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THE TENNESSEE MASSACRE

AND

ITS CAUSES;

OR,

THE UTAH CONSPIRACY,

A LECTURE BY

JOHN NICHOLSON,

DELIVERED IN THE SALT LAKE THEATRE,

ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1884.

STENOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY JOHN IRVINE.

PRINTED AT JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR OFFICE,
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

1884.

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INTRODUCTORY.

THE circumstances which led to the giving of this lecture in the Salt Lake Theatre are as follows:

Mr. Nicholson, by special request of Bishop H. B. Clawson, delivered an address under a similar title in the Twelfth Ward Assembly Rooms, on the 14th of September, 1884. The impression created by it was such as to result in the annexed correspondence:

SALT LAKE CITY,
September 17, 1884.

John Nicholson, Esq.,

DEAR SIR:—The address delivered by you on the 14th inst., in the Twelfth Ward Assembly Rooms, on the subject of the recent massacre of "Mormon" Elders in Tennessee, and the causes which led to that fearful tragedy, having created a deep interest in the community, and a desire on the part of very many who were prevented from being present upon that occasion to hear the facts you have in your possession, we, the undersigned, being of the opinion that a more widespread understanding of the circumstances which surround this tragedy, and which led to its perpetration will be of public benefit, respectfully request that you repeat the lecture, or deliver one of a similar nature at as early a date as will be convenient to you.

Upon receiving an intimation from you that a compliance with our request will be agreeable to you, and the date that will be convenient to you to give the lecture, we will take the necessary steps to secure a larger building than the Twelfth Ward Assembly Rooms, and to give suitable notice to the public.

Very respectfully,

Wm. Jennings, Theo. McKean, A. Miner, Francis Cope, Geo. Swan, Heber M. Wells, James Dunn, H. Dinwoodey, G. M. Ottinger, S. W. Sears, David James, G. E. Bourne, John Clark, Elias Morris, Thos. G. Webber and others.

THE RESPONSE.

To the Hon. Wm. Jennings and others.

GENTLEMEN:—In response to your request that I should deliver, in some large hall to be secured by you for the purpose, an address similar to that lately given in the Twelfth Ward Assembly Rooms, I have to say that, although personally reluctant to place myself so conspicuously before the public, I will endeavor to comply with your wish. I suggest Monday night, Sept. 22nd, as suitable for the occasion, if that time is agreeable with your convenience.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN NICHOLSON.

Salt Lake City, Sept. 17th, 1884.

SALT LAKE CITY,

September 18, 1884.

John Nicholson, Esq.,

DEAR SIR:—Referring to your response of yesterday, wherein you express a willingness to repeat your lecture on the "Tennessee Massacre and Causes Leading Thereto," or one of a similar nature, the business of securing a suitable hall having been considered, we beg to state that we have obtained the Salt Lake Theatre for Monday evening, Sept. 22nd, for that purpose.

Very respectfully,

William Jennings, H. Dinwoodey, David James, Thomas G. Webber, A. Miner, John Clark and others.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE THEATRE.

The appearance of the Theatre on the occasion is thus described by Mr. O. F. Whitney, of the *Deseret News*:

"Probably the most densely packed audience ever within the walls of the Salt Lake Theatre, was seen there last evening at the lecture of Mr. John Nicholson on the 'Tennessee Massacre and its Causes.' The doors were thrown open at 7 o'clock, as announced, and an eager multitude at once thronged into the building. By the time the lecture was to begin, 8 o'clock, it is safe to say that there was not a seat left untaken, and hundreds were standing up, not alone in the lower part of the house, but in every circle as well. It was truly a magnificent sight.

"Nor did the stage present a less splendid appearance. As soon as the curtain rose, as it did promptly on the hour, it was discovered that there was a second audience facing the one which crammed the auditorium. Manager Clawson, who is an adept at such things, had caused the whole stage to be shut in, with the exception of entrances at the wings and rear, with handsome scenery, while the entire available space was filled with chairs, all of them taken, and many more would-be occupants left standing. No less than three or four hundred people were on the stage alone. The surprise awakened at the sight found vent in a burst of applause from those in front. Before this, however, the Theatre Orchestra, under Professor Thomas, who were in their accustomed place, had rendered some nice selections, and the Sixteenth Ward Band, in full uniform, upon the stage, between the curtain and footlights, had supplemented the same with repeated executions in like excellent style."

HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS

then approached the footlights and said: Ladies and gentlemen: before introducing the lecturer, I would like to say that there has been a report on the street this afternoon that there would be a cry of fire made here to night, to disturb this audience. If such a thing should occur as a cry of fire, I hope you will take no notice of it, but keep your seats and all will be right.

I take pleasure, ladies and gentlemen, in introducing to you Mr. John Nicholson, who will lecture upon 'The Tennessee Massacre and Its Causes.' [Applause.]

MR. NICHOLSON

stepped forward and was received with loud applause. He then delivered the following

LECTURE.

STENOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY JNO. IRVINE.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: the chairman has already announced the subject upon which I propose to treat:

therefore, it is unnecessary for me to repeat it. As you may well suppose, it is no small matter for a man to occupy the position that I do to-night before this vast audience. I trust that you will bear with me in patience until I shall concentrate my thoughts upon the task that lies before me.

The subject, you will at once admit, is one of absorbing interest, not only to this community of which we form a part, but it has created an interest all over this nation and many other parts of the world besides. Perhaps before proceeding to the discussion of the causes that produced the horrible massacre which sent a thrill through this entire community, and also caused a feeling of regret among all good and upright people who have learned the details of the murder—it would be well, in the first place, to give a brief

NARRATIVE OF THE TRAGEDY

itself. As is the custom with the Elders of the "Mormon" Church, Elders W. S. Barry and Henry Thompson, who were laboring as missionaries in the State of Tennessee, and more especially in Lewis County of that State, made an appointment to hold a meeting and preach their views to the people. That meeting was appointed for 11 o'clock, on the 10th day of August, 1884, at the house of James Condor, on Cane Creek, Lewis County, Tennessee. A short time previous to the filling of that appointment, the Elders whom I have named were unexpectedly joined by two others, Elders John H. Gibbs and William H. Jones. On the day appointed, three of the Elders—with Elder Jones excepted, he being at the house of Mr. Garrett, a short distance from the Condor farm— assembled at Mr. Condor's habitation and engaged in preliminary exercises, such as the singing of religious hymns and preparing their minds for the devotions in which they were shortly to engage.

Elder Jones, at Mr. Garrett's house, was engaged in reading a discourse of one of the authorities of the "Mormon" Church, for the instruction and edification of a number of people who had assembled there. After he had concluded this, he immediately started on his way to join the others

who were at Condor's; but while he was traversing that short distance, suddenly a mob of men, in fantastic garbs and masked faces, and armed and equipped with deadly weapons for the commission of violence, rushed upon him and made him a prisoner. Suffice it to say, without entering into the details so far as he is concerned, for you are more or less familiar with them, he was left in charge of one of this armed party, and that guard that was left over him received instructions from his brother mobocrats that he should, on the first intimation of any attempt to escape, shoot him down like a dog—that he should be murdered. You are already aware that Elder Jones, by the consent and connivance of his guard, escaped and survives, and has returned to his home and his friends in Utah.

On leaving Elder Jones, the mob proceeded to the house of Mr. Condor. They found the proprietor of the place standing by the gate. They made him a prisoner. James Condor knew the business of that mob who had come with covered faces armed to the teeth. He knew that they had come to take the lives of the Elders from Utah, and in order that these Elders might be defended he called to his boys who were in the garden—his son and step-son—to go and get their guns to defend the lives of these men who were under his protection because under his roof. After the seizure of James Condor, David Hinson, who appeared to be the leader of the mob, entered the house where Elder Gibbs was engaged in selecting texts of scripture for the purpose of enabling him to preach the doctrines that are taught in the Bible. He took a gun that was hanging upon the hooks down from over the back door, and with that weapon, in cold blood, shot Elder Gibbs down—murdered him! Next this deadly weapon was presented at Henry Thompson, whose life he also sought. Elder Berry being close at hand—a man of indomitable courage and powerful nerve—desirous of saving his brother, seized the weapon and held it as if it were in the grip of a vise, and turned it away from the person of his fellow missionary. At the same moment Elder Berry observed others of the mobocrats enter the front door with their weapons

leveled upon him, and when he saw that, and feeling that his doom was sealed, he simply bowed his head and received the bullets of the assassins in his body and fell dead at their feet. Elder Thompson saw that to remain longer was to needlessly sacrifice another life, and therefore he made his escape. As he passed out of the house and was leaving it his life would have been taken also, only there intervened betwixt him and the would-be assassin the person of a lady who passed out of the house and was about to lift her child from the ground, and Elder Thompson escaped to the woods. In the meantime, Martin Condor, the son of James Condor, entered the house and engaged in a struggle with David Hinson for the possession of the weapon that he held, and while engaged in this struggle some other members of the mob shot him down and murdered him. In the meantime, J. R. Hudson, the step-son of James Condor, entered and leaped up into the loft of the house to procure a gun, and descended as quick as thought, almost. He was seized at the foot of the stairs by two of the murderous ruffians but tearing himself loose he shot and killed David Hinson, and then he in turn was slain also, making five dead men, four whose blood was guiltless, and one of the guilty murderers, who went into eternity with the blood of innocence upon his hands.

Not satisfied with their diabolical work, thus far, these fiends incarnate, before leaving the premises, as an after-piece to the tragedy, poured a volley through the window, a number of the missiles of death entering and severely wounding the person of an innocent woman, Mrs. Condor, the mother of the two murdered boys, and the balance of the bullets entered the dead body of W. S. Berry.

A CONSPIRACY IN UTAH.

You will agree with me that this was horrible work, and that those upon whom rests any degree of responsibility for its consummation have a great deal to answer for. It is my purpose to show where at least a portion of that responsibility lies. I think before we get through to-night, that it will be clearly shown that there exists in Utah, a conspiracy against

the peace, and good order, and well-being of the great majority of the people who inhabit this fair Territory, and that that conspiracy has its headquarters in Salt Lake City. I propose to give you the evidence, and I do not propose to be one-sided in its production, for the conspirators shall furnish it themselves.

