, ROBERT	50	3	U	06	06	85/11/02	86/05/06	300.00	61.40	361.40	N		
SWANSEN, PETER	50	1	U	03	03	93/10/31	94/02/08	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
SWENSEN, AUGUST	52	1	U	02.5	02.5	89/03/04	89/05/17	50.00	54.00	104.00	Y		
SWENSEN, AUGUST	56	1	A	12	07	92/11/07	93/06/11	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
SWENSEN, LARS	62	1	U	03	03.5	88/10/09	89/01/21	50.00	43.50	93.50	N		
SWENSEN, PETER	48	1	U	04	04.5	88/12/24	89/05/04	100.00	65.00	165.00	N		
TANNER, JOHN	47	2	U	06	06	88/03/25	88/09/24	300.00	10.65	310.65	N		
TAYLOR, GEORGE H.	56	3	U	06	05	86/03/01	86/08/04	300.00	89.00	389.00	Y		
TAYLOR, LEVI J.	36	1	U	06	05	87/05/28	87/10/27	100.00	00.00	100.00	Y		
TAYLOR, LEVI J.	41	4	U	03	02.5	92/10/03	92/12/18	00.00	64.10	64.10	?		
TAYLOR, PLEASANT G.	62	1	U	03	02.5	88/10/12	88/12/28	300.00	26.35	326.35	Y		
TAYLOR, SAMUEL	56	1	U	03	02.5	88/05/28	88/08/13	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
TAYLOR, STANLEY	48	3	U	06	06	86/05/10	86/11/10	300.00	89.45	389.45	N		
TAYLOR, ZACHARIAH	36	1	U	06	05	90/10/04	91/03/05	50.00	63.10	113.10	Y		
TEEPLES, HENRY	47	1	A	18	14.5	90/02/25	91/05/01	00.00	58.50	58.50	Y		
TERRY, C. A.	56	1	A	24	10	90/09/20	91/07/27	00.00	57.15	57.15	?		
TERRY, OTIS L.	37	3	A	09	07.5	89/10/04	90/05/20	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
THOMAS, DANIEL F.	62	1	U	03	02.5	88/05/31	88/08/16	300.00	00.00	300.00	Y		
THOMAS, ED	60	1	U	03	02.5	92/09/23	92/12/04	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
THOMAS, JOHN	53	1	A	02	02	91/05/18	91/07/17	00.00	129.80	129.80	?		
THOMASSON, GUSTAV	50	1	U	06.	06.	87/12/17	88/06/18	100.00	00.00	100.00	N		
THORN, RICHARD	50	1	U	04	03.5	88/12/01	89/03/12	100.00	47.00	147.00	Y		
THORPE, CHRISTIAN L.	54	1	U	04	03.5	88/02/29	88/06/12	100.00	66.30	166.30	Y		
THORPE, JOHN	56	1	U	06	06	88/12/01	89/05/30	100.00	55.00	155.00	N		
THORUP, HERMAN F. F.	38	3	U	06	05	87/03/14	87/08/13	25.00	41.65	66.65	Y		
THORUP, HERMAN F. F.	41	3	U	06	03	90/09/08	90/12/08	00.00	93.00	93.00	N		
THURBER, JOSEPH H.)	28	2	U	06	26	86/12/27	89/02/27	200.00	15.15	215.15	N		
THURBER, JOSEPH H.)	28	2	P	48	26	86/12/27	89/02/27	300.00	178.55	478.55	N		
THURGESON, HANS	47	2	U	00	01	89/12/15	90/01/13	50.00	62.40	112.40	N		
THYGERSON, SOREN C.	65	2	A	09	07.5	88/10/27	89/06/12	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
TIDWELL, JAMES H.	60	1	U	02	03	89/04/20	89/07/18	00.00	76.80	76.80	N		
TINGEY, HENRY	69	1	U	04	04.5	88/12/13	89/04/23	200.00	41.00	241.00	N		
TOPHAM, SIMON T.	31	2	U	06	06	88/12/23	89/06/21	300.00	117.00	417.00	N		
TOVEY, WILLIAM H.	40	3	U	06	05	87/03/01	87/08/02	25.00	68.45	93.45	Y		
TOVEY, WILLIAM H.	41	3	U	06	06	88/04/21	88/10/22	50.00	83.50	133.50	N		
TRACY, HELON H.	37	1	U	12	10	86/02/26	86/12/29	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
TUCKER, AMASA	58	1	A	00.5	00.5	91/10/24	91/11/13	00.00	55.00	55.00	Y		
TUCKETT, HENRY	61	3	U	06	06	92/04/25	92/10/25	300.00	15.00	315.00	N		
TURNBERG, J.(GUSTAV)	35	1	A	07	06	88/11/03	89/04/29	00.00	00.00	0.00	-		
TURNER, ALFRED	49	1	U	01	02	88/11/19	89/01/17	50.00	40.00	90.00	N		
TURNER, J. H.	27	1	A	24	19	89/03/29	90/10/28	00.00	73.00	73.00	Y		
TURNER, JAMES	70	3	U	02	01.5	88/09/18	88/11/06	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y		
TURPIN, JESSE R.	40	3	U	06	06	87/10/14	88/04/14	100.00	52.80	152.80	N		

