

have a chance." But is it polygamy that is aimed at? If so, why not give the laws already enacted and so vigorously, nay, so ruthlessly enforced, an opportunity to work their legitimate effects? If they will not extirpate polygamy, surely no legislation of a kindred character ever will. If you are impatient and must have quicker results why not act upon the declaration of an assistant Attorney-General of the United States, who deliberately said that it would have been an act of mercy to have put all grown-up Mormons to the sword. This bill, if it becomes a law, will place the Mormon people at the mercy of men whose object is first to plunder them of all their earthly possessions, and drive them from their homes. The possibilities of the results of this legislation, Mr. Speaker, can not be exaggerated. In all caudor I verily believe that a law directing general outlawry to be declared against all who did not, after certain time from the issuing of a proclamation, publicly renounce and recant their belief in the faith of the Mormon Church, would be merciful in comparison with the effects of this proposed law.

Mr. Speaker, it is not the morals of the Mormon people or the contaminating influence thereof upon the public that is at the bottom of the persecution we have to endure. It is preposterous nonsense to talk about the "Mormon blot" upon the civilization of our age. If you were to undertake to eradicate blots upon your civilization you would have your hands full. I would respectfully refer gentlemen who are curious to know something of the morality which the boasted civilization of the nineteenth century has developed in localities far removed from Utah, and where intellectual light blazes most powerfully, to Von Oettingen's *Moralistic*, published in 1882. The *Fortnightly Review*, speaking of this book recently, said:

It exhibits truly the most "dismal" of sciences, since it consists of little else than the exhibition of a complete record of crime. Perhaps the most disheartening pages of Von Oettingen's array of facts are those which relate to the crimes of great cities and densely populated areas. Von Oettingen's tabulations seem to include all European countries except Spain, Portugal and Turkey. If a map of Europe were before us shaded in proportion to the returns of known vice and crime, the darkest shadows would rest where the boast of intellectual light is greatest—in Saxony, the shrine of modern culture, the fortress of free thought.

There is but scant probability of "the canker of Mormon polygamy," as it is termed, endangering the morals of the world, of endangering your civilization, in the presence of the widespread and general demoralization of morals.

Mr. Speaker, the Mormon Church establishment is the thing aimed at in all this onslaught upon the Mormon people. It is a religious problem you are endeavoring to deal with in this as well as in all other legislation that has been attempted or proposed. It is our ecclesiastical and not our moral polity that is aimed at—that is sought to be overthrown. The men who are here from Utah, clamoring for the disfranchisement of the Mormon people, who insist that every office within the Territory shall be vacated and filled by appointees, that even our selectmen, who make the assessments of property, and the tax-collectors shall give why to non-Mormons, are not afraid of the contamination of their own or their families' morals. They know, as all the world knows, that a purer, more orderly, upright, God-fearing, and God-serving community does not exist upon earth than the exclusively Mormon settlements of Utah. It is simply because the minority cannot, under a democratic American form of local government, rule the majority that these men are here clamoring for our disfranchisement.

There is one question, Mr. Speaker, that is pressing swiftly and strongly upon the people of this country; there is one problem that demands the serious attention of all who are interested in the future welfare of the nation, and even of society itself. That question, that problem, the Mormons have solved for themselves. We are not perplexed about the relations between capital and labor; we are not threatened with the dangers of a dissatisfied proletariat; we have no dread of communism; our slumbers are not disturbed by fears of anarchists. The Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company you propose to wipe out, cut up root and branch, because it imports poor and ignorant foreigners, who you claim become the bond slaves of the Mormon hierarchy. And yet 90 per cent. of all the Mormon families in Utah own their own houses. But 3.37 per cent. of men, women and children can not read. The official statistics are a sufficient answer to this nightmare.

The hard times recently experienced the world over have been experienced in Utah. But where Mormon laborers have been employed, either in or outside the Territory, there have been no strikes. And, what is still more worthy your attention, there is not to-day in an exclusively Mormon community an almshouse or the need of one.

