

taught anything else. He and some others went back to Washington and reported that the "Mormons" were in a state of rebellion; that they were a very wicked people, very corrupt and very depraved, almost as bad as some of our truth-telling ministers make us out to be—for some of them are not very notorious for telling the truth, nobody believes them here; but then they have *reverend* put before their names and that, of course, covers—what is it? a multitude of sins. And therefore, the mendacious stories that they tell and circulate are received as actual truth by thousands of blind, ignorant, bigoted people, who, doubtless, are far more sincere and far more honest and pure in their lives than these specimens of fallen humanity who, in the garb of sanctity, manufacture falsehoods and prepare them specially for the vitia ed taste of the age.

But to return; judges and other officials were sent here, and suffice it to say, we did not like their civilization; and, then, they were not much enamored with ours, because whatever we may be in the estimation of the world generally, we are utterly averse to anything like licentiousness and debauchery; and, if there is any among us, we are indebted to our Christian friends for it, and to our Christian judges for maintaining and protecting it in our midst. We have no affiliation with such things; they cannot exist among us as a people, only by the force, the power and influence of this federal Christianity that has been introduced among us. Until these people came into our midst we had no house of ill-fame; and a lady could travel as safely in our streets at any time of night as in the day; we had no occasion to lock our doors to prevent thieves from preying upon us; we had no drunkenness, ribaldry or blasphemy in our streets; all these things have been introduced among us by our good, kind, pure, pious Christian friends, and in scores of our remote settlements where this civilization has not penetrated they are free from these vices to-day.

Now we will go back to the statement of these men. They were believed in Washington. What did they state? Among other things they said that we had burned the United States library, and the court records, and that a dreadful state of anarchy was in existence; and instead of the United States sending out a commission to enquire into these matters, they took the statement of a Lothario and his associates, and sent out an army to destroy us. And these troops were reduced to gnawing mules' legs about the vicinity of Bridger, refusing salt when we sent it to them—for we would have done them good, notwithstanding they came as our enemies. I remember writing a letter to one of the officers who had a letter of introduction to me, and forwarded it by a messenger; I told him that I was very sorry, that as a United States officer, as an honorable man, he should be placed in the situation he was then in; because he could not help it, as an officer, any more than we could, as he was operating as a servant of the government under military rule and had, therefore, to obey orders. And that while we esteemed him and other officers as patriots and high-minded, honorable men, who had exhibited their patriotism and bravery in Mexico and other places, and while we heard of their excellent military equipments, we did not like the idea of their trying the temper of their steel upon us. I told him that republics which reflected the voice of the people were in many instances excitable and erratic, and that I looked for a reaction in public opinion, and that when that change came I expected the difficulties that the government had placed us in would be done away, and that then I would be glad to extend to him that courtesy in our city that one gentleman should extend to another, and would then be happy to see him. But we could not meet them of course; they could not come to us, and we could not very well go out to them.

So that the Latter-day Saints may know the truth or falsity of the allegations made by Judge Drummond, I will have the official statement of Governor Cumming, who came out with the army, read to this congregation.

It would be unfair and disingenuous to blame one administration for the acts of another, yet, when we see a disposition to listen to the same kind of popular clamor that then

existed, we cannot but notice a great similarity of circumstances.

[Elder L. John Nuttall then read the following extracts from the official statement of Governor Cumming, which was dated Great Salt Lake City, April 15th, 1858:]

Since my arrival I have been employed in examining the records of the Supreme and District Courts, which I am now prepared to report as being perfect and unimpaired. This will, doubtless, be acceptable information to those who have entertained an impression to the contrary.

I have also examined the Legislative Records and other books belonging to the office of Secretary of State, which are in perfect preservation.

The condition of the large and valuable Territorial Library has also commanded my attention; and I am pleased in being able to report that Mr. W. C. Staines, the librarian, has kept the books and records in most excellent condition. I will, at an early day, transmit a catalogue of this library, and schedules of the other public property, with certified copies of the records of the Supreme and District Courts, exhibiting the character and amount of the public business last transacted in them.

