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GEORGE Q. CANNON,
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

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EVENING REFLECTIONS.

BY A DALRYMPLE.

'Tis night, and the sky is overcast
With darksome clouds as with a veil,
While memory floats back o'er the past
On Retrospection's barque so frail,
As down the stream I turn to see
That shoreless gulf, eternity.

While musing thus, a nameless chill
Pervades this mortal frame of mine,
Runs through my members with a thrill
That tongue or pen cannot define,
As that eternal bourne and eldorado
Is seen, the farther end of time.

Could I but see and understand
The scenes the future will unfold,
The great, majestic and the grand;
Eye hath not seen nor tongue yet told
Nor mortal man can e'er define,
But by God's Spirit most divine.

Ah muse poetic, come, I pray,
And shed a halo o'er my path,
Illuminate my devious way,
That I may shun impending wrath,
Moore my immortal spirit where
The wicked cease from troubling there.

SALT LAKE CITY, Jan. 29th, 1873.

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. H. HOOPER, OF UTAH,

In the House of Representatives
January 23, 1873.

Mr. Speaker, the Delegate from Montana Territory has seen fit to signalize the close of his brief career in this House by an attack upon the people of Utah, as ungenerous as it is uncalculated for, as uncalculated in statement as it is disingenuous in deduction.

The motive for this elaborate attack I will not now pause to question, but I should be unfaithful to the trust of my constituents did I permit his remarks to pass without some brief reply.

He tells the House that freedom of speech, of the press, and of public worship are unknown in Utah, and that "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," does not exist there. His first charge is utterly baseless; his second is, unfortunately, to some extent true, not through the disposition, but in consequence of the misfortunes of my constituents. There are six daily papers published in Utah. Of this number three are hostile to the "Mormons," and their columns are constantly filled with misrepresentations, abuse, and denunciations of that people and of all who attempt their defence. The Salt Lake Tribune, Mining Journal, and Corinne Reporter, are constant evidences of the unbridled liberty of the press.

As a rule, public meetings have been free from interruption. Once or twice audiences, composed nine-tenths of "Mormons," have neglected to listen patiently to insulting assaults upon their religious faith, and have shown their disapprobation by voice, but never by violence. But there has been less disturbance of this character than can be found in the history of every town of equal population in the United States.

The Presbyterian, Episcopal, Methodist, and Catholic faiths have church organizations, offices, and schools at various places in Utah. There is no instance on record of any interference with public worship, and the pulpit of the "Mormon" tabernacle has ever been open to and numbered times been filled by distinguished clergymen of other faiths—a liberality which has never been reciprocated. If the missionaries have failed to convert my constituents, it has certainly not been for lack either of opportunity or audiences.

The gentleman referred to with some feeling and eloquence to the fact that the Utah laws provide for identification of ballots. My answer is that this is the means my people adopted to maintain the purity of the ballot and to provide for purging the list of illegal votes in the event of a contested

election. The pioneers of Utah lived in Illinois before they marched into the wilderness. The plan they adopted was copied from the laws of that State, where, if I am not misinformed, the system still prevails.

The statement that the Nauvoo Legion, under which name the militia of the Territory is organized, ever marched through the streets of Salt Lake City or any other place in Utah and took possession of the polls, is as utterly without truth or basis of truth as is the other statement that ten thousand miners or ten miners were ever excluded from the privilege of suffrage.

The facts concerning the Nauvoo Legion are these: A Governor who was sent to Utah about three years ago gave an exhibition of his authority while there by the issuance of an extraordinary proclamation forbidding the assembling of the Legion. A Federal judge was found who sent the officers of a company of militia to prison at Camp Douglas because, forsooth, on the reception of a new set of instruments by their band they met, as he ruled, in violation of that proclamation! So stringently has that proclamation been enforced as law that my constituents have been threatened with various pains and penalties if, in the capacity of militia, they should assemble to take part in the celebration of the anniversary of their country's independence.

