

EDITORIALS.

ARBITRATION.

SAYS the San Francisco Chronicle—

"From all quarters there come indications of enthusiastic approval of the new idea of establishing Courts of Arbitration which will decide controversies between man and man without regard to technical rules of law or evidence. It is not probable that lawyers as a class will favor the new movement, but the people and the press everywhere seem to regard it hopefully. New York has done well in inaugurating the experiment, and the rest of the country will watch its operation with interest. It is one of the many advantages which we Americans enjoy over the nations of the Old World, that experiments of this sort can be tried and tested by a single State, while the remaining thirty-six look on and see how the thing works."

In this respect the people and the press manifest much good sense. The lawyers of course are interested in the continuance of litigation, for by it they earn their bread and butter. Yet even some of them would prefer to see many differences adjusted by arbitration and mutual agreement rather than by the present method of legal compulsion.

In England many trade and labor differences between employers and employed are settled by arbitration, as in the case of the recent strike of cotton operatives at Bolton, and the tendency is worthy of encouragement. Nationally, the Alabama claims were satisfactorily settled that way, and now we hear reports of the probability of the Schleswig Holstein business, what there may be left of it, being settled by the same method of adjudication.

The public sentiment in this Territory has ever been largely in favor of arbitration in preference to litigation. Hence the Legislature, especially in early times, thought it best, in passing laws, to have them few in number and fundamental in nature, rather than multitudinous, prolix, and hair-splittingly technical. We still think the Legislature were to be commended for this, notwithstanding the fact that they have been mercilessly criticised and abused for it, judicially and otherwise.

If arbitration were more in favor now than it is, it would be better for the general welfare. The Third District Court could be greatly lightened in its labors if two-thirds or three-fourths of the several hundreds of cases on its heavy civil docket were to be referred to arbitrators, instead of being left for litigation as soon as the court can get at them.

Courts of arbitration in one respect would be preferable to ordinary non-official arbitration, because the former would have the force of law, and the latter has not, but only rests upon the mutual non-binding agreement of the parties interested.

LAMENTABLE STATE OF THINGS.

IN a speech at New York, recently, Mr. Kernan made the following remarks, as reported in the New York Herald—

"Fellow citizens, we meet tonight to take counsel in regard to political affairs under most extraordinary circumstances. Nearly ten years have elapsed since the havoc and wasting effects and expenditures of the war ceased. We have had bountiful harvests, we have had developments of the resources of our mines and forests, we have had all the elements of prosperity, and yet we are not a prosperous nor a prospering people to-day. All the industries of the country are paralyzed. The business of your merchants is stagnant. Your factories are stopped or running short time. Your mechanics' shops are almost empty. Labor, both skilled and unskilled, seeks employment in vain. We find here, with everything from Providence that should make us a prosperous people—we find at the end of a bountiful season, in a beautiful autumn—large

bodies of men in this city suffering because honest labor can earn no wages for themselves and families. (Applause.)

"Fellow citizens, it is for you to say who has caused this state of things—for you to find out what has caused all this evil, and it is your duty when you have discovered it to apply the proper remedy. I believe that the administration of our executive affairs for a few years past has largely contributed to the sad and lamentable condition of our country. (Cheers.) The deranged, depreciated and unconvertible paper currency is to the body politic what the disordered blood is to the human body. If the blood is disordered the whole body becomes diseased, and in the commercial world, when the circulating medium is depreciated, you may be sure your business and industrious pursuits will feel the enervating and destroying effect. To-day we have a currency which is depreciated, which is not convertible into the currency of the commercial world. This country has wealth enough. The people have paid taxes enough to make the credit of the country as great as that of any government on the face of the earth. * * *

"I appeal to your intelligence to say whether we ever had so much extravagance and corruption in the administration of our public affairs as exists under the Grant administration for the last two years? These things have tended to the derangement of our business, to the destruction of our industry, to the lamentable state of things generally which exists over the country at this time."

THE COLONISTS AND THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

THE following extracts from the first of a series of articles, upon "The First Century of the Republic," in Harper's *Monthly*, convey an idea, in part, of the tyrannical manner in which the mother country treated the adventurous colonists of North America, and would almost serve for a description of the way in which this Territory has been treated by representatives of the Federal government. The paragraphs we have extracted are worth reading—

"Yet more cruel or more unfriendly than the terrors of the wilderness, the climate, or even the savage, seemed to the colonists the conduct of their royal government in England. Instead of aiding the struggling settlers in their contest for life, it had treated them as objects of suspicion and dislike. A fear that they might plan at some future time a separation from the mother country governed all the English legislation."

