

it and to all laws made in pursuance thereof.

The provisions of the Utah constitution against the union of church and state, and providing for full religious toleration, were then read to the committee. The falsehoods about the "Mormon" Church holding the land were refuted, and the speaker went on to say:

It is insinuated that perhaps after the State was admitted into the Union, the Mormons, having obtained political control, would change the State constitution and reestablish polygamy. This is a mere conjecture, without any fact or reason to rest upon. As the 'Mormons' never attempted to legalize polygamy when in full control of the Territory in all the departments of local government, when there was no law of Congress forbidding that practice, and when polygamists were eligible to office and were prominent in public affairs, the pretended danger of a possible establishment of polygamy by monogamists is grotesque in its absurdity, and is no more substantial than the shadow of a tattered scarecrow. All their material advantages and prospects are against the supposition, and the power, still in the hands of the Congress and the country, to assume control over this practice by an amendment to the Federal constitution would forbid such a useless step, if it were even desired or contemplated.

There is no ground for the similar suggestion that Gentile life and property would be in danger if the State of Utah should be in the hands of a "Mormon" majority. As under the laws of the Territory, so under the laws of the State would their lives and property have equal protection with those of the "Mormons." There have always been Gentile residents in Utah since the Territory has had sufficient inhabitants to make business profitable. They opened stores in early times and made considerable fortunes. They have never been molested. The dime novel stories that have been circulated concerning "Mormon" atrocities are pure inventions. The men who make these new alarms indulge in the same kinds of extravagances and flights of vain imagination. Tolerance is ingrained in the "Mormon" theory, and has been marked and conspicuous in "Mormon" practice. And it is only because the minority in Utah have maligned and sought to displace or trample upon the rights of the majority that such a sharply defused antagonism between the parties has been drawn in the past.

And, gentlemen of the committee, there is the source of all the opposition to statehood which comes from those who protest against this movement. That is no secret. It is openly declared that, unless they can gain the political control, the radical Gentile element of Utah will fight statehood to the bitter end. They have striven at every session of Congress, for many years, to obtain a legislative commission for the government of the Territory, in which they expect to gain a large majority, and also appointments to the local

offices, and then, by disfranchising every Mormon, grasp that domination of affairs which would place the lives and fortunes of the people who have transformed that whilom desert into a blossoming garden, under the arbitrary rule of a small but ambitious and aspiring minority. In making this statement I do not wish to be understood that it applies to all the Gentiles of Utah. There are many conservative persons among them who do not care for political positions, and who, if left to themselves, would be willing that we should have the rights and privileges we seek.

Mr. Richards then read an article from the *Chicago Times* of December 27, 1888, which has already appeared in the *DESERET WEEKLY*, showing the objects of the radical class here alluded to. He then closed his able speech as follows:

Gentlemen of the committee, apart from the prejudice which has been created in the country and fostered by a band of men who seek to obstruct, because they cannot gain control, there is nothing against the admission of Utah into the Union as a State. Shall it be said that the oldest and, save one, the most populous Territory in the United States must be arbitrarily denied a republican form of government, because of a groundless prejudice? Will the statesmen of this great nation hold back from the performance of a public duty through fear of clamor, raised by the designing and echoed by the ignorant? Were it not for the dust kicked up by a faction whenever the question is considered, would not every member of this committee and of this Congress see and admit that Utah is entitled to local self-government, and that all objections to it are baseless? Is it not both right and politic to settle this so-called problem in the only way by which it can be effectually disposed of? Why should a community of over 200,000 law-abiding people, acknowledged to possess all the qualities that constitute good citizenship, be kept in political serfdom because of a noise made over the bygone doings of a fractional part of the population? Are facts to be ignored and fictions to be gravely considered? Are the lives and works, virtue and fidelity of the great majority of our citizens, who have never violated the law, to count for nothing, because of the complaints of a carping minority over the alleged sins of a few enthusiasts who take no part in this political controversy?

We appeal to the manhood, the justice, the patriotism, and the honor of this committee. We are American citizens. We are in numbers, wealth, intelligence, prospects, and energies fully prepared for the duties and responsibilities of free government. Nothing to the contrary can be alleged against us that is true or will stand the test of investigation. We ask for that liberty which other citizens enjoy, and the rights and privileges which the Constitution guarantees, and we pledge to you our loyal and faithful support of those republican institutions which are the pride and

the glory of the greatest nation under the sun, whose power we will help to perpetuate, and whose integrity we will ever strive to maintain.

During the progress of this speech, which was delivered in a very impressive manner, Mr. Richards was asked many questions, which, while they interrupted him, served to bring out the points he made sharply and with telling force. At the close, the Chairman, Mr. Springer, called for the other side; but the Governor, who was visibly agitated, said he was not ready. Judge McBride also declined, so did Mr. Baskin and the appendage to the party, P. H. Lanuan.

Finally, Mr. E. P. Ferry agreed to come to the front, and in a weak way advanced some alleged reasons why Utah ought not to be admitted. The chief of these were that when the "Mormons" came west they intended to leave the United States; the Mormon battalion was enlisted by the government as a favor; the U. S. flag was put at half-mast in Salt Lake City two or three years ago on the Fourth of July; there are no Gentile teachers allowed in the District Schools, and "Mormon" services are held in the school houses; witnesses dare not testify in the courts, and women are afraid to tell who are the fathers of their children; the "Mormons" had tried to tax the mines; there were 67 men in 1887, and 29 in 1888, reported to the Utah Commission as being suspected of polygamy; the keystone of the "Mormon" church was polygamy; it was not made a felony but a misdemeanor in the proposed state constitution, and there was no advancement in it for any one who does not enter into it. Utah must not come into the Union till the majority of her people yield cheerful obedience to the law.

A few pertinent questions showed the feebleness of these remarks, but Mr. Ferry made them in a gentlemanly way, as the representative of large mineral interests in the Territory.

A genuine surprise was in store for everybody. Mr. Bean, ex-Delegate from Arizona, came forward unexpectedly and asked to speak for a few minutes, and in a rattling speech proceeded to defend the "Mormons" as an honest, temperate, industrious and law-abiding people, who had defeated him in politics, but were known to him for twenty years as possessing all the qualities of the very best kind of citizens. This was a bombshell. An adjournment was then taken till Monday, when it was understood Judge McBride was to make his speech, and Mr. Caine to follow; each side to have, in all, four hours each. Judge Jere Wilson is to have the closing speech on the affirmative.

Compliments from various sources are numerous on the able opening address, and the discussion of these matters, whatever the opposition may advance, cannot fail to be beneficial ultimately to the cause of freedom and right in Utah. "There is music in the air." X.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 12, 1889.