It is said the country demands the suppression of polygamy. Admit for argument's sake that it does. The country does not demand that the

rights of citizenship shall be denied the people of Utah, nor that their church shall be disincorporated and the church property squandered.

It will be claimed that this legislation is recommended by the Utah Commission. Do those who make this claim fully comprehend how great a personal interest the members of that commission have in the success of this measure? This bill perpetuates them in positions where they draw \$5,000 a year each from the public Treasury, where they are allowed some remarkable personal expenses, and where they have practically nothing to do. Is it a matter for astonishment that they should recommend the passage of this bill?

It is also claimed that this legislation is recommended by the governor of Utah. Is he not an interested party also? If this bill becomes a law it will give him the direct and indirect appointment of two thousand officers who heretofore have been chosen by the people. A patronage so great might satisfy the ambition of one more aspiring even than the governor of Utah. This modest gentleman, while admitting that he sees no probability of any outbreak in Utah, has had the supreme assurance to urge that a "strong, well-disciplined and efficient" force of United States soldiers be held near Salt Lake to assist the civil authorities. Is Congress prepared to follow the bent of these place-seekers in their insatiable cravings? Recommendations from sources in which personal considerations are so manifest would, ordinarily, carry eternal condemnation on the face of them.

If this bill were only what it professes to be, if its purpose were the suppression of polygamy alone, how can all this help it? As fast as can be done convictions are now secured, and the ease with which they are obtained is of national notoriety. So long as the forms of law are observed it is impossible to expedite convictions without an increase in the number of courts, and this bill does not even hint at such a step. In breaking up the family relations already formed, of what advantage can it be to deprive me of my franchise? How can that cure the marriage relations of the president of the Mormon Church, or the unlawful cohabitation of any other man?

One man's polygamy was suppressed very successfully a few days since. An apostate Mormon, acting as deputy marshal, shot a Mormon for whom he had a warrant on a charge of unlawful cohabitation. The man was on horseback. He was unarmed. The marshal called on him to halt, and almost at the same instant fired. The burden of the testimony shows the man did not try to escape, though there was absolutely no justification for the shooting even had he endeavored to do so. In an hour the Mormon was dead. The murderer, while being taken to Beaver, where the district court was in session, was met by twelve or thirteen members of the grand jury, which he had selected on an open venire. This cavalcade carried refreshments, and the return trip was after the style of the triumphal march of a homeward-journeying hero. This same grand jury investigated the murder and found an indictment, charging the deputy marshal with manslaughter. He was prosecuted by the assistant United States attorney for Utah, who, during the trial, declared in open court that unlawful cohabitation was a felony, when the United States statute explicitly makes it a misdemeanor. The same prosecutor told the jurors that the assassin should be acquitted, and they obediently returned a verdict of not guilty.

Mr. Speaker, the declaration of an assistant Attorney-General of the United States that it would be an act of mercy to put every adult Mormon to the sword, is bearing fruit. The theory of the clique bent on our destruction, that a Mormon is, in his nature, a dangerous criminal, is bearing natural fruit. The continued legislation which is being driven through Congress and which, with unerring certainty is hedging in and trampling down the safeguards of liberty to Mormons, is bearing fruit after its kind. This bill, which renders it possible to enlarge the powers of Mormon haters and to swell their official numbers, will bear the same fruit. The unlawful cohabitation of E. M. Dalton was suppressed. This way of suppression has received an impetus by the acquittal of his assassin. Where do you expect this license by law and this immunity from punishment by courts will end? A Mormon boy, in a private brawl with a deputy marshal, in broad daylight, and on a crowded street in Salt Lake City, struck the deputy a blow with his fist. For this offense he was twice fined, and then sent to the penitentiary by the United States Judge. A Mormon is killed in cold blood by a deputy marshal, and the assassin is acquitted at the instance of the United States prosecutor. This kind of history reads well, does it not? And it will improve vastly with age.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I will say that no community ever did exist that was at the same time industrious and thrifty and yet immoral, dishonest, and disloyal. Men there may be bad to a degree that will not bear mention who are also industrious, but communities and nations never. His-

tory records no such example. The industry and thrift of my constituents is admitted by their bitterest and most fanatical enemies. They dare not deny it. Do a handful of Mormons in the Rocky Mountains set at defiance all that the experience of history has revealed? Are they in the world's history the solitary instance of thrift and immorality, of industry and licentiousness, of probity and dishonesty, possessed of material wealth and yet disrespectful of property rights? Nothing could be more absurd.