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	DIST			MOS.		SERVD	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
	AGE	CT	CHG	SENT.	MOS.							
TWITCHELL, JAMES E.	51	2	U	06	06	06	85/12/25	86/06/28	300.00	328.15	628.15	N
TYRELL, WILLIAM	34	4	A	03	03.5	03.5	93/10/27	94/02/14	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
UNTHANK, WILLIAM	58	2	U	06	06	06	87/03/22	87/09/21	300.00	60.30	360.30	N
VAN LEUVEN, NEWMAN	40	1	U	04	04	04	89/10/10	90/01/17	00.00	57.00	57.00	N
VAUGHN, MICHEL	56	1	A	09	07.5	07.5	89/03/23	89/11/08	00.00	53.60	53.60	Y
WADE, JAMES M.	43	1	U	04	03.5	03.5	88/12/13	89/03/24	00.00	35.00	35.00	Y
WADSWORTH, JOSEPH W.	56	1	U	06	05	05	87/05/28	87/10/27	00.00	.	0.00	Y
WAGSTAFF, SAMUEL	68	1	U	02	02	02	88/09/24	88/12/22	50.00	53.45	103.45	N
WAHLSTROM, NIELS O.	61	1	U	01	01	01	91/11/29	91/12/28	00.00	66.70	66.70	?
WALDRAM, LORENZO	36	1	U	06	06	06	88/05/26	88/11/26	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
WALLS, JOSEPH	43	4	U	00	00.5	00.5	92/09/29	92/10/07	200.00	00.00	200.00	Y
WALSER, JOHN J.	38	1	U	06	05	05	88/03/10	88/08/10	100.00	44.85	144.85	Y
WALTERS, WILLIAM L.	53	1	U	06	06	06	87/06/04	87/12/12	300.00	00.00	300.00	N
WALTON, JOHN	55	1	U	04	04.5	04.5	88/10/09	89/02/19	50.00	46.75	96.75	N
WARBURTON, RICHARD	57	3	U	06	06	06	86/09/20	87/03/21	300.00	100.75	400.75	N
WARWOOD, JOHN	50	1	U	06.	05.	05.	87/11/03	88/04/03	00.00	54.10	54.10	Y
WARWOOD, JOHN	54	1	A	00.5	00.5	00.5	91/10/24	91/11/13	00.00	49.75	49.75	?
WASDEN, JOHN B.	46	1	A	12	04	04	91/03/28	91/07/27	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WATSON, JAMES C.	40	3	U	06	05	05	85/05/09	85/12/12	300.00	000.00	300.00	Y
WATSON, JAMES C.	43	3	U	06	05	05	87/10/11	88/03/11	300.00	60.50	360.50	Y
WATSON, L. D.	46	2	U	06	06	06	86/03/27	86/09/29	300.00	183.40	483.40	N
WATSON, L. D.	48	2	U	06	06	06	88/12/23	89/06/21	300.00	20.00	320.00	N
WATSON, WM. H.	55	3	U	06	06	06	87/02/21	87/08/22	300.00	36.80	336.80	N
WATSON, WM. H.	61	4	U	04	03.5	03.5	93/03/08	93/06/18	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WATTERSON, WILLIAM	49	1	U	03	02.5	02.5	89/02/08	89/04/23	300.00	42.00	342.00	Y
WATTS, BALDWIN H.	53	1	A	12	10	10	88/09/26	89/07/26	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WATTS, GEORGE C.	41	3	U	03	03.5	03.5	88/04/21	88/08/06	50.00	128.40	178.40	N
WEBB, GILBERT	33	2	A	06	05	05	92/09/20	93/02/19	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WEBB, SIMON	56	1	U	06	05	05	88/05/11	88/10/11	50.00	51.00	101.00	Y
WEBB, WILLIAM R.	48	1	U	06	06	06	87/03/07	87/09/07	300.00	81.40	381.40	N