"The English had always treated the colonists with a severity like that which Spain once practised in South America, and which she now exercises over the creoles of Cuba. Corrupt and worthless Englishmen were sent out as governors, councilors, judges, and even clergymen. They looked with disdain on the colonists they plundered, and hastened back to England to defame the reputation of the abject race. It is plain that most Englishmen looked upon the Americans as serfs. They had no rights that Parliament could not abrogate, and no security even for their own earnings. England plundered the American farmer almost at will, and robbed of his just profits the sturdy laborer in the valleys of Vermont, and the wealthy rice-planter in the swamps of South Carolina."

"Their patriotism was no doubt stimulated by the dread of a religious rather than a political tyranny. A fear prevailed in all New England that Parliament and the King were resolved to impose bishops upon each of the colonies, and to enforce by law the ritual of the Church of England. * * * Then Mayhew of Boston began a series of publications that sounded an alarm throughout the country. He felt the danger; he saw the unscrupulous nature of the men who ruled in England. The overbearing spirit of the Episcopalians he brooded over, until he almost felt once more the clerical tyranny from which the gentle Robinson had fled, and which had impelled the *Mayflower* over the stormy sea. Will they never let us rest in

peace," he cried, "except where all the weary are at rest? Is it not enough that they persecuted us out of the Old World?"

PARTISAN THREATS.

THE other day our dispatches stated that measures were in contemplation to push stringent legislation through Congress the ensuing session, and to adopt other means to secure continuance of power to the present dominant party and prevent democratic legislation in the next Congress if possible.

Power is very sweet to the ambitious, and a hold on the public treasury is still sweeter to many people, especially politicians and prominent office-holders. But it will not do, in a republic like this, for any party to attempt to hold on to office in opposition to the voice of the majority. It is not congenial to the genius of American government, nor to the political instincts of the American people.

The late elections indicate plainly enough that the country is getting sick of radical republican rule and of the corruption and official arrogance and usurpation which appear to be its characteristics. The popular rebuke should teach the party in power a little more wisdom, for if the power to rule is sweet, so also are the uses of adversity, if properly improved.

The hints above referred to, thrown out as from the republican party, and as indicative of the spirit in which it receives the action of the people at the polls, may be merely the rash, impulsive expressions of the moment, in chagrin on learning the election news, and may not be sustained by sober second thought and general after consideration. If such be the case, all well. But if it be not, and all sorts of means should be adopted, in Congress and out, to defeat the will of the people and retain in power the party now in power, at all hazards, against the expressed wish of the people, then the resulting issue will be serious, one of the most serious in the history of the Union. Such an extreme radical republican course would utterly kill the republican party in the popular estimation, and the active members of it would be considered worse enemies of their country than the extreme radical democrats or the fire-eating Southern slaveholders who inaugurated the late war. The determined pushing of such a policy could hardly fail of embroiling the country in another civil war, and if such a conflict should come, it would not be like the last, it would be much worse and more general. It would not be merely sectional, as between the North and the South, but it would be almost if not quite universal throughout the States of the Union, republicans against democrats, neighbor against neighbor, father against son, and brother against brother, and the end of such a life and death struggle who could tell? It is to be hoped, however, that even the most radical of the republican party will have more sense than to adopt and persevere in a course that could hardly have any other issue than such a ruinous conflict.

ENEMIES OF ZION.

SOME particularly discouraging things are written of those who set themselves to fight against Zion, such as that they shall be like a hungry man dreaming of eating, but he awakes and finds his soul is empty, or a thirsty man dreaming of drinking, but he awakes and finds himself faint and longing for moisture, and it is even stated that those who persist in their opposition shall be utterly wasted.

It does really seem as if there was something, in all these predictions, that is worthy of notice. Events in these days seem to justify them. We have often heard it stated that nobody who opposed the work of God and endeavored to oppress his people, has made any great capital by it, eventually, and some have found it a very short cut to adversity and public contempt.

In 1857 the Federal Government organized, splendidly equipped, and sent here the largest expedition that the nation had moved since the war with Mexico. What did that expedition effect? Did the President, Buchanan, make any capital by it? Did any of the other principals, aiders, or abettors? Not much, for most of them went down in the subsequent civil war. Were the "Mormons" injured by the expedition? Peculiarly, it was one of the best things for them which ever visited these valleys, as it supplied them with abundance of things material which they sorely needed.

In 1856 the Republican party put in its platform a plank, pledging itself to annihilate "Mormon" polygamy as one of the "twin relics of barbarism." Has that pledge been redeemed? Is it likely to be redeemed? Is the Republican party in a condition to lead one to suppose that the pledge ever will be redeemed? Has not the party received such a staggering and deadly homethrust in the late elections, that it has now plenty to do to look after its own health and life? Verily it is so.

In 1862 the Congress of the United States passed a proscriptive law against the Latter-day Saints. Has that law specially injured any of them? Not to any great extent. Has the nation made anything by that law? What has been the condition of the nation since, and what is the condition of the nation now?

