

St. Patrick's day. At Belleville was displayed the words, "O'Donnell's death will be avenged." Several delegates of the Irish Republican Brotherhood were present. Patrick Carey advocated the use of dynamite.

Berlin, 18.—Bismarck rides daily in the Thiergarten. He seems to be in splendid health. The impression of the Reichstag is that he has renewed his strength mentally and physically. The current rumors that he has altered his habits now of eating and drinking with moderation, were confessed during his recent speeches in the Reichstag. Instead of diluted brandy, his former speech beverage, he took cold tea.

Suakim, 18.—A boat left Shendy to try to reopen communication with General Gordon at Khartoum. Zobeir Pasha offered to go to Khartoum to assist General Gordon on condition that he be allowed to take funds to raise a force of 1,500 blacks. The Cairo government recommends that England accept Zobeir's offer.

LONDON, 19.—The strike of factory operatives at Titchin, Bohemia, is spreading. Officials of the city have received letters threatening them with death. A battalion of troops has been dispatched to the center of the disturbance.

Suakim, 19.—An extended reconnaissance was made this morning from Handouk, where the Gordon Highlanders and mounted infantry went yesterday, but rebels were nowhere to be seen. Sheik Hadar, with 100 followers, is coming into the English lines.

London, 19.—Gladstone has gone to Coombe in Surrey. He appears jaded. Ireland is declared free from foot and mouth disease.

Alexandria, 19.—The men-of-war *Condor* and *Myrmidon* have suddenly departed for Suakim.

Berne, 19.—The Swiss federal council has decided to grant extradition of anarchists whenever asked for, otherwise no anarchists will be expelled from the country.

Paris, 19.—The *Republique Francaise* says: "France can treat with China only upon the basis of an indemnity and the recognition by China of French supremacy over the whole of Tonquin."

Cairo, 19.—The further advance of the British in the Sudan is imminent. General Graham is in favor of continuing the campaign. He thinks the rebellion is not yet crushed. The situation of Gen. Gordon is considered critical.

London, 19.—The English government has decided to send a special officer to Suakim to negotiate with the Arabs.

Paris, 19.—The communists celebrated the anniversary of the beginning of the commune of '71, last evening by banquets in several of the suburbs. The speeches at these meetings were of a violent and revolutionary character.

Government has decided to occupy Upper Tonquin as far as the Chinese frontier.

Switzerland's efforts to hold an international copy right conference is faintly supported only by an answer from America in acknowledgement of the invitation.

Friedlander & Co., leather merchants, have failed. Liabilities £50,000.

Paris, 19.—Gen. Millot has decided to attack the black flags in Hunghoa.

Stockholm, 19.—Crown Prince Gustaf has been appointed Viceroy of Norway.

Cairo, 19.—Telegraphic communication beyond Berber is still cut off. The Bedouins are massing at points on the Nile. They have already occupied the region about Saboaka cataract, and have blockaded the river at that place. The Botakheer tribes are preparing to attack Shendy.

Suakim, 20.—Spies report that Osman Digma, with a few followers, has fled to the interior. His flight is attributed to the reward offered for his capture. Slaves are deserting him and fleeing to Suakim.

Suakim, 20.—Admiral Hewitt has withdrawn his proclamation offering a thousand pounds for Osman's head.

Paris, 20.—*Figaro's* Cairo dispatch says: This morning General Gordon told the French consul at Khartoum that he is disappointed in what he has been able to accomplish. He said it would be impossible for him to defend the place against the advancing tribes in Cairo.

It is stated that Abdel Kadir Pasha, minister of war, will be sent to rescue Gordon.

## THE CULLOM, HOAR AND CASSIDY BILLS.

### THE PROPOSED DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE WOMEN OF UTAH.

The following address was delivered before the Convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association, Lincoln Hall, Washington, D. C., Wednesday, March 5th, 1884, and much of it was used as an argument before the House Committee on Territories by Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, Attorney-at-Law.