On the 7th day of May, 1882, in the Methodist Church of Salt Lake City, I attended a meeting. It was a gathering of rather an unusual character. It was one among ten thousand meetings; so the presiding genius there—the Rev. L. A. Rudisill—stated; for that particular 7th day of May, 1882, had been set aside and consecrated for the purpose of working up a prejudice against the “Mormon” community—of inflaming the minds of the people of this nation against an innocent people who dwell in this Territory.

But I wish you to understand that it was not altogether or purely a religious meeting. It was also political. There is a great deal said in this community, by certain parties, about the amalgamation of church and state. It is very objectionable to them, except, of course, when they engage in it themselves; then it is perfectly right. The conspiracy to which I now allude, is not only of a religious character, but also political. There was there in all his bloom, His Excellency, Governor Eli H. Murray, Judge John R. McBride, Judge Jacob S. Boreman, and Mr. J. F. Bradley. They represented, in that particular instance, the political wing of the conspiracy—Mr. Rudisill and his co-religionist associates the religious wing.

In speaking to the audience assembled on that occasion, Mr. Rudisill stated that the Methodists had always occupied the front rank in opposing “Mormonism,” and that principally through the operations of that denomination of religion Congress was *compelled* to pass the Edmunds law. Note the word *compelled*. My memory does not fail me in regard to the details of that meeting. He said *compelled*. But the Edmunds law, he said, was not sufficient for the purpose in view.

His Excellency, the Governor, stated that the Edmunds law was a step in the right direction, but it was far from being satisfactory.

Judge John R. McBride stated that on that particular occasion he felt as if he was an excellent Methodist. [Laughter and applause.] It is generally understood in the community I believe, that he is no religionist of any kind. He has a perfect right to take that position, and every man has a right of this kind, be the position what it may. But in one particular John R. McBride seems to conform somewhat to scriptural requirements; for it has been said by Paul that we should "be all things to all men." [Applause] It appears that this conspirator is willing to be a devout Methodist, or anything else, so long as he can accomplish the object nearest his heart—suppression of "Mormonism"—[applause] or rather the taking away of the political power out of the hands of the majority of the people of Utah, for that is the political part of the conspiracy. He further stated that in order to reach the "Mormons," one legal provision, especially, should be eliminated from the statute books—that provision which prevents a woman from testifying against her husband. He also had the effrontery in that meeting to say that he felt that he would make an excellent prosecutor of the "Mormon" Church if he were appointed to that office. [Applause and laughter.] It does not need a very great change to insert the correct word, and make it *persecutor* of the "Mormon" Church. [Laughter].

Mr. Boreman, or rather Judge Boreman—I hope he will pardon me for forgetting his title—[laughter and applause] when I consider how little he is entitled to it, I think it is very pardonable. I cannot tell you very well what Judge Boreman did say, it was so absurd. He seemed to be in a passion—worked up to a remarkable degree. He said something about the people who belonged to the "Mormon" Church in England desiring to proclaim Brigham Young king, and a lot of nonsense of that kind. If anybody had asked me what I thought about his speech on that occasion when the religious and political conspirators met together, I should have been much inclined to have given the same des-

cription that was given by a student when he was asked to state his opinion of a speech of a fellow student. He said it was "an heterogeneous concatenation of extraneous phraseology." [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Bradley did not make out much better in this connection than our friend, Mr. Boreman. His speech was about as unintelligible; it was not edifying, especially to me, although I was glad I was present for your sakes, ladies and gentlemen, who were not there, that I might tell you what took place.

There are some others whom I wish to bring to your attention, for I desire to show you to-night that there has been a systematic, determined purpose put in operation to spread through this country, as far as their influence could reach, the most infamous, scandalous fabrications that could possibly be conceived in the brains of human beings, that under cover of a prejudice thus created, the design of the conspirators might be accomplished.

I draw your attention to the case of the Rev. R. G. McNiece, who is very anxious about the welfare of this community; exceedingly so. Not very long since he presented in the *Independent*, a very influential journal published in the East, his views, or what purported to be his views, on the "Mormon" question, and you may be sure he did not wish to paint the "Mormon" community in favorable colors. He wanted to make the impression upon the country, through the medium of the *Independent*, that the "Mormons" are a lawless, murderous, vile community of wretches, that should not be permitted to live. As evidence that they should be robbed of their rights, or that all political power should be taken away from them, he stated that his fellow religionists in Utah had been placed in great jeopardy through the buildings that they occupied and their churches being stoned and set on fire, and in consequence of this the lives, these valuable lives, of himself and fellow religionists had been placed in jeopardy. Of course it was the "Mormons" who committed these outrages.

When his attention was drawn to his perfidy through a public journal of this city, he cited a number of alleged instances to sustain the statements which he had made. But before I proceed any further, I wish to say now that his statements in the *Independent* were endorsed by some of the political conspirators, Judge Rosborough, Judge Jacob S. Boreman and one of the editors of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Colonel Nelson, for the chief editor was at that time in Washington, supposedly for the purpose, under cover of the prejudice already created against the "Mormons," of procuring legislation to rob the "Mormons" of their political rights. I think that any statement made by the Rev. McNiece certainly needs endorsing [laughter] as I propose to show. He cited as an instance of his truthfulness that about eighteen months previous, in the city of Logan, an attempt had been made to burn the Presbyterian Church of that town. The facts in regard to that circumstance were these: On the 30th day of November, 1882, a church sociable was held in that building, the Rev. Mr. Parks presiding, and there broke in upon the harmony of the occasion an individual by the name of William Buder, a non-"Mormon," and presumably a member of the "liberal" party. He was in a state of beastly intoxication. He desired to be admitted into this church sociable, and forced his way into the building. The Rev. Mr. Parks, who seems to believe a little in muscular Christianity—and I do not blame him—took him neck and crop and bundled him out [applause] just as he should have done. But William Buder, a non-"Mormon," said to the Rev. Parks, "I'll get even with you." On that same night, at a late hour, an attempt was made to set the building on fire, and the subsequent investigation, according to all the circumstances discoverable after a close scrutiny, pointed to William Buder as the would-be incendiary. Mr. Parks believed it was William Buder, a non-"Mormon," who had sought in that way to get even with him, and so did everybody else familiar with the facts, and I do not know but what Mr. McNiece was just as familiar with the details as anybody else; presumably so, for no honorable gentleman will attempt to give publicity to any

important circumstance involving the good character of his fellowmen, unless he is first satisfied of the truthfulness of his position by a candid investigation. [Applause.] But don't you see that to have stated that William Buder, a non-"Mormon," was the incendiary would have spoiled the object, for the crime must be placed upon the broad shoulders of the Latter-day Saints? [Applause.] It must be shown that they are lawless, and that they threatened and endangered the lives of these lambs—in wolves' clothing. [Laughter and applause.]*

Some of the churches are quite remarkable for heroes. Perhaps, ladies and gentlemen, you are not aware of the heroism that has been occasionally exhibited right in your midst. ["No."] Perhaps I might state some instances of such heroism. There was another reverend gentleman, by the name of McMillan, whose diocese was for a time in Sanpete County, Utah. He was treated with great consideration and kindness by the people there. He was given the free use of the meeting house of the "Mormons," in the town of Ephraim, and he was very grateful. You will see the character of his gratitude at a glance when I show you how he returned the courtesy shown him by the savage "Mormons." He went back to the East. What for? Because there is more than one purpose in regard to the defamation of the "Mormon" community. It is naturally to be supposed that these heroes shall make a sensational anti-"Mormon" speech when they go East to facilitate the process of passing around the hat. Therefore he had to make a hero of himself. He made the declaration that in the quiet town of Ephraim, in Sanpete, this remarkably brave man, when he mounted the rostrum had to take in one hand a weapon of death—a revolver—and the word of the Lord in the other [laughter and applause] to protect himself against the lawless "Mormons" who sought his life.

What an absurdity this story bears on its face when you think of it. When he returned he was met or waited upon by

*—See Appendix.

Canute Petersen, one of the leading men of Sanpete County, who spoke to him about his misstatements, and pointed out to him that such fabrications were most infamous. He was very sorry. He was humble. He was very meek. He said he felt as if he had done wrong, but he would make it right just as soon as it was possible. He subsequently paid another visit to the East. How did he make it right? He simply repeated his former statements and added a few more falsehoods to give spice to his story, and his speech was subsequently published in the Denver papers.

But this was a second-hand way of making notoriety; for the Rev. Lyford, who had officiated at Provo, had made himself a hero in the same line. Some of you remember, perhaps, his remarkable hairbreadth escapes; but he always came out alive [laughter and applause] and consequently his own existence furnishes the best evidence of the falsity of his statements. If that gentleman had dropped the latter part of his name and left the first two letters it would have been exactly in keeping with his conduct. [Applause.]

When I was in Ogden in 1881, on July 11th of that year, a committee of a Methodist conference that was held there expressed their views on the "Mormon" question, and what ought to be done with it. Their resolutions were published at the time; they were duly given to a gaping world. Here is an extract from that document:

"Mormonism holds the balance of power in Idaho and Arizona and menaces New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming and Montana. We believe polygamy is a foul system of licentiousness, practiced in the name of religion, hence hideous and revolting. It should not be reasoned with, but ought to be STAMPED OUT."

Fancy that! The "Mormon" religion must not be reasoned with. Do not bring the magical touchstone of reason to bear upon this question at all, but apply the truly Christian method; let it be "stamped out." [Applause.] O what a rarity in Christian charity! [Applause.] Only fancy, if you can, the Savior of the world, and those whom He chose to officiate in connection with Him, speaking to His disciples in reference to the religions that existed in that day, and that

were not similar to that which He taught, telling them, "these religions are wrong, they are not right; do not reason with them; they must be 'stamped out.' " And yet these men who met together in Ogden and considered the question of another religion, take the position that that religion, because it does not conform to their ideas, should not be reasoned with, but that it should be "stamped out." What an outrage on common sense and common decency! What a parody on the Christian religion are these men and their views! [Applause.] They also made this political recommendation:

"*Resolved* that it is the sense of this body that the laws of this Territory should be made by a council appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate."

