

party, and divide upon national party lines, if you do not insist on church rule?" The territorial committee of that party and the various county committees were called together and they adopted resolutions declaring the party disbanded; and its members were advised to divide on party lines according to their convictions. The leaders in the organization of the Democratic party of the Territory were mostly non-Mormons, and an organization was soon effected; but the organization of the Republican party of the Territory was strenuously opposed by men of the Liberal party who believed in Republican principles. This was particularly so in Salt Lake City. When the election was held in August last, the Republican organization was very imperfect; and the result was, that the Democrats polled about fourteen thousand votes, the Republicans nearly seven thousand, and the Liberals a few hundred more than the Republicans. This light vote for the Republican candidates as compared with the large one for the Democratic candidates was pointed to by the Liberals as an evidence of bad faith on the part of the Mormons. I confess that I was surprised at the result, and was inclined to regard it as an evidence of insincerity, and of a disposition, on the part of the Mormons, to vote together under the name of "Democrats." But after hearing from the entire Territory, I reached the conclusion that a desire to defeat the Liberals and to prevent possible disfranchisement was the true explanation. Quite a large number of non-Mormons who had favored the organization of the Republican party, and would have voted for its candidates, became fearful that the Democrats would carry the cities of Salt Lake and Ogden, and, to defeat that party, voted the Liberal ticket; and a very large number who had been members of the People's party were told by Democrats not to throw their votes away, that the Republicans would be beaten, and by their help the Democrats could succeed. And certain Liberal stump-orators were reported to have said that they favored disfranchising the Mormons. This fact, however, appeared, that the non-Mormons on the Republican and Democratic tickets received as many votes as the Mormons on the same tickets; the Mormons did not scratch the Gentiles and vote for the Mormons. In the Territory, outside of Salt Lake City, the Republican candidates received upwards of three thousand more votes than the Liberal candidates. Since the August election, a Republican territorial convention has been held, and delegates from nearly all the counties were in attendance. The party is being more thoroughly organized, and I am quite confident that the Republican vote will be largely increased at the next general election.

Some oppose organization on party lines, as in the other Territories and in the States, because they fear that statehood would soon follow. So far as I have been informed by the leaders of the movement, the purpose is not to hasten the admission of the Territory into Union. The advocates of this division believe that it is for the common good to divide the people according to their convictions upon national issues, in the hope that

the distrust and hate, the criminations and recriminations, of the past and present, may cease or be greatly lessened, and that different sections of the people may more effectually co-operate for the good of all. By such a division the people will have an opportunity to show their attachment to sound principles. But there is no haste for statehood. When Congress shall determine that the Territory should be admitted, it will pass an enabling act imposing restrictions and conditions as it shall believe to be right. And in the meantime, by a course of political discussion and division here, where heretofore there has been no political antagonism, except upon a local issue which has now been removed, the voters of the Territory may be fitted to do their part well when admission does take place.

There are probably a hundred and fifty thousand Mormons in this Territory, but of that number many are only nominally so. Amid the contentions between them and the Gentiles, many have sided with the church in which are their parents, relatives, and friends, without embracing its faith. It is idle now to think of disfranchising the Latter-day Saints. They are an industrious, temperate people, as a rule; and my observation has led me to believe that they are law-abiding since the church took its stand under the law against plural marriage. I am aware that now and then individuals will report violations of that law since the manifesto; but upon investigation such charges are seldom sustained. It would be strange if there were no breaches of it; there are some such cases among non-Mormons. I do not believe that such marriages have been authorized or sanctioned by the officers of the Mormon Church since the manifesto. With the exception of a comparatively few polygamists, the male Mormons of proper age, who are citizens of the United States, have the right to vote, and do so. They will not vote for Liberal candidates. They must divide, as the members of other churches generally do, or all vote the Democratic or Republican ticket. They ought to divide on national party lines, and, if they choose to do so, no man or set of men is authorized to say they shall not. Who shall say that any number of American citizens having the right to vote shall not organize a Republican party in Utah, nominate a ticket, vote for and elect it, if they can by fair means? The rights of such men are as sacred as the rights of those who would deny them.

Gentiles have said to the Mormons, "When your Church abandons polygamy, and you take a stand in favor of obedience to the law, and disband your party, we will welcome you in with us politically." But when the Church declared against polygamy and in favor of obedience to the law, and the "Church Party," as it was termed, disbanded, and its members proposed to unite with the national parties, the Mormons were charged with hypocrisy in so doing, and were told that they could not be believed, and that their object was political ascendancy for the Church through statehood. They were asked to do what was patriotic and right; and when they did as asked—without an opportunity to show by their conduct that they were in earnest, and

without any evidence since then that they were not—they were charged with sinister designs upon the rights of those not of their religion; in fact, with a purpose to gain political power that they might deprive the Gentiles of their political and civil rights, and heap wrongs and indignities upon them. In view of the multitude of counsel, of the disapproval and denunciation that the Latter-day Saints were receiving, the venerable man at their head remarked to his brethren, that he often thought of what Lorenzo Dow once said of the doctrine of election. "Said he, 'It is like this: you can and you can't, you will and you won't, you shall and you shan't, you'll be damned if you do and you'll be damned if you don't.' That," he continued, "is about the condition we as Latter-day Saints are in."

The Mormons, in organizing their church as it was founded, embraced beliefs that were opposed to the convictions of their fellow-men. Later Joseph Smith and his followers assailed an institution revered by millions of the human race as the fountain of purity and virtue, of domestic harmony and happiness,—the beneficent relations between one husband and one wife, from which family influences emanate, and around which cluster the holiest affections and hallowed memories,—the sure source of patriotism, stability, national grandeur, and glory. The claims and practices of the church aroused resentment, followed by violence. Joseph Smith and his brother were killed by a mob, and other unlawful acts, attended with numerous indignities, were perpetrated upon the Mormons. Under these circumstances they left their homes behind them, passed beyond the bounds of civilized society, settled in these valleys and mountains, and sought to establish an independent State. For a number of years they were isolated from the rest of mankind, excepting a few men and women of other beliefs. Here they held almost absolute sway. * * *

From the realities of the past, among conditions differing widely from those of today, many Gentiles fear that the Mormons will return to the old practices and ways of Brigham Young and others of his time. To these people I say that the face of Utah is toward the sun. The darkness is at her back. She is not on the retreat. We are climbing the hills of progress: higher planes and brighter lights are ahead, and I trust we shall all get clearer and better views of human duty.

The Mormon is with us. The same nature is common to us all. The Power higher than ourselves has, so ordered. So far as he and we obey the law, we are all equal before it. The forces of nature are changing the most durable objects in the finite world. Our natures and our beliefs are changed by the influences around us. So of that organization of which we are units—society. A better feeling is growing; prejudice and hate are losing their grip, slowly it must be conceded. But I have no doubt that confidence, good-will, and harmony will be restored sooner or later, and that ere long these valleys and mountains will be the home of a patriotic, harmonious, progressive and great people.

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