The representative from Montana must have been but partially informed or he would never have hazarded the assertion that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has been clothed with such power by the territorial Legislative Assembly that it has been enabled not only to cut off apostates from the church, but to pursue such apostates with the rigors of the law, despoil them of their substance, or to expel them and their wives and children from Utah. I could cite many instances to the contrary, instances of men who have been brought to Utah by the generous help of her pioneers, who have accumulated fortunes from her people, who have taken unto themselves wives from her daughters, who have apostatized, and who have been cut off from religious association, certainly, but who still enjoy in Utah not only their fortunes, but the society and ministrations of the extra wives with which they provided themselves immediately before their apostasy.

The "Mormon" Church, Mr. Speaker, possesses and exercises no greater corporate powers or privileges than are enjoyed by every considerable religious body in this country, and visits upon its recusant members only those spiritual penalties which elsewhere follow apostasy.

The law, since repealed, whose object was to simplify and purify the practice of law in Utah, seems to have specially excited the indignation of the representative from Montana. My people are experimentalists in social science in more ways than one. Female suffrage has been adopted, and in the constitution of the proposed State of Deseret minority representation and three-fourths verdicts in civil cases are all provided for. I apprehend that our pioneers thought it well to discourage lawyers, or at least to endeavor to induce them to tell the truth. They seem to have abandoned the effort for the law is repealed. Can we marvel at the feelings of the gentleman from Montana on this subject, when we learn that he resided for a while at Salt Lake City and his shining legal abilities were permitted to remain unnoticed? Was it then that his dislike of the people and the laws of Utah was born? Was it then that this law against the lawyers loomed up to him as the cause of his non-success?

Much has been said about large grants of lands and franchises of roads by the Legislative Assembly of Utah. With respect to the first, let me say that, with the exception of one or two tracts of land which have been proffered and are held for the purpose of conducting an experiment in agricultural co-operation, there is not a person, association, or corporation in Utah owning one thousand acres of land, while the bulk of the land is held in small tracts, a farm of eighty acres being an exceptionally large one in that country, and ninety per cent. of the householders of Utah are freeholders, living on their own premises. When this is contrasted with the thirty and forty and fifty thousand acre ranches of California, and the private principalities of Nevada, Idaho, and Montana, the answer is all sufficient.

We are told, too, about franchises! Why, Mr. Speaker, there is not to my knowledge, a toll road in Utah; while the Legislatures of Montana, of Idaho, and of Nevada, when Nevada was a Territory, and the gentleman from Montana was, as I understand, a member of her territorial assembly, granted toll road franchises, and canal and railroad and water and gas privileges, until a map of the toll-roads of Nevada Territory resembled a picture of an immense catapode, with a leg sprawled up every canyon and on both sides of every stream.

The land office has been open at Salt Lake City over two years. There are hundreds of thousands of acres of unclaimed land open to pre-emption and homestead entry, and those who wish to till the soil may do so un molested; but the people who, according to the gentleman from Montana, are treated so badly, are not agriculturists, except moral agriculturists. They prefer to mine for the precious metals or prospect for Federal offices.

The truth is, Mr. Speaker, that new countries need special local legislation in order to induce capital to embark in public improvements. There was a good deal of this class of legislation in all the Territories until Congress intervened and prohibited it, but there was far less of it in Utah than in any of the other Territories.

The gentleman complains that the probate courts have had chancery and common law jurisdiction given them by territorial legislative enactment. Well, what

of it? The Territories of Nevada and Idaho, under organic acts of similar phraseology, gave their probate courts divorce jurisdiction, common law jurisdiction to the extent of \$500, chancery jurisdiction to the same amount, made the judges masters in chancery for the district courts, and I think, gave them limited criminal jurisdiction. Neither the policy nor the authority of this legislation was ever questioned in the other Territories. It is true that a Utah territorial district judge has decided that the Legislature of the Territory had no power to grant this jurisdiction; but the question is on appeal to the United States Supreme Court; and, pending its decision, I can only say that the rulings of the United States Supreme Court heretofore on the decisions of Utah territorial jurists have not been of a character to encourage the idea that they rank among the great jurists of the country.

But, Mr. Speaker, my imperfect hearing, which prevented my distinguishing all his remarks, with my imperfect memory of that which I did hear of the gentleman's speech—which is not in the *Globe* to-day, but seems to have been withheld for revision—will not permit me to follow him further.

