

the one case we preserve Utah and its labor; in the other ordain a new lease of life to polygamy and extinguish a community in much admirable, and a settlement not to be restored.

Hundreds of miles of canals and dikes, a people distributed over all the reclaimable region of the Territory, co-operation reduced from a religious duty to a voluntary and profitable system and upon a relative scale larger than elsewhere in the world,—these, no matter how they came about, are triumphs not to be gainsayed by the political economist and statesman, however the zealot and the prowling territorial politician may belittle them.

Utah, agriculturally, as nobody else but the Mormons could have developed it, is a necessity to the mining, railroad, and military operations of the central continent; for these enterprises subsist upon the produce of these farms, and a large human settlement here is also a strategic experiment. The neighboring mines of Idaho, Nevada, Montana and Colorado draw much of their store supplies from the valley.

"It isn't like Nevada," said a miner to me, yesterday; "here you can just walk down the mountain, from the mine to the foot, and find eggs, butter, and milk in the Mormon settlement."

The army and the railroads, moved from this point strategically, must also subsist upon Mormon agriculture. The time may come when the mines of the neighboring territories must be abandoned by reason of the cost of labor and living around them, but here agriculture and population had preceded mines and railways nearly a quarter of a century, and even under the present mining excitement mining labor costs only two dollars and a half a day, while in Nevada, barren of farms, it costs four dollars. It is largely Mormon labor which is completing the whole central railway system, striking out as boldly at present down the affluents of the Columbia and Colorado rivers as it did upon the heavy work in Echo and Weber canons for the Union Pacific Railway.

It is the opinion of many of the ablest men in the country that Utah will be the main manufacturing country for the Pacific Coast, like the Pittsburgh region of the East. Already the manufactures here embrace cotton and woolen mills, iron, leather, flour, gloves, and small wares. The system of farming by irrigation is readily adaptable to water power uses. Coal is found just east of Salt Lake, which is used along eight hundred miles of the Pacific railway, and other facts indicate Salt Lake as the emporium of all the business between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada.

But what elements of population will take this soil and conduct agriculture here if the Mormons should abandon it. Gentiles tell me that between the draught, grasshoppers, alkali, the need of perpetual co-operation to regulate the ditches, and the primitive poverty of the ground, Mormon frugality and unity only can sustain the miracle of this garden in the desert. There are not five Gentile farmers in Utah. An exodus to Mexico, with their abundance of fine heads of cattle, sheep and horses, might give Mormonism a better empire, but what race would revive this one?

The probability of emigration is a widespread theme already, in view of the harsh attitude of the Courts here. Mormonism has been a series of emigrations, from Kirtland to Missouri, eight hundred miles; thence to Nauvoo, four hundred miles; thence to Salt Lake, fifteen hundred miles; and each exodus has been an epoch and an advantage to the Church. From St. George it is but four hundred miles across Arizona by a well defined and servicable road to the Republic of Mexico, and there are settlements and military posts as far as Tucson and Tabac on the brink of Mexico. The Mexicans will welcome anywhere between Chihuahua and Sinaloa, these quiet settlers who can create a power on the Gulf of California, and curb the Apaches by either the Quaker or the Crook method.

I have already informed you that the proposition, to emigrate was debated

Brigham Young is just as guilty of "lewd and licentious conduct and cohabitation" as the Viceroy of Egypt, the Chief of the Cherokees, the Emperor of Japan, or the patriarch Moses, with their several wives. His children and wives are all acknowledged and provided for.

His offense is polygamous marriages, practiced for twenty years with the full knowledge of an unbroken series of United States officials, Judges and Presidents included, by all of whom he has been treated with equality, and by

many with distinction. The statute under which he is indicted, was passed by Mormons in their Territorial Legislature, and made punishable by from three to ten years' imprisonment, at the time of the formation of their code, and it was meant to apply to common fornication. There is but one statute in the same terms in any State code,—that of Massachusetts, passed in 1790, and this as construed, provides that the lewdness and lasciviousness must be public, and that secret cohabitation is not intended; in other words, the offense is against decency and not chastity. There has been no complaint of this nature ever made in the present instance, but the Judge and the Prosecuting Attorney, the *avant guard* of that supposititious distant sentiment, — a grand jury—there is no other word applicable—to indict Young, and will — a petit jury to convict him. His indictment on the head alleged is preposterous and merely tantalizing.

