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"TO BE OR NOT TO BE."

Utah is about to present her petition again for admission into the family of States as the State of Deseret. On what grounds that petition can be justly rejected we confess entire ignorance. The Constitution of the State of Deseret has been pronounced by the best statesmen in the national Council, who are not by any means among those who are favorably disposed towards us, as eminently republican, and in strict conformity with the Constitution of the nation. As amended, it extends the right of suffrage to every citizen, irrespective of color. In this respect its breadth of liberality is equal, if not superior, to the constitution of any other State in the Union.

The ability of the State of Deseret for self-government is beyond question; for as a Territory, when much less able than now, we have had to govern ourselves in the face of opposition, misgovernment and incapability from those who were sent here to govern and administer justice. Financially, to-day, Deseret presents a treasury which any other State or Territory in the Union would be proud of,—free from debt and with a balance in the Treasurer's hands. And, while our finances are in so prosperous a condition, we have, unaided by the General Government, advanced the real and permanent development of this lately barren wilderness, to a degree which our gold and silver producing neighbors, with aid from capitalists and large governmental grants, can show nothing to equal under the circumstances. Education has been fostered; works of art conducive to our prosperity have been executed; immigration has been encouraged and assisted; Indian attacks have been repelled and their ravages prevented; peace has prevailed within our boundary lines, except the Indian difficulties referred to; and the industry of our citizens has fed thousands in the surrounding Territories.

Every Constitutional requirement, demanded of Territories who seek admission as States, has been complied with. The law of custom which has prevailed, in the admission of such States, is honored. Our population is sufficiently numerous. And while in every Territory asking the right of self-government there are many who from various causes oppose the claim, the few who do so here are so far in the minority that their expressed opposition is not entitled to a moment's consideration, when the voice of the great majority is weighed and recognized.

Then, the Constitution of the State of Deseret is in harmony with the Constitution of the nation; our population is larger than that of other Territories, which have become States; we are perfectly capable of self-government; we are at a great distance from the seat of the General Government, the members of which have few opportunities of ascertaining our true requirements, and are exposed to be misled by the interested statements of unscrupulous men who have pecuniary motives for misrepresenting us; our citizens are noted for

being orderly and law-abiding, characteristics which mark all agricultural communities; and we ask the right of self-government, a right which has never been denied to any other Territory with the same population and capabilities, whose constitution has harmonized with that of the nation. Why should that right not be granted to Deseret?

Though it is contended by some of the ablest jurists that Territorial governments are in their very essence and character opposed to the spirit of the Constitution, and incompatible therewith, we will not stop to argue the point. A Territorial government has been extended to us for years. We now ask to change it, and adopt one, the legitimacy and constitutionality of which cannot be questioned. Have we not the right to so ask? And is it anything but a simple act of justice that we should obtain it?

It may be urged that plurality of wives is an objection to our being admitted as a State, because it is an institution not recognized by any other State. Without entering into a question which has been treated on at length in our columns not a great while ago; without again showing the plain and indisputable truth, that honorable marriage is in all countries and under every circumstance superior to illicit sexual communion; without doing more than saying that the doctrine is a vital part of our religious faith, having holy aims and noble ends in view, we will present a point for consideration that is highly pertinent to the question and the occasion. Is it not the proud aim of every American statesman, and the hope of every American citizen, that the form of government under which we live should be extended world-wide, until it wields universal dominion? If that object and that hope were realized, would our statesmen in extending the starry folds of our national flag over the four-fifths of the human family who are polygamists, compel them to abandon the practice, and enforce a condition which the Constitution bequeathed us by our fathers never demanded? or would they permit them to enjoy the full liberty guaranteed by that instrument?

The question may seem far-fetched and very hypothetical; yet it is not so much so as might be supposed at first glance. The Pacific slope has a large and largely increasing population, direct from polygamous Asia. Their mummeries of worship they are permitted to enjoy. The connecting link between free American institutions and Chinese idolatry is forged. The right of suffrage is being extended to them. They bring here with them their peculiar notions and ideas. Their children, born on this soil, and having those notions ingrafted upon their minds, grow up American citizens. Will they become sufficiently numerous to control the vote of a State,—say California? It is within the range of probabilities. Should they do so, and extend the polygamy of Asia there, could Congress constitutionally interfere to prevent them? But to carry the idea further. We talk of annexing Canada, and throwing a protectorate over Mexico. Will the destiny of the nation stop there? No; its course is onward, ever onward if its statesmen do not call up storms of political strife beneath the fury of which the bark of State will be shattered. Japan and China, long buried in exclusiveness, have opened their ports for commerce with us. The exclusive spirit of ages is disappearing before the progress of this great Republic. There is nothing utopian in the thought that

American institutions will yet hold dominance in those distant regions. Can the inhabitants accept our Constitution and remain idolaters? Certainly. Can they do so and remain polygamists? Why not? In five years, with the Pacific Rail road completed, China and Japan will be in closer communication with Washington than London was fifty years ago. The growth of liberty among the teeming millions of Asia is only a work of time. Is our Constitution sufficiently liberal to embrace under it people of every shade of color, with every form of religious faith, Christian, Jew, Mahomedan, Hindoo and Pagan? Such was the design in framing it. Must all those vast nations be compelled to change the form of marriage, hallowed to them by the traditions of many centuries, and accept the monogamy of Christendom, with the social sin which has ever accompanied it, before they can enjoy that liberty? even though they should in all things respect the rights of their fellow beings.

