

# MASS MEETING!

## IMMENSE ASSEMBLAGE!

### REMONSTRANCE AND PROTEST!

#### Temperate and Respectful Expression of Public Feeling against the Cullom Bill!

THE very fine weather to-day was propitious to the gathering of the people at the Mass Meeting, to protest, remonstrate against, and to petition the U. S. Senate not to pass, the Cullom Bill. At 1 o'clock a vast concourse of citizens had assembled, at the Tabernacle, and no greater proof could be given of the general union and earnestness of feeling among the people, on the subject, than the fact that every seat and window was packed with spectators.

The vast assembly was called to order by his Honor D. H. Wells, the Mayor of the city, when on motion of Hon. John Taylor, his Honor the Mayor was chosen to preside over the meeting.

#### ORGANIZATION.

An organization, of the meeting was effected by the unanimous election of the following officers:

#### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Hon. J. M. Bernhisel Hon. W. Woodruff  
Hon. John Taylor Hon. G. Q. Cannon  
Hon. Orson Pratt Hon. Jos. F. Smith  
Hon. Jos. A. Young

#### SECRETARIES.

R. L. Campbell Paul A. Schettler  
Theo. McKean David McKenzie

#### REPORTERS.

D. W. Evans E. L. Sloan

#### PRAYER.

After the organization prayer was offered by Elder Jesse Haven.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

The Committee of thirteen, which was appointed at last Saturday's meeting, then came forward, and through their Chairman, Hon. D. H. Wells, presented the following Remonstrance and Resolutions, which were read by Hon. George Q. Cannon.

#### REMONSTRANCE.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

Gentlemen:—It is with no ordinary concern that we have learned of the passage, by the House of Representatives, of the House bill No. 1087, entitled "a bill in aid of the execution of the laws in Utah, and for other purposes," commonly known as the "Cullom bill," against which we desire to enter our most earnest and unqualified protest, and appeal against its passage by the Senate of the United States, or beg its reconsideration by the House of Representatives. We are sure you will bear with us while we present for your consideration some of the reasons why this bill should not become law.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives: Of the 150,000 estimated population of the Territory of Utah, it is well known that all except from five to ten thousand are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, usually called "Mormons." These are essentially "the people" of this Territory; they have settled it, reclaimed the desert waste, cultivated it, subdued the Indians, opened means of communication, made roads, built cities, towns and settlements, established government, encouraged education and brought into being a new State, to add lustre to the national galaxy of our glorious Union. And we, the people who have done this, are believers in the principle of plural marriage or polygamy, not simply as an elevating social relationship and a preventive of many terrible evils which afflict our race; but as a principle revealed by God, underlying our every hope of eternal salvation and happiness in heaven. We believe in the pre-existence of the spirits of men; that God is the Author of our being; that marriage is ordained as the legitimate source by which mankind obtain an existence in this probation on the earth; that the marriage relation exists,

and extends throughout eternity, and that, without it, no man can attain to an exaltation in the celestial kingdom of God. The revelation commanding the principle of plural marriage, given by God through Joseph Smith to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in its first paragraph, has the following language:

"Behold, I reveal unto you a new and everlasting covenant, and if ye abide not that covenant, then are ye damned; for no one can reject this covenant, and be permitted to enter into my glory."

With this language before us, we cannot view plural marriage in any other light than as a vital principle of our religion. Let the revelation appear in the eyes of others as it may, to us it is a divine command, of equal force with any ever given by the Creator of the world to His children in the flesh. The Bible confessedly stands in our nation as the foundation on which all law is based. It is the fountain from which our ideas of right and wrong are drawn, and it gives shape and force to our morality. Yet it sustains plural marriage, and in no instance does it condemn that institution. Not only having, therefore, a revelation from God making the belief and practice of this principle obligatory upon us, we have the warrant of the holy Scriptures and the example of prophets and righteous men whom God loved, honored and blessed; and it should be borne in mind that when this principle was promulgated, and the people of this Territory entered upon its practice, it was not a CRIME. God revealed it to us, His divine word, as contained in the Bible which we had been taught to venerate and regard as holy, upheld it, and there was no law applicable to us making our belief or practice of it criminal. It is no crime in this Territory to-day, only as the law of 1862, passed long years after our adoption of this principle as a part of our religious faith, makes it such. The law of 1862 is now a fact; one proscription gives strength to another. What yesterday was opinion, is liable to-day to be law. It is for this reason that we earnestly and respectfully remonstrate and protest against the passage of the Bill now before the Honorable Senate, feeling assured that while it cannot accomplish any possible good it may result in a great amount of misery.

