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A MASTERLY SPEECH.

facto law." Referring to the eighth section the court says: It does not seek in this section, and by the penalty of disfranchisement, to operate as a series of disfranchisement, to operate as a series of disfranchisement, to operate as a series of bigamy or polygamy consists in entry face, and is complete when the relation being into a bigamous or polygamous marriage, and is complete when the relation being into a bigamous or polygamous in a refract on the existing the advector of the persent of the section. The disfranchisement operates upon the existing state, and condition of the persen, and not upon a past offense. It is, therefore, not retrospective. He alone is deprived of the actually cohabiting with more than one woman. Disfranchisement is not prescribed as a penalty for being gailty of the crime and offense of bigamy or polygamy, for, as has been said, that offense consists in the act of unlawful marriage and a prosecution for three years by section 1,044 of the lapse of three years by section 1,044 of the lapse of three years by section 1,044 of the lapse of three years by section 1,044 of the lapse of three years by section 1,044 of the lapse of three years by section 1,044 of the lapse of three years by section 1,044 of the lapse of three years by section 1,044 of the lapse of three years by section 1,044 of the lapse of three years by section 1,044 of the lapse of the conduct at the more than one woman is but as one may be living in a bigamous or polygamous state without cohabiting with more than one woman, the objection is not with more than one woman, the objection is not with more than one woman, the size the fact of actual cohabits in the fact by the officers of registration of the fact by the officers of the inquiry into the facts of ar as the registration of the set of with more than one woman, the objecton is not with more than one woman, the objecton is not with more than one woman, the objecton is not in registered, are required to determine, the fact of suffrage, the qualification of the WE publish in full to-day, from the Congressional Record of January 18, the speech of Hon. John T. Caine, Delegate from Utah in the House of Representatives, against the passage of the Tucker-Edmunds bill. No one can read it carefully without feeling its truth and recognizing the force of its reasoning. It is at once a plea for a maligned and oppressed people, a refutation of many calumnies against them, a constitutional and legal disquisition, an arraignment of the chief champion of the bill as proceeding against his own expressed opinions and 'published sentiments, an expose of the self-contradictions of the Supreme Court of the United States in regard to disfranchising legislation, a denunciation of test-oath injustice, a vindication of "Mormon" industry, morality and loyalty, an argument against various provisions of the bill, and a protest against the flagrant wrongs sought to be inflicted upon a peaceable community.

The whole speech is worthy of perusal and close examination. It is sound, consistent in all its parts, convincing, pathetic and irrefutable. It is worthy of his theme and of his constituents. It was effective upon the vast body of his hearers. That it did not prevent the passage of the iniquitous measure it opposed, counts nothing against the argument. that occasion, in case of question in any m-stance, upon the fact of marriage as a con-tinuing status. There is no greater objec-tion, in point of law, to a similar inquiry for the like purpose into the fact of a subsisting The bill was not passed in the House on the basis of argument, but as a foregone conclusion and in spite of and continuing bigamous or polygamous relation, when it is made, as by the statute under consideration, a disqualification to reason, justice and the good sense of numerous members, who thought more of popular opinion than of honer and of right.

We congratulate the Delegate on his court as well as the inexactness of the language employed to convey excellent speech, and commend it to meaning. It says that the law the attention of all who are willing to not seek in this section, and by the penalty of disfranchimement, to operlisten to reason and to consider a matate as a punishment upon any offense at all." What the writer was trying to ter before taking action against it. Of such are not the members of the lower House of Congress on this subject, for imposition in this instance was not as they put a gag upon the lips of all who a "punishment" for crime, but the wished to amend or offer practical otjections to the bill, and, shutting their eyes to facts and their ears to reason, they shouted the measure through like a mob and, in the fashion of Lynch law, condemned a whole people to po-

The speech of Mr. Caine goes upon the accord of the pation as a manly, is gleal and elequent protest against a lices of legislative infamy unjaralleled in the history of the United States.