Human life in Utah is safer than probably anywhere in civilization. The motives and causes of murder exist in a less degree—as avarice, liquor, gambling, quarrelsomeness and prostitution. The industrious political vagabonds who write letters from Utah to the East have created the band of "Danites" and other hobgoblins out of air and foolscap.

Among the Mormons are bad people; polygamy and ignorance are no guarantee against the corruptions of original sin; but Mormonism is a religion.

The loyalty of the Mormons toward the United States is also made the subject of accusation. I am writing these letters for people whom I respect, and not for small fry, and the former class know very well that Mormonism has never had great reason to admire the United States. Such as it is, it relies upon the common basis of Christian orthodoxy—faith! It is almost solely an Anglo-Saxon church. What is absurd in it is nearest the theology of the religions our fathers believed in. I do not, personally, believe one figment of Mormonism as a story. I do, without cavil or question, believe the whole story of Moses and Christ; because I know nothing else; that was my hearthstone faith; I inherit it and its civilization. Among the mature fruits of that civilization are forbearance, the belief that error is mortal, and a reasonable education.

Co-operation, advocated by the press and reformers as a benefit everywhere else, had no sooner been adopted among the Mormons than there went up a howl of "monopoly," "commercial restriction!"

Of Brigham's devotion, credulity and constancy as a Mormon there can be no doubt. He is as sincere a man in his church as Bishop Simpson is in the Methodist Church or Judge McKean in his. He is only aware of the fearful mightiness of democratic sentiment in America from a few troops camped in his vicinity, from the miserable character of the Federal officials who go out there to blackmail him, and from the stream of respectful visitors, for whom he holds a levee every morning, and who butter him with praises, while perhaps the same people are indicting letters to the East raising a hue and cry against his empire. He will leave behind him in that State a name never to be rivaled in the future prosperous history of Utah. I dare believe the fame of Brigham Young is as indissolubly bound in the literature and reverence of the Rocky Mountain people, as the names of La Salle, John Winthrop and Hernando Cortez are embedded in other parts of the country.

I was talking one day with a distinguished apostle of the Mormon Church, and he used this curious illustration: "Suppose, Mr. Townsend," he said, "that Joseph Smith had been born 3400 years ago, and Moses in the year 1800, A.D., thus reversing the order of their several revelations,—which would be the harder to believe?"

I replied: "You ask me too much. I am not familiar with the story of Moses. My notion of Moses is obtained from one of Michael Angelo's statues; he always seemed to me to be a fair man."

"Now," said this apostle, "the story of Joseph Smith is, that he discovered a set of golden plates, and he was divinely endowed to translate them. You ask where are those plates? We answer that Joseph Smith gave them back to the angel, who kept them. Moses on the other hand went up into Mount Sinai, taking no witnesses with him, and is alleged to have had a familiar talk with the Lord. The Lord gave him two tablets of stone, on which the commandments are engraved; but Moses never showed the people those stone tablets, any more than Joseph Smith