*The disfranchisement of the Women of Utah as proposed by House Bill No. 946, known as the Cassidy Bill, and the Senate Bill No. 1283, reported from the Judiciary by Senator Hoar:*

A casual glance at the first named bill would hardly excite comment, so deftly has it been worded to conceal its real intent and purpose.

It has on its face a semblance of fairness by proposing that the fifteen

Commissioners, which it proposes, shall be divided between democrats and republicans.

It is a republican measure, with a bribe held out to a democratic House to sustain it, and a sop thrown at a republican President to sign it.

It proposes to repeal every act not in harmony with it. It repeals the act organizing the Territory. It repeals the Edmunds bill. It decapitates the Utah Commission. It breaks faith with 175,000 resident citizens, and attempts to foist on them a carpet-bag government, to eat up and destroy their substance, as was done with the Southern States after the war of the rebellion. It is a blow struck at our civil government.

If Congress can thus wipe out with one fell swoop the Territorial government of Utah, it can wipe out the Territorial government of Wyoming, of Washington Territory, of Montana, of Dakota, of Idaho, of Arizona, and of New Mexico. Aye, under the same authority they may disfranchise the recently emancipated negroes throughout the South and remand them back to their shackles and to servitude.

But under our Constitution and laws this cannot be done without such palpable and flagrant violation of its provisions as would entitle the enactors to impeachment for high treason. A Territory once organized, a charter once granted, a Legislature once elected, a Constitution once adopted, passes out of the hands of the parties constructing it, and is no longer under the control of the General Government so far as its annulment or repeal is concerned, and it has never before been attempted by this nation.

When the United States Congress, over 33 years ago, or on or about 1850, organized Utah into a Territory and gave to her a Territorial Legislature, they gave to her powers that they are not now able to take back. They said to her, in effect, you are now of age—you are free. We give to you the portion that you have chosen of your father's estate—the public domain which you now occupy, and this charter which we grant to you is your deed in fee for the same. Take it, it is yours. The charter of Utah has been a matter of record for over three decades. Many of you cannot fail to remember the historical fact of the attempt of George the Third to repeal the charter of Connecticut, and that he sent one of his officers to the Assembly to demand its surrender. The men who founded the Thirteen United Colonies were made of sterling stuff. One of them blew out the lights, seized the charter and climbed into the boughs of the famous charter oak which for a century graced the commons of New Haven.

Connecticut still lives, but King George is in the forgotten past, remembered only for his tyrannies and despotism.

Last year Mr. Cassidy saw fit to deny that his bill at that date was a blow aimed at woman suffrage. This year he makes one stronger and proposes not only to take the Charter but to wipe out the Legislature of Utah, elected by the votes of the sovereign people of that Territory, whose right it is to say who shall govern them, who shall tax them, and how they shall be taxed; how they shall marry and be given in marriage; what God they shall worship, and how they shall worship Him—what shall be considered a felony or a crime, against the commonwealth, and how it shall be punished; who shall be competent as witnesses and what shall constitute testimony.

It proposes to disfranchise at one fell swoop over 30,000 voters, men and women, Mormon and Gentile, Jew and Greek for what? The crimes of bigamy and polygamy? No! The Edmunds' Bill enacted March 22, 1882, disfranchised every bigamist and polygamist in the Territory of Utah, disqualified them from holding office; and the Commissioners who were sent out by the President to see that this odious law was enforced, backed by a morbid public sentiment; in their zeal stretched the law beyond its limits—made the law retroactive, and not only disfranchised every practical polygamist in the Territory and deprived such persons of office, but visited the same penalty upon every man or woman who had ever, at any time been a polygamist—even the first wife of a Mormon, who of all other persons should be entitled to be considered innocent of offense, and finally went so far as to disfranchise women who had been 20 years in widowhood. Section 3 of Article 9 of the Constitution says, "No bill of attainder or ex post facto law, shall be passed," meaning the General Government, while Section 10, Art. 1, says: No State shall \* \* \* pass any bill of attainder or ex post facto law.