The people of Utah are neither disloyal to the Government of the United States nor disregardful of its rights. But they do not deserve to be condemned for their endeavors to obtain officers and judges of their own choosing. The Federal officers and judges sent to the Territories have not usually been men who could achieve public confidence at home. There are honorable exceptions; but as a rule it is the *debris* of the legal profession and the discarded of political conventions who are appointed to territorial office.

The Territories have been recognized dumping grounds for political garbage, and Utah has had her share. Her people have heard of the decisions of Federal judges in a neighboring Territory "being bought and sold, with scarcely a decent cover to the corruption. They have known a Federal judge to open court in a condition of inebriety with a harlot seated by his side on the bench. They have known a Federal judge to sell his appointment for a year's salary, and his successor agree to pay the price and trust to luck to support his family in the interim; and they naturally prefer judges who, if they are not learned lawyers, are at least honest men.

The laws of Utah, which the gentleman from Montana demands shall be revised, may not be perfect—there is probably room for improvement; but certainly these laws have never impeded the public progress nor diminished private wealth. There is no Territory in this Union where taxation is so light or private rights more secure. There is no Territory in this Union where capital embarks with more confidence and freedom. Railroads are built without subsidies of money or land. Manufactures thrive without public bounties, and there is not one dollar of public indebtedness of any character, either territorial or local, county or city.

Mr. Speaker, Utah is no longer an unknown country. The great overland road runs through it, and the pulses of trade throb to its utmost co-nes. From the assault of the gentleman from Montana I appeal to the House and the country, and I appeal with confidence, for many honorable gentlemen upon this floor have visited Utah within the last two years. I ask them who it is that complains of Mormon laws and usages? Is it the capitalists and business men, and mill and furnace and mine-owners; or is it a little coterie of emigrant political adventurers and their satellites? Twenty millions of capital from the Atlantic States and Europe have, during the last two years, been invested in industrial enterprises in Utah, from those who represent and manage it, you shall hear no word of censure or complaint. It is the lazzaroni alone whose voices beat the air in loud denunciations of the Mormons; and even they can find no present material for ammunition; even they are compelled to go back from six to sixteen years, and grope in the twilight of fable for causes of complaint.

Mr. Speaker, I shall present no comparison of the relative claims of Utah and Colorado to self-government. I offered the amendment admitting Utah as a State because I thought that if the House should feel inclined to be generous to Colorado it might at the same time be disposed to be just to Utah. I attempted to withdraw my amendment because I was threatened that unless I did so the gentleman from Montana, who was loaded for the contingency, would be discharged at my constituents. I hoped by the withdrawal to placate the assailant of my people; but it seemed that his piece had to be spoken.

Mr. Speaker, I would not now withdraw the amendment if I could, and I hope that the House will suffer a vote to be taken upon it. I expect to live to see Utah an honored and equal commonwealth in the American Union. If not now, there will come a day when her people will be accorded the equal manhood citizenship which they crave. Of all the plans proposed for solving the so-called "Mormon problem," it has not yet been suggested that the truest statesmanship is to treat the people of Utah exactly as you would treat industrious, honest people anywhere. If there is a social problem to solve, it is either below or above the reach of political legislation. If there is a religious anomaly to be harmonized, it is not to be reached by packed juries or judicial missionary operators.

There are one hundred and thirty thousand industrious, earnest, thriving, progressive people in Utah. Each month adds to their numbers. They are residents, and not mere denizens of the land. They are reclaiming the waste desert land; they are building canals and railroads; they are constructing factories and mills; they are opening mines, and felling forests, and making the mountains lurid with their furnace fires. They desire local self-government as only the oppressed and estranged can desire it. They deserve local self-government

as only the peaceful and independent of soul can deserve it.

Some day they will cease to be the slanderer's target and the politician's foot-ball. Some day Congress will be just to Utah.

UTAH AND COLORADO.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.

