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TRUTH AND LIBERTY.

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THE "MORMON" QUESTION.

The agitation which has disturbed the whole country on the "Mormon" question has been chiefly directed to one side of it. That is to what is generally supposed to be one side of it. Really it has been stirred up on matters which form no part of it, being the fabrications or vain imaginings of reckless people, who either know little or nothing of the real question, or are wilfully determined to place it in a false light before the public.

But when this agitation subsides—beginning to lose its turbulence already—the true aspects of the question will be all the more likely to be considered, than if no special interest had been excited in relation to it. And the truth when presented will be far more likely to force attention from the fair-minded and thoughtful, than if falsehood had not been so extensively indulged in.

As an indication of the reaction which is about to set in, we take the following from the Hampshire County (Mass.) *Journal*. It is from the pen of a "Gentile" in no way connected with the "Mormon" people, but who has studied the question which he undertakes to present briefly in its true light, and has the manliness to espouse its unpopular side in opposition to the malice and untruth of its unprincipled assailants. The article is worthy of widespread circulation:

To the Editor of the Hampshire County Journal:

Thomas Jefferson, to whom this country is indebted for the incorporation of religious liberty into the organic law, said that under perfect religious liberty "if a sect arises, whose tenets would subvert morals, good sense has fair play, and reason laughs it out of doors, without suffering the state to be troubled with it." I think that the rule may be safely applied to the Mormons. In dealing with this question we must be careful and not permit our actions to be dictated by prejudice or bigotry. The polygamous Mormon believes that his hope and association in the resurrection of the just depend upon his patriarchal relations toward his family. But, to again quote Jefferson, legislative power may reach actions "in violation of social duties or subversive of good order." Does polygamy come under this head? What are the facts?

1. The population of Utah has ever shown an excess of males, although the non-Mormon population is only one-eighth of the whole.

2. The immigration records show that with Mormon immigrants the proportion of male or female is the same as with non-Mormon immigrants; that they are sought in families.

3. That in 22 States there are an excess of females; Mass., leading with 64,200 condemned to single life or to fill the ranks of prostitution. In every one of these States the social evil prevails.

4. In Utah the social evil is unknown except as an importation, the brothel being an accompaniment of the advance guard of our Christian civilization.

5. The plural marriage is contracted with the consent or approval of the first wife, who must be present at the ceremony and place the hand of her "colleague" in that of her husband.

6. The strongest defenders of polygamy are women who go and come with as much freedom as in New England.

7. Mormon wives cannot be obtained to prosecute their husbands for "bigamy" though money, bribes, expostulations, entreaties, prayers, and threats have been employed by United States officials with all the machinery of government behind them to secure protection. No "underground railroad" exists for "op-

pressed wives." Being no demand there is no supply, the number of ill-sorted unions being no greater than with monogamists or in no way affecting the system.

8. It is a dogma of Mormon faith that preceding and during lactation the wife shall have absolute control of her person and her husband is guilty of sin in sharing her bed; a dogma binding on all, whether pluralists or not, and observed by the pluralists.

These are facts well to bear in mind. Now let us ask in what the crime of the Mormon consists? To say that polygamy is wrong, a return to barbaric conditions, does not answer the question. Tolerance does not involve approval. We may regret their religious views, their social habits; the question is not, are their institutions right or wrong, but are they subversive of good order in a free country granting the broadest toleration? Let us again appeal to facts, only too often forgotten in this discussion. Does the crime consist in the cohabitation of one man with several women? Evidently not, for in New York the law does not recognize fornication as a crime at all, and all its pulpits are silent, while each howling dervish points his finger at a people with whom nearly every gambler and blackleg, drunkard and rumseller, land shark and speculator, every prostitute and her patron is a coadjutor in the crusade against the Mormons!