CAINE'S SPEECH CONCLUDED. things, not only that he does not mean to commit certain offenses, but that The Supreme Court of the United States recognized the hopelessness of answering the logic of these famous cases. If it admitted that the disfran-"he will not, directly or indirectly, aid abet, counsel, or advise any other per-son to commit the same." There have been test eaths precases. If it admitted that the disfran-chisement prescribed in the eighth sec-tion of the act of March 23d, 1882, was imposed as a punishment, it knew it would be open to two objections, either one of which would be fatal. Accord-ingly a majority of the court, ignoring the point that it in effect was a bill of pains and penalties directed sgainst a class merely, theid that "it is not open to the objections that it is an ex post scribed in this country before; but never, I believe, what might be termed in futuro test oaths, which men who were neither accused nor suspec

crime were required to take as a pre-requisite to being qualified to vote. If it is forbidden by the Constitution to scribe an oath as to the past actions of a man who has not been convicted to the objections that it is an ex post facto law." Referring to the eighth of any crime, thereby disfranchising him as a penalty for not taking the oath, how much more must it be unsection the court says: constitutional to require him, under

the pain and penalty of disqualification, to swear that he does not intend to commit an offense, or aid, abet,

advise, or counsel, directly or indi-rectly, others "to commit the same?" Mr. Speaker, in the language of the gentleman from Virginia, "I believe the most precious assurance for American liberty and the most essential guarantee of American civilization is the Constitution of the United States. To destroy any evil by unconstitutional methods is to cure a disease by a pol-son which distubs the vital functions of the body politic and injects into it a principle most difficult to be extirpated, and creates a precedent whose influence must be injurious and may be fatal to the life of constitutional government."

But, Mr. Speaker, this test oath by no means the only undemocratic and un-American feature of this bill. It provides for the emasculation of the present Territorial government. It deprives the people of the night to elect one branch of their Legislative Assembly, and provides for a legisla-tive council of thirteen members who are to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. And this, too, in the face of the fact that the governor of the Territory has by the organic act an absolute veto power What possible excuse for the addition

of autocratic oligarchic powers? But this is not all. The people, are deprived of the last vestige of local self-government by conferring upon the governor the power to appoint every county, municipal, and precinct officer, except judges and selectmen of the county and probate courts, who are to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The gentleman from Virginia has

experienced a wonderful change of heart since 1882. Then he denounced as atroclous the prop-osition to confer upon a "board" -"an autocratic oligarchy" - power that would enable them to plunder the people of their property, to deprive them of their liberties, and to violate their constitutional rights. Now he not only is in favor of continuing this "autocratic oligarchy" with all its

Observe the inconsistentency of the powers unimpaired, but he wants to impose upon the people alien local officers-those who assess their prop-Its 'does erty and collect the taxes-as well as every other vestige of local self-government.

Mr. Speaker, can it be that such a say was that "disfranchisement" in its Congress of the United States? Sir, 1 take it that there is not a member of how unconstitutional, that is aimed at a "punishment" for crime, but the habit of using legal phraseology was so strong upon him that he could not es-cape self-condemnation out of his own mouth. "Penalty," according to Web-ster, means "penal retribution;" "punishment for crime or offense;" "the suffering in person or property which is annexed by law of judicial decision to the commission of a crime. this, House who will contend that Congress can with impunity disregard that right of local-community selfgovernment which lies at the basis of all free representative governments. It has been well remarked, "That it is a principle of institutional law, peculiar to the race from which we sprapg, and

As is shown by that report, section 2 "invades the personal rights, attacks and overthrows the personal security of the citizen." It is not only inde-fensible legislation, but it is useless, To-day the arrest of persons wanted as witnesses without previous service by a subpona is the course of procedure in Utab. There is no warrant of law for it. The only effect of this pro-posed legislation by Congress is to give a semblance of right to what has been, and is being, done by making it lawful in the future in the future.

The sixth section of the bill is useless because no such laws as are therein denounced exist in the statute books of Utah.

In the majority report, in speaking of the annulment of the laws incor-porating the Mormon Church, this language is used-

passage of this bill?

cohabitation of any other man?

The organic act expressly provides that all laws passed by the Territorial Legisla-ture "shall be submitted to the Congress of the United States, and if disappreved shall be null and of no effect."

This power whenever exercised makes the original law null-not only hereafter, but "of no effect." If dis-approval only nullifies its effect for he future no force will be given to the last words.

Section 7 of the bill annuls certain laws conferring jurisdiction on the probate courts of Utah. Are we to infer that this disapproval by Congress of these laws not only annuls them for the future, but makes them "of no effect" so far as the past is, concerned? If this is the effect, as the majority argues, in regard to the laws incorporating the Church and the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, then it must follow, accolding to their rea-soning, that whatever has been done in the past by the probate courts was illegal, null, and "of no effect." This is contrary to the law laid down by the Supreme' Court of the United States in the Miners' Bank vs. The State of Iowa, already referred to, but suppose the court will promptly re-

verse itself when it has the opportunity, on the dictum of the distinguished lawyers who subscribe to this later doctrine.

