

settle for ever the agitations which have deterred its more extensive investment. Statehood is the great essential to this settlement and that assurance, and Utah can never expand into the proper measure of its power and dignity while hampered with the swaddling clothes of Territorial infancy.

The claims of Utah to the rights and privileges of statehood are indisputable, and have never been denied except for two reasons. When seeking admission on former occasions her delegates have received for answer from gentlemen of both parties: 'Provide in your constitution against the practice of polygamy, and there can be no possible objection to your application.' This demand has been complied with."

The speaker then related the history of the Constitutional Convention, and read the provisions of the Utah Constitution relative to polygamy and the ratification thereof. He read the oath taken by the members of the Convention and the people who voted for the Constitution. He showed that they were not polygamists nor persons who intended to become such. He also read the marriage law passed at the last session of the Utah Legislature, and said:

"President Cleveland has informed the Congress and the country, in his recent message, that polygamy is practically a thing of the past in Utah. All the evidences go to establish this. There have been no convictions for polygamy for a long time. The Federal judges and other officials admit this to be a fact. The cases that are being prosecuted, and have been heralded to the country for two or three years past, are not for newly contracted polygamous marriages, but for 'unlawful cohabitation,' that is, the association of men with plural wives whom they married many years ago. Under the peculiar construction of the statute by the Utah courts, association that would be perfectly innocent if the parties did not claim the marriage relationship is deemed a violation of the law, although there may be no actual cohabitation or living together.

It is this species of prosecution which keeps up the appearance of a perpetuation of polygamy in Utah. The relation between a "Mormon" and his wife, or wives, is viewed by the parties as eternal. Even if the man does not live with his plural wife, he is in duty bound to support her and her children, as the bond between them is of a religious character. What can these men do with the women whom they conscientiously regard before heaven as their wives for time and eternity? They cannot eat them, like the New Zealand convert to Christianity. They cannot promise to 'obey the law' under its present remarkable construction. Yet it is these cases—in which the parties are chiefly elderly persons and have in many instances contracted their polygamous relations before there was a law of the land forbidding polygamy—that are being cited by the opponents of statehood for Utah as proofs that polygamy is still a living issue.

Recently there has been a more rational and humane policy in the punishment of this offense than prevailed formerly in the courts of Utah. The unprecedented construction of the law remains, however, having been established by the Supreme Court of the Territory. Polygamy, then, that is, the marrying of more wives, cannot be shown to have a present existence in Utah, nor to be now even as frequent as bigamous cases in other parts of the country. There is positively no proof whatever of newly contracted polygamous marriages. This statement is confirmed by the testimony of Judge Carlton and Gen. McClelland of the Utah Commission, and has recently been endorsed by Judge Judd.

The special report of the Attorney General to Congress shows that there have been only ten convictions for polygamy since the passage of the Edmunds Act of March 22, 1882, and for unlawful cohabitation 500. When it is remembered that, in addition to the ordinary facilities for criminal prosecution, the government possesses the extraordinary powers conferred by acts of Congress to exclude from the jury every person shown to have any belief in polygamy or sympathy with the defendant—to attach witnesses without a previous subpoena, and compel their immediate attendance; to permit the legal wife to testify against her husband; to compel the attendance and testimony of the alleged plural wife, the children and neighbors of the defendant; to employ a horde of marshals possessing all the powers of peace officers to detect, obtain evidence against, and arrest violators of the anti-polygamy laws; and backed by a strong but uninformed public sentiment which justifies any extremes against a polygamous suspect—is it not conclusively evident that these statistics are a full showing of the proportions of the polygamous conditions now existing in Utah? Is it not almost impossible, under these extraordinary provisions and powers, that an offender should escape? And with these figures as the result of six years' diligent and relentless prosecutions, how can the reckless statements of our opponents that are made concerning the prevalence of polygamy in Utah be considered anything less than monstrous exaggerations or wilful perversions of the truth?

The other objection is that in Utah the Church and the state are united, or that a "hierarchy" dominates civil affairs. No evidence is offered in support of this objection, except that the "Mormon" people usually vote the same ticket, and that the efforts of the opposition to break this political unity are practically futile. The weakness of the inference that this union is the result of priestly coercion is exhibited in the fact that the minority who make the complaint are also compactly united against the majority. They sink the common differences of party politics to join in a concerted attack on a majority they wish to divide. But, failing to break the ranks of the enemy, they resort to misrepresenta-

tion, and strive to destroy the very liberty of which they are the pretended champions. They would have Utah governed by a Legislative Commission and strike the ballot from the hands which will not support their measures and their candidates.

The next point taken up was the Governor's report to the Secretary of the Interior, in which he declared that the "Mormon" Church was absolute in political and civil affairs, and in proof asserted that the articles of incorporation of Z. C. M. I. provided that no person not a member of the Church could become a stockholder. Mr. Richards effectually disposed of this by producing an affidavit from the Superintendent of the Institution that no such provision existed, citing the names of Gentiles holding stock, with the amount held by each, and producing the original articles of incorporation with subsequent amendments. He also presented the statement of the Superintendent of Salt Lake Gas Works, in proof that the Governor's statement was false that the "Mormon" Church "built and operated gas works." The Governor's rash and untruthful remarks about the absolutism and despotism of the Church were fluently handled, and it was shown that the Governor was present avowedly to increase his own absolutism in Utah by working for "a Legislative Commission associated with the Governor," to appoint all the local officers now elective by the people.

The tithing system of the Church, the election laws of the Territory, and other similar matters were explained, and then the following remarks of the Governor were read from his official report, to show how he contradicted himself:

"With polygamy out, I make the statement, and challenge successful contradiction, that there is no tenet, no ceremony, practice, observance, or rite inculcated or taught of a religious nature by the 'Mormon' Church that the law has been or is invoked against. The 'Mormon' Church as a religious factor is, under the law, upon the same footing as every other religious body or denomination in the land, with equal rights and privileges, no more nor less, and it should be left so without interference. I shall not arraign the 'Mormon' people as wanting in comparison with other people in religious devotion, virtue, honesty, sobriety, industry, and the graces and qualities that adorn, beautify and bless life."

Mr. Richards then remarked: The whole Mormon theory of religion is based upon the free agency of man and his accountability to the Supreme Being because of that freedom to act for himself. Coercion is positively forbidden in the revelations given for a guide to the Church, and individual development and intelligence are therein made the basis of man's future glory. The "absolutism" so glibly charged by its opponents is contrary to its genius, and obnoxious to the letter of its discipline. It declares that the Constitution of this land was inspired of God, and commands obedience to