WEBB, WILLIAM R.	49	1	A	18	14.5	14.5	88/11/10	90/01/25	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WEBSTER, FRANCIS	59	2	U	06	06	06	88/12/23	89/06/21	300.00	27.00	327.00	N
WELCH, JOHN	67	1	U	04	03.5	03.5	89/02/08	89/05/20	00.00	41.00	41.00	Y
WELSH, JAMES	46	3	U	06	06	06	87/10/15	88/04/16	50.00	79.35	129.35	N
WESTENSCHOW, PETER	51	1	U	04	03.5	03.5	88/10/09	89/01/20	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WHEELER, LEVI L.	52	1	U	00.5	00.5	00.5	90/11/20	90/12/10	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WHEELWRIGHT, M.	64	1	U	04	03.5	03.5	88/12/24	89/04/04	00.00	49.00	49.00	Y
WHICKER, ISAAC	32	1	U	06	05	05	90/09/20	91/02/18	00.00	62.00	62.00	?
WHITE, CHARLES L.	27	3	U	06	06	06	85/10/06	86/04/07	300.00	36.50	336.50	N
WHITE, CHARLES L.	32	1	U	06	05	05	89/12/02	90/05/02	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WHITE, CHARLES L.	33	1	A	04	03.5	03.5	91/05/06	91/08/15	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WHITE, HYRUM G.	32	1	A	06	05	05	94/10/13	95/03/13	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WHITEHEAD, FRANK	38	1	U	03	02.5	02.5	89/06/17	89/09/02	00.00	57.00	57.00	Y
WHITING, EDWIN L.	41	1	U	06	05	05	87/04/12	87/09/11	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
WHITTAKER, HENRY	51	3	U	06	06	06	87/02/19	87/08/19	300.00	52.90	352.90	N
WILDING, GEORGE	57	3	U	06	06	06	87/09/21	88/03/21	100.00	68.20	168.20	N
WILKINSON, MOSES	53	3	U	06	06.5	06.5	90/05/23	90/12/04	150.00	74.10	224.10	Y
WILLCOX, WALTER E.	68	3	U	06	05	05	89/10/02	90/03/02	00.00	17.00	17.00	Y
WILLEY, WILLIAM W.	44	3	U	05	05	05	86/02/10	87/07/19	200.00	96.10	296.10	N
WILLIAMS, WILLIAM	60	1	U	06	06	06	88/02/13	88/08/13	100.00	00.00	100.00	N
WILLIS, WILLIAM	39	1	U	06.	05.	05.	87/12/10	88/05/10	150.00	00.00	150.00	Y
WIMMER, PETER	44	2	U	06	06	06	86/05/28	86/11/29	300.00	191.10	491.10	N
WIMMER, PETER	48	1	A	01	01	01	90/03/25	90/04/25	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WINBERG, ANDERS W.	57	3	U	06	06	06	87/02/28	87/08/29	300.00	108.40	408.40	N
WINGE, CHRISTOPHER S.	53	1	U	06	06	06	88/05/25	88/11/26	50.00	.	50.00	N
WINGE, CHRISTOPHER S.	57	1	A	03	02.5	02.5	91/11/28	92/03/05	00.00	57.20	57.20	?
WINGE, CHRISTOPHER S.	57	1	U	06	01	01	91/11/28	92/03/05	33.60	00.00	33.60	?
WINTER, JENS P. C.	55	1	U	06	06	06	87/06/21	87/12/21	300.00	41.70	341.70	N
WISBYE, JENS C. A.	65	1	U	06	05	05	90/02/25	90/07/25	00.00	56.00	56.00	Y
WIXOM, SOLOMON A.	40	3	U	06	06	06	87/04/28	87/10/28	300.00	45.50	345.50	N