This means that every vestige of popular government should be swept away from this Territory and an autocracy established in its place. But you must remember that they are opposed to any interference in any shape whatever of the church with the state—except, of course, when they do it themselves.

I hold in my hand the conspirators' campaign document, "A Handbook on Mormonism," it is called. I call it a production of diabolism; for it is filled with lies and misrepresentations against the "Mormon" people and their religion from beginning to end. I will read you one little extract from the bitter pen of Rev. J. M. Coyner. His name is suggestive. As a *coiner* of falsehoods he is a decided success. [Applause.] There are many "Mormons" present. Listen how this man describes your religion:

"Mormonism is made up of twenty parts. Take eight parts diabolism, three parts of animalism from the Mohammedan system, one part bigotry from old Judaism, four parts cunning and treachery from Jesuitism, two parts Thuggism from India and two parts Arnoldism, and then shake the mixture over the fires of animal passion, and throw in the forms and ceremonies of the Christian religion, and you will have this system in its true component elements."

A professed Christian wrote this, for it is not the policy of men such as he to allow the "Mormons" to describe their own

religion. Of course, the Methodists, the Presbyterians and all other denominations would expect that it would be the proper thing to go outside of themselves, and especially to their enemies, for a correct description or explanation of their religious tenets and views. Judging from the way they treat the "Mormons," one would suppose that that would be their idea; to be consistent it would.

But is this campaign document altogether religious? Not by any means. Do not make a mistake by supposing so; for wherever you find the religious wing of the Utah conspiracy, you will find the political wing within short range. Who are the writers of the articles in this book—"The Handbook on Mormonism"—the product of diabolism? I will give you a few of them you are familiar with. The Rev. R. G. McNiece, [laughter] Eli H. Murray, [great laughter and applause] the Rev. J. M. Coyner, Jacob S. Boreman, [laughter and applause] the Rev. T. B. Hilton, J. R. McBride, [laughter] O. J. Hollister [much laughter and applause] and others.

(The lecturer created great merriment by using the plaintive tone commonly used by a priest when he named the clergymen, and vociferating after the manner of a stump speaker when he uttered the name of a political schemer.)

There is another source more prolific of defamation in this community. I refer to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the organ of the conspirators. I wish that source to furnish some of the evidence to sustain the position that I take to-night. There was published on the 15th day of March, 1884, what was termed "A Red Hot Address." It purported to have been delivered by a "Mormon" Bishop named West, in the little town of Juab in the southern portion of this Territory. It was very prudent to select a little side station; for the discovery of a forgery would not, in the opinion of the conspirators, be so easily made if perpetrated upon a place of that kind. What was the character of that "Red Hot Address," said to have been delivered by a "Mormon" Bishop? It recommended the assassination of those who opposed the "Mormon" community. One of the objects of the wrath of Bishop West

was His Excellency Governor Eli H. Murray. And Bishop West told his audience that it was their imperative duty to seize upon His Excellency and tread him down until his bowels gushed out on the streets, and that those who should succeed him, if they did not behave themselves better toward the "Mormon" community than he, should be treated in a similar way. This "Red Hot Address" was true, with a few trifling exceptions. I wish you to note the exceptions; for the organ of the conspirators does not stand upon trifles; not by any means. ["No."] In the first place there is no Bishop West in the "Mormon" Church, and has not been for many years. There was no meeting held in Juab on the day on which that address was said to have been delivered. No address of that kind was ever delivered. With these trifling exceptions the address was entirely correct.* [Laughter and applause.]

I wish you to note this fact, however, that if there ever were any individuals on the face of this earth susceptible of being deceived, they are the editors of the *Salt Lake Tribune*. They are so innocent, so guileless, so harmless themselves, that they do not think that anybody would do anything wrong. They are remarkable for innocence. Why, a child might deceive them—that is providing—providing they are supplied with something that will scandalize the characters of the "Mormon" community. Then they are easily deceived. Very easily deceived, indeed. So this "Red Hot Address" was a canard. They were very much deceived. They even went so far as to say that they were really imposed upon by some person who furnished that address for publication, and they made an apology. What an apology it was! An apology for an apology. Let me see what kind of an apology they made for this "Red Hot Address," fabricated out of whole cloth. Here is a quotation from the paper of which I am speaking:

"The case of the 'Red Hot Address' has been cited, which was corrected as soon as the managers of this journal found they had been imposed upon."

*—See Appendix.

Here is a qualification to that apology quoted from the same sheet:

"There was not a thing in that bogus sermon which has not been taught in the Tabernacle harangues."

What do you think of an apology of that kind? I call that a re-assertion of the fabrication, and the apology is worse than the first falsehood. [Applause.]

I will give you another sample apology for something else; goodness knows what, that appeared in that innocent sheet. Here it is:

"By a mistake a jot appeared in the *Tribune* yesterday, which does not reflect the sentiments of any owner or director of this journal. It was, too, as objectionable in manner as matter. It was altogether wrong; its publication is a matter of pain and mortification to us, and we grieve sincerely that it ever found its way into the *Tribune*."

Can you tell me to what that refers? What predicament does that leave me and you in, ladies and gentlemen? It leaves you and me in this dilemma, that we must apply that apology to the entire sheet, and you must do that in order to cover the ground. [Laughter and applause.]

We hear it frequently asserted by these journalists, these conspirators—I must not, I suppose, use that word too often, because I might perhaps tread on some of their corns, and I surely would not like to do that; but we are frequently told that these men are "American gentlemen." I think they must be so. We must consider them "American gentlemen," for here is the evidence of it: They have said they are themselves. [Laughter and applause.] According to their own description of themselves I think if Chesterfield were living now he would be ashamed of himself. Gentlemen, of course, are considerate of the feelings of others. They are very delicate about giving offense, and especially avoid speaking in a derogatory way of any sentiment or feeling that is sacred in the breasts of their fellow creatures. "American gentlemen" would never do that.

I call your attention to a portion of the faith of the "Mormon" religion. The "Mormons" believe in the religion that

they have espoused, and like other people they have a right to their religious views. They believe that by the performance of vicarious work, the performance by proxy of ordinances by the living for the dead—provided it is accepted by the dead in the spirit world, a saving influence is brought to bear upon those who have passed away from this earth without obedience to the gospel. This is a sacred principle with them. It is so sacred to them, and it is a subject of such absorbing interest to them, that I know of men in the community that have traversed sea and land for thousands of miles for the purpose of gleaning information in regard to their dead relatives, that they might officiate in their stead, and their work here be of some benefit to their progenitors, and, as I have said, their views are sacred to them. Of course no gentleman would hold up their religious views as a subject for vulgar merriment, however much he might differ from them. He would consider them sacred to him because sacred to his fellow-creatures. He would not hold them up to ridicule and make those who entertain them the laughing-stock of the populace. Surely an “American gentleman” would not be guilty of so grave and vulgar a breach of common decency as this. But let us see. I will read an extract from the paper published, managed and conducted by the self-described “American gentlemen”:

OFFICIATING FOR THE STIFFS.

“A short time ago a Mormon Saintess went through the Logan Temple and was baptized or sealed to and had adopted into her family thirty dead relatives. It took three days to perform the various ceremonies and ordinations, and no doubt the defunct will now rise from their tombs, or from their HEATED DWELLING places. Her husband contemplates going through a similar ceremony and as he has taken the trouble to look up his genealogy, he has calculated that it will take him exactly four months to perform the sacred rites for the various STIFFS that were once members of his family. The fools are not all dead yet.”

And this, ladies and gentleman, emanated from these considerate “American gentlemen.” [Applause.] Judge ye of their quality! In the organ of the conspirators there have been slanders most vile. Neither sex nor age has been spared

in the vile calumnies that have been heaped upon private individuals. I would not insult this audience by recounting the foul aspersions, the assassin stabs upon private character that have been again and again and again perpetrated in the most shameless manner in that unprincipled sheet published and conducted by the self-described "American gentlemen." [Applause.]

In speaking of the clique that constantly conspires against the commonwealth of Utah, I would not have you suppose that I refer to the bulk of non-Mormons of this Territory, among whom are to be found many honorable people who have no lot nor part in the conspiracy and who do not give it their sympathy. The plot is confined to a comparatively few designing characters, who spare no efforts to whip others into line. The operations of these enemies of liberty in Utah, are, in my opinion, heartily despised by many people who have no connection with the "Mormon" Church, nor sympathy with its doctrines. Even numbers of clergymen take this position.

THE OBJECT OF THE CONSPIRACY.

What has been the object of these vile detractions of an innocent community? Two fold in its character. The religious wing of the conspiracy desires to have the "Mormon" religion crushed out, because in their operations here they have no religious success. Their efforts are barren and unfruitful. They stay here and go back eastward when they wish to pass around the hat. They return after getting the financial benefits of their vile calumnies and giving descriptions of their personal heroism and hairbreadth escapes among the lawless "Mormons." They are hirelings. They preach for hire and divine for money. The Elders of the "Mormon" Church are a standing reproach to such men. Like the immediate followers of Him whom they profess to serve, they go out into the world without purse or scrip, as they did, and they have success in their labors. When they go they take their lives in their hands as those men did who were brutally murdered on Cane Creek, Lewis County, Tennessee; and when they return they bring their sheaves with them. And in this way a relig-

ious, honest and industrious community is built up in the Territory of Utah and adjacent places in this part of the great West. The success of these Elders is a standing reproach to the hirelings who have no success in their labors, and therefore they want that reproach wiped out, or, according to the priests who assembled in Ogden, they desire that "Mormonism" should not be *reasoned* with but *stamped out*. This is the object of the religious wing of this conspiracy. When the Elders go abroad they have a great deal to meet. For instance I will explain what they have had to encounter in western and middle Tennessee, where the Elders who were slain on Cane Creek were laboring. What was the situation before that horrible tragedy was consummated? Everywhere they went, they had presented to them the "Red Hot Address," published in this city by the organ of the conspirators. It was specially handed about and circulated by a Baptist preacher named Vandever, of Hohenwald, Lewis County. I have the facts here [holding up a letter in his hand]* giving names and details from one of the survivors of the massacre on Cane Creek—Elder W. H. Jones. It has been said that there has been no evidence of the "Red Hot Address" ever having gone to Tennessee. Not only was that "Red Hot Address" there, but Elder Gibbs who was slain, and Elder Jones who survives, presented to this Baptist preacher whom I have named a refutation of the slanderous fabrication, in order that he might redress the evil that he had accomplished by its dissemination among the people, and which had inflamed the minds of the populace to such an extent that they were prepared largely by that statement or alleged address purporting to have been delivered by a "Mormon" bishop, to shed the blood of the Elders, and they did it; and

*—EXTRACT FROM ELDER JONES' LETTER.—"This villainous, slanderous fabrication was circulated over the country. Parson Vandever worked up prejudice against us in that section by giving it [the 'Red Hot Address'] wide publicity, and by his pretended credence to the falsehood, causing great excitement. Elder Gibbs and I sent by mail to Vandever an exposure of the address in question, but he did not show it to anybody that we know of."

the blood of innocence is upon the skirts of those who perpetrated that infamy. The authorship of an indirect cause of the murder is now traced home to them; they cannot relieve themselves of it.