Is therefore a single man may cohabit in New York with as many single women as he pleases, acknowledge the fact, and be free from legal crime, evidently the act itself is not the crime. The Mormon believes that marriage is a sacrament; in entering into marriage he assumes all the responsibility of his actions, he guarantees society from expense through anything resulting therefrom. Is this the crime? If he threw away all religious obligations, the consecration of a religious ceremony (for whatever we may think of the religion, this still remains a fact) and simply practised fornication, are we not justified from the silence of United States pulpits, to conclude, at least, that there would be no ground for legislative action.

Does it not also follow logically, that in assuming the responsibility that may arise from the relation, in guaranteeing support to the woman and her offspring, and in vowing "to love, and cherish" her as a wife the crime exists? And, that in persisting, like a "miserable fanatic," to abide by his solemnly contracted religious obligation, instead of becoming a simple "fornicator" and leaving the woman without support, he has merited the execration of every citizen and the terrors of a free government?

Before we whet our knives for Mormon Christians in daring to depart from the Christian custom of New York, and hedging the sexual relation with both religious and legal safeguards, let us try and digest a few more facts. The anti-Mormon stomach has full room for them, though they may not long be retained where they cannot be assimilated.

9. Under the Mormon law of divorce, it is the woman, not the man, who has the largest liberty. Where marriage is once entered into, no matter how friendless the woman, the husband enters into a life-long obligation. For a man to seek a divorce is almost unheard of, but woman, "if her position should become irksome or distasteful to her, even, and she should desire a separation, not only is the husband bound to respect the express wish to that effect, but he is bound also to give her and her offspring a proportionate share of his whole property. They are no longer under his yoke, but while he and they live, they have a claim upon him, from which he is never completely absolved." (Geo. Q. Cannon.)

10. Entire religious liberty prevails in Utah, and every struggling Christian church has been in some way indebted to Mormon liberality and generosity, sometimes in money for a church edifice, a lot for church or burial purposes free, or a hall free for their service.

11. The monopoly of land held by the Mormon church is limited to a ten-acre lot in Salt Lake, the Temple lot, and 95 per cent. of the Mormons live in their own houses, on their own lands, to which they hold titles in their own names.

12. In the three important features of education: enrollment of school population, amount per capita invested in school property, and the percentage of daily attendance at school, Utah is far in advance of

many of our oldest States, and of the general average of the Union.

13. In the percentage of school attendance, churches and printing establishments, Utah is ahead of Massachusetts, while in the percentage of illiteracy, convicts, paupers, insane and idiotic, Massachusetts carries off the palm over Utah and is welcome to the laurels so earned.

14. Salt Lake City, in the words of Bayard Taylor, "is one of the most quiet, orderly and moral places in the world, and the people the most temperate of Americans," a city in which the brothel, the rum-shop and gambling-den, have been forced on them and protected against Mormon municipal law by government officials.

15. A few years since they boasted that 13 counties out of 20, mostly populous, were "without a dram-shop, brewery, gambling or brothel house, bowling or billiard saloon, lawyer, doctor, parson, beggar, politician, or place hunter," and these were the counties almost exclusively Mormon.

16. They have curbed personal greed by introducing the co-operative system, and trade is largely conducted on that system offering the largest exhibition of co-operation in the world, where religious duty has become a profitable enterprise, in which the people are the shareholders.

17. Mormon women have introduced relief societies wherever Mormon settlements exist, and have over 300 branches now in operation in as many towns, cities and wards.

18. It is a point of the Church to have a library in every Mormon town, with special care for books on farming, stock-raising, architecture, etc.

But I stop, though I might add and not depart from the truth, that however fanatically devoted to their faith, you will not have to go 2,000 miles to find the bigot, and if you did, he would not be a Mormon.