The growing sentiment in Congress against the admission of new States exhibited itself last week, when both Colorado and Utah were laid on the table by a vote of nearly two to one. The objection to Colorado was that she has not sufficient population, and to Utah that her population is not of a proper character. Donn Piatt insists that the opposition to Utah is on account of her population not having been properly begotten, and that before admission the people of Utah will have to be not merely born again, but reconceived. Sargent, who voted that all citizens of Utah should vote to be virtuous before voting, urged that Colorado be compelled to consent to female suffrage as a condition of her admission. During the debate, Claggett of Montana, who is known to your readers as a former resident of Nevada, a member of the Territorial and State Legislatures there, and one of the Stewart-Sharon-railroad-bank ring, made a violent assault upon Brigham and the Mormons. Claggett, who was cleaned out at the last election in Montana, is understood to have coveted eyes on the gubernatorial chair of Utah, and the road to Grant's favor is to damn the Mormons. Salt Lake City seems at present to be the Mecca of all the defeated office-holders in the country. Woods of Oregon, the present Governor, writes three octavo letters per week to Attorney General Williams, one to Corbett, and two to Mitchell. The whole force of Oregon will be exerted to keep Woods where he is, for elsewhere he would return to the banks of Willamette to discomfite about "meecountree and me Gaud," and the web-foot politicians say of him

"Anywhere, anywhere,
Out of the way."

C. A. Washburne, formerly brother of the Washburne family, is likewise a candidate for the Utah governorship; so is Selucius Garfield of Washington. Sam Merrill of Idaho, who has removed his office to Salt Lake, has deserted his Democratic record, hurrahs for Grant and yearns for the governorship of Utah; and now comes Samuel B. Axtell, formerly of San Francisco, but lately of Ohio, and an advocate of Grant at the last election, and asks for an office in Utah.—*Chronicle in Sacramento Union.*

ENFORCE WHAT LAWS?—The representatives of General Grant's raid upon the Mormons began under the inspiration of parson Newman, and was attempted to be carried out by Chief Justice McKean after the manner which the *Herald* long since pointed out. Judicial decisions were pronounced by telegraph from the White House, and constitutional rights were at the mercy of religious bigotry, ignorance, and flagrant usurpation of the most sacred of all civil power. It was not until appeal was had to the supreme court of the U. S. that judgment was pronounced upon usurping Executives and Judges for openly, wantonly, wickedly undertaking to overthrow the very foundation principles of free government and personal liberty in this country. Mr. Justice Miller's opinion of McKean law will stand through all time as a crushing impeachment of the infamous man who dared to sit in an American court to strike down the freedom of 100,000 people through a deliberate violation of the most sacred oaths and the highest of human functions. For if there is anything more sacred in this world than the oath of a Judge, or the law which he is sworn to administer, we do not know what it is.

But the Federal mercenaries are not satisfied. Failing in all attempts to crush out the Mormons by judicial conspiracy, they return to their work, and shout again through Mr. Gould, the telegraph dancing-jack at Salt Lake, that the "loyal" people of Utah, whoever they may be, are rejoicing at parson Newman's fresh determination to "enforce the laws" in Utah.

Now will these troubled spirits stop a moment and tell us what laws they propose to enforce? Are they Federal laws, or are they Territorial laws? If our memory serves us well, Judge McKean tried to enforce Territorial laws in a way that should have caused his prompt impeachment. Are you going to enforce Federal laws? If so, what laws? There is a Federal law against polygamy. It is not a new statute. It has stood untouched for many years. It appears to have escaped the notice of these gentlemen who are so anxious to "enforce the laws" in Utah. The country is misled to believe that the Mormon people are resisting Federal laws for the suppression of polygamy, and for the punishment of crime, whereas the truth is that no attempt has ever been made to enforce the anti-polygamy law by any man.

This paper neither defends nor apologizes for polygamy in Utah. It neither defends nor apologizes for any crime that has been committed in that Territory. It would extinguish polygamy, as it would punish crime if it had the power. But it will continue to protest against lawless conspiracy and crime on the part of the representatives of the Federal authority as a means to the end as equally futile, dangerous and wrong for the correction of any evil, or for the punishment of any crime.—*Omaha Herald, Feb. 11.*

CONFIRMED.—By our late dispatches it will be seen that Mr. M. Mitchell has been confirmed Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court for Utah.

