THE EVENING NEWS. GEOBGE Q. CANNON. MOITOR AND PUBLISHER. February 5, 1876 Saturday.

THE MORNON QUESTION BY VICE PRESIDENT COLFAX.

The New York Independent has the fol lowing article from the pea of Hon. Schnyler Colfat.

The demands of the people of Utah Ter-Union as a State, made at their recent Conce meeting, and to be presented by their delegate at the approaching session of Congress, compois the nation to meet face to face, a question it has apparently endeavored to ignore. I speak of it as "a do-massd," because the appeal is in sharp and undeual language for a petition. It is claimed as a right, and the retusal to set on provious applications resented as a wrong.

But the discussion of this question with necessarily take a wider range than the application itself. It will embrace in its score the present condition of that people, and whether Congress owes any duty whatever to its itsuited laws, to the officers dharged with their execution, and to the law-ubiding geople resident within the limits of the Territory.

The regiarkable conversation between Brigham Young and Senator Trumbuli must still be fresh in the popular miad. In 18 the former person threatened, if the officiars of the United States acted object tiousbly to him, he would eject them from the Torritory; and the recent expulsion of prominant members of his church, for conbing bls in allibility proves that he regards his power as equal to any emerpropose in this a will equal to his power. light of history, some phases of the Mormon question, treating of those especially which are the favorite themes of the Mormon

L THEFR FERTILIZING OF THE DESERT.

For this they claim great credit; and I would not detract one lots from all they are legitimately estilled to. It was a desert when they first emigrated thither. They have made large portions of it fruitful and productive, and their chief city is beauiful in location and attractive in its gardens and shrubbery. But the solution of itall is in one word -wares. What seem . ed to the eye a desert became fruitiul when irrigated; and the mountains whese creats are clothed in perpetual snow, furnished, in the unfailing subplies of their ravines, the necessary fertilizer. I need only allude to the constant market they have had for their products-arst, by the almost continuous procession of teams erousing the conlinent, which stopped there naturally tor supplies, refitting, etc.; and secondly, by the large demand from the mining regions of Idaho and Montana, of which they were the nearest foodproducing neighbor. All this has tended to enrich them; and the church leaders, whose tithings depended on the products of the people, sedulously and wisely in culcated industry. But when we contrast

a nere is nothing as to their religion here, inless they may claim that, as in the case if polygansy, an assumed revelation justi-ded them in their conduct:

f polvganty, in their conduct: In Nauvoo they remaind till 1846. The issurfance, which finally caused them to leave that city, was not in consequence of their religious creed. Foster and Law, who had been Mormons, renounced the faith and established an anti-Mormon paper at Nauvoo, called the Expositor. In May, 1844, the prophet and a party of his indiowers, on the publication of its first number, attacked the office, tore it down, ud destroyed the presses. The proprie-tors field for their lives to Cartbage, the county seat, and obtained warrants for and destroyed the presses. The proprie-tors fied for their lives to Carthage, the county seat, and obtained warrants for Joseph and Hyrum Smith and sixteen them was driven from Nauvoo. The Auhoriti-s thereupon called out the militia to enforce the law, and the Mormons armed themselves to resist it; but at last the two Smiths surrendered, and were taken to the county jail at Carthage, which was strongly ruarded. A party of Missourians crossed the river, overpowered the guard, and murdered the prisoners. It was murder, and nothing else, for the prisoners had surrendered on the promise of the Govern-ment to protect them, and the guiltiest

eriminals have a right to a fair, public and impartial trial. But the origin of this tragedy can be traced directly to the illegal mobbing of a free press for daring to pubdees. In 1845 the Nauvoo charter was repealed by the Illinois Legislature, and they made preparations to leave, hastened by another conflict with the people of the vi-cinity. In 1846 they reached Council Bluffs, and in 1847 Brigham Young and the advanced guard of the Mormons arrived at salt Lake Valley.

I may briefly, under this head, trace the history of their collisions, in their present region, with the General Government.