As American citizens, the question is not, is polygamy right? We have no right to discuss it in that point of view as a basis for legislative action. Does plural marriage, hedged around with the most solemn of religious obligations, entered into as a sacramental relation, tend in such a degree to the subversion of good order that it becomes the duty of the Government to suppress it, that there may be substituted for it our system of civil marriage, or the simple co-partnership of two persons of opposite sexes for sexual and other relations? Can we on an assumption which we refuse to discuss take so grave a step as the denial of the right to the people of Utah to regulate their own domestic practices?

THE DELEGATE'S SEAT VACATED.

A Private telegram brings news that the seat in Congress of Delegate from Utah has been declared vacant by the House of Representatives, by a vote of 123 to 79. This Territory is therefore now without any representation in Congress. This is of course to be deplored. But the people have the consolation of knowing that the infamous plot to give the seat to a person not elected, and whom the people did not want under any circumstances, has signally failed and brought neither position to the ambitious individual, profit to his scheming attorney nor honor to any one engaged in the conspiracy.

Our Delegate has been excluded, not on the ground that he was not duly elected, not on the plea that he is not a citizen of the United States, not because he is personally disqualified, for he was declared in the reports which decided against him to be "the peer of any man in the committee or in the House," but simply because a popular outcry had been raised against polygamy, and he admitted that he had married plural wives and lived with them in the marriage relation.

In the vote taken on this question 123 members of Congress have recorded themselves on the side of prejudice, passion and priestly influence as against law, precedent and established congressional rules, for there is no law, ruling, or regulation by which Mr. Cannon could be legally excluded. But 79 members had the manliness to stand up for the right in the teeth of the raging monster of intolerance. Not because they had any sympathy with "Mormonism" or plural marriage, but because they knew that to exclude Mr. Cannon was a plain violation of

right and the principles which have heretofore governed the admission of members to the National Legislature. Honor to them. Their names should be published and recorded, for future reference and approbation by all lovers of justice and equal rights.

A vacancy now existing in the office of Delegate, a special election will have to be called to fill it. This duty, as we understand it, devolves on the Governor. Although no direct special provision is made for it in our statutes, the office of Delegate not being a territorial office but an office under the laws of the United States, it is presumable that it comes under the provisions of Section 14 of the Act of 1853, as the Act of 1876 in relation to the election of Delegate provides that such elections shall be held under the Act before mentioned.

It will be seen that Utah can live and thrive even without any representation whatever in the republic (?) body which makes laws to govern people without giving them any vote in its enactments.

ON A FORAGING EXPEDITION.

A person by the name of Hilton, he signs himself Theophilus B. Hilton, is in the East for the now common purpose of raising money for the pious and benevolent to aid in the cause of "Christianizing" Utah. He belongs to the Methodist feather of the sectarian wing of the Utah "Christianizers." He is not generally known in the Territory, but what reputation he has comes from his hypocrisy. Visiting several of the settlements in the south, by his plausible professions of liberal sentiment toward the "Mormon" people and denunciation of the course taken against them by preachers and politicians, he ingratiated himself into the favorable notice of leading men and congregations of the "Mormons." Immediately after, at a gathering of his kind in Ogden, he assisted in the preparation of a series of resolutions concocted for outside of shameful effect, in which his former pretensions were shown to be false and hypocritical, and uttered for the purpose of deceiving the people whose hospitality he shared and whose meeting houses he was permitted to occupy for religious addresses.

He next appeared in connection with a magazine published in this city. In its inception the same method of ingratiating himself with the people whom he intended to attack was adopted. This magazine was to be devoted to certain defined topics leaving it to be understood that it was not to be a sectarian or anti-"Mormon" affair. The first number or two followed the line of these hypocritical pretensions, but the mask was soon thrown off, and the venom and malice of the Reverend Theophilus were exhibited editorially, as they had been previously in the Resolutions referred to. As a specimen of the piety of this person who now figures as a philanthropist, anxious to reform the benighted of Utah and—gather as many dollars as possible from the unsophisticated in the East, we will make a few extracts from an article in his magazine, which appears over his own signature. His name is published in front and in the rear, as the editor, and in numerous places in the magazine—cheap puffs of his eminent (?) abilities, but he is not content with these exhibitions of his vanity, "Rev. Theophilus B. Hilton M. A." seeming to have delightful attractions for him when standing in print: He says:

"At a prayer-meeting in one of our churches, some asked the Lord to restrain their emotions lest they become too joyful over the passage of the Edmunds bill. Now we regard this as blessed bosh. We more than suspect that there is much halo and humbug about this bill."