It gives no alternative but the cruel one of rejecting God's command and abjuring our religion, or disobeying the authority of the Government we desire to honor and respect.

It is in direct violation of the first amendment to the Constitution, which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

It robs our priesthood of their functions and heaven-bestowed powers, and gives them to justices of the supreme court, justices of the peace, and priests whose authority we cannot recognize, by empowering such as the only ones to celebrate marriage. As well might the law prescribe who shall baptize for the remission of sins, or lay on hands for the reception of the Holy Ghost.

It encourages fornication and adultery, for all such marriages would be deemed invalid and without any sacred or binding force by our community, and those thus united together would, according to their own belief and religious convictions, be living in a condition of habitual adultery, which would bring the holy relation of marriage into disrepute, and destroy the safeguards of chastity and virtue.

It is unconstitutional in that it is in direct opposition to section nine, article one of the Constitution, which provides "no bill of attainder or *ex-post facto* law shall be passed."

It destroys the right of trial by jury, providing for the impanelling of juries composed of individuals the recognized enemies of the accused, and of foreigners to the district where a case under it is to be tried; while the sixth amendment to the Constitution provides that "in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed."

It is contrary to the eighth amendment to the Constitution, which provides that excessive fines shall not be imposed "nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted."

It violates section 8, article 1, of the Constitution, which provides that Congress shall establish a uniform rule of naturalization throughout the United States, in that it provides, in section 17, a new, unheard of and special rule, applicable only to the Territory of Utah.

It is anti-republican in that, in section 10, it places men on unequal ground, by giving one portion of the citizens superior privileges over others, because of their belief.

It strips us, in sections seventeen and twenty-six, of the land we have reclaimed from barrenness, and which we have paid Government for, also all possessory rights to which we are entitled as settlers.

It authorizes, by section fourteen, the sending of criminals into distant military camps and prisons.

It is most unjust, unconstitutional and proscriptive in that it disfranchises and proscribes American citizens for no act but simply believing in plurality of wives, which the bill styles polygamy, bigamy or concubinage, even if they never practiced or design to practice it.

It offers a premium for prostitution and corruption; in that it requires, in sections 11 and 12, husbands and wives to violate the holiest vows they can make and voluntarily bastardize their own children.

It declares, in section 21, marriage to be a civil contract, and names the officers who alone shall solemnize the rite, when our faith expressly holds it as a most sacred ordinance, which can only be administered by those holding the authority from Heaven, thus compelling us to discriminate in favor of officers appointed by the Government and against officers authorized by the Almighty.

It thus takes away the right of conscience, and deprives us of an ordinance, upon the correct administration of which our happiness and eternal salvation depend.

It not only subverts religious liberty, but in sections 16 and 19 violates every principle of civil liberty and true Republicanism in that it bestows upon the Governor the sole authority to govern jails and prisons, and to remove their wardens and keepers, to appoint and remove probate judges, justices of the peace, judges of all elections, notaries public and all sheriffs—clothing one man with despotic, and, in this Republic, unheard-of powers.

It thus deprives the people of all voice in the government of the Territory, reduces them to abject vassalage, creates a dangerous, irresponsible and centralized despotism from which there is no appeal, and leaves their lives, liberties and every human right subject to the caprice of one man, and that man selected and sent here from afar.

It proposes in sections eleven, twelve and seventeen, to punish American citizens, not for wrongs, but for acts sanctioned by God and practiced by His most favored servants, requiring them to call those bad men whom God chose for His oracles and delighted to honor, and even to cast reflections on the ancestry of the Savior himself.

It strikes at the foundation of all Republican government in that it dictates opinions and belief, prescribes what shall and what shall not be believed by citizens, and assumes to decide on the validity of revelations from Almighty God, the Author of existence.

It disorganizes and reduces to a chaotic condition every precinct, city and county in the Territory of Utah, and substitutes no adequate organization.

It subverts, by summary process, nearly every law on our statute books.