In September, 1850, Congress organized Usah Territory, and President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young (who, at Smith's death, had become President of the Church) as Governor. The next year the Federal Judges were compelled by Brigham Young's threats of violence to flee from the Territory, and the laws of the United States were openly defied. Colonel Steptoe was commissioned as Governor, in the place of Young; but, after wintering with a battalion of soldiers at Salt Lake City, he resigned, not deeming it sale or prudent to accept. Brigham Young, the Sabbath after he left, preached a sermon in the Tabernaole, declaring:

"I am and will be Governor; and no power can hinder it, until the Lord Al-nighty says, "Brigham, you need not be Governor any longer.'"

Most of the civil officers of the Territory who were commissioned at the same time with Steptoe, arrived a few months after bis departure, and were harassed and threatened as their predecessors had been. In February, 1856, a mob of armed Mormons, instigated by sermons from the heads of the Church, broke into the United States Courtroom, and at the point of the bowie-knife compelled Judge Drummond to adjourn his court sine die; and very soon all of the United States officers, except the Indian agent, were compelled to flee from the Territory.

President Buchanan now determined to supersede Brigham Young as Governor, effectually. In 1867 he appointed Alfred Cumming, Governor, and Judge Eckles, of their development, in the twenty two years Indiana, Chief Justice, and sent them to since 1847, with the development of Utah, with a force of 2,500 soldiers to protect thern and to compel obedience to the law. Brigham Young issued a proclamation denouncing the army as a mob, fordidding it to enter the Territory, and calling the people to arms to repel its advance. They iortified Echo Canyon, the gateway of ap-proach to the Mormon capital (torough which the Pacific Reliroad now runs), and a party of mounted Mormons commence the war by attacking and destroying sever-al of the supply trains, and cutting off from the rear of the army and driving to Salt Lake 800 United States oxen. The troops, operating moving slowly, were overtaken by the snows in November, and wintered near Fort Bridger. In the spring of 1858 the President, through Governor Powell, of Kentucky and Major McCullough, of Texas, offered pardon to all Mormons who would submit themselves to the Federal anthority, which was finally accepted. The troops encamped forty miles from the city and remained there till 1860, when they were withdrawn.

aged their crops and destroyed their dwell- the words, also quoted above, commenc-ings." etc. I quote however from the two o'her reports of what I said, desiring to confine my argument now upon this point to the illustrations I presented to them, face to face, in their own public street. The report in the Chicago Tribuns quotes

of such a revelation. If there was another others. The constable who sought to serve revelation that the talented and rich should take the wives of the ignorant and poor, you would certainly trample on it. If the Hindoos should come hither and insist on practicing what they regard as a religious tite-the burning of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands-you would scont such a revelation and such a religion."

The report in the Springfield Republican gives the same ideas and illustrations in language as identical as two reports by two

different reporters would quote them: "And yet, while you assume that this later revelation gives you the right to turn your back on your old faith, and to disobey the law, you would not yourselves tolerate others in assuming rights for themselves under revelations they might claim to have received, or under religions they might profess. The Hindoosclaimed, as part of their religion, the right to burn widows with the dead bodies of their husbands. If they were to a tempt it here, as their religion, you would prevent it by force. If a new revelation were to be proclaimed here that the strong men should have the right to take the wives of the weaker men, that the learned men should take the wives of the unlearned, that the rich men should take the wives of the poor, that those who were powerful and influential should have the right to command the labor and the service of the humbler, as their bond-slaves, you would spurn it, and would rely upon the law and the power of the United States to

protect you." John Taylor, one of the Twelve Apostles, in replying from Salt Lake City, November 2, 1869, in a letter to the New York Tribune, to this speech, says that in my "strictures on our institutions there is an apparent faith and sincerity manifested;" but he attacks those strictures and defends their institution in language which, to do him fall ustice, I quote literally:

"That our country is governed by law, we all admit; but when it is said that no I prefer to meet this argument on the main 'assumed revelation justifies any one in point squarely. The "great moral curse trampling on the law,' I would respectfully of the land," as he calls it, is but the ask, What, not if it interfers with my relig- exception to the general rule. How ious faith, which you state is a matter be- much of it exists in our forty millions of tween God and myself alone?' The assumed revelation referred to is one of the most vital points of our religious faith; it emanates from God, and cannot be legislated by religion, banned by morality, and away. It is part of the 'everlasting cove- exists, where it does exist, in defiance of a l; nant' which God has given to man.

on which my religious faith is based, nor wife. In Utah, what they condemn as"the in my faith at all; but has he the right to great institution of monogamy" is pracdictate my religious faith? I think not. ticed under the pretence of religion, He does not consider it religion. It is, of revelation, of duty, of morality. Nor nevertheless, mine. If a revelation from is this all. "Religion" teaches them God is not a religion, what is it? His not that a man may take as one of his wives his believing it is from God makes no difference.