What is the other part of the conspiracy? The "Mormons" are in the majority here, and as the majority rules everywhere in this republic, as a natural consequence they hold the balance of political power in the Territory. And the infamous lies, some of which I have recounted, that have been spread far and wide to show that the "Mormons" are a lawless people, that they are a vile people, that they are not fit to live, were intended to form a prejudice in the minds of the people throughout the country generally, in order that the conspirators might operate under that feeling with impunity. They imagined that but few if any people in the nation, in the light or face of existing prejudice thus created, would think they were doing wrong. This part of the conspiracy is to sweep away from Utah every vestige of popular rule and concentrate the political power in the hands of an unscrupulous few, or in the hands of what I call the office-seekers' combination of Utah—those who are hungry for office and its spoils—that they might grind the "Mormon" community into the dust. I will give you the proof, and the other side shall supply the evidence:

In November, 1880, an election was held in this Territory for a delegate to Congress from Utah. The candidate of the People's Party was the Hon. George Q. Cannon, the candidate of the conspirators Mr. Allen G. Campbell. The Hon. George Q. Cannon received of the popular vote on that occasion considerable over 18,000 votes, and Allen G. Campbell about 1,300. Did this express the popular will? In what more forcible way can the popular will be exhibited than by the franchise? It was the duty of His Excellency, Governor Eli H. Murray, to furnish the candidate who received the largest number of votes a certificate to that effect, to present as a credential in the House of Representatives, and he gave that certificate to the man that received 1,300 votes. Does

that not prove, as far as it goes, the character of the conspiracy? It is to usurp the political authority that belongs to the people in a republican form of government. He who gave that certificate, certified to a falsehood, and made an attempt to dethrone the power of the people, to thwart the public will, the popular will, and establish his will, an autocracy, and to wrest from the people the reins of government.

I will still further show the political character of the conspiracy, and also why so many infamous lies have been told about the "Mormons," that under cover of these falsehoods and the prejudice resulting, the objects of this conspiracy might be attained.

On the 3rd day of August, 1882, there was inserted in the sundry civil appropriation bill, in Congress, an amendment made by Senator Hoar. It was offered in view of the fact that through the negligence of the Utah Commission the election that ought to have occurred in that month lapsed. The amendment thus inserted was passed there, giving authority to His Excellency, Eli H. Murray, to fill all vacancies that might occur in offices in this Territory through the lapse of that election that should have been held. Fortunately, however, there is a Territorial statute which provides that in case of any deficiency in regard to filling the offices by the lapse of an election, or through any other cause, such as an intended successor to an office not qualifying within statutory time, the incumbent should hold over until such time as a legal election should take place; and therefore there were no vacancies. So it was held pretty generally even by those that were very prominent, subsequently, on the other side. I might be allowed to state here that it is publicly known that Mr. Marshall, a prominent lawyer of this city, stated that there were no vacancies, and he so expressed himself to quite a number of persons belonging to the People's Party. However, passing that over I now direct your attention to the fact that there were a large number of offices that were not vacant in any case, the election to which could not legally have occurred for a year subsequent to that August election. But the party who desired to make the seizure of the political power of

Utah do not stand upon trifles; His Excellency, Eli H. Murray, in the face of these facts, endeavored to fill nearly every office in Utah Territory by his appointment, and in that way overthrow every vestige of popular rule in Utah Territory. This was an evidence of the impatience of the office hunters' party, because they anticipated by this act the legislation which they desired on that subject. Much anxiety has been manifested by certain persons whom I have named in regard to the political affairs of this Territory. Among the officers—among these would-be officers—appointees of the governor, were found some of the gentlemen who figured conspicuously in the first meeting in the Methodist Church, the details of which I have already furnished this audience. Judge Jacob S. Boreman was gubernatorially appointed to an office in this county; also Mr. J. F. Bradley. It is a wonder that Judge J. R. McBride was left out in the cold; but there was nothing large enough, I presume, to satisfy that gentleman. [Laughter.]

Have I not proven to a demonstration the object of this conspiracy, and the reason why such infamous fabricated statements are sent abroad to prejudice the minds of the people against the "Mormon" community? I think that I have, and I have taken the evidence from the other side of the fence. They have furnished the proof themselves, and I have only made use of it.

EFFECTS OF THE CONSPIRACY UPON CONGRESS.

What are the effects of this conspiracy and this prejudice upon Congress? The effects are these: Laws that we consider to be unconstitutional are introduced into Congress and some of them are passed and become law. For instance there is the Edmunds law with which you are all more or less familiar. One of its chief objects was to disfranchise those who were practical polygamists in the "Mormon" community, and that was effectually done in the operation of that law. But some men have India rubber consciences, and they injected this India rubber material into the law and made it stretch. The Utah Commission—I talk respectfully of that body of gentlemen—made that law stretch to its utmost capacity.

They almost went outside of polygamy altogether. If they had just gone half an inch further they would have excluded from the polls persons who were first cousins to polygamists. [Applause and laughter.] There is one very peculiar feature associated with the Edmunds law. There has been introduced in connection with its operations, without the color or authority of law, a test oath. That oath made its first appearance, I think, in 1879—if my memory serves me correctly—in what was known as the Willits' bill, a measure that was introduced into Congress, but did not pass. It was formulated—so I have been given to understand—by the Utah conspirators here and furnished to Mr. Willits to be incorporated in his Utah bill. It was subsequently used by His Excellency, Eli H. Murray, and had to be subscribed to by every person elected to any office in this Territory before he could receive a commission. And now, under the Edmunds law, every person who walks up to the registrar's office to register has to take this iron-clad oath, a copy of which I now hold in my hand. If I had been a conspirator I do not think that I should have favored the introduction of this particular oath. My reason for this is that, according to a vulgarism, it "gives the whole thing away." I will not read the entire oath, but will read a portion of it: "That I have not lived or cohabited with more than one woman *in the marriage relation.*" [The lecturer's manner of uttering the words in italics in a subdued tone created great laughter and applause.] That oath makes a wide opening through which the corruptionist, steeped up to his neck in filth and crime can crawl [loud applause] and builds around the man who conscientiously enters more or less into the marriage relation a wall deep, thick and high, so that he cannot get through or climb over. Does not that give the thing away? I am not displeased that they formulated that oath. It shows the position exactly. It exhibits the superiority of the "Mormon" community over the corruptionists. [Applause.]

There is a custom whenever a man comes into special prominence in political matters for his admirers to wear a particular kind of hat. For instance, there is the Cleveland hat, and there is the Blaine hat. I have a recommendation to offer to

the conspirators, and why not adopt it? Let us have an "anti-marriage relation hat." [Applause.] Let it be of spotless white, emblematical of the purity of the characters of those entitled to wear it [laughter] and let there be written in gold letters—large, so they can be easily read by the passing observer—the words: "I HAVE NOT LIVED NOR COHABITED WITH MORE THAN ONE WOMAN," and in small letters [applause and laughter] so that you can hardly see them, "In the marriage relation." [Renewed applause and laughter.] The saving clause should be very obscure, it tells such a horrible tale.

In the anti-"Mormon" crusade first meeting, details of which I have given, Judge McBride said that he desired that that legal provision which prevented a woman from testifying against her husband should be expunged from the statute books, and you can see the ear-marks of the Utah conspirators in all the legislation that has been introduced into Congress. I am not here to blame the national legislators for what they have done, for I believe it has been largely the result of the misrepresentations that have been made by the conspirators whose headquarters are in this city. They have acted in the belief that the "Mormon" community were as vile as they have been painted by these, I was going to say — you can imagine—I do not wish to use anything but respectful language, because I am speaking of "American gentlemen." [Applause.] And what is the character of the crusade legislation? One of the first provisions of the Hoar amendment act passed by the Senate at its last session, provides that the wife shall testify against the husband, and as the husband and the wife are one, the monstrous doctrine is incorporated that a man shall be compelled to testify, in that sense, against himself. What an outrage to attempt to demolish a leading safeguard which maintains the sacredness of the family circle! Shame on the instigators of such legislation! I have a right to express my sentiments regarding so flagrant an outrage sought to be perpetrated upon an innocent people.

This law also proposes, in certain cases, that a witness shall be treated as a criminal by abolishing the ordinary process of the subpoena and providing that an attachment shall issue.

And the "Mormon" community, according to this remarkable measure, shall have no power to transact their own secular business, but it proposes to perform it for them by fourteen trustees appointed by the President of the United States. It is a wonder that they did not incorporate some provision in the law that Bishop Preston and his Counselors of the "Mormon" Church should be deposed from their positions—it amounts to nearly the same thing—and that a Bishop and Counselors be appointed by the President of the United States [laughter].

Further, the franchise is, according to this law, to be swept away from the ladies. What an ungallant lot these conspirators are! Operating against the ladies whom they claim are in bondage in Utah, and yet they want to take an unwarrantable step to enslave them politically.