Mr. Speaker, may I venture to appeal to this House to consider well before it commits itself to the monstrous propositions contained in this bill. I know too well the influences which are operating to drive this proposed legislation through Congress. I realize how the very air has been made pregnant with the baseless calumnies, the slanders, the innumerable and unmitigated falsehoods, ceaselessly concosted and persistently dissemiuated. Religious bigotry and intolerance are arrayed against my people. Political necessity, cant, hypocrisy, and all kindred Pecksniffianism join in the hue and cry. The platform, the pulpit, the press, are mighty engines for the manufacture of public sentiment. Their batteries are directed constantly and with full force upon he Mormons. I know that it is probably well-nigh impossible for any man precedent as this is to be set by the | in public life to even protest against a measure, no matter how monstrous,

> Mormonism. Daily, almost hourly, we are told that it is the evil of polygamy that leaves us friendless. "Itid yourselves of that stigma," is the advice of those who admit the wrongfulness, the danger, of such legislation as is now proposed, "and fair play and justice will 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

them in positions where they draw \$3,000 a year each from the public Treasury, where they are allowed some remarkable personal expenses, class legislation has been a pronounced

You have found my constituents honest, for their reputation in busiand where they have practically nothness marts is almost unexampled. ing to do. Is it a matter for astonish-You have found them industrious. ment that they should recommend the Instead of following the promptings of reason and experience by throwing about them those safeguards which would enable them to continue their

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 work of enriching this great nation-instead of this, it is proposed to ham-per them still further and by the most appointment of two thousand officers iolent methods.

who heretofore have been chosen by I tell you if we want our own peo-ple and the nations of the world to the people. A patronage so great might satisfy the ambition of one more espect our boast of justice and our 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 right to govern, if we would have them love the principles of freedom we profess, we must begin by mani-feating some respect for justice and some love for free and liberal princisupreme assurance to urge that a "strong, well-disciplined and efficient" force of United States soldiers he held ples ourselves. Only by this means can we inspire in others a permanent near Salt Lake to assist the civil au-thorities. Is Congress prepared to fol-low the bent of these place-seekers in their insatiable cravings? Recommen-dations from sources in which personand abiding faith in our institutions and in our loyalty. My constituents have suffered in-

dignities, insults, and ostracism for years almost uncomplainingly. They al considerations are so manifest would, ordinarily, carry eternal con-demnation on the face of them. have been despoiled of character by paid assassing—and by assassing I mean those that are yilest, who rob If this bill were only what it prowomen and children of that which fesses to be, if its purpose were the sup-pression of polygamy alone, how can all this help it? As fast as can be done alone gives value to life-and my peo ple have asked in vain for justice They have been misruled by men sent convictions are now secured, and the from a Government that did not deense with which they are obtained is of national notoriety. So long as the forms of law are observed it is impos-sible to expedite convictions without sign to be 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 sub an increase in the number of courts, and this bill does not even hint at such mitted. They have been taunted, and by wicked and treasonable designs a step. In breaking up the family relations already formed, of what adhave been tempted to assume a position of open and avowed resistance to vantage 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 and still there-came no redress for my One man's polygamy was suppresse people. One by one their rights-and those rights which give a community very successfully a few days since. An apostate Mormon, acting as deputy marshal, shot a Mormon for whom he its reputation, its better, its immortal part-have been wrested arbitrarily from them, and still my people have appealed for justice and raised oppohad a warrant on a charge of unlawful cohabitation. The man was on horseback. He was unarmed. The mar ition only by those means which the shal called on him to halt, and almost Constitution has provided. A whole at the same instant fired. The burden nation, if the words of blatant men of the testimony shows the man did prevail, is arrayed against them denot try to escape, though there was absolutely no justification for the termined upon their destruction, and this determination is gradually crys-talizing in the acts of Congress, and yet the appeal of my people is to con-stitutional means and to these alone. ting even had he endeavored to do so. In an hour the Mormon was dead. The murderer, while being taken to Beaver, where the district This is the disloyal people of Utah! I tell you, Mr. Speaker, I tell you solemnly, that in the United States, in 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 car-ried refreshments, and the return trip the whole world, there is no people more loval to the eternal truths of liberty, as expressed in the Constitution was after the style of the triumphal of this country, than my constituents; march of a homeward-journeying and there will come a time, a time hero. This same grand jury investiwhen the mists which now befog the gated the murder and found an indiciunderstanding of the American people ment charging the deputy marshal and its legislators, when the refuge of lies e ected by charac eil as charlatans with manslaughter. He was prosecuted by the assistant United States attor-ney for Utah, who, during the trial, declared in open court that unlawful cohabitation was a felony, when the United States statute explicitly makes shall have been swept away, there will come such a time when my words will stand forth marked clear and bold and untarnished as their truth justifies.