"All religions are tolerated with us, and fitting that the daughters of his own all revelations or assumed revelations. We brothers and sisters may be made the

"religions" arguments, and stood as one man, with the whole power of the kingdom, by the Governor General; and wherever English power is recognized, there, this so-called religious rits is now sternly forbid-den and prevented. England, with united voice, said "Stop!" and India obeyed. Such is my answer—the answer of Eng-land, the answer of history-to the Apostle's argument. The Brahmin reasoning that the woman consented (akin as it is to the Mormon argument now) had no effect.

"religious" arguments, and stood as one

Mormon argument now) had no effect. For England understood the power of religious fanaticism; of assumed revelation, of a potential public opinion. The claim that "religious faith" commanded it was power-less; and it went down as a "relict of barbariam," unfit to be tolerated where a civilized people had the power and the will to abolish it.

I pass over the obvious argument that wherever polygamy prevails in the world woman occupies necessarily a degraded and inferior condition; and wherever monogamy has been the law, she has been elevated, till all good men recognize her as the equal sharer of her husband's happi-ness and home. And I come now to another one of Apostle Taylor's arguments, a favorite and daily argument with all Mormon preachers.

"Let me here," de says, "respectfully ask, is there not plenty of scope for the action of the Government at home? What of your gambling hells? What of your gold rings, your whisky rings. your railroad rings, manipulated through the lobby into your Congressional rings? What of that great moral curse of the land-that great institution of monogamy-prostitution? What of its twin-sister, infanticide? We can teach you a lesson, polygamists as we are. You acknowledge one wife and her children. What of your associations unacknowledged? We acknowledge and maintain all our wives and all our children," etc.

I might answer some of these questions with the argumentum ad hominem. As to generally. "infanticide," I might ask, What did the

Mormon sexton's report of deaths in Salt Lake City, the month before we were there, show, as officially published? that over seven -eights of all the deaths were infants. I do not charge infant murder, of course; but no such mortality is known in the absence of pestilence where monogamy exists. As to "rings," I might reply that the whisky rings and gold rings have already felt the power of this Administration; and I might ask, in return, by what authority the Mormon Territorial Legislature granted to the magnates of their churchtheir "rings," to use the Apostle's phrase -valuable properties that did not belong to them, and without compensation too? But people I do not pretend to compute. But it is everywhere banned by the law, banned by public opinion, banned while the great bulk, the overwhelming Mr. Collax has a perfect right to state and proportion of the people, live faithfully, as feel that he does not believe the revelation our first parents did, one husband with one half sister, the offispring of his own mother. "Religion" tells them that it is right and DUKE'S MOTTO

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THE

with the development of Colorado Territory in the ten years since 1859, it does not seem as unexampled as the magnates of their church assume.

#### II. THEIR PERSECUTIONS.

This also is use of their favorite thomes. constantly is it reitbrated by their ap sties and bishops from week to week, and I om year to year. It is discoursed about in metr Taberuace and their ward and towa churches. It is written about in their periodicals and papers. It is taiked about with nearly every stranger that comes into their midst. They have been driven from pisce to pisce, they cist m, solely on account of their religious belief. Their faith has subjected them to the wickedest persecations by unbelievers. They have been despoiled, they inslat of their property, mail treated in their perions, buffetel an t cast out, because they would not renounce their professious and their revelations. I actor us much as any one can abhor, persecutions of any denomination, or of any people, on account of their religious creed. But his tory tells us that what they denotince was caused by far different reasons. I do unt artempt to decide that the charges against them were all wall-founded, for I was not to such close vicinity as to be cognizant of them from my own knowledge. My obet, by this historical recompact, is to show that they were not drived from any region on account of hostilly to their religion, as they so persistently assert.