THOSE FIERY DISPATCHES.—The Omaha *Herald* of Feb. 13 has the following:

MR. GOULD.—This is the name of Mr. SIMONTON'S Associated Press Agent at Salt Lake. He is the gentleman who does all the talking by telegraph about affairs in that Territory, and from personal knowledge of many misrepresentations made by him about the interests of Utah, it has been a part of our duty, in times past, to sharply criticize him. Mr. GOULD is, personally, a very agreeable gentleman. It is not pleasant for us to say unkind things of him. But responsible gentlemen, just from Salt Lake, have informed us that his telegrams of late date are atrocious and wholesale misstatements concerning Utah and its people.

Mr. GOULD was recently in Omaha, and, as is his habit when passing to and fro from Salt Lake to New York, he called at the *Herald* office, where we had the pleasure of considerable conversation with him about the Utah situation. Mr. GOULD informed us that everything was quiet and orderly in Salt Lake, and that the Gentiles there had settled down upon the plan of "letting bygones be bygones." These were his very words. But the moment he reaches Salt Lake, he uses the power of the telegraph to tell the country the exact contrary of all this. Will Mr. GOULD be kind enough to assume the erect attitude and explain himself to this benighted and confused newspaper?

When little Simonton was in Utah with Buchanan's army, his mortal career came into serious jeopardy in a quarrel with a correspondent of the New York *Herald* up at Provo. Simonton then, as correspondent of the New York *Times*, exhibited much bitterness and prejudice towards the people of Utah, which was continued while he was immediately connected with the San Francisco *Bulletin*. Considering those circumstances, perhaps it could not be expected that he would appoint for his agent at Salt Lake a more candid and truthful man than Mr. Gould.

The Omaha *Herald* is not quite right in the idea that nobody but Mr. Gould sends inflammatory dispatches from Salt Lake, but we do sincerely believe he has sent enough to d—n any man.

KANAB, Jan. 31, 1873.

Editor Deseret News:

The people of Kanab feel first rate, as their crops for the past year were good. General good health prevails. As yet we have had no snow, but instead fine pleasant weather, mild as spring, and it almost makes us forget our northern brethren, who have to wade through slush and mud. In fact Kanab has the most delightful and genial climate of any place I ever visited.

The people have commenced plowing and will soon be putting in grain. We have had considerable rain and the prospect is good for a plentiful harvest.

We have just finished surveying and laying out a large field south of Kanab, containing 500 acres, to be fenced in by the 20th of February, early enough to put in crops this year. We have also surveyed the entire bottom containing over 2000 acres of good No. 1 land for cultivation and pasture. So that we have enough land to divide with all who wish to come and dwell with us.

We have also a good school, which is partially graded, numbering over 50 young men and women. The school is in a flourishing condition and the pupils all take a lively interest, and your humble servant has the honor of being their instructor.

The trustees are now moving to get up another school-house for the smaller children, there being enough here for two schools.

Last night the people of Kanab met and organized a co-operative store, and to-day bought out a small store started here awhile back.

Prospects in all for Kanab look more favorable than last year, although we are still weak handed.

W. D. JOHNSON, JR.

THE "MORMON" RAID.—The New York *Tribune* thus limns the new raid on Utah—

"It is said that in a certain California city, where the newspaper proprietors are tied up with the various rings which afflict the country, editorial writers have this standing order—'When in want of a topic, pitch into the Mormons.' Just now, this is a good part of our National Administrative policy. The Executive and Congress, when in want of a subject, instinctively turn toward the Mormons."

ALL THE TROOPS IN THE SOUTH TO BE SENT TO UTAH.—A WARNING TO BRIGGAM.—Washington, Feb. 7.—The President has ordered all the troops on duty in the Southern States, except small detachments at forts on the seacoast, to prepare for a movement towards the stations on the Plains, within a comparatively short distance from Salt Lake City. This is done to secure the enforcement of the laws, especially what is known as the Logan bill, now pending in Congress.—*New York Herald.*

DEATH OF SIDNEY RIGDON.—The Chicago *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, of Jan. 15th says that Sidney Rigdon lately departed this life, from acute paralysis, on his small farm in Alleghany County, New York.