It further provides that the property of the "Mormons" shall be confiscated summarily; and that under no pretence whatever shall the people amalgamate for the purpose of bringing people to this Territory from abroad. Therefore, if this were law—let us hope for the sake of republican institutions that it never will be—you would not have the privilege of bringing to this land your father, or your grandmother, or your cousins, or your aunt, or any of your relatives, *because they are "Mormons."*

What a parody on legislation!—the result of the work of a conspiracy, religious and political, in the Territory of Utah, with its headquarters in Salt Lake City. That is the character of the legislation sought to be brought about by that combination, to sweep away the liberties of the people and grasp the power that will grind them into the dust, under the cover of the prejudice that they have created by their infamous falsehoods.

ATTITUDE OF THE CONSPIRATORS SINCE THE MASSACRE.

I will now show the position that has been taken by representatives of the conspiracy since the massacre took place, that unhappy and horrible deed in Lewis County, Tennessee. There is, I believe, a general understanding that the chief editor of the *Tribune* is or has been a member of the legal

profession. He is called Judge Goodwin. I do not know how far that goes. I presume that if I was to say to this audience, for the purpose of receiving an answer, "How do you do, Colonel?" there would by a chorus of voices, there are so many colonels in this country. And so it is with judges. But I believe that the gentleman I now speak of possesses legal knowledge. What an unfortunate thing that he does not inject it into his journalism!

Here is a quotation embodying another quotation, which the *Tribune* in its issue of Sep. 16th, 1884, contains:

"On the other hand, the reason why the violence was committed has been boldly given. The clergyman of Nashville, extracts of whose sermon we gave last week, openly says:"

"The law-abiding citizens charge upon these Mormon missionaries that, under the guise of religion, they were attempting to seduce their wives and daughters from the paths of virtue, and they have not disproved it."

"We have other evidence of the same kind."

Were Judge Goodwin on the bench instead of the tripod, and he should take a similar position in regard to charges made against alleged law-breakers brought before him, what would be the result? Suppose a man was charged with murder in his court, and the jury were asked to bring in a verdict, his instructions after the trial would be something like this: "You must bring in a verdict of guilty, for this man is charged with murder, and has not disproved it." What a remarkable position to be taken by an intelligent man! According to his position all you have to do in order to prove a person guilty is to make a charge against him, and convict him providing he fails to disprove it. That is reversing the usual methods of justice with a vengeance. These Elders were charged by the local priests whose prejudices, probably, were incited by the "Red Hot Address" and other documents of that description—with attempting to seduce the wives and daughters of citizens of Tennessee, and they have not disproved it. What a travesty on common sense! How absurd! How ridiculous! But then they have other evidence—proof—of the same kind. They have evidence to the effect

that charges have been made against these Elders, and these Elders have not disproved it. Very remarkable that they have not disproved it seeing that they are dead! What a wonderful thing to take place in our day, that these men, murdered in cold blood, because charges have been made against them to palliate the crime perpetrated by the murderers, and because they do not rise out of their graves, to which they were sent by the hands of assassins before their time, to disprove the charges, they must be guilty! How supremely ridiculous!

After the murder was perpetrated all the respect that could be shown by a grief-stricken community was exhibited to those who were ruthlessly slain. Their remains were buried by those who survived that awful tragedy near the spot where their blood was shed. Elder B. H. Roberts, and others, at the risk of their lives, proceeded to the place where they were entombed and exhumed the bodies and prepared them to be dispatched to their sorrowing relatives, as the last grain of comfort that could be given to the bereaved. I said these men performed this brotherly act at the risk of their lives, as was subsequently proved. On their return trip from Cane Creek they lost their way. Happily for them that they did; for there was a party of mobbers ambushed ready to shed their blood also, even when they were on this mission of mercy and brotherly kindness. However, the bodies were brought here. The remains of Elder Berry were taken to the South, to Kanarra and consigned to his family, and the remains of Elder Gibbs to Paradise, his home when he was alive. And throughout this Territory, and in every place where the news had reached the "Mormons," arrangements were made to hold services in honor of the dead, to show the respect of the people for those who had been slain. Among these meetings was a large assemblage in the Tabernacle of this city, which was crowded on the occasion; an immense host convened there, and certain Elders poured out their thoughts in words of respect for the dead and grief for the awful act that had caused the death of these men.

But more eloquently still was the prevailing sentiment expressed by the moistened eyes which could be seen all over that vast congregation, so far as the faces came distinctly within the range of vision of the observer.

What was the position taken by the organ of the conspirators, the Salt Lake *Tribune*, regarding these solemn ceremonies? That sheet contained, in its following issue, an alleged description, of the proceedings, and it was a travesty—a farce. What think you of men who can be so lost to the better feelings of humanity that they can take the grief, the sorrow of their fellow creatures and laughingly gloat over and hold it up as something to be vulgarly joked about? I say that the degradation of the human heart cannot reach a lower depth than that [applause], and I say that men who can be guilty of such an outrage are lost to all of the better feelings of humanity [applause]. Perhaps you think I speak strongly on this subject. I want you to understand that I speak no more strongly than I feel [applause].

Perhaps there may be some in the audience that think an apology is due from me for my severity. I feel that my apology must be of a similar character to that which was given by a member of the British House of Parliament, when he was guilty of making some personal remarks regarding a member of that august body. He was called upon for an apology; he remarked: "I said the gentleman on the other side was a scoundrel, and I am sorry for it." He was sorry he was a scoundrel [laughter and applause]. I have stated that men who are guilty of such outrages as those which I have described are lost to all that makes man noble, and I am sorry for it—I am sorry they are so lost [applause].

It appears that the surviving Elders in Tennessee, B. H. Roberts and others, petitioned Governor Bate of that State to take official steps to have the murderers arrested and punished for the fearful crime. In response, this magnanimous governor offered the munificent sum of \$1,000 to be spread over a whole crowd of mobbers and murderers. But the sum seemed exceedingly large to His Excellency Governor Eli H. Murray. Doubtless he thought it vastly too much. He

sent to Governor Bate a dispatch of congratulation. He stated in that dispatch that he was glad to see that Governor Bate was taking some steps to have those who killed the Elders brought to justice, because it was no just reason that they should be murdered because they were agents of "organized crime." What do you think the governor sent that dispatch for? He was overwhelmed with hypocritical grief. He, under cover of this pretended sorrow, like the senseless ostrich that thinks when its head is in the sand it cannot be seen, only made other portions of his physical structure appear all the more prominent [laughter and applause]. He sent that dispatch in order to tell the people of Tennessee and the country generally that the Elders who were killed were but the agents of "organized crime;" but—really—of course—it was not exactly the right thing to kill them. But still they were merely agents of "organized crime" [applause]. *

Perhaps you and I may think that the governor stepped out of his way in order to interfere with the affairs of a commonwealth, with which he has no more to do officially or personally than the humblest citizen of this Territory. But, then, how could he get it before the country, that the Elders who were killed were agents of "organized crime" unless he

*—GOVERNOR MURRAY'S DISPATCH—

SALT LAKE CITY,
Aug. 22d.

Gov. W. B. Bate, Nashville, Tenn.:

Dispatches state that you are exerting yourself to vindicate the laws in the matter of the murder of Mormon missionaries in Tennessee. I thank you for this action. The charges of preaching polygamy does not excuse murder. I trust that you may bring the guilty to punishment, thereby preventing such lawlessness in Tennessee or elsewhere. Lawlessness in Tennessee and Utah are alike reprehensible, but the murdered Mormon agents in Tennessee were sent from here as they have been for years by the representatives of organized crime, and I submit that as long as Tennessee's representatives in Congress are, to say the least, indifferent to the punishment of offenders against the national law in Utah, such cowardly outrages by their constituents as the killing of emigration agents sent there from here will continue.

ELI H. MURRAY,
Governor.

should make that interference. It could not be otherwise done; so excellent an opportunity could not be let slip in order to create, *to create*, to manufacture the same feeling that caused the murder of five human beings and the wounding of an innocent woman. That was all that the dispatch was intended to do, in my opinion.

But do you think that the governor sent that dispatch of his own accord and volition altogether? Do you think, now, honestly, ladies and gentlemen, that he formulated that dispatch and sent it outside of the conspiracy combination? If you do, then you do not exactly believe the same as I do [laughter]. I am too familiar with the operations of that small circle of schemers to believe any such thing. In the first place my opinion is—when I express an opinion I give it as such; when I relate facts I sustain them as facts; I give you this as my opinion, you can take it for what it is worth—it was first necessary to secure the approval and consent of him who has said, on the streets of this city, that he is practically the governor of Utah. Do you know who he is? Patrick H. Lannan [loud laughter and applause], an American gentleman of Cork [great applause and laughter], or the County Down, or some other place in equally close proximity to New York or Massachusetts [renewed laughter and applause]. The gentleman whom I have named is given to talking. I might say very much given to talking. It has been said that perpetual motion has never been brought to light, but Mr. Lannan's tongue comes the nearest to it of anything that has been discovered [laughter and applause]. He has stated that the governor cannot make any prominent move without he is consulted in regard to it. He has told this very broadly, and the information is from his side of the house. This is very well known, and it rasps a little on the feelings of some of his own friends. Now, ladies and gentlemen, as the showman said, "you pays your money and you takes your choice" [laughter]. You can take for your governor Eli H. Murray or Patrick H. Lannan [applause]. I think I will take Mr. Murray [a voice—"Don't"].

THE EDUCATION SUBTERFUGE.

Perhaps, ladies and gentlemen, I am taking up too much time [loud cries of "No, No," and "Go on"]. There is a question that has been agitating this community of late very much, especially in some quarters of this city. It is a campaign question with the conspirators. It is the educational condition of this Territory. I remember attending a political meeting held in front of the *Tribune* office on Second South Street before it removed to its present quarters. On a portion of the stand in front of the orators—it was an election subject that was on the *tapis*—was a vessel that contained a liquid to which Mr. Scott Anderson and other temperance men very much object. There was a speaker getting off the usual anti-Mormon buncombe, and as the contents of the jug grew beautifully less his articulation commenced to get proportionately thicker. He reproached the people for their alleged lack of educational facilities, and shouted "Where is your free schools? [imitating the thick articulation of the half intoxicated orator and would-be "Mormon," regenerator.] Where is your seminaries of learning?" [Laughter and applause.]