Their church was lirst established at Manhuster, N. Y., in 1830; and their first removal was in 1851, to Kirtland, Ohio, which they declared was revealed to them as the site of their New Jerusalem. Theuce their leade a went west to search a new lo-cation, which they found in Jackson coun-ty. Mo.; desicated A site for another New forusalein there, and returned to Kirtland to remain for tive years, avowedly to make oney. A bank was established there by heus; large quantities of bilis of doubtfui raige faced; and, growing out of charges or and aleast dealing, Smith and Rigdon were terred and featuered in 1832. This was the first persocution; and, najustitiable as such Shigh yes are, this one was based ou alleged fraud, and not on religious belief In Jansis, the bank failed; and, to avoid arrost for mand, the leaders fled in the night to Missouri. Their fullowers jotued them there, and were soon accused by the peoent "plund ring and burulog habitations, and of secret assessitations." Nor do these charges against them rest on the testimony of snose who had not been of their own laish In October, 1838, T. B. Marsh, ex-President of the Theire Apostes of their chimm, and Oreen flyde, one of the Apos-tics, made athiavits before an officer in hay county, Mo., in which Marsh swore, and figue corroborated it: "They becomony't om a company con-sisting of all that are considered true Mor-mods, called the Danites, who have taken

an cath to support the heads of the church over their dead bodies; that, if he was not let alone, he would be a second Moh-ammed to this gateration, and that he would make it one gore of blood from the Rocky Mountain to the Atlantic Ocean." The sermion of Sidney Rigdod, the 4th of July previous, in which he bad threatened "that, if they were disturbed, they would make it a war of extermination with their enemies, till the last drop of blood was apple.

This sketch is not colored by any views of my own. I have simply drawn it from aistory, nothing extenuating nor setting down aught in notice. But the reader will fail to find in it that any of what they call their "persecutions" sprang from their pecullar religious faith.

III. THEIR POLTGAMT.

In their Mormon Bible, publicly proclaimed by them to the world as an lospired revelation, on which rock they had built their churce, polygamy is denounced as the wickedest of crimes. David and Solomon are condemned in it for their many wives and concubines, "which thing was abominable before me, saith the Lord." "Wherefore, my brethren, hear me and barken to the word of the Lord; for there shall not any man among you have save it be one wife, and concubines he shall have none; for P, the Lord, delighteth in the chastity of women." The manner in which this positive language is evaded by them is by quoting what occurs subsequently to this in their Book of Mormon, as follows: "For if I will, saith the Lord of Hosts. raise up seed unto me, I will command my people. Otherwise they shall harken unto these things." I need not r peat the argument of the Josephites (the anti-polygamy Mormons) that, if God did de-clare polygamy abominable, because it violated the clastity of women, he could not possibly make a revelation afterward commanding it. Suffice it to say, the Mormons claim that he did, July 12, 1843, thirtsen years after the printing of their original revelation; and on that assumed revelation of 1843 they justify its practice, and their defiance of the law of the United States prohibiting it in all the Territories. But in 1845, two years after this pretended revolution, the leaders of the church, in an official document, formally dectared as follows:

"Is much as this Church of Christ has been reproached with the crime of fornicain all things, whether right or wrong. 1 have been down this enemies, and walk over their dead bodies; that, if he was

take the liberty of disbelieving some of them, but none are interferd with; and, in sures them that a man may take a mother relation to turning our back on our old re- and all her daughters into the sacred com-

tolerated with us," I would sny that the re-fusal te allow the sons of their first prophet, fusal to allow the sons of their first prophet, Joseph Smith, to preach the old anti-poly-gamous Mormon doctrine in their Taber-the Apostle finds it "difficult to say" sole, ward houses, public buildings or the streets, and the threats and abuse to which they have been subjected ever since they stiempted to preach in the few Gentile houses open to them, with the unpunished murderers of G. nilles, like Dr. Robinson, Brussfield and others, and the recent brutal attacks ou Beadle, Watters and others, for daring to speak against polygamy, are specimens of "toleration" rather novel in the United States.