Thus it appears that the allegations made by our enemies were false, and the army was sent out under false representations, and their own Governor furnishes the evidence for their own refutation. Yet we were subjected to the indignity and outrage of having an army sent among us, predicated upon these false statements.

From the above and other similar actions manifested towards us as a people we have learned in the sad school of experience, and by the things that we have suffered, the excitability of the populace, and the unreasonable, savage and relentless feelings that frequently possess the people in their antagonism towards us, to be very careful, in all our acts among men, not to excite that feeling of hate which seems to be implanted in the human bosom against the principles taught by the servants of the Lord in all ages of the world.

Our mission is and always has been peace on earth and goodwill to man, to all men. We have in our midst Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and all kinds of "fies." Does anybody interfere with them? Not that I know of. Yet there was a man, a professed minister in Sanpete County—[addressing Pres. Canute Petersen of Sanpete Stake] Brother Petersen, did you not have a man in your Stake who got up a sensation by publishing far and wide that he had to preach the Gospel in Sanpete with a revolver on his desk, to prevent the "Mormons" from interfering with him—was not that the purport of his statement? [President Petersen: Yes, sir.] Do you know the man? [Ans.: Yes, sir.] Is he there yet? [Ans.: No, sir.] [Laughter.] Others have stated lately that we were in a state of sedition, and that in our different counties there were armed bodies of men prepared to fight the United States. The person that made and published this last statement was, as I understand, also a minister, one of these reverend gentlemen. Do any of you know his name? [A voice: Sheldon Jackson.] I am told it was one Sheldon Jackson; a reverend gentleman with a big R, a pious man, of course, and therefore what he says must be true. [Laughter.] We have a set of people that seem to be prowling about; I suppose, however, they are as necessary as anything else; I do not know but what they are. We have a species of birds called buzzards, whose natural tastes are for any kind of noxious food; nothing suits them better than to gorge on carrion. Like them, these defamers are fond of trying to root up something against our people here. They themselves fabricate all kinds of notions and opinions, similar to the above that I have mentioned, that everybody here knows to be false, and they circulate them, and they have fanned the United States almost into a furor. People generally are ignorant of what these men and women are engaged in. They think these persons are honorable men and women; and they get up a lot of stories about some poor woman or some poor girl who has been crowded upon by her husband, and that in this state of polygamy there is the most abject misery, and the greatest distress that can be found anywhere. Are they true? Some individual cases may be true. Some of our men do not treat their wives right, and then some wives do not treat their husbands right. We do not all do right by a good deal. But supposing we were to go down to the places where these people hail from, to the slums of Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York, and other cities, beginning, say, in New York, with the

gilded palaces of 4th and 5th Avenues, and trace the thing down to Five Points, and then go through other cities in the same way, and what should we find there? Do you think one could get up something as dirty and filthy as the most foul minded person can get up about us? A thousand times more so.

They say we are an ignorant people. We admit that we are not so very intelligent, and we never boast of our learning or intelligence; but, then, they should not boast of theirs either. However, we can compare favorably with them any day; and while they have had millions of the public funds to sustain their educational establishments, we have been despoiled, plundered and robbed over and over again, yet we are prepared to compare notes with them on education and also on virtue, honesty and morals, any way they can fix it. And I would be ready to say, as one said of old, Thou fool, first take the beam out of thine own eye, that thou mayest see the mote more clearly to take the mote out of thy brother's eye.

We will have read some figures for the information of the brethren who come from a distance, who may not be acquainted with these matters.