Sneering at our hypothesis will not meet the point. True statesmanship does not alone legislate for the present. It looks from the present to the future; and to the consequences which the acts of the present will have on the generations of the future. Here is an argument worthy the consideration of every intelligent mind in the nation.

The question of the extension of our free institutions, or their restriction within narrow bounds, is opened by it. Even the amount of freedom which may be enjoyed under those institutions is brought to issue. We have given freedom to the slave. As a nation we have declared that the bondman suffering involuntary servitude, shall stand forth emancipated, free, disenthralled. We raise him from the degradation of a dark slavery to the dignity of American citizenship. We give him the right to say who shall govern him, and how he shall be taxed. Nay, we open the path of honor to him, and bid him aspire to the highest positions. We offer the same rights to citizens of every shade of color. But should some of those citizens invite their Asiatic friends to come here for the purpose of remaining permanently, shall bigoted prejudice and narrow mindedness step in and say, "You cannot come unless you sunder your domestic ties, cruelly desert part of your family, and bring here but one wife; or bring all and prostitute all but one?"

Gentlemen, honorable members of Congress, the solution of this question is easy, and it is in your hands. Here is a community who believe in Christ, worship God, accept the sacred Scriptures, and practice that patriarchal order of marriage which God has approved, blessed and commanded. We are qualified to become one of the family of States. Extend to us that right, and proclaim to the world, that monogamist and polygamist, white, red or black, christian, infidel, Jew and pagan, can all enjoy here the blessings of liberty and freedom, if they will uphold the Constitution of our country and extent to all others the same inalienable rights which they enjoy themselves.

PROPHECY FULFILLED.

Over thirty-three years ago the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints received a commandment from the Lord to seek redress at the hands of the legally constituted authorities, for the wrongs which they had suffered. They were then few in number, compared with the present time. But the same spirit of persecution which afterwards drove them mercilessly from the eastern

States to this wild region of country, had even then made them suffer bitterly by mob violence. To recount the persecutions which they endured, would be to relate the most barbarous and unprecedented acts ever perpetrated in any country claiming to be civilized.

Statements of their sufferings and the outrages committed upon them were submitted to the constituted authorities, sustained by the strongest and most unimpeachable testimony; but their petitions were treated with neglect, and contemptuously cast aside. In accordance with the commandment which they had received, judges, governors, State legislatures, the Congress of the nation, and the President were severally appealed to, as redress failed to be obtained from each; while the persecutions increased in virulence in proportion with the increasing numbers of those who composed the Church.

Judges disgraced their judicial position, refused to the injured Saints even the shadow of justice, leagued themselves with the mobocrats and ruffians to destroy the "Mormons," and harassed them and their leaders with the most unjust accusations and vexatious lawsuits, denying them the privilege of calling witnesses by trumping up charges against those whom they thus called and having them arrested, while men were suborned to swear anything and everything which might secure a conviction; yet in that they were foiled through the providences of the Almighty. Governors, instead of hearkening to their importunities, winked at their enemies, to whom no crime was sufficiently enormous to prevent its perpetration; and one of those governors issued an order to have the "Mormons" exterminated, or driven from the State. A State legislature, where noted mobocrats sat as representatives of the people, threw out the petition of the Saints and would not permit a Committee to investigate their case, as the evidence would have revealed their own turpitude. Congress referred back the memorial forwarded to them to the same legislature; and the then President of the nation, after treating the deputation which waited on him almost with contempt, said "Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you," and, "If I take up for you I shall lose the vote of Missouri!"

The Lord, in the revelation referred to, declared what would be the result if these repeated appeals were unheeded, and if the importunings of His persecuted Saints did not obtain redress for them:—"And if the President heed them not, then will the Lord arise and come forth out of His hiding place, and in His fury vex the nation, and in His hot displeasure, and in His fierce anger, in His time, will cut off those wicked, unfaithful and unjust stewards, and appoint them their portion among hypocrites and unbelievers." (Doc. & Cov., page 283, 3d European ed.) From the time when the commandment was given until the first appeal was made to the President by the Prophet Joseph Smith in person, something like six years had elapsed, during which petition after petition, and memorial after memorial, had been presented to various authorities and supported by immense numbers of affidavits from the outraged and oppressed, and from friends of law and order who were not members of the Church. But redress was not obtained, and the appeal was carried to the Lord of Hosts whose commandment had been thus strictly obeyed. Have the words of the Lord been thus far fulfilled, when He declared the consequences of refusing redress to His people? Has not the nation been vexed with a sore vexation?