But I come directly to the apostle's argument. He passes over all the illustrations cited except one; and it is significant that about the same time he was writing it, when Godbe and others were being expelled from the church for doubting the infallibility of Brigham Young, Daniel H. Wells, the Mayor of Salt Lake, and now the next in authority in the church to their President, declared that one might as well dispute the infallibility of the Almighty, showing that whatever revelations Brigham Young may see fit to proclaim, now or bereafter, they are to be obeyed unquestioningly, no matter what law they repudiate, what authority they contravene, or what crime they may command. And, in the full and frank conversation" of our party, in 1865, at the residence of Mr. Young, with himself and his apostles, Mr. Carrington, then editor of their church organ, declared that if he eccived a revelation through the church to kill his son he would obey it unbesitatingly! The details of this conversation are to be found in Mr. Bowles' book, "Across the Continent," published some years since. The one illustration cited by me, to which Apostle Taylor does see fit to refer, is that of the Hindoos; and he confesses, in reply to it, that "it is difficult to say what we should do about our permitting the Hin-doos to burn their widows." It is not, however, I am glad to remark, "difficult to say" what the nation would do, in spite of the claim that it is part of their religious faith;" and history tells us what a civilized nation, akin to ours, actually did, when they had the power.

The suttee, as the burning of widows with their husbands is called, can be traced back as an alleged religious rite in India for 8,200 years-as lar as fourteen centuries before the Christian era. The Brahmins claimed. as the Mormons do now in regard to their institution, that it was taught in their sacre books, and conferred the bighest merit on both husband and wife. She was to remain with her husband in the regions of the blessed thirty-five millions of years. But, if ane did not consent to it, she was to have no place there. It has been proven, how-ever, recently, on an examination of these alleged sacred books that, the persent quoted by the Brahmins were falsely quot ed, and in some instances declared the

relation to turning our back on our old re-ligion, we have never done it. Concerning our permitting the Hindoos to burn their widows, it is difficult to say what we should do." As to his statements that all religions are tolerated with us," I would any that the re-tolerated with us," I would any that the re-

mothers of his children. "Religion" a

whether the Hindoos ought to be rethey immigrated hither.

IV. IS UTAH WITHIN THE UNITED STATES Here only, in the whole civilized world are practices like these I have referred to tolerated. Here only, in the nation, are the laws of the United States openly ignored and defied. Here only, from ocean to ocean, dare any man proclaim that, as he has done before, he will drive out the officers of the Republic if they perform their duties objectionably to him. Four long years the nation struggled, in an agony of blood, to compel obedience to its laws and submission to its authority all over the South. I would not revive the re-collections of that struggle, now happily ended, except to say that hundreds of thou-sands of those who warred against us were led by the pulpit and by statesmen alike, as well as by the public opinion which surrounded them, to believe that they were right. But the nation resolved that wherever the territorial area of the Union extended, and wherever the flag of the Union

had a right to float, there the laws of the Union should be obeyed and the authority of the Union should be respected. Unlike those, however, who sought to secede from the Union, the Mormons caim 'the benefit of every law they see fit to approve-homestead, naturalization, protection of preperty by courts and Government, legis-lative and judicial offices in their Territory, &c .- and trample under foot such other laws of the Government under whose flag is their home, as they see fit to reject. It is time to understand whether the authority of the nation or the authority of Brigham Young is the supreme power in Utab; whether the laws of the United States or the laws of the Mormon Church have precedence within its limits.

I have endeavored fairly, and without bitterness, to discuss this question in the various phases in which it is presented by the Mormon preachers themselves. I have not looked to armies as the solution of this question. But there is a moral power in the people of the United States, if they speak in regard to this stain on the national escutcheon, with one united voice, as Eng-land did to the Brahmins. There is an authority in the Congress of the United States which is everywhere else recognized. And in that power, and in that authority, if combined and made manifest, I have faith



and hope.

In this city, Feb. 5th. 1870, at 8.45 p.m., of lung disease, Vilate Murray Whitney, eldest daughter of Horace K. and Helen M. Whitney, aged 16 years and 9 months. Funeral services at the late Prest. H. C. Kim-bali's residence, on Sunday, at 10 s.m. She will be interred in Prest. H. C. Kimball's family cemetery.

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