These worthy Commissioners have undertaken to enforce their idea of the intent of the law, and what they believe the law ought to be, the effect of which was to depose men from office who had been duly elected to positions by the voice of the people, who had committed no offense against any statute general or local originating from any government to which they had claimed allegiance. The Edmunds' amendment as reported by Senator Hoar invades the domestic relations of the people of the Territory—disrupts families, overturns the old English Common Law and all of the statute law, State or National, hitherto known to the people of this Union, in its provisions to compel a wife to testify against her husband; invades the Constitution by permitting illegal searches and seizures, and defies all law known to the genius of our Constitution and government by permitting the arrest of

suspected persons without warrant of court, and in compelling the attendance of witnesses without subpoena. The Edmunds' bill now in force in that Territory is worthy of the blind zeal of the days of the Inquisition in France and Spain; and the later bigotry of hanging for witchcraft in New England. Instead of punishing those who alone had committed the offense, it wreaked its vengeance on defenceless wives and mothers; took from them their sustenance and in effect bastardized their children. The Mormon people, between their loyalty to the Union and zeal for their church submitted to this outrage, and every person suspected of bigamy or polygamy has since the passage of the act quietly refrained from voting.

But it is claimed by the enemies of this much abused and over governed people, that they evade the law, and that therefore a more stringent law must be enacted. We have in the District of Columbia a law making larceny a felony, and have had such law since its organization, and yet during all these years there have been a class of persons who commit larceny, although we have made larceny odious. Every State in the Union has a law against murder, making it a capital offense, punishable in some States by hanging, and in some by imprisonment for life, and yet in every State in this Union murders are committed. We have in the District of Columbia a law against bigamy and polygamy—yea, we are amenable to all of the disabilities, restrictions and penalties of the Edmunds bill, and yet I can put my finger to-day on scores of men who are evading the law by cohabiting with two or three women, without the sanction of that canon of the church here—a marriage.

Article 4th of the amendment to the Constitution says: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and none shall issue but on probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or thing to be seized."

Article 1st of the amendment to the Constitution reads: "Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, etc."

The legislation proposed in this bill, No. 946, the Edmunds bill and its amendment, and the amendment reported by Senator Hoar January 28th, are all the result of a morbid public sentiment without foundation in morality, justice or humanity, intended to oppress a peaceful, quiet, frugal people, by persons who have purposes and aims of their own to further, by gentlemen who seem to believe the old adage "*vox populi vox Dei*," than which no greater fallacy was ever promulgated. The danger which threatens Utah to-day threatens Wyoming, and her people are taking the alarm. At the meeting of the joint Legislatures of the two Territories at Salt Lake City, February 15, the Speaker of the House, Hon. F. H. Jones, of Wyoming, spoke as follows:

"We are your next door neighbors, our interests are in many respects identical. We are beset by common dangers, engaged in common struggles, encountering common difficulties, and rejoice in common achievements."

"Mr. Warren spoke, his theme being that of woman suffrage, which is exciting the attention of the Assembly at Wyoming, and called for a vote on the subject."

Let polygamy alone, and it will soon cease to be, with the legislation already enacted. The young men are not likely to throw away all opportunity for office, for honor and preferment by disobeying the law; and the legislation herein proposed would inflict upon them the punishment of disfranchisement for no act of their own, and could not, in the days to come, inculcate in them either love or respect for the power that governs them. The majority of all people are law abiding, unless the law becomes so oppressive that respect is impossible.

This law proposes a punishment—has with it a penalty without a conviction of crime, and proposes to punish the innocent with the guilty—the women for the crimes of men.

It is in direct violation of the Constitution, in that it is a legislation "respecting an establishment of religion." The General Government has no more right to attack the Mormon faith or to legislate with reference to it than it has to attack the Methodists or Catholics. The Mormon religion as compared with other religions, had its origin in the same mysticisms and chimeras, and was propagated in the same way.

One hundred years ago, the first Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in John Street, in the city of New York, with only six members. The believers of that doctrine to-day are counted by millions and their churches by tens of thousands.