There has been on this subject a very large cat lately let out of the bag. It was the Methodists that did it this time [Laughter]. You know as well as I know that it has always been asserted that the district or common schools of Utah are sectarian, that the books used in them were sectarian or "Mormon" books; that if children of non-"Mormons" were sent there they are liable to be indoctrinated in the tenets of the "Mormon" faith. This information was conveyed to Senator Hoar by the Utah conspirators, as evinced in his speech on the Utah bill. I here have his own language, and will quote his words to show how he had been stuffed on this subject:

"We find schools established where the text books are selected wholly to instruct the youth of that community in a doctrine inconsistent, as we believe, not only with Christianity, but civilization itself."

He had been primed and loaded by the Utah calumniators of the "Mormons." But the Methodists, at a conference

which lately convened at Ogden, let the whole thing out; for they considered a resolution in their meeting as to the advisability of introducing into their denominational schools text books the same as those in use in the "Mormon" district schools." You see they were so anxious—so deeply anxious—to have their children indoctrinated in the tenets of "Mormonism," as taught in the school books of the district schools of Utah, that they wanted to introduce them into the Methodist schools [Applause], that their pupils might all be made full-fledged "Mormons" [Applause]. This exploded the sectarian theory in relation to the district schools altogether—nothing left of it at all—and it was like all the subterfuges of the conspirators—thin as air.

Statements have frequently been made to the effect that the school-houses are inadequate, that they are mere hovels, which is not true, because we have numerous good school-houses and efficient teachers in the community, and the facilities for education, considering the age of the Territory, are commendable.

There was recently a meeting held in the 8th Ward to consider the advisability of erecting a school house, the accommodation for the school population in the 8th district being insufficient. The object of the meeting was to vote on a tax to provide means to accomplish the object in view. I should have supposed that about a quarter of an hour or so before the time of meeting the "liberal" gentlemen might have been seen rushing towards the place of meeting with their hair streaming in the wind and their coat tails in a bee-line behind them in order that they might get there in good time to vote "Aye" on the tax question, and dig deep into their pockets for the shekels to help build a new school house. I should have supposed that they would be in such a hurry to vote on the question that they could hardly be held back. But they went there and voted solid for "no tax" for school purposes. Grandly consistent! Their position on this question is like that of a man who knocks another man down, puts his foot on him, presses him hard down upon the ground, and at the same time shouts, "Why don't you get up?" [Applause.]

In the 7th Ward, on the 15th instant, a similar meeting was held, and the gentlemen belonging to the same party ["Liberal"] were out in force. Strange to say they took the same position as in the 8th district. And there was there in all his glory—not a member of the district, I believe; I do not know exactly, but I think not—Judge J. R. McBride, the excellent and devout Methodist of a former meeting. In his usual truthful, logical and consistent style he warned the people that only certain persons could vote at any *election*. You can observe the consistency and force of the remarks of this learned gentleman, seeing that the meeting was not convened for *election* purposes at all, but to vote on the question of whether there should be a tax imposed on the residents of the district so as to increase its educational facilities. Every one on the anti-Mormon side of the fence voted "No." It is necessary to formulate another argument, now, seeing that the sectarian one has fallen through, and it was furnished by Mr. O. J. Hollister, ex-internal revenue collector for Utah. He deposited his vote on that occasion on the "no tax" side of the question. I do not deal with private matters. I deal in public affairs, and when a man presents himself before the public in a public capacity, then he is a subject for manipulation on the public rostrum. I will give you this new reason, furnished in two letters published subsequently to the meeting in the *Salt Lake Herald*, from which I will quote. Listen to what this gentleman has to say. Here is a quotation from his communication to the *Herald*:

"It is no difference what is taught in the so-called public schools of Utah or who teaches. The Mormon Church maintains and teaches practices that to the Gentiles are degrading and corrupting. There is no social interchange between Mormons and Gentiles, mainly on this account. If this is the fact as regards grown people, how much more as regards children who cannot be expected to have much wisdom and who are so easily contaminated and corrupted."

Here is the reason, that by the association of Gentile children with "Mormon" children the former become corrupted by the intercourse and companionship and are degraded. What think you of a man that would offer a premeditated

cold-blooded insult not only to every parent in the "Mormon" Church, but to every innocent little, toddling child in that community? What is the substance of the excuse that is offered? It is this: "I am holier than thou." Mr. Hollister reminds me of a character in sacred history presented by the Savior as an illustration of the different qualities of the petitions that are offered to the throne of grace. Do you remember the prayer of the self-righteous Pharisee?—"Lord I thank thee that I am not as other men"—and let me say here, speaking largely for other men, in this instance they are equally thankful for the difference. [Applause.] Another argument was made by that gentlemen on the same occasion. Here is a quotation from another letter of his:

"I beg to reaffirm the statement and to aver, besides, that the Gentiles have paid the full proportion of the taxes that have built and that run the Mormon schools. * * * The reason why the Gentiles object to paying special school taxes besides the above, is because they cannot avail themselves of any advantage therefrom."

Here he attempts to class the "Gentiles" as anti-Mormons, by assuming that they all feel as he and his fellow-conspirators do. That is the usual trick. But let us consider this part of the question: the Gentiles have paid their proportion of the taxes for these purposes. O. J. Hollister was at that meeting, and so was the tax list, so I am informed by the gentleman who took it there. And what was on that tax list? I will tell you; the name of O. J. Hollister conspicuous for its absence. [Applause]. This is the position of the oracle of those who fight the school tax.

THE MORALITY SUBTERFUGE.

The "Mormons" are so very immoral according to the lies that are formulated and spread abroad to further the interest of the conspiracy under the popular prejudice that they may accomplish their purposes. In the *Salt Lake Tribune*, under date of March, 1881, there appeared a peculiar article. The editor of the organ of the conspirators had been conversing with a gentleman of this city on the "Mormon" question, and this gentleman is reported in the article as stating that he rejoiced to see the youth of the "Mormon" community

visiting drinking saloons, gambling dens, houses of ill-fame; and the editor in commenting on the remarks of this so-called gentleman, says: "if freedom can be gained without excesses, so much the better; but if not, gain the freedom, never mind the excesses." And this from the men who would regenerate the "Mormon" community. What think you of the regenerators of Utah?*

You are aware, ladies and gentlemen, that I have spoken in a similar strain as I have to-night on another occasion, quite recently, and I have in consequence been roundly abused by the organ of slander, by the organ of the conspirators; but never a word has been said in regard to my statements. None of them have been quoted or replied to. This is remarkable, because that newspaper had in that meeting a reporter. But it says: "A mentally blasted wretch, a mournful appendage of the *Deseret News*, named Nicholson [laughter], poured out his venom in the 12th Ward." Here is the argument with which I am answered. I am called "a mentally blasted wretch." [Laughter and applause.] Ladies and gentlemen, look upon me and take warning [renewed laughter and applause], and do not have the temerity at any time to fall upon the *Tribune* rock and get broken to pieces [applause]; for do you not see that the huge boulder is likely to roll over me, and, like the wheels of Juggernaut, grind me to powder? [Applause.] I have been called names; but no argument has been adduced. I have been called "a liar," an "egregious ass" [laughter] and other things too numerous to mention; but never a word of the lecture. You are capable of judging whether I am "a mentally blasted wretch" or not. [Laughter] I think I can leave the verdict in your hands.

I have been called, among other things, an alien. If there ever has been anything that I have prided myself upon it has been my birthplace, for I was born on this planet. I know no country but the earth; and I know no people but those who sustain the truth, the final triumph of which will bring about the universal brotherhood of man. I love the institutions of this country as I love my life, for they embody the principles

*—See Appendix.

of human freedom; and where I find men who seek by infamous, infernal designs to crush them into the earth, I am willing to wear myself out in their exposure. [Loud applause.] I am not an alien, however; I am a citizen of the United States. [Applause.] Here is the certificate [holding it up in his hand]. Another truthful statement of the organ of the conspirators nailed to the counter!

I have shown with some clearness I think—I hope you will not think me egotistical if I say so—that the “Mormons” have been defamed; that members of the community have been murdered in cold blood and the crime has been palliated by men who are in your midst, and who have caused lies to be spread broadcast throughout the country. This conspiracy has endeavored to wipe out in the Territory of Utah political and religious freedom, that a small minority might seize the reins of government, and despoil, and crush, and injure an innocent community. I denounce these as crimes against humanity; and I charge the perpetrators with being the genuine agents and operators of “organized crime” in Utah. [Loud applause.]

Thanking you for the kind attention which you have given me, ladies and gentlemen, I wish you all a very good night. [Loud applause.]

(A vote of thanks to the lecturer, put to the audience by the chairman, Hon. Wm. Jennings, was carried by a shout of “Ayes” that seemed to shake the building.)

APPENDIX.

PASSAGES FROM THE FIRST LECTURE.

IN the lecture delivered by Mr. Nicholson in the Twelfth Ward Assembly Rooms, on September 15th, the following passages occurred :

THE SLAVERY HUMBUG.

A great deal has been said about the "Mormons" being in a condition of slavery and serfdom, and these conspirators have a great deal of sympathy for them on that account. They want to make them free; but the liberalizing process is very remarkable. They want to make them free by taking away all their political rights, and give them another kind of freedom—to visit the dens of infamy that have been established here and nurtured by them under the protest and against the active efforts of the Latter-day Saints, without a dissenting voice on their part. That is the kind of freedom they want to introduce.

But let us see how much freedom there is when you come to simmer it down in their own case. There was a man who took part in that Methodist religio-politico meeting held on the 7th of May, 1882, by the name of Jacob S. Boreman, formerly a judge of one of the judicial districts of this Territory. with his headquarters at Beaver. There was brought up before him while he acted in that capacity a "Mormon," by the name of Alonzo Colton. He was indicted under a Territorial statute that had no reference to polygamy whatever—a Territorial law against lascivious cohabitation—and in the face of the fact that he (Boreman) knew that this statute had no application to the case, but that it ought to have come under the law of the United States against bigamy and polygamy, passed by Congress in 1862, that

man was, in Jacob S. Boreman's court, convicted under the Territorial law that had no application, even if he were a polygamist. That is known and acknowledged by every man of all shades of opinion. It would be so admitted universally in this community to-day, except, perhaps, by the honorable gentleman himself. Yet he placed that man in the penitentiary through his bringing his Methodism on to the bench; and Colton served out a term of five years on a conviction brought under a law that had no application to the case. Colton's brother-in-law came up to this city some time after his incarceration. I met him several times. He drew out a petition for his release on the ground that he (Mr. Colton) was illegally convicted and unlawfully held in custody; that his conviction and imprisonment were an outrage. I saw the petition. It was taken to certain men that you and I know perfectly well—independent men who breathe the air of freedom of this great republic. But they did not sign it. They stated to the brother-in-law of Alonzo Colton, something after the language used to the "Mormons" by the late President Martin Van Buren—"Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you." They said, in effect, that they dared not affix their signatures to that paper for fear of the *Tribune* getting after them. They were so free and independent. You understand the balance. I could give you the names of those parties, but I do not wish to be too personal. This is the freedom enjoyed by the conspirators against the peace and freedom of the people of Utah.