[President Taylor then called upon his secretary, Elder L. John Nuttall to read some extracts from a work published by an ex-United States official in New York City, which were as follows:]

Before citing from the still incomplete census report of 1880, let us take that of 1870 and compare Utah and Massachusetts, the new territory with the descendants of an old theocracy—priest-ridden Utah with "cultured" Massachusetts, also adding the District of Columbia, which has the enlightening presence of the American Congress to add to its advantages, and is under its direct government.

| Comparative Statistics from Census of United States 1870 | School Attendance | Illiteracy—can't read or write, 10 years and upwards | Paupers | Insane and Idiotic | Convicts | Printing and Publishing Establishments | Church Edifices |
|--|-------------------|--|---------|--------------------|----------|--|-----------------|
| Utah.....  | 35                | 11   | 6       | 5                  | 23       | 14                                     | 19              |
| Mass.....  | 25                | 12   | 5       | 5                  | 23       | 11                                     | 12              |
| District of Columbia                                     | 27                | 40   | 23      | 35                 | 9        | 11                                     | 8               |

From statistics contained in the Report of the Commissioners of Education for 1877, it is shown that in the percentage of enrollment of her school population, Utah is in advance of the general average of the United States, while in the percentage in actual daily attendance at school, she still further exceeds the average of the whole Union.

In 1877, when the school population of Utah numbered 30,792, there was invested in the Territory in school property the creditable sum of \$568,984, being about eighteen and one-half dollars per capita of the school population.

In contrast with this, take the amount per capita of their school population, which some of the States have invested in school property: North Carolina, less than \$6.00; Louisiana, \$3.00; Virginia, about \$2.00; Oregon, less than \$4.00; Wisconsin, less than \$11.00; Tennessee, less than \$2.50; Delaware, less than \$13.00.

In respect to the amount, per capita, of her school population, which Utah has invested in school property, she exceeds several other Southern and Western States, is in advance of the great States of Indiana and Illinois, and I believe in advance of the general average of the entire Union.

Thus, in the matter of education, Utah stands ahead of many old and wealthy States, and of the general average of the United States in three very important respects, namely, the enrollment of her school population, the percentage of their daily attendance at school, and the amount per capita invested in school property.

From the census of 1880 I have compiled the following:

| COMPARISON OF ILLITERACY.—The United States and Utah Territory.         |  | United States | Utah    |
|---|--|---------------|---------|
| Total population.....   |  | 50,155,783    | 143,963 |
| Total over 10 years of age who cannot read.....                         |  | 4,923,451     | 4,851   |
| Percentage who cannot read, 10 years and over.....                      |  | 9.82          | 3.37    |
| Total over 10 years of age who cannot write.....                        |  | 6,239,958     | 8,826   |
| Percentage who cannot write, 10 years and over.....                     |  | 12.14         | 6.13    |
| Total white population.....   |  | 43,402,970    | 142,423 |
| Total white population over 10 years of age who cannot write.....       |  | 3,019,080     | 8,157   |
| Percentage of white population who cannot write, 10 years and over..... |  | 6.96          | 5.71    |

Of all the States and Territories in the Union there are but thirteen showing a lower percentage of total population who cannot read, Connecticut having the same, 3.37. The rest range all the way up to 32.52, percentage of total population in South Carolina.

We will now produce some evidence with regard to crime, etc., drawn from official sources:

| The population of Utah by the census of 1880 is about 144,000, divided as follows: |         |
|--|---------|
| Mormons.....   | 120,283 |
| Gentiles.....  | 14,155  |
| Apostate Mormons.....  | 6,688   |
| Josephites.....  | 820     |
| Doubtful.....  | 1,717   |
| Total.....   | 143,963 |

It will be seen that the "Gentiles" constitute only ten per cent. of the population, yet from this small minority are taken the incumbents of nearly every position of influence and emolument. They have the Governor, with absolute veto power, Secretary, Judges, Marshals, Prosecuting Attorneys, Land Register, Recorder, Surveyor-General, Clerks of the Courts, Commissioners, principal Post-office Mail Contractors, Postal Agents, Revenue Assessors and Collectors, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Indian Agents, Indian Supplies, Army Contractors,

express, railroad and telegraph lines, the associated press agency, half the jurors in law, but at least three-fourths and always the foreman in practice, in fact, every position not elective.

Last winter there was a census taken of the Utah penitentiary and the Salt Lake City and County prisons with the following result. In Salt Lake City there are about seventy-five Mormons to twenty-five non-Mormons. In Salt Lake County there are about eighty Mormons to twenty non-Mormons. In the city prison there were twenty-nine convicts, all non-Mormons; in the county prison there were six convicts, all non-Mormons. The jailor stated that the county convicts for the five years past were all anti-Mormons except three.