History tells us, Mr. Speaker, that where there is thrift and industry in a community, side by side with it will be found morality, truthfulness, and loyalty. The admission of the industry of the people of Utah destroys the whole case of their enemies. Industry and immorality have ever been and will forever remain incompatible in communities. But even were this not true, what can you do by legislation? There is no gainsaying the fact that industry could not exist where property rights are not duly respected and protected by law. The industry of Utah therefore signifies the existence of ample protection for property rights. It has been stated by one of those now in Washington in the interest of this bill that one half the property in Salt Lake is owned by Gentiles. Taking his word as true, what does it show? That the very presence in business ventures in Utah of so many persons intensely antagonistic to the Mormon people demonstrates the existence of laws covering property rights absolutely.

What more can you do? You cannot legislate the people industrious. The history of all times contradicts such a possibility. You cannot legislate people virtuous, nor can you legislate them happy. All that you can do is to throw around industrial communities those safeguards which, while preserving them from interference, still see that the rights of individuals in property are secured; that the people are not subject to destroying exactions, nor to the fury and bigotry of men invested with power, and base enough to use it for the injury of their fellows, for the limitation of the liberties, and for the annulling of their rights. No sound governmental policy dare go beyond this. No statesman dare attempt to do more while he has any respect for his reputation or regard for those lessons which history teaches. In Utah what have we found? A people whose industrial accomplishments are without a rival in modern times, if ever rivaled. Arbitrarily, and with an utter disregard of historical teaching and practical working, this people has been assumed to be immoral.

With a full knowledge that every attempt at the introduction of morality by means of legislation is against all good reason, men seem determined to legislate this people moral. You are asked to make honest that which is alleged to be inherently dishonest; good that which is hopelessly bad; pure that which is reeking with filth; noble and elevating that which is ignoble and debased, and all by legislation. In other words you are asked to legislate the sow's ear into the silk purse.

Mr. Speaker, it can not be done. You begin on a false basis. But even were the position sure, the means are opposed to reason and to history. If the Mormon people are what the popular belief declares them to be, they will destroy themselves more surely, more rapidly, than can be accomplished by any methods to which you dare resort. The effect of immoral practices by communities is such certain, such inevitable decay that even when all appears best and fairest the death-promoting germs are at work surely and relentlessly undermining and will bring the whole into that crumbling decay, that putrid ruin, which a beneficent Creator has determined shall be the fate of all that is not built upon and sustained by the eternal principles of morality. If Mormonism fall, it will fall of its own weight. I contend, Mr. Speaker, and I make the contention with all respect, that instead of promoting the true interests of Utah, all this special and class legislation has been a pronounced detriment.

You have found my constituents honest, for their reputation in business matters is almost unexampled. You have found them industrious. Instead of following the promptings of reason and experience by throwing about them those safeguards which would enable them to continue their work of enriching this great nation—instead of this, it is proposed to hamper them still further and by the most violent methods.

I tell you if we want our own people and the nations of the world to respect our boast of justice and our right to govern, if we would have them love the principles of freedom we profess, we must begin by manifesting some respect for justice and some love for free and liberal principles ourselves. Only by this means can we inspire in others a permanent and abiding faith in our institutions and in our loyalty.