showed the golden plates. When Moses came down from Sinai with the tablets, he found the people worshipping a golden calf, and it says in the ninth chapter of Deuteronomy, that he cast down the tablets and broke them to pieces. Then he went up into the mountain again, as the tenth chapter of Deuteronomy discloses, and was permitted by the Lord, to hew himself a new set of tablets, on which the commandments were engraved, these tablets were put into the ark, and they were everlastingly concealed from the public eye. Now had Moses been named Joseph Smith, the gentile world would have scoffed at this story, and would have said that the non-appearance of the stone tablet, the breaking of the original pair, and the re-engraving of an imitation by the prophet himself, were all subterfuges, such as those which accompanied the chiseling of the Cardiff giant. But you have had preached at you for eighteen hundred years, the legend of Moses, and you take it without question, while you laugh at the altogether more consistent story of the translation of the golden plates. Both instances must be accepted by faith and not by reason. Our people out here believe equally in the tale of Moses, and in that of Joseph, and you who accept one-half of the gospel, want to put us in jail and break us up for believing the other half. You came in here just like the Catholic priests got into the vales of the Waldenses, failing to convert us, or rather to unconvert us, you begin to persecute us. It is no fault of ours that we offend you; for we left civilization 1,500 miles behind us, in order not to irritate you. We think that our revelation treats of matters if possible more important to human nature than the Old Testament. It solves the problem of the past history of America. It has the only new gospel and indigenous prophet and seer on this hemisphere. It has grown more rapidly than the Jewish power, and if it were not for our notion on the subject of marriage, I believe we would have more converts in the United States, than any other sect.

"Mormon Utah is a congregation of all the good institutions which you separately maintain. It is a house of correction, an inebriate asylum, an almshouse, a church, an intelligence office, a system of apprenticeship, a commission of emigration, a loan office, a college of agriculture, a school of mines and manufactures; in short it collects from all parts of the earth, the weak, the ignorant, and those who need spiritual and social reformation, and brings them out here removed from temptation and constructs them into a useful citizenry."

This is a case [Engelbrecht] arising under Judge McKean's system of ruling Mormons off a jury in civil as well as criminal trials affecting them in any way. The case is to be carried up to the Supreme Court and pressed for a decision in advance of its order, on the ground that this wholesale and indiscriminate trial of cases affecting the great majority of the people by juries selected from an insignificant minority, is subversive of justice in Utah, and puts the liberty and property of the people at the disposal of two men—the majority of the Court. The Mormons have a superstitious faith in the honesty of the Supreme Court at Washington, but they regard the Supreme Court of Utah as a mixture of fanaticism, dullness and draw-poker. If it be decided at Washington that McKean's way of making up juries is legal, the Mormons will quietly submit, but it is not probable that the Supreme Court, even as manipulated within the past two years, will indorse this brutal manner of violating the essential spirit of trial by jury.

In Utah, as generally in the Territories, the Federal administration is loose, discordant and slipshod. The late Prosecutor, Hempstead, was hated by McKean, for objecting to the jury system. A vague impression, started by the preacher "Doctor" Newman, that Grant wants a general movement made on polygamy, an ambrosial notoriety seeker, he devised a trip to Utah many months ago, and the Mormons, in Democratic fairness, threw open their tabernacle to him to let him say the worst against their theology. Imagine a Methodist Bishop giving up his pulpit to a Mormon in like circumstances. Newman now returns the courtesy of the Mormons by setting on foot, through the President, this whole precipitate assize against polygamy. Thus are schemes of statesmanship balked by theological pretenders, and shallow preachers are given the scope and influence of Cardinals like Richelieu and Antonelli.

Senator Trumbull says these prosecutions are out of all equity, and that they should be stopped, and polygamy left to its natural enemies, prosperity, Gentile influx, opinion and competition.

Let them bring Utah into the Union as a State, rid themselves of a judiciary and Governor responsible only to a distant public opinion, and share in the profits and comforts of an expanding, a developing, and rich nation. The present conflict between the United States and the polygamous leaders may be starved off, but similar troubles will arise again and again.

In conclusion, Mr. George Alfred Townsend thinks, with some others, that the very best thing that the "Mormons" can do, indeed their only salvation, will be to "concede polygamy in return for the right of local government, trial by jury, and a share in the benefits of representation in the nation," and "find compensation for the loss of polygamy in riches, respect, and stability." That is, in short, be bribed by the offer of statehood and worldly prosperity and honor to deny their religion. For us, we are not accustomed to bribery. Let others do as they please, we know our own mind upon the subject. This much we may say, when we deny our religion for the sake of worldly advantage, our enemies can tell us of it. If we honor our God, and he fails to honor us, it is his business, but we shall have done our duty, and no one can jump our claim to our just reward.

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