In fact the whip of the conspirators, through their organ and the medium of public harangues, has been constantly cracked over the heads of decent men who have in the slightest manner protested against their outrageous operations against the "Mormons," until they have either been forced into line or into a silence under which they have chafed, because of the perpetual outrage upon their ideas of fair play. And yet these conspirators will talk of freedom, and talk with spread-eagle loftiness about the sweets of liberty.

THE MORALITY PLEA.

Let us enquire a little further into the comparative morality of "Mormons" and non-Mormons, as exhibited by the official statistics of two of the chief cities of Utah. In the year 1882 the total number of arrests made in Salt Lake City, by the municipal police, for crimes of every class, was 1,640; of these law-breakers 446 were "Mormons" and 1,194 non-Mormons, yet the latter con-

stitute but one-fourth of the population. They furnished, however, three-fourths of the criminality. In 1883 the arrests amounted to 1,609 in all. Only 150 were "Mormons" and the remaining 1,459 non-Mormons.

Ogden makes a still more striking exhibit in the same direction. In 1881 the relative population was 85 per cent. "Mormons" to 15 per cent. non-Mormons. The arrests numbered 211. Of the persons arrested 21 were "Mormons," the remaining 190 being non-Mormons.

In 1882 the arrests numbered 306, the relative proportion being 22 "Mormons," to 284 non-Mormons.

In 1883 the arrests footed up 537, with a score of 74 for the lawless "Mormons" and 463 for the non-Mormons. In the last named year the proportion of "Mormons" in the population was closely estimated at 71 per cent. "Mormons," leaving 29 per cent. non-Mormons.

These figures are eloquent; they speak in thunder tones, rendering comments upon their showing superfluous.

THE RESPONSIBILITY.

I might refer to cases of mobbing, and driving, and murder that have been the direct result of the publication of false statements formulated by men in this city. I was informed but yesterday by Joseph H. Parry that when he was laboring in the Southern States, in the same district where Joseph Standing was laboring, that the cause of the excitement that resulted in the death of the latter, was, that in the *Journal of Education* were published certain averments by J. M. Coyner. The cue was taken from these statements by the sectarian preachers of that region; those preachers by anti-Mormon harangues worked the people into such a frenzy that that murder was the result, and the blood spots of Joseph Standing are upon the skirts of J. M. Coyner, he being, according to Elder Parry's evidence, one of the indirect causes of that foul assassination.

STATEMENT OF R. G. McNIECE.

"It was also about eighteen months ago that our chapel and school-building in Logan was set on fire. Some one climbed in at the window and having poured coal-oil on the floor, set it on fire. The fire went out; but the next morning the burned floor and the mark of the coal-oil showed too plainly that the purpose was to burn the building."

The verified facts:

"LOGAN, UTAH, June 21, 1884.

"*Editor Deseret News:*

"I send herewith Sheriff Crookston's affidavit regarding the attempt to burn the Presbyterian church. Rev. C. M. Parks, the pastor, has made to me personally a similar statement. Mr. Parks says he will call on you on Monday next and repeat it.

"B. F. CUMMINGS, JR."

"Territory of Utah, County of Cache, Logan Precinct, on this 21st day of June, A. D., 1884, personally appeared before me, B. F. Cummings, Jr., a justice of the peace in and for said precinct, at my office in said precinct, Nicholas W. Crookston, who, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is now and has been ever since before November, A. D. 1882, sheriff of Cache County.

"Said N. W. Crookston further deposes and says, 'On the morning of December 1st, A. D., 1882, I was notified that an attempt to burn the Presbyterian church in Logan had been made during the previous night. I went to the church with County Attorney Maughan. Found a quantity of kindling wood saturated with coal-oil on the floor of the bell tower. The wood had evidently been thrown there through a window and the coal-oil, afterwards found on it, from the window, and a lighted match dropped in on it. A bench used as a seat was charred, the carpet covering on it was burned and some of the kindling wood was also charred. Rev. G. M. Parks, pastor of the church, told me that on the previous evening there had been an entertainment in the church, being Thanksgiving evening; that one, Wm. Buder, came to the entertainment drunk, and that he (Parks) asked him to leave, but he (Buder) would not, and that he (Parks) then put him out by force, and that Buder then threatened to get even with him (Parks).

"The kindling wood had been split off from round blocks sawed from a log. I took three pieces of the kindling and fitted two of them into a block which I found in Buder's yard. The way the pieces fitted, the curve of the grain, the length and the kind of wood, all proved positively that the two pieces I fitted had been split off from the log in Buder's yard. While I was fitting the piece on the block Buder came to me, took hold of me and told me to 'let that wood alone.' He seemed to be very much alarmed.

"In the month of June, A. D. 1883, Buder was in jail. I was his jailor, I told him he had better leave town, and that there was proof that he had tried to burn the Presbyterian church. In reply he said 'the church didn't burn, but I'll get even with Parks before I leave town.'"

N. W. CROOKSTON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 21st day of June, A. D. 1883.

B. F. CUMMINGS, Jr.,
Justice of the Peace.

THE OLD STYLE.

To-day we print a verbatim report of an address delivered by Bishop West at Juab on the 9th inst., as forwarded by a friend.

It reads like the old-day Tabernacle harangues, and the devout brethren and sisters of the former time would have warmly enjoyed and commended it as being "full of the sperret," indeed, we are not sure but away down deep in their hearts they will approve it now. It is a very violent harangue, full of bitter malice and the usual untruths of the fanatics when they undertake to deal with subjects wherein they are opposed. The common dreary twaddle of exclusive holiness and a monopoly of honesty is disgustingly paraded by this dishonest parasite in behalf of a set of rogues whose crimes, peculations, public and private, robberies and unblushing piracies are the amazement of every one who has had to do with the facts. No spot in the Mormon administration, from the tithing yards to the county and Territorial treasuries could bear the light of day. Elder West's main insistence was, in plain words, that it was the command of the Lord, communicated through Joseph Smith, "the martyr," in a vision, about the beginning of the present month, to himself (West), that Governor Murray must be assassinated, and that his successor must in like manner be "removed," until the Gentiles were faint with terror, and let the Saints alone to manage "their own kingdom" in their own way. Of course the howling of such a noisy blatherskite in that vein simply means that he is filled with a murderous hate, but is too cowardly to himself to do the deed he undertakes to spur others up to commit. There is no danger from him, and even in the worst times the brethren had too much discretion and wholesome fear of the consequences to undertake any such villainous programme. In former years Elder West would, however, have been sure of promotion in the church for his efforts, especially if they had been well kept up, for the sect in its wretched development of Brighamism has need of such tools. He starts in too late in the day, however, and will neither win cross, which he might have won in Jackson county, Missouri, nor crown, which he might have gained during the fanatical "reformation" which led up to the Mountain Meadow massacre.

As this notorious fabrication has created considerable interest, on account of the murderous mischief it has created, it is here published in full, as it appeared in the Salt Lake Tribune of March 15th 1884 together with a refutation of it from the pen of George Teasdale.

A RED-HOT ADDRESS.

(From the Salt Lake Tribune.)

Stenographical report of Bishop West's harangue in the Juab school-house, Sunday, March 9th, 1884. Reported by Tobias Tobey for the Salt Lake Tribune.

Juab, Utah, March 9th.

It is time, my brothers and sisters, that we ceased this cowardly silence and humble submission to the rulings and machinations of the devil and his fiery imps at the capitol of this God-forsaken Gentile government; and it is time for us to fling their defiance and scurrilous domination back in their faces. We are the elect

of Christ, and the day of judgment is at hand, and it's our turn then if it isn't now, which I say it is. When Gabriel sounds his trumpet on that awful day, the Gentile hellhounds will find the Saints of God have got all the front seats reserved, and that they can't find standing room for themselves in the gallery. The cause is flourishing in the Juab Stake of Zion, and many souls are being daily rescued from the flames of heathenism. If I had my way not a house would be left standing which sheltered a knavish Gentile. They are eyesores in the sight of the Lord and His vengeance is sure to come. They persecute His Saints and He has commanded them to destroy their persecutors. He has commanded the Saints to rid the earth of the sin-besmudged heretic. He has revealed unto us the foundation of the Gentile Church that it is the devil. (II Nephi ch. 4, verse xx.) Hell is filled with the scurrilous Gentiles and the floors of hell are paved with the skulls of apostates. He who kills a Gentile rids the earth of a serpent and adds a star to his own crown. The Saints are gathering together from sea to sea and they will rise in their awful might and fall upon the enemies of Zion. Let the tabernacles resound with joyful voices for the fulfillment of the prophecies of Moroni are at hand. The minions of the devil are set loose in our midst by the crime soaked politicians who rule our land. The shades of the sainted martyr Smith call aloud for vengeance at the hands of his followers. The blood of the Gentile persecutors shall be spilled on their own thresholds to appease the anger of our prophet. Tune the lyre and beat the cymbals; for our revenge is now at hand. We will wipe out the scum of the Washington blood suckers and the high priest of the devil who assumes to rule in our very midst shall be cut off with a sharp instrument. The thieving Murray issues orders to the Saints of God, and defies every one but the devil, who is his sponsor. His head will be placed upon the walls of our city and his entrails scattered throughout the street of Zion, that every Gentile adventurer may behold and take a care that we are left to pursue our road to Paradise unmolested. Our strength is greater than the world believes, and our will is powerful and undaunted by heretic menaces. The Lord is our shepherd and we cannot fail. The red man is our firm ally and he thirsts for the blood of the enemy of Zion. We are powerful and unassailable in our mountain home and we will roll the massive boulders of destruction down from the mountain tops upon the heads of the unregenerate. Our secret places are stored with crafty explosives with which we will surely destroy the strongholds of the government of Satan. Our young men are drilling for the conflict, and our wives and daughters are making themselves ready to minister to our wants, and the day is close at hand. Let the Gentile leeches and poltroons beware and win our forbearance, if yet they may. The Lord is sorely angered at our persecutors, and He has said to our counselors in a vision that He will deliver our enemy into our hands as He delivered Laban into the hands of Nephi. He will visit the earth, through us, with a worse destruction than He did in the days of the flood, and the ungodly will bite the dust with rage, and their blood will flow in the streets of Zion even as much as the waters in the