My constituents have suffered indignities, insults, and ostracism for years almost uncomplainingly. They have been despoiled of character by

paid assassins—and by assassins I mean those that are vilest, who rob women and children of that which alone gives value to life—and my people have asked in vain for justice. They have been misruled by men sent from a Government that did not design to be unfriendly, men who have been their enemies in every way but that which gives the garb of honor to enmity, and my people have submitted. They have been taunted, and by wicked and treacherable designs have been tempted to assume a position of open and avowed resistance to the Government, and the attempts have failed, yet charges of defiance and treason have been entered against them which were shown to be false, and still there came no redress for my people. One by one their rights—and those rights which give a community its reputation, its better, its immortal part—have been wrested arbitrarily from them, and still my people have appealed for justice and raised opposition only by those means which the Constitution has provided. A whole nation, if the words of blatant men prevail, is arrayed against them determined upon their destruction, and this determination is gradually crystallizing in the acts of Congress, and yet the appeal of my people to constitutional means and to these alone. This is the disloyal people of Utah!

I tell you, Mr. Speaker, I tell you solemnly, that in the United States, in the whole world, there is no people more loyal to the eternal truths of liberty, as expressed in the Constitution of this country, than my constituents; and there will come a time, a time when the mists which now befog the understanding of the American people and its legislators, when the refuge of lies erected by characterless charlatans shall have been swept away, there will come such a time when my words will stand forth marked clear and bold and untarnished as the truth justifies.

Gentlemen, I ask you to pause. For your own sakes you can not afford to take a step which is determined upon by such insufficient and untrustworthy testimony. I am here more than a pleader. I speak for myself, and I pledge my word and my character that the statements upon which this legislation is based are without foundation in fact. You can not afford to pursue a policy which is determined upon the destruction of a people whose only fault is, at worst, that they pursue the happiness of themselves and their fellows by methods which are different from your own. Time, the great corrector of all evils, will right this wrong, if such it be, and the fiat of the Eternal has already decreed that the last vestige of Mormonism shall be swept away by the peaceful progress of events, if it be not that which God in His wisdom has appointed shall survive as the fittest.

Gentlemen, you who have freed from bondage the negro slave, you who love liberty and cherish the institutions of our country, who would bequeath them fair and unsullied to your children, let me plead with you, let me beseech you, not to consign my people to such inhuman slavery. [Loud applause.]

BY TELEGRAPH.

PER WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH LINE.

AMERICAN.

TORONTO, Jan. 27.—The *Mail* to-day says: "It is unfortunate for Canadian interests that the general election should be in progress when our American neighbors are legislating against us. It is true the bellicose speeches delivered in the United States Senate the other day need not be taken seriously. Nevertheless, it is abundantly evident from the better class of American journals that our neighbors are determined to adopt a spirited foreign policy; in plain English, to steal our fish and punish us if we attempt to prevent them. We suffer from American prejudice against England, and from England's unwillingness and inability to make our cause her own, and betwixt the two it will be a miracle if we are not shorn. The Foreign Office will make a show of protecting our rights, but the capital consideration with Lord Salisbury will not be the justice of our own case, but the necessity for maintaining

CORDIAL RELATIONS

with the United States. The power to suspend intercourse, which is to be vested in the President by the Edmunds and Belmont bills, is to prevent our ships from visiting American ports, and to stop our railroad cars and locomotives at the international line, and is merely what the Americans themselves call a bluff. By bluffing, our neighbors have in the past managed to cheat us out of whole seaboard and territories. Come what may, this time we trust the Canadian and Imperial authorities will press for something approaching a permanent solution of the question, so that we may know exactly where we stand."

SANTA FE, N. M., Jan. 27.—Tuesday night a Democratic caucus was held in the office of Governor Ross. The latter, backed by Warden Gable, of the Penitentiary, wanted to organize a military company, seize the capitol building and reorganize the Legislative

Council—but as two of the Democratic Senators would not go in on the scheme it had to be abandoned.

Yesterday's session was quiet, Senator Sanchez in the chair.

This morning, in the House of Representatives the Democrats, taking advantage of the absence of one of the Republicans, sprung a resolution to adjourn until February 28th, the last day of the session. The motion was lost by 12 to 11.