PRISONERS FOR PLURAL MARRIAGE

NAME	DIST			MOS.	MOS.	DATE IN	DATE OUT	FINE	COSTS	TOTAL	PD
	AGE	CT	CHG	SENT.	SERVD						
WOOD, GEORGE C.)	33	3	U	03	29	86/05/29	89/11/05	300.00	99.10	399.10	N
WOOD, GEORGE C.)	33	3	P	60	29	86/05/29	89/11/05	500.00	00.00	500.00	N
WOOD, GEORGE H.	34	2	A	06	05	90/09/14	91/02/11	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WOODS, JAMES A.	47	3	U	06	06	87/09/19	88/03/19	100.00	18.70	118.70	N
WOOLLEY, SAMUEL W.	48	3	U	03	02.5	88/12/19	89/03/03	80.00	00.00	80.00	Y
WOOLLEY, THOMAS	64	1	U	01	01	91/02/17	91/03/16	200.00	00.00	200.00	Y
WOOLSTENHULME, JAMES	51	3	U	02	02	88/09/24	88/11/27	65.00	1.25	66.25	Y
WORTHEN, SAMUEL	61	2	U	06	06	87/05/25	87/11/25	300.00	43.45	343.45	N
WRIGHT, HIRAM S.	37	3	U	06	05	93/01/03	93/06/03	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
WRIGHT, JOHN P.	49	3	U	06	06	87/09/30	88/03/30	50.00	41.30	91.30	N
YATES, HENRY	65	1	A	03	02.5	91/11/20	92/02/05	00.00	96.55	96.55	Y
YATES, THOMAS	49	1	A	10	08.5	89/09/21	90/06/01	00.00	59.00	59.00	Y
YATES, WILLIAM	57	1	U	06	05	87/10/13	88/03/13	50.00	00.00	50.00	Y
YEATES, FRED	50	1	U	06	06	88/05/18	88/11/19	100.00	53.00	153.00	N
YEATES, FRED	53	1	U	01.5	01.5	91/01/06	91/02/20	00.00	52.35	52.35	?
YOUNG, FRANKLIN W.	50	2	U	06	07	89/05/18	89/12/07	300.00	95.00	395.00	N
YOUNG, PARLEY R.	39	1	U	06	06	88/09/27	89/03/29	150.00	33.30	183.30	N
YOUNG, PARLEY R.	44	1	U	02	02	94/02/26	94/04/25	00.00	00.00	0.00	-
YOUNG, ROYAL B.	34	3	U	18	08	86/06/01	87/02/10	900.00	216.35	1116.35	Y
YOUNG, THOMAS	41	1	U	06	06	87/12/09	88/06/09	150.00	00.00	150.00	N
ZUNDEL, ISAAC E. D.	49	1	U	04	03.5	89/06/17	89/09/28	100.00	26.00	126.00	Y

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JUDICIAL PROSECUTION OF PRISONERS

FOR LDS PLURAL MARRIAGE:

PRISON SENTENCES, 1884-1895

Rosa Mae McClellan Evans

Department of History


M.A. Degree, December 1986

ABSTRACT


The practice of polygamy among the Mormons during the nineteenth century was vigorously prosecuted by the federal government in response to the demands of those whose political and economic goals could best be served through exploitation of the national attitude toward polygamy. Hundreds of men served prison terms for practicing what they believed was their religious obligation. This study of the sentences from the prison admission records has focused on the comparative severity of the judges, examines age as an influencing factor in sentencing, and compares the sentences of the polygamists with those for crimes against person and property.

The results show which judges were most severe; that some deference was shown the aged, and that judges who gave severe maximum sentences to polygamists did not give such sentences in equal proportion to those convicted of crimes against person and property. The major influence appears to be the selection of the judge in the first place, to be severe or lenient, in response to national attitude against, or influential sympathy for the Mormons.

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