In Utah we have seen that by the U. S. Census the proportion of orthodox Mormons to all others is as eighty-three to seventeen. In the Utah penitentiary, there were fifty-one prisoners, only five of whom were Mormons, and two of the five were in prison for imitating Father Abraham in their domestic menage, so that the seventeen per cent. "outsiders" had forty-six convicts in the penitentiary, while the eighty-three per cent. Mormons had but five! The total number of Utah lockups, including the penitentiary, is fourteen; these aggregated one hundred and twenty-five inmates. Of these one hundred and twenty-five, not over eleven were Mormons, several of whom were incarcerated for minor offences and polygamy; while if all the anti-Mormon thieves, adulterers, blacklegs, perjurers, murderers and other criminals who are at large, were sent to prison, the Mormons claim that their prisons could not hold them.

In 1878 a Mormon publication made the following boastful statement:

Out of the twenty counties of the Territory, most of which are populous, thirteen are, to-day, without a dram shop, brewery, gambling or brothel house, bowling or billiard saloon, lawyer, doctor, parson, beggar, politician or place hunter, and almost entirely free from social troubles of every kind; yet these counties are exclusively "Mormon"; and with the exception of a now and then domestic doctor or lawyer, the entire Territory was free from these adjuncts of civilization? Still after the advent of the professing Christian element, boasting here to "regenerate the Mormons," and to-day every single reputable concern in Utah is run and fostered by the very same Christian (?) element. Oaths, imprecations, blasphemies, invectives, expletives, blackguardism, the ordinary dialect of the "anti-Mormon," were not heard in Utah till after his advent, nor till then, did we have litigation, drunkenness, harlotry, political and judicial deviltries, gambling and kindred enormities.

This is what the Mormons assert. Let us see how the case stands to-day and what the facts attest.

Out of the two hundred saloons, billiard, bowling alley and pool table keepers, not over a dozen even profess to be Mormons. All of the bagnios and other disreputable concerns in the Territory are run and sustained by anti-Mormons. Ninety-eight per cent. of the gamblers of Utah are of the same element. Ninety-five per cent. of the Utah lawyers are Gentiles, and eighty per cent. of all the litigation there is of outside growth and promotion.

Of the two hundred and fifty towns and villages in Utah, over two hundred have no "gaudy sepulchre of departed virtue," and these two hundred and odd towns are almost exclusively Mormon in population. Of the suicides committed in Utah, ninety odd per cent. are non-Mormon; and of the Utah homicides and infanticides, over eighty per cent. are perpetrated by the seventeen per cent. "outsiders."

The arrests made in Salt Lake City from January 1, 1881, to December 8, 1881, are classified as follows:

|                               |       |
|-------------------------------|-------|
| Men.....                      | 782   |
| Women.....                    | 200   |
| Boys.....                     | 38    |
| Total.....                    | 1,020 |
| Mormons—Men and Boys.....     | 163   |
| “Women.....                   | 169   |
| Anti-Mormon—Men and Boys..... | 657   |
| “Women.....                   | 351   |
| Total.....                    | 1,020 |

A number of the Mormon arrests were for chicken, cow and water trespasses, petty larceny, etc. The arrests of anti-Mormons were in most cases for prostitution, gambling, extorting of person, drunkenness, unlawful dram selling, assault and battery, attempt to kill, etc.

If the seventy-five per cent. Mormon population of Salt Lake City were as lawless and corrupt as the record shows the twenty-five per cent. anti-Mormons to be, there would have been 2,443 arrests made from their ranks during the year 1881 instead of the comparatively trifling number of 169 shown on the record; while if the twenty-five per cent. anti-Mormon population had as law-abiding and upright a record as the seventy-five per cent. Mormons, instead of the startling number of 851 anti-Mormon arrests during the year, there would have been but 53 made.