The whole fight hinges to a large degree upon the management of the Territorial penitentiary. During the year 1886 it has cost about \$1,200 each to maintain the prisoners. Charges are made that the management has been corrupt and extravagant. The Republicans want a full investigation. Governor Ross opposes this. The latter's nominations for the Territorial officers are still not acted on. The council was in session all day engaged in irregular business. The House adjourned till to-morrow.

It is not yet known when the contested election case of Vigil vs. Martinez from Taos is coming up.

NEW YORK, Jan. 27.—Inspector Byrnes has in custody the man supposed to have murdered the man found in a Baltimore trunk. The murderer's name is Edward Unger, of 23 Ridge Street, this city. He is 52 years old. The walls of his room are covered with blood. The victim's name is believed to be Baltz. Motive of the murder, robbery.

GLOUCESTER, Jan. 27.—The schooner *Carthage* sailed from this port December 1st, on a sea voyage, and since that time nothing has been heard from her. To-day her owner gave her up as lost. She was commanded by Captain Andrew Wilson, and had a crew of ten men.

NOGALES, Arizona, Jan. 27.—The Mexican gunboat *Democrat* arrived at Guaymas to-day with Cajeme, the Yaqui chief, a prisoner. This ends the war between the Yaquis and Mexicans, which existed two years. It is believed that Cajeme named his own terms.

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 27.—The *Journal of Commerce's* annual trade review for 1886, issued to-day, shows the value of the productions of California for the year were \$202,000,000, equal to \$200 for every man, woman and child in the State.

NEW YORK, Jan. 27.—A strike along the river front of Brooklyn also went into effect this morning. All the men went out quietly, peaceably and determinedly. Freight has accumulated on the docks ready for shipment, while several vessels are waiting to discharge their cargoes. The police say they do not expect any trouble with the strikers. There are guards at all the stores from Fulton Ferry to Red Hook. Later in the day the authorities saw fit as a double precautionary measure to have the entire police force held in reserve so as to be ready to meet any outbreak. A few men were scattered here and there, working timorously upon freight, but they were not molested by the strikers, who laughed at the unskillful attempts of the imported hands.

The White Star steamship *Britannic* which was to have sailed hence for Liverpool to-day, has been delayed owing to the inability to obtain her supply of coal, and her departure is announced for Friday at 7 a. m.

At the Morgan Company's dock, pier 34, the men

WENT TO WORK

this morning, as the company agreed not to handle any boycotted freight. The dock master had hard work to keep up with the demand, as much freight that had been delayed in consequence of the boycott and the strike is now being moved.

At the produce dock a steamer was got away at 2 o'clock this morning. It should have sailed on Tuesday night. The *Request*, of the same line arrived to-day, but could not be unloaded because most of the longshoremen had gone out. It is expected that the transatlantic steamers, too, go out on Saturday, will not be able to sail on account of their having no means of getting the vessel's coal supply aboard.

The striking longshoremen and coal shovellers had a parade to-night, previous to the mass meeting at Cooper Union. They marched through Broadway to Eighth street and then to Cooper Union. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the outrages of the Pinkerton detectives and the meeting adjourned.

YORK, Jan. 27.—An exciting scene occurred at St. Stephen's Church to-night, that might have culminated in a big row had it not been for the arrival of the police. The basement of the church was locked all day, but the body of the church was left open. A large crowd assembled this evening, and at about 9:30 nearly 200 women succeeded in forcing their way into the basement, where they surrounded Dr. McGlynn's confessional. Dr. Donnelly went down stairs and asked them to leave. He was driven out, and called on the police officers, who soon arrived. The women hissed Dr. Donnelly and made fun of the officers.

NEW YORK, Jan. 28.—The jury in the case of Louis Biala, charged with the attempted assassination of the surveyor of port, Hanns S. Beattie, found him guilty as charged to-day and recommended him to the mercy of the court.

NEW YORK, Jan. 28.—Business in the river front this morning is almost

COMPLETELY PARALYZED,

and with the exception of a small amount of freight being moved by