"We demand that polygamy be stamped out by the iron heel of a rigid law."

"The leaders—the great apostles of the flesh—should be tried, condemned, fined and incarcerated in the penitentiary and there put at hard labor."

"Now nature and common sense protest against polygamy and pronounce it a crime. Does some religious fanatic teach and practice it, that fanatic must be punished. Does the Book of Mormon command it, the command must be ignored. Does the Bible sanction it—so much the worse for the Bible."

"Religious fanatics who practice the greatest crimes for Jesus' sake, cannot be reformed by telling them 'It is naughty.' They must be coerced."

It is but a few years ago that Methodists were considered "religious fanatics" and "coercion" was advocated in their case. Public sentiment has become more liberal and their vagaries are treated with toleration. But they in turn become the persecutors and so it is with nearly all the religious sects now established which were once looked upon as bands of "religious fanatics" to be repressed by law instead of convinced by reason.

Theophilus has great ideas of his own learning as well as importance. He writes with a "we" signs his full name, and talks a great deal of the ignorance of the "Mormons," applying the same term to Senator Edmunds whose bill, notorious for its severity and harshness, is not murderous enough to suit the appetite for "Mormon" blood of this bombastic and pretentious applicant for the dollars of the public. And here is a specimen of his learning:

"The bill, although framed by lawyers, still legal gentlemen do not agree in the interpretations of it."

If any juvenile in a composition class among the ignorant "Mormons" should utter such a sentence as that evolved from the mighty brain of the "Revised Theophilus B. Hilton, A. M." editor, preacher and peripatetic collector of dollars and dimes, he would deserve censure sufficient to cover him with chagrin and confusion.

We commend the very erudite and "Christian" applicant for pecuniary assistance to the attention of the benevolent throughout the country as a third-rate scholar and a first-class hypocrite, and assure the well-meaning people of various denominations who will be called on for contributions that although the people of this Territory believe in the rightfulness of plural marriage, there is far less necessity for the expenditure of money in aid of Christian education among them than in the cities in which the gentleman expects to make his biggest haul. Is it not about time that these religious deceivers ceased to receive encouragement, and to profit by the mistakes of the public in regard to the situation in Utah?

STRIKES.

PETER COOPER, the founder of the Institute in New York that goes by his name, recently spoke at a public meeting in that building the following sensible sentences on strikes:

"I am opposed to strikes on the part of laboring men, for, in my long experience, during which my lot has been among the toilers—and my life's aim has been for their benefit—I have generally found that coercive measures were more frequently detrimental to the men than helpful to them; that they subsisted during these periods of cessation from labor off their own scanty savings, and that in the end they were poorer than when they began. I do not deny them the right to strike; nay, on the contrary, it is the right of every man to resist oppression, but their welfare must always be first considered. In all such movements there is one great trouble to be apprehended, and it is one that should be guarded against. That is, that laboring men should not be led by men for their own political or selfish purposes. This, if accomplished, will certainly in time lead to anarchy."

MISSIONARIES.

Those Elders who were called at the April Conference as missionaries and have not yet gone to their several fields of labor, are respectfully notified that Tuesday, May 2nd has been designated as the time of departure from Salt Lake City for the next company of missionaries.

LOCAL AND OTHER MATTERS.

FROM FRIDAY'S DAILY, APRIL 21.

Recovered.—Mr. George D. Schell, of the 17th Ward, who met with a severe accident a short time since, is able to be out and about.