I give these statements of facts for the information of the brethren who are here from a distance; but, then, they know them as facts; that is, they know how these *soi disant* regenerators act, but many of them do not know what their civilization is here, and what is sought to be introduced among us, and the infamous statements circulated concerning us. We are ready, as I said before, to compare notes with them or the people of this or any nation at any time. And then again, we ought to be more pure and virtuous than they, for we do profess to be the Saints of the Most High God. With this view, when this Edmunds bill was being canvassed, and there was a prospect of its passing—although we thought at first it was impossible that such a concern could pass through Congress; but when we saw the falsehoods that were being circulated, the furor that was being raised and fanned by religious fanatics and political demagogues, petitions were gotten up by the people here, one of them representing the male class, another our Relief Societies, another our young men and another our young ladies' Improvement Societies. All of them represented that we were a virtuous people, that polygamy was

a religious institution; and the young people asserted that it had been taught to them by their parents from their youth up, and that the principles of purity, virtue, integrity and loyalty to the government of the United States had been instilled into their minds and hearts since their earliest childhood; and further, that they had been taught and understood that chastity was their greatest boon, far above jewels or wealth, and more precious than life itself.

In a few days we had 165,000 signatures, and they were forwarded to Washington. The request was that Congress would not act as the government had before—first send out an army and then send commissioners to inquire, but that they would send commissioners first to inquire into the facts of the case. But they did not choose to listen. In fact, there has been a great furor in the United States in relation to these matters, and that has originated to an extent through our Governor. Now I am very much averse to talking about official men; I do not like to do such things. They ought to be honorable men; the most charitable construction I could put upon his acts would be to say that his education had been sadly neglected, and that he was not acquainted with figures. He might have learned to read and write perhaps, but I would question his having gone so far as arithmetic; because he did not apparently know the difference between 1,300 votes and 18,500 votes. It does denote a lamentable absence of a knowledge of the rudiments of a common education; but then, a man should not, perhaps, be blamed for that which he does not know. And, indeed, it would seem that some of our lawmakers in Washington are not educated. With all due respect to them, with these facts before them and condemned throughout the United States, they did not think it was any crime for a man to be thus ignorant or they would not have sent him back again. We hope the Commissioners will be better educated, that they will be men who can tell the difference between 1,300 and 18,500. Now we may be very ignorant—and we do not boast much of our intelligence, but when such people perpetrate such palpable, flagrant outrages, we have to resort to a political phrase in order to express our disgust towards them by saying, "There is something rotten in Denmark." I have to be a politician as well as everything else.

Still, in the midst of these things, what are you going to do? Do the very best we can. Are you going to rebel? That would please our enemies, but we do not have much of that spirit in us. We feel to sympathize with people who have no better judgment than to adopt so suicidal and dishonorable a course as that which has been pursued towards us. Yet notwithstanding this, we are unshaken towards the principles of our government and believe that we have got the best on the earth, these evils arising from the corruptions of men and mal-administration. It is said that error and falsehood will run a thousand miles while truth is putting on its boots, but truth ultimately will triumph, as according to the old adage, "Truth, crushed to earth, will rise again." And what will you do? Content for constitutional principles, or lie down and let the vicious, the mendacious and unprincipled run over and overslaugh you?

We have peacefully, legally and honorably possessed our lands in these valleys of the mountains, and we have purchased and paid for them, we do not revel in any ill-gotten gain. They are ours. We have complied with all the requisitions of law pertaining thereto, and we expect to possess and inhabit them. We covet no man's silver or gold, or apparel, or wife, or servants, or flocks, or herds, or horses, or carriages, or lands, or possessions. But we expect to maintain our own rights. If we are crowded upon by unprincipled men or inimical legislation, we shall not take the course pursued by the lawless, the dissolute and the unprincipled; we shall not have recourse to the dynamite of the Russian Nihilists, the secret plans and machinations of the communists, the boycotting and threats of the Fenians, the force and disorder of the Jayhawkers, the regulators or the Molly Maguires, nor any other secret or illegal combination; but we still expect to possess and maintain our rights; but to obtain them in a legal, peaceful and constitutional manner. As American citizens, we shall contend for all our