It violates the faith of the United States, in that it breaks the original contract made with the people of this Territory in the Organic Act, who were at the time that compact was made, received as citizens from Mexican Territory and known to be believers in the doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

We also wish your Honorable Bodies to understand that the Legislature of this Territory has never passed any law affecting the primary disposal of the soil; but only adopted regulations for the controlling of our claims and possessions upon which improvements to the amount of millions of dollars have been made.

This bill in section 26 repeals the law of the Territory containing said regulations, thereby leaving us destitute of legal protection to our hard-earned possessions, the accumulated labor of over twenty years, and exposing us to the mercy of land speculators and vampires.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

This bill, which would deprive us of religious liberty and every political right worth having, is not directed against the people of Utah, as men and women, but against their holy religion. Eighteen years ago, and ten years before the passage of the anti-polygamy act of 1862, one of our leading men, Elder Orson Pratt, was expressly deputed and sent to the City of Washington, D.C., to publish and lecture on the principle of patri-

archal or plural marriage as practiced by us.

He lectured frequently in that and other cities, and published a paper for some length of time, in which he established, by elaborate and convincing arguments, the divinity of the revelation commanding plural marriage, given through the Prophet Joseph Smith, and that the doctrine was sanctioned and endorsed by the highest Biblical authority. For ten years before the passage of the act of 1862, the doctrine was widely preached throughout the Union and the world, and it was universally known and recognized as a principle of our holy faith. We are thus explicit in mentioning this fact to show that patriarchal marriage has long been understood to be a cardinal principle of our religion. We would respectfully mention, also, in this connection, that while hundreds of leading Elders have been in the Eastern States and in the City of Washington, not one of them has been cited to appear as a witness before the Committee on Territories to prove that this doctrine is a part of our religion, gentlemen well-knowing that, if that were established, the proposed law would be null and void because of its unconstitutionality.

What we have done to enhance the greatness and glory of our country, by pioneering, opening up and making inhabitable the vast western region, is before the nation and should receive a nation's thanks, not a proscriptive edict to rob us of every right worth possessing and of the very soil we have reclaimed and then purchased from Government.

Before this soil was United States' territory we settled it, and five hundred of our best men responded to the call of Government in the war with Mexico and assisted in adding it to the national domain.

When we were received into the Union, our religion was known, our early officers, including our first Governor, were nearly all Latter-day Saints or "Mormons," for there were few others to elect from; we were treated as citizens possessing equal rights, and the original bond of agreement between the United States Government and the people inhabiting this Territory conferred upon us the right of self-government in the same degree as is enjoyed by other Territories in the Union. It declared that the power of the Legislature of this Territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of the Organic Act, and that the right of suffrage and holding office shall be exercised by citizens of the United States, including those recognized as citizens by the treaty with the Republic of Mexico, concluded February 2nd, 1848. This compact or agreement we have preserved inviolate on our part; and we respectfully submit that it is not in the power of any legislature or Congress, legally and constitutionally, to abrogate and annul such an agreement as the Organic Law, which this bill proposes to do, without the consent of both parties. Our property, lands and buildings, private and public, are to be confiscated, our rights of citizenship destroyed, our men and women subjected to excessive pains and penalties, because we believe in and practice a principle taught by the Bible, commanded by divine revelation, and sustained by the Christian monarchies of Great Britain and France among millions of their subjects in their Territories of India and Algeria.

We earnestly, we solemnly appeal to you not to permit this iniquitous, unjustly-discriminating and anti-republican measure to become law, and that, too, in violation of the Constitution, by which 150,000 industrious, peaceable and orderly persons will be driven to the desperate necessity of disobeying Almighty God, the Governor of the Universe or of subjecting themselves to the pains and penalties of this act, which would be worse than death. We beseech of you, gentlemen, do not, by the passage of harsh and despotic measures drive an inoffensive, God-fearing and loyal people to desperation. We have suffered, God knows how much! in years past, for our religion. We fled to these mountain wilds to escape the ruthless hand of persecution; and shall it be said now, that our Government, which ought to foster and protect us, designs to repeat, in the most aggravated form, the miseries we have been called upon to pass through before?

What evidence can we give you that plural marriage is a part of our religion, other than what we have done by our public teachings and publishing for years past? If your honorable bodies are not satisfied with what we now pre-

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