day of Noah. Behold, I declare unto you, all ye Saints who revere the memory of the Prophets, that you must begin to gird up your loins and whet your knives. Let the religious fervor of the Saints who are dead and gone recur to your weaker spirits and fire you with the zeal of the destroying angels. Eli Murray is the Cain of our generation. He hates our people and he works for our destruction that he may win for himself a reputation of valor among the ungodly. He is a damned scoundrel, and a pestiferous leper. He is the polluted scum of corruption. He reeks with ungodliness, and he is rotten with heresy. I command every true disciple of Christ to watch out for this damned Yankee interloper, and ye know that there is protection enough for you in Zion if ye kill the whole Gentile race. Last night, as I lay in my bed thinking over the affairs of the Church, and possessed of a strange restlessness, and praying the while for inspiration from the Most High, that I might see the way more clearly to a sure release of my brethren from bondage, behold a great and glorious light suddenly filled my apartment with a glow brighter than the sun. I was at first afraid, and inclined strongly to leap from my bed and flee. But of a sudden I heard a voice which caused my heart to beat with tumultuous joy, for it was that of Joseph Smith. I gazed at him earnestly, expecting and hanging on the words which should perchance fall from his lips, and I beheld that his garments were of a dazzling whiteness, and that his skin was of a dazzling and heavenly whiteness, save the blood-red spots and livid wounds where the bullets of the cursed Gentiles had entered his sainted body, and which were now visible to their eternal damnation, as were the marks of the nails which pierced the hands and feet of Christ. Joseph spoke to me in a voice of wondrous sweetness blended with strains of the direst severity when he spoke of the fate in store for those Saints who neglected what he should now command them. Joseph bade me to cast my eyes about and behold the presence in the midst of the Saints of an emissary of the devil. It was the will of the Most High that this man should be removed, and if other emissaries were chosen to fill his place, even as many as were so chosen should be similarly dealt with. If allowed to remain in our midst, the sin would be on our heads, for it was the command of the Most High God of Abraham and Isaac. It lay in our power to be our own rulers, and our cowardice was the cause of sore distress to the departed Saints who had left us a kingdom. Eli H. Murray was possessed of a devil, and had only the outward semblance of a man. He should and must be trod upon until his bowels gushed out in the streets. The incarnate fiend lurked invisibly behind his hellish disciple, and was intent upon the destruction of Zion. The time was short, and vigorous and immediate action prepotory. The curses of eternal damnation awaited those who failed in this holy mission. The work must not stop at the destruction of one of these hell-hounds, these Erebus-like pestilences in the folds of the anointed, but must extend even to the farthest corners of the earth, until every heretic out of hell was sent home, and the Latter-day Saints were rulers of the land. Much more the beloved Joseph said to me which I am commanded not to reveal unto you until

you prove the sincerity of your faith and love for the prosperity of Zion from what has already been revealed. The direst plagues shall be immediately visited upon you and your children if these divine commands go unheeded. I call upon you who sit there trembling in your seats to beware, and to rise in your strength and win your crown. Let every Saint in Zion be present at the meeting in this building on Sunday next at this hour, and I will discourse further upon these matters which I have, for wise reasons, kept from you during the day up to this minute. The Lord bless you. Amen.

THE FOUL LIBEL REFUTED.

NEPHI, JUAB CO., U. T.

March 18, 1884.

Editor Deseret News:

Please pardon me for referring to a sheet published in your city, called the "Salt Lake Tribune," although I do not presume that it is sustained by any respectable person in this Territory where it has so unenviable a reputation; still it may be sent abroad and fall into the hands of some simple-minded persons who might perhaps be deluded into the impression that it was a truthful sheet, or reliable authority. Not that I think for a moment that any sane person would be so woefully deceived. I wish to refer to a manufactured sensational piece in the issue of Sunday the 16th inst., that has been called to my attention, headed a "Red-Hot Address;" also a short editorial on the subject in which the truthful (?) editor states it had been "forwarded by a friend." O, *tempore!* O, *mores!* It purports to be a "stenographical report of Bishop West's harangue in the Juab school-house, Sunday March 9, 1884, reported by 'Tobias Tobey' for the Salt Lake Tribune." Then follows an address which charity would suggest had been written by an insane person or worse, the offspring of a dreadfully corrupt heart, a miserable disgrace to the *genus homo*, worthy only to rise to "shame and everlasting contempt."

Now, the facts are these: It is all a gross fabrication, Juab is a small town occupied by hotel and boarding house keepers, a store or two and the railroad hands; there is a small branch of the Church, presided over by Elder James Wilson, who is very much respected, but no bishop. On the Sunday referred to there had been a wash-out and all the hands were busy, so that there was no meeting held on that day; and as far as the "Bishop West" is concerned, there is no such bishop there or in the "Mormon" Church, and who "Tobias Tobey" is no one knows.

I have been requested to inform you of these facts, and kindly request that you will waive any feeling of dislike you may have to, in any way, refer to the existence of such a sheet, for the sake of our young Elders on missions, who might perchance meet with this shockingly vile fabrication.

Very Respectfully,

GEORGE TEASDALE.

WHAT UTAH WANTS.

The Salt Lake *Tribune* of March 6th, 1881, had an editorial headed, "What Utah Wants," from which we make the following extracts :

"Apropos of the new and petty war recently started by the municipal government on the women of the town, the liquor dealers and the gambling fraternity, one of the 'enemy' said to us the other day: 'It may be a hard thing to say, and perhaps harder still to maintain, but I believe that billiard halls, saloons and houses of ill-fame are more powerful reforming agencies here in Utah than churches and schools, or even than the *Tribune*. What the young Mormons want is to be freed. So long as they are slaves, it matters not much to what or to whom, they are and they can be nothing. Your churches are as enslaving as the Mormon Church. Your party is as bigoted and intolerant as the Mormon party. At all events I rejoice when I see the young Mormon hoodlums playing billiards, getting drunk, running with bad women—anything to break the shackles they were born in, and that every so-called religious or virtuous influence only makes the stronger. Some of them will go quite to the bad, of course, but it is better so, for they are made of poor stuff, and since there is no good reason why they were begun for let them soon be done for, and the sooner the better. Most of them, however, will soon weary of vice and dissipation, and be all the stronger for the knowledge of it and of its vanity. At the very least they will be free, and it is of such vital consequence that a man should be free, that in my opinion his freedom is cheaply won at the cost of some familiarity with low life. And while it is not desirable in itself, it is to me tolerable, because it appears to offer the only inducement strong enough to entice men out of slavery into freedom.'

So far, the *Tribune's* pretended quotation. Now for its own comments, in the same article:

"*Freedom is the first requisite of manhood, and if it can be won without excesses so much the better. If it can't, never mind the excesses, win the freedom.* It is not you who are responsible, when it comes to that; it is those who have enslaved you. Who is the national hero of the yeomanry of England but Robin Hood, 'waging war against the men of law, against bishops and archbishops, whose sway was so heavy; generous, moreover; giving a poor, ruined knight clothes, horse and money to buy back the land he had pledged to a rapacious Abbott; compas-

sionate, too, and kind to the poor, enjoining his men not to injure yeomen and laborers, but above all rash, bold, proud, who would go to draw his bow before the sheriff's eyes and to his face; ready with blows, whether to give or take.'

* * * * *

"Read the first chapter of Book Two of Taine's English Literature, if you would see what ails Utah, and what it needs as a medicament."

"To vent the feelings, to satisfy the heart and eyes, to set free boldly on all the roads of existence, the pack of appetites and instincts, this was the craving which the manners of the time betrayed. It was 'merry England,' as they called it then. It was not yet stern and constrained. It expanded widely, freely, and rejoiced to find itself so expanded."

* * * * *

"Let the people of Utah rise out of the dust, stand upright, inquire within, lean on themselves, look about them, and try in a large way to be men, as they were born to be. Let them know nobody more puissant than themselves. What is a game of billiards, a glass of beer, a cup of coffee, cigar, or other petty vice, in the span of a strong human life, filled with endeavor in the right direction? The Territory, like the rest of the land, is still in its infancy, still in the pulp of babyhood. It has yet to be made. There is work for men, whose first and last quality is strength, manliness. The day of trifles, and of crouching and cowardice, of criminal surrender to the first howling dervish who calls himself a priest and presumes to speak in the name of the Almighty, has lasted long enough. Let a new era dawn in which men shall dare to be men."

BLOOD ATONEMENT,

AS TAUGHT BY LEADING ELDERS

OF THE

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.



AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED IN THE

TWELFTH WARD ASSEMBLY HALL, SALT LAKE CITY,

October 12, 1884,

BY ELDER CHARLES W. PENROSE.

REPORTED BY JOHN IRVINE.



PRINTED AT JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR OFFICE,
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1884.



INTRODUCTION.

IN the year 1856 the authorities of the "Mormon" Church inaugurated a reformation among its members. They were all required to confess and repent of their sins and renew their covenants with God to live righteous lives and refrain from evil. The President and leading Elders of the Church set the example in this movement, which was generally followed by the Latter-day Saints. Men and women confessed their sins freely, and manifested a disposition to devote themselves to purity of life in all time to come. Certain gross evils being in some instances thus brought to light, the subject of atonement for deadly sin, for transgressions committed after the reception of the Holy Ghost, was forcibly elucidated by leading Elders, particularