

[Continued from page 203.]

upon? Did we dispossess anybody of their land, rob anybody, interfere with anybody's rights? Did we transgress any State's law, national law or any other law? We did not, and they never have been able to prove one item against us, and we stand clear. We maintained the law and tried to make it honorable.

What must we go away for? Why, they had murdered our Prophet and Patriarch under the sacred pledge of the Governor of the State and of his officers, all combined, and we could obtain no redress, and because they had done one injury, they must heap a thousand on the back of it.

That is the only reason I know of. They were murderers and sanctioned the practice, and those men have got to atone for these wrongs yet. [Voices: 'Amen.'] The debt has got to be paid.

[Voice: 'Douglas is not a bit better than the rest of them.']

Not a particle.

What is our position at the present time? Why are we here, gentlemen and ladies? Answer me, ye sons of the ancient patriots,—ye sons of those fathers who fought for the rights and liberties this nation boasts so much of. Answer me, why are you here? Because you could not go anywhere else; because you could not be protected in those rights that your fathers bled and died for. That is the reason you are here, gentlemen.

We are here, because we are exiled and disfranchised, because we are robbed of our rights, because we could not possess equal rights with other American citizens, rights that the Constitution guaranteed to every citizen of the Union.

We had to fly from the face of civilization and found a refuge among the red men of the forest; we had to seek that mercy from the hands of the savage that Christian civilization denied us.

We are talking now about rights, laying aside religion. If we come to talk about the kingdom of God, that is another matter. We are talking now about our rights as American citizens, or rather our wrongs; the rights we have been robbed of.

We are here, then, under these circumstances. Have we broken any law here? No. I defied the whole Eastern country, when I was there, to prove that we have broken any law, and have not found a man that dare take up the gauntlet, not one, because they could not do it. Why could they not? Because we have done no wrong.

What did we do on the road here? Right in the midst of difficulties, in the midst of exile, when we were journeying to this place, this government called upon us for 500 soldiers to go and fight their battles, when they were literally allowing us to be driven from our homes and to be robbed of millions of property without redress.

Did we send the soldiers? We did. Was it our duty to comply with such a requisition at such a time and under such circumstances? I don't know. I think it was one of those works of supererogation which the Roman Catholics talk about. I do not think any law of God or man would have required it at our hands, but we did it, and I suppose it was wisdom and prudent, under the circumstances, that we should take that course, because our enemies were seeking to entangle and destroy us from the earth. They laid that as a trap, thinking to catch us in it, but it did not stick.

What did we do when we came here? We framed a Constitution and a Provisional Government and reported our doings to the United States again, right on the back of all the insults, robbery and fraud which we had endured. We still went constitutionally to work.

Afterwards we petitioned for a Territorial Government. Did they give it to us? They did. Is there any step that we have taken that is contrary to law? There is not. They have appointed our Governor, our Secretaries, our Judges, our Marshals; they have done to us the same in this matter as they have done with other territories.

I do not believe in their right constitutionally to appoint our officers, still they have done it and we have submitted to it. And they have sent some of the most cursed scoundrels here that ever existed on the earth. Instead of being fathers, they have tried every influence they could bring to bear in order to destroy us.

Such have been our protectors, these have been the men who have been sworn to fulfil their public duties, but they have forsworn themselves in the face of high heaven.

What law have we transgressed? None. They trump up every kind of story that it is possible to conceive of, but have always been and are now unable to substantiate any of their barefaced assertions, and I declare it before you and the world, that this people are the most peaceable, law-abiding and patriotic people that can be found in the United States.

What have they been doing in Kansas, in California, in Oregon? What in Cuba, in Nicaragua and at present in New York, if you please? They have been filibustering in Cuba and in Nicaragua; and officers of every grade and condition, both civil and military have winked at it and suffered these things to go on, right under their noses.

The position of affairs in Kansas has been anything but flattering; it has been North against South and South against North, and Kansas has been the battle ground.

The people there are not, perhaps, much worse than the rest of the people; they are principally emigrants from the North and South, who are arrayed against each other, whilst Kansas is the great Sebastopol where the battle is fought. The inhabitants there are the representatives of Eastern, Western, Southern

and Northern civilization and Christianity, all combined.

Are they traitors? O no! They are only a little excited. We must try and get a Governor who will try and compromise matters between the parties, and we will get things straightened out by and bye. They send one Governor, he fails, and another and he fails, and they have sent another, but whether he will fail or not, time must determine.

What are they doing in New York? The Legislature of New York passed laws interfering with the City of New York and the City is in rebellion against the State of New York, and it was raging at the time I left. The State says, 'I won't submit,' and the City says, 'I won't submit.' And they had two different classes of officers there to regulate matters in the emporium of the United States; it is the mercantile emporium at least.

They are very peaceable, they are good citizens, there is no harm in that, it is only a little family trouble that we have to settle, and in doing so we must use any pacific measure we can.

What is the matter with us? Have we broken any law? James Gordon Bennett, a man who is quarrelling with everybody, comes out at last and says, 'The 'Mormons' have the advantage of us, and they know it.' And out of all he could hatch up and scrape together against the 'Mormons,' there is only one thing that seems even in his eyes to supply any pretext for hostilities against them, and that is, the charge of burning some 900 volumes of United States laws, and this charge is also false. Bennett is one of the most rabid 'Mormon' eaters you can find, with the exception of Greeley.

What are they sending an army here for? I had thought things were a little different until I got here, but I have found in conversing with President Young that he knows more about things as they exist in the Eastern country than I did, who had just come from there. I had read all the newspapers, examined the spirit of the times and tried to get at all the information I could, and I find from the information I have received since then that he understood things more correctly than I did.

I thought it was a kind of a pacific course which the administration was taking in order to pacify the republicans, that they might have a reasonable pretext to have fulfilled their duties, for I do know that they were apprised of the unreliable character of some of their informants.

When I heard that the troops now on their way here had sealed orders, were coming with cannon and had stopped the mail, it argued that there was the devil behind somewhere.

I will give you my opinion about their present course. The republicans were determined to make the 'Mormon' question tell in their favor. At the time they were trying to elect Fremont they put two questions into their platform, viz.: opposition to the domestic institutions of the South and to polygamy. The democrats have professed to be our friends and they go to work to sustain the domestic institutions of the South and the rights of the people, but when they do that the republicans throw polygamy at them and are determined to make them swallow that with the other. This makes the democrats gag and they have felt a strong desire to get rid of the 'Mormon' question.

Some of them, I know, for some time past have been concocting plans to divide up Utah among the several Territories around, and I believe a bill having this object in view was prepared once or twice and came pretty near being presented to Congress, but that was not done.

Now they go to work and send out an army with sealed orders, and if necessary, are prepared to commit anything that the devil may suggest to them, for they are under his influence. They wish now to steal the republicans' thunder, to take the wind out of their sails, and to out-Herod Herod.

Say they, 'We, who profess to be the friends of the 'Mormons' and support free institutions, squatter sovereignty and equal rights, will do more to the 'Mormons' than you dare do; and we will procure offices by that means and save our party,' and as Pilate and Herod could be made friends over the death of Jesus, so they go to work and plan our sacrifice and destruction and make up friends on the back of it.

They would crucify Jesus Christ, if he were here, as quick as the scribes and pharisees did in his day, and the priests would help them.

President Young says they shall not come here and destroy us, and I say amen. [The congregation shouted, 'Amen.']

I have not quoted a great deal of scripture to-day, but I will quote some. It says, there was the opening of the first seal; so we will open this seal for them. We will declare their orders, a thing they have not manhood to do; they are too sneaking and underhanded and have not manliness enough to declare their mind to a handful of people; the poor pusillanimous curs.

We dare do it, and I thank God that I live among a people that dare, for I do despise this sneaking, miserable, cowardly tribe, that are obliged to act under-handed in all their ways. Why? For fear of something to come. We dare declare our intentions and risk the consequences.

Now I want to touch upon a principle which I spoke about a while ago. We have submitted to them sending officers here; that is all right enough, if we have a mind to. We are citizens of the United States and profess to support the Constitution of the United States, and wherein that binds us, we are bound, wherein it does not, we are not bound.

They have sent judge after judge, and many times we have been without them; their loss, however, was not felt.

They have sent their officers and we have

treated them well, and for the good treatment we have received curses, bitterness, wrath, lying and destruction in return.

They have sought to destroy our reputation, to rob us of our rights.

They have sought to injure us in every possible way that men could be injured, as patriots, Christians and moral men.

They have lied about us in every conceivable way.

We have borne it and borne it, over and over again.

Are we bound to bear it for ever? That is the question that necessarily arises.

Are we bound to suffer their abuse and oppression continually? And if we are, upon what principle? If there is any man in this congregation, or anywhere else, that will show me one principle, or one piece of instruction or authority in the Constitution of the United States that authorizes the president of the United States to send out governors and judges to this Territory, I would like to see it.

I cannot find such authority. I will admit that a usage of that kind has obtained, that it is quite customary for the president of the United States, by and with the consent of the senate, to appoint governors, judges, marshals, secretaries of state, and all of those officers that you have had here. But it is a thing that is not authorized by the Constitution, much less to force them upon us by an armed soldiery. There is no such authority exists.

I wish to quote to you one little thing; if I had the Constitution here I would read it to you. It is to the effect 'that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.'

No matter, therefore, whether the people live in states or territories, they possess Constitutional privileges alike. The most that is said in regard to territories and the authority of the president or congress is, that 'the congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States.'

That is speaking of it as land; and some of the most prominent statesmen of the United States have so construed it. It is property as land, territory as land they have a right to interfere with, not territory as regards the people.

I published this in the 'Mormon' long ago, and said the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. By and by the United States Judges gave the same decision. I gave mine, however, before they gave theirs.

It is a true principle, they have not the authority; if they have it at all, it is in the people ceding it to them and not what they possess by the Constitution of the United States.

They have sent scoundrels among us from time to time; if they had sent decent men, would we have opposed them? No. We would have respected them, but will we submit to such infernal scoundrels? Never, no, never!!

So far as right is concerned, then, they have no right to appoint officers for this or any other Territory, and I will defy any man to prove that there is any such right in the Constitution.

I conversed with a Judge Black, who was coming up to Nebraska Territory on a steamboat, an intelligent man, a Democrat, of course. When talking about these principles to him, which he acceded to, I put my hand on his shoulder and said, Judge, what are you doing here? 'I am here,' said he, 'according to the usage that has obtained, but if the people do not want me, all they have to do is to express it and I will go away again. I wish we only had half such decent men as that sent here.'

He tried to take another tack, which is this:—He pointed out in the Constitution where the Supreme Court of the United States was made one of the branches of the Government, and the President has the appointment of its Judges.—That is true, he possesses the power to appoint the greater, but not the less. How do you make that appear? Simply because one is mentioned in the Constitution and the other is not. The United States Supreme Court is a co-ordinate branch of the government, and there is provision made by the Constitution for the election and appointment of its officers.

This is not the case in regard to the officers of a Territory.

Out of courtesy we, as citizens of the United States, may say, Mr. President, if you have a mind to appoint discreet persons to fill those offices, all well and good, but if you don't, you had better take them back, for we won't have them; we stand on our reserved rights as citizens of the United States.

We are not lacking for men in the United States, at the present time, who want to make it appear that the United States have a right to lord it over the Territories, the same as the British Government used to do over their Colonies.

Thousands of you before me were citizens of the United States, where you came from. You had the right of franchise, had a right to say who should be your Governor and who should be your Municipal and State officers.

You came out here by thousands or by tens of thousands. By what right, or upon what principle are you disfranchised? Can any body tell me? Say some, 'you need not have come out here unless you had a mind to.' Of course not; but we had a mind to, we were American citizens before we came out and we have transgressed no law in coming, and by what rule are we deprived of our citizenship? If we had a right then to vote for anything, we have a right now, and no body has a right to cram this or that man upon us without our consent; much less have they a right to drag us into servility to their unconstitutional exactions.

What was the great cause of complaint at the time the Constitution was framed? In the Declaration of Independence it was stated that the people had rulers placed over them and they had

no voice in their election. Read that instrument—it describes our wrongs as plainly as it did the wrongs the people then labored under and discarded.

Our government are doing the very things against us that our fathers complained of—they send armed mercenaries among us to subjugate us, etc. What is our government doing? The same thing.

As American citizens and patriots, and as sons of those venerable sires, can we, without disgracing ourselves, our fathers and our nation, submit to these insults and tamely bow to such tyranny? We cannot do it, and we will not do it. We will rally around the Constitution and declare our rights as American citizens, and we will sustain them in the face of high Heaven and the world.

No man need have any qualms of conscience that he is doing wrong. You are patriots, standing by your rights and opposing the wrong which affects all lovers of freedom as well as you, for those acts of aggression have a withering, deadly effect and are gnawing like a canker worm at the very vitals of religions and civil liberty. You are standing by the Declaration of Independence and sustaining the Constitution which was given by the inspiration of God; and you are the only people in the United States at this time that are doing it, that have the manhood to do it; you dare do it and you feel right about the matter as the vox populi.

According to the genius and the spirit of the Constitution of the United States we are pursuing the course that would be approved of by all high minded, honorable men and no man but a poor, miserable sneak would have any other feeling.

I lay these things before you for your information, that you may feel and act understandingly. I have carefully criticized these matters and examined the views of many of those who are said to be our greatest statesmen on this subject; for I have desired to comprehend the powers of the government and the rights of the people, and I have watched with no little anxiety the encroachments of government and the manifest desire to trample upon your rights; it is for you, however, to maintain them; and if those men that are traitors to the spirit and genius of the Constitution of the United States have a mind to trample underfoot those principles that ought to guarantee protection to every American citizen, we will rally around the standard and bid them defiance in the name of the Lord God of Israel.

In doing this we neither forget our duties as citizens of the United States nor as subjects of the kingdom and cause of God, but as the Lord has said, if we will keep his commandments we need not transgress the laws of the land. We have not done it, we have maintained them all the time.

When we talk about the Constitution of the United States we are sometimes apt to quote, 'vox populi, vox dei'; that is, the voice of the people is the voice of God; but in some places they ought to say vox populi, vox diaboli; that is, the voice of the people is the voice of the devil.

We are moved by a higher law. They talk sometimes about a higher law in the States. Greeley is a great man to talk about a higher law, which means, with him, stealing niggers.

We do not care anything about that; we want to do something better, something higher and more noble; that is rather too low for us, consequently they need not be afraid of our stealing their niggers; we will let them have all the benefits of them, as one of the grand institutions of christians, together with the amalgamating process, as another of the institutions of christianity; and another grand institution they have among them is prostitution.

Well, thank God, we do not know anything about such things. A very respectable gentleman in Philadelphia said to me a while ago, in talking over some of these matters, 'suppose a Mahomedan should come into the city of Philadelphia—that is one of the puritanical cities, where they profess to be so good, the city of brotherly love—and walk through our streets in the evening and see a number of ladies walking alone; being informed that it was usual for respectable ladies to be protected, he would necessarily enquire, 'what is the meaning of this?' Being informed that these were prostitutes, he would very naturally say, 'then I suppose this is one of the institutions of christianity?' This is the conclusion he would come to at once.'

Well, so it is, and this niggerism in the South is about the same kind of thing, only a change of color.

These are all moral, all legal, all truly christian; men East may have one or a dozen misses, keep part of their children and turn the other out as paupers. In the South they buy them body and soul, prostitute them at pleasure and sell their own children. Yet these men talk of our morals and send out armies to chastise us for our corruptions, when God knows and they know that they are a thousand times more corrupt than we are.

We are not taking any steps contrary to the laws and the Constitution of the United States, but in every thing we are upholding and sustaining them. Gentlemen, hands off, we are free men, we possess equal rights with other men, and if you send your sealed orders here, we may break the seal and it shall be the opening of the first seal.

In relation to the kingdom of God, that is another matter; you before me understand about it, its laws, priesthood, principles and influences and the things that are about to transpire. God has set his hand to accomplish his purposes, to roll on his great designs and bring to pass the things spoken of by all the holy prophets since the world began, that should take place in the latter days; to establish his kingdom on the earth, that shall become mighty and prevail over all other kingdoms. You know all about this.

We are established here and have the oracles of God in our midst and the principles of truth revealed. This is the kingdom of God. The