it a misdemeanor. The same prose-Gentlemen, I ask you to pause. For cutor told the jurors that the assassing your own sakes you can not afford to ake a step which is determined upon should be acquitted, and they obedi-ently returned a verdict of not guilty. by such insufficient and untrustworthy estimony. I am here more than a pleader. I speak for myself, and I Mr. Speaker, the declaration of an assistant Attorney-General of the United States that it would be an act of mercy sledge my word and my charaoter to put every sadult Mormon to the sword, is bear ng fruit. The theory of that the statements upon which this legislation is based are without founthe clique bent on our destruction, dation in fact. You can not afford to that a Mormon is, in his nature, a dangerous criminal, is bearing natural fruit. The continued legislation which pursue a policy which is determined upon the destruction of a people whose only fault is, at worst, that they is being driven through Congress and



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A PATRIOT FOR PROFIIS. THE New York Herald and the Louisville Courter-Journal contain identical reports of an interview with Governor West, of Utah. Either the two great journals have the same Washington correspondent, or our Caleb W. has had an "interview" fixed up for use in several papers. It does not matter, except that the report shows that the democratic (?) Mr. West endorses the whole infamous measure for the overthrow of local self-government in this Territory, and that he has been diligently, if not delicately, at work in Washington to gain the power to ap-point officers who ought of right to be elected for the people, thus legging for authority that is hostile to every fundamental principle of democratic sonal profit and advantage.

"A MORMON PROTEST."

UNDER this heading the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of January 14th publishes the following, telegraphed byits Washington correspondent. Why it-should call a communication from the aminent constitutional law, the eminent constitutional law-yer, Geo. Tichnor Curtis, "a Mormon protest," is a pertinent query. Never-theless it contains arguments and statements that cannot be successfully control appeals, "are not authorized to do so. They can determine who are clitizens but they can not adjudge and the eminent constitutional. lawco troverted, and which deserve citizens, but they can not adjudge and declare, as an original adjudication, more than a corner in the paper in that the plaintiff's citizenship has been which it appears :

To the Editor of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat:

Mr.; Tucker is reported to have said, in the House of Representatives yespunishable by fine and imprisonment nevertheless the Supreme Court says terday, that his anti-Mormon bill viothat "the inquiry into the fact, so far as the registration officers are authorized lates neither the letter nor the spirit of the Constitution. Notwithstanding this gentleman holds the position of chairman of the Judiciary Committee. to make it, or the judges of election, on challenge of the right of the voter, if registered, are required to determine it, is not inview of its character as a am constrained to differ from him There are provisions in the bill which. crime, nor for the purpose of punishin my judgment, violate the Constitument, but far the sole purpose of de tion in both its letter and spirit; but termining, as in the case of every other condition attached to the right of suf-frage, the qualification of one who alleges his right to vote." But how far "in the case of every other condition attached to the right of sufwhat has struck me as most remarkable is that, with a few exceptions, the Democrats of the House have joined with the Republicans in passing a measure especially and palpably op-posed to all the best traditions of the frage" are the registration officer, or judges of election competent to in-quire? "They may determine," says the supreme court of Pennsylvania, Democratic party, and designed by the Gentiles of Utah to widen the breach, to render futile all efforts to reconcile the Mormons to a state of cheerful and "many things, such as the age and resconfiding feeling toward the Federal Government, and to subject the maidence of the person offering to vote, whether he has paid taxes, and whether, if born an allen, he has a certificate of natural-ization; * * but whether he pority of the people of the Territory to the domination of the minority. Mr. Tucker and other Democrats may not see this, but it is quite apparent to those who know the state of things in that unhappy community, that this will be the affect of this bill if it shall be be the effect of this bill if it shall beacter." (Huber vs. Ruley, 3 P. F. Smith, 142.) The utmost extent to acter." come law. With laws already on the statute books, which, if administered which they can go, says the supreme humanely and justly, however firmly, dence, the adjudication by a court of competent jurisdiction "that the are perfectly sufficient of themselves to put an end to polygamy in no very competent jurisdiction "that the plaintiff's citizenship has been for-feited by the commission of an oflong time, it seems that we are to suradd a measure which will drive the formons to desperation, because it fense." (Gotc attacks their civil and religi-ous liberties. It undertakes to dispossess their Church of its property, to borrow a phrase from the report accompanying the bill, "to cut up by the roots this Church estabiishment." How other religious de-nominations can stand silently by and see this attempted passes my compre-hension. The ground taken by the Judiciary Committee that neither the State of Deseret nor the Territorial Legislature had any power to create such a religious corporation as the Mormon Church, leads to a conse-

quoted ab we. The court admits that disfranchisement cannot be inflicted as a pealty by the Legislature with-ont a trial. Its attempt to prove that a bigamist is not disfranchised for that offense, or for utilawful cohabit-ation, is disingenuous. Of course community self-government, they invariably became the victims of oppressive power exerted by the tyranny "the crime of bigamy or polygamy" is committed by "entering into a biga-mous or polygamous marriage," but Our forefathers Our forefathers were wisely tena-"disfranchisement," although it "opcious of this principle of community erates upon the existing state and government. All the reasons which condition of the person," is none the less "a punishment" for that offense volt against British tyranny were boteven if prosecution therefor "is barred by section 1044 of the Revised Stat utes." To claim that "disfranchise ment is not prescribed as a penalty for being guilty of the crime and offense of bigamy or polygamy," but is im-posed as a punishment for continuing sistance to the encroachments of in a bigamous or polygamous state, which is made an offense, is to de-

tomed on this fundamental right. It was in a town meeting, the embodi-ment of the idea of local-community King and Parliament was first organ-Otis, Old Man Eloquent, and ized. scribe exactly "a penal retribution," which the Constitution of the United States declares shall not be inflicted John Adams, of glorious memory, thundered in the former, but plain yee man Sam Adams, the man of the town "without due process of law." To admit that while "one may be liv-ing in a bigamous or polygamous state without cohabitation with more than meeting, with his committee of corres-pondence, solidfied New England and

prepared the way for united action by the thirteen colonies. fundamental principle of democratic doctrine. A place-hunter is usually a patriot—of the order that seeks per-sonel profit and advantage. that represents the inquiry into the ment; but remember precedents, like fact by the officers of registration as an unlawful mode of prosecution for crime," is simply begging the question. What is the purpose of the inquiry? crime," is simply begging the question. What is the purpose of the inquiry? To ascertain if the person is living in a shut out of both Houses of Congress bigamous or polygamous state with- and kept out until State governments out being guilty of a criminal offense? were reconstructed in order, as Judge No! The object is to find out whether Black declared, to "maintain the worst men in the highest offices, throw the reins loose on the neck of rapaci-ty, make leprous fraud adored."

Place thieves And give them title, knee and approbation With Senators on the bench.

Mr Speaker, I can not undertake to point out and comment upon all the monstrous features of this bill. would not presume to trespass so long upon the time and patients of the House. I trust, however, you will bear with me while I briefly refer to two other of its provisions. forfeited by the commission of an of-fense." (Gotchens vs. Mathewson, 58 Barbour, 152.) Unlawful cohabitation is an offense Section 14 annuls the law incorpor-

ating the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, so far as the same has any legal validity, and also annuls the corporation of the association called the "Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company" and dissolves said rporation The argument made by the majority

of the Judiciary Committee in favor of these provisions of the bill and the reasoning of gentlemen in support thereof on the floor of this House, are both ingenious and disingenious. Certain premises are laid down, and the whole fabric built thereon stands upon a false foundation. The acts incorporating the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints and the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company were within the legislative power conferred upon the Territorial Assem-

bly of Utah by the organic act. They were as much within its power as the incorporation of any other companies or associations. They were "rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of the organic act." Congress, it is true, reserved the right declared that until Congress did disap-prove of the acts of Territorial Assem-biles they were valid. It held more-over, in the same case, that a corpora-tion owing its existence to an incorporating act passed by a Territo-rial Assembly was a valid one. It fol-

Barbour, 152.) And the reasons for this are three-fold. First, because both in the Uni-ted States and in England it has in-variably been held that an election officer is "neither a judge nor anything like a judge." Seawnd, because " cit-izenship of the United States is an imlows, therefore, a corporation thus created would become vested with cer-tain rights. If it was given the right to acquire and hold property and man-age it for its own use or benefit, or for the use and benefit of others, those portant right, and the privileges conferred by it are important privileges, dearly prized by

(Gotchens vs. Mathewson, 58

races springing from the liberty-loving polygamy, surely no legislation of a said that it would have been an act of mercy to have put all grown-up Mor-mons 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 candor 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, publiely rencunce and recant their belief in the faith of the Mormon Church, would be merciful in comparison with the effects of this

Mr. Speaker, it is not the morals of the Mormon people or the contamin-ting influence thereof upon the public that is at the bottom of the persecu-tion we have to endure. It is prepos-terous 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 civili-zation of the nineteenth century has developed in localities far removed from Utah, and where intellectual light blazes most powerfully, to Von Oettingen's Moralstatistic, published in 1882. The Formightly 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 Cettingen's array of facts are those which relate to the crimes of great cities and sensely populous areas. Von Oeitingen's tabulations seem to include all Enropean countries except Spain, Portugal and lurkey. If a map of Europe were be-fore us shaded in proportion to the returns of known vice and crime, the darkest shadows would rest where the boast of in-tellectual light is graver the tellectual light is greatest-in Saxony, the shrine of modern culture, the fortress of

Congress, it is true, reserved the right to disapprove, and if it exercised this power, the Acts of the Legislative As-sembly disapproved were null and of no effect. But the Supreme Court of the United States (in the Miners' Bank vs. The State of Iowa, 19 Curtis, 1) declared that until Congress did disap-prove of the acts of Territorial Assessm

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 seri-

the use and benefit of others, those rights became vested rights. You can not interfere with those vested rights any more than the Legislature of New Hampshire could with the vested rights of Dartmouth College. If there is any law well settled in this country I take it that it is the there is the settled in this

which, with unerring certainty hedging in and trampling down safeguards of liberty to Mormore 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 cohab-itation 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 Sait Lake

a deputy marshal, in broad daylight, and on a crowded street in Sait 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 Mor-mon is killed in cold blood by a dep-uty marshal, and the assassin is ac-guitted at the instance of the United States proceeders. This kind of his fory 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, dishon-est, 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 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 licen-

tiousness, 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 admiss on of the industry of the people of Utah destroys the whole case of their enemies. Indus-try and immorality have ever been and will forever remain incompatible in communities. But even were this

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 word as true, are endeavoring to deal with in this as word as true, what can you do by legislation that has been attempted or proposed. It is our moral polity that is aimed at—that is sought to be overthrown. The men who are here
as in all other legislation the thas been attempted or proposed. It is our moral polity that is aimed at—that is sought to be overthrown. The men who are here

that is aimed at—that is sought to be overthrown. The men who are here chisement of the Mormon people, who insist that every office within the Ter-ritory shall be vacated and filled by appointees, that even our selectmen, who make the assessments of proper-ty, and the tax-collectors shall give way to non-Mormons, are not afraid of the contamination of their own or f their families' morals. They know, a sall the world knows, that a purer, more orderly, upright, God-fearing and God-serving community does not simply because the minority cannot, whormon settlements of Utab. It is simply because the minority cannot, that here a democratic American form of hocal government, rule the majority that heres men are here clamoring for and distribution of their own of the situ pon earth than the exclusively more orderly, upright, God-fearing of local government, rule the majority that heres men are here clamoring for that is aimed at—that is sought to be and bog the the majority that there and the the majority that there and mark the majority that there ments of the majority and the provide the majority that there and the the majority that there ments and the the majority that there ments and the majority that there ments and the there may and the there majority that there may and the there way to make the majority that there may and the there way to make the majority that there may the majority that there may the majority the there way the majority that there may the majority the the there way the majority the there way the majority the the there way the the the majority the the there way the there way the the the there way the there way there way the the the the the the th

of their rights. No sound govern-mental policy dars go beyond this. No statesman dars sitempt to do more while he has any respect for his repu-tation or regard for those lessons which history teaches. In Utah what have we found? A people whose in-dustrial accomplishments are without

are different from your own. Time, the great corrict r of all evils, will right this wrong, if such it be, and the flat of the Elerun' has already decreed that the last vessigo of Mormonis shall be swept away by the pesceful 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 bandage 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 consir n my people to such inhuman slavery. [Loud applause.]

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