Let us look into this matter a little, and see whether the nation has prospered greatly since the law of 1862 was enacted. The amount of the congressional appropriations for 1860-61 was seventy-nine millions of dollars; that for 1861-62 was nearly seventy-five millions of dollars. From that time forth the public expenditures, and with them the taxation of the people, have increased wonderfully. But "no authority appeared to foresee the enormous demands that were soon to be made on the Treasury, and no provisions whatever were contemplated to meet them." The appropriations for 1862 proved far from sufficient, and the government was obliged to resort to loans, one after another, until the total was something stupendous, and much of it effected at very high rates of interest. So unused were the people to government loans of a serious character that when \$5,000,000 of Treasury notes, payable in a year, were offered for public competition, \$500,000 only was taken, at 12 per cent. Bids were put in at 24 to 36 per cent. Subsequently some bankers took a million and a half at 12 per cent with certain favoring stipulations. Afterward \$5,000,000 was taken at an average of 11 and a fraction per cent. A loan of 25 millions of 10-20's at six per cent was sold below par, say at from 85 to 93, the average discount on seven millions of it being over fourteen and a half per cent. These were the beginnings of the gigantic debt which soon hung over the finances of the Union like a funeral pall, and which at one time brought down the legal tender of the country to little more than one-third the value of gold.

The annual expenditures of the Federal government from the beginning until 1861 ranged from seven to eighty-four millions and a half, these last figures being for 1861, and the largest in the history of the Union to that time, the preceding year having been seventy-seven millions.

The total expenditures of the Federal government from March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1861, a period of seventy-two years, or nearly three-quarters of a century, was a little over two and a quarter million dollars. In 1836, twenty-eight millions surplus income was distributed among the various States. The entire income for the year was fifty millions. The year preceding the income was nearly thirty-five and a half millions, and the expenditure seventeen and a half millions.

On April 1, 1865, between two and three years after the passage of the polygamy bill of 1862, the public debt of the United States amounted to three thousand million dollars, less between two and three hundred thousand dollars, and the expenditure for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1865, amounted to more than a 1,290 millions. That was the culmi-

nation of the public debt and annual public expenditure. The preceding year was 865 millions expenditure. The next year the public expenditure came down to 520 millions, then 346 millions in 1867, and 377 millions in 1868, and nearly as much in 1869. Now 300 millions, or a little more, is considered not out of the way, being four times as much as before the civil war.

The highest income of the Federal government was 561 millions in 1866. Now between 300 and 400 millions is annually collected into the Federal exchequer, from this nation of forty millions of people, and the public debt upon their shoulders remains about two thousand millions of dollars.

With such a record before the people, it did not seem the wisest thing in the world for Congress in 1874 to enact another proscriptive law against the Latter-day Saints. But Congress has not reaped much gain from it, for the very House which passed the original bill, in all its hideous enormity, has been signally rejected by the people at the polls, and the splendid overwhelming majority of the party which passed that bill, before it was shorn by the Senate, has changed to a minority almost as great as its former majority. If proscriptive legislation against the "Mormons" is going to cost like this, what party, what nation, what people can stand before it? The Democrats sent Buchanan's expedition to Utah and their sceptre soon departed. The Republicans enacted the proscriptive law of 1862 and they put upon the nation its stupendous public debt, and the stupendous public expenditure. The Republicans passed the Poland bill of 1874, and the sceptre is fast slipping out of their hands. The hand-writing is upon the wall—"Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin!"

The Republican party, now passing out of power, now passing away, will have the credit of having enacted two laws proscribing people for their religion's sake, the first time such a law was passed by Congress in the history of the Union; will have the credit also of having, one year, increased the public expenditure to fourteen times its amount when they went into power, of having instituted a regular annual expenditure of quadruple the annual amount when they took office, and of having imposed the consequently quadrupled taxation upon the people who pay; and they will also have the credit, when they go out of office, of leaving the country generally, notwithstanding its magnificent resources, in a far worse condition, morally and materially, than that in which they found it.

WORTHY OF REMEMBRANCE.

THE political cyclone of Nov. 3, which swept out of existence the Republican party so far as being the dominant party in the next House of Representatives is concerned, was directed against the party as a party, rather than against individuals. It was the Republican party that had offended the people, not all the members of that party as individuals, for many members of the party are as good men as can be found in Congress, and among the defeated candidates are many as good men individually, as good citizens personally, as many of the candidates who have been elected. It is party and not persons altogether against which the popular indignation was directed. But when men are affiliated with a party, they naturally share in the political fortunes of that party, in its victories and its defeats, its prosperity and its adversity, its commendation and its condemnation.

Thus, as stated in the communication of "Retribution," in the News of yesterday, the election of the 3rd inst. threw out the House Committee on the Judiciary, as a committee, not that all the members of the committee were instrumental in the passage of the Poland bill, for the majority alone favored it, and the minority were opposed to its provisions.

With the present House of Representatives, some members will retire from Congress, who are worthy of being held in high esteem by the people of this Territory, and in the House Committee of the Ju-