Fifty-four years ago Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, had only six followers in the State of New York, and those were his own relatives. He claimed to find and translate a book which he called "The Book of Mormon," but did not assume to be its author, only the medium through which it was given to the world. He taught that this book and the Old and New Testament were the writings of inspired men. His followers, like the Free-will Baptists, took their inspired writings as their creed, and, like the Quakers and holy men of old, spoke as they were moved upon by the spirit.

In 612 Mahomet, the prophet of Moslem, wrote the Koran. He said to his people: "If you do not believe that this book is from God, see if you can write a better book." To-day it is estimated that the followers of this faith number 180,000,000 of human beings. At first they met with ridicule and violent opposition, so that they were forced to emigrate from Mecca to Abyssinia. They, too, were polygamists. Failing to convert the people as rapidly as he wished, Mahomet resorted to compulsion and conquest, and his followers used for their battle cry: "There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet."

Taylor Lewis, in speaking of this religion, says of it: "It may be regarded in fact as a lateral wave from the great tide of religious thought and feeling which came down from the earliest time of human history, bearing in its mid-channel the Jewish theocracy and culminating in the Christian church. Mahomet died at Medina, June 8, 632, ten of his fourteen wives surviving him, and the religion that he promulgated, with all its persecutions, has survived the centuries."

The Mormons have sent out their missionaries to all parts of the globe, who have given their services and paid their own expenses—literally preaching their new gospel without purse and without scrip. They believed that this country was the Palestine predicted, and that it was their mission to found the New Jerusalem and to erect in the New World its sacred Temple. To secure a revenue for this purpose they collected tithes after the old English custom, and agreed that the Temple should be built by the free contributions of all the members of their Church.

But persecutions began and they were driven to Ohio, and from thence to Missouri and then to Illinois, where at Nauvoo they commenced to build the Temple, when their Prophet Joseph Smith and his brother were murdered by a mob. In six years after their settlement at this place, they had increased to 15,000 persons. To-day there are in the Territory of Utah, 175,000 persons. While in their feeble state and surrounded by enemies, they furnished 500 men for the Mexican war. On the breaking out of the rebellion, they were loyal to the Union. They have helped to settle our country, helped to add to our territory, and have pledged their lives to defend it.

Brigham Young, who succeeded the Prophet Smith, ruled the Church with a wise discretion; largely increasing their numbers, their thrift and prosperity. The persecutions and murders of the members of this Church, and the destruction of their property, did not have its origin in polygamy, but in religious persecution, as polygamy was a later outgrowth and instituted at a time when the women outnumbered the men.

To avoid these persecutions, Brigham Young determined to lead his people a thousand miles away from our boasted civilization through a dreary and almost trackless desert, to a spot, then on Mexican territory, where his Church could found their New Jerusalem unmolested, and rebuild the holy Temple.

On the 24th of July, 1847, he arrived with 143 pioneers in the valley of Salt Lake. They had surveyed and built 650 miles of road, and had followed a trapper's trail nearly 400 miles. This valley was then a wild, so dreary that it seemed hardly possible for religious persecution to enter it. The ideal city which they saw by the eye of faith was founded. The solitary place was made glad, and the desert to blossom as a rose.

Less than forty years have passed away, and to-day they are a rich, populous and prosperous territory. How to get rid of polygamy, is a problem that the present Congress is trying to solve. Several plans have been proposed among which are the following humanitarian and moral views, viz:

Disfranchise the whole Territory, men and women, bigamists and non-bigamists, Mormons and Gentiles, but especially the women. As Eve was the first to partake of the fruit in the Garden of Eden, so sin has probably been conceived by the women of Utah.

Introduce among them the insignia of civilization in the shape of gambling houses, grog shops, and brothels, and they will no longer remain without poorhouses and jails and the women will not cling to their husbands.

Confiscate their church property, the accumulation of years; take away their Territorial Charter and give Congress the exclusive right to govern them, so that at each session of that august body any member of doubtful moral standing may air his virtue and put himself on the record by pouring out his anathemas on bigamy and polygamy.

Change the old saying that it is better to let 99 guilty persons escape than to punish one that is innocent, and punish all and you will be sure to reach the guilty.

Compel the wife to testify against her husband, and if she is so unwilling to testify, imprison her, and if still obstinate, apply the thumb-screws.

If they are still defiant, remove them at the point of the bayonet, as General Wood did with the Cherokee Indians, from the forests they had cleared and the beautiful homes they built in the fastnesses of the mountains.

All of the Indian tribes are and have been polygamists. There are two societies in the State of New York, one of whose followers hold to no marriage and are celebrities, which is opposed to the prosperity and perpetuity of the State; and another, who believe in

changing their companions at pleasure. In both of these societies there is a common home and a common purse. They have never been persecuted or disturbed for their peculiar faith.

But seriously, gentlemen and ladies, to return to our argument. The legislation proposed in this Cassidy bill, the Edmunds amendment, and the bill reported by Senator Hoar, Sen. No. 1283, are grossly unconstitutional. It matters not that they had their inception and origin in one of the finest constitutional and legal minds, so said, in the United States Senate. Oppression and tyranny are the same from whatever source they emanate, and they grind under their heels their victims with the same tortures. "The bloody shirt" flaunted in the face of the political aspirants for place in the South, had more foundation in fact than the present hue and cry of bigamy and polygamy in Utah, which are intended for precisely the same effect.

This Territory was organized on the 9th of September, 1850, by a people driven by persecution to the wilds of the desert, who endured hardship and toil and privation, like our Pilgrim Fathers of old, for the purpose of enjoying religious liberty. They have enriched that desert land with their toil until it has become fair to look upon, and rich with the developed wealth of their harvest fields, their mines and manufactories. Their thrift has excited the cupidity of designing and unscrupulous men. A certain ring of politicians, determined to possess themselves of that fair Territory have made the religious belief of the Mormons a pretext for inflaming the public mind into a tempest of virtuous indignation, that has about as much foundation in fact as the story of Don Quixote and the Wind Mill, in that admirable travesty of Cervantes. It was religious persecution that settled the rock bound coast of New England; that drove the Baptists out of Connecticut by a religious people who said, "The righteous shall inherit the earth. We are the righteous." It was religious persecution that one hundred years ago forbade the Catholics from holding lands in fee in Virginia, that denied the Quakers the privilege of testifying in the Courts of Maryland. This history repeats herself.

But if the present Congress chooses to enact this odious and tyrannical legislation, they have a notable precedent for their action, the sequel to which is known to every school boy and girl in the land.

In the Declaration of Independence of the Thirteen United Colonies the causes which impelled them to dissolve the political bonds which connected them with the government of England are set forth. The King of Great Britain was charged by them with committing repeated injuries and usurpations, the object of which was to establish an absolute tyranny over the Colonies. In this Declaration twenty-seven specific charges are made against the King, among them as follows:

"He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people unless these people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only."

"He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people."

"He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected; thereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of annihilation have returned to the people at large for their exercise."

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out our substance."

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended Legislation."

"For imposing taxes on us without our consent."

"For depriving us in many cases of the benefit of trial by jury."

"For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our Government."

"For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever."

"A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

The Hoar Amendment mildly proposes to disfranchise the women of the Territory,—to despoil the Mormon and Church apportion and distribute its wealth among fourteen trustees who shall hold office for two years, when I suppose it is intended that another set shall come in for a slice of the cake.

It proposes to go back to the barbarity of the Old English law which declares that a bastard has no inheritable blood, and to take from the child of polygamous parentage not only his name but his patrimony. Senators Hoar and Edmunds would both have performed a service to the State, and have gone down to posterity as humanitarians and philanthropists, had they paid as much attention to the legislation of Vermont and Massachusetts as they have to that of Utah, and secured enactments which would grant inheritance to every illegitimate child in those States wherever the parentage can be proved. *Nullos filia* is an absurdity of the law and worthy of the dark ages.

It is profoundly to be hoped that Congress will turn its attention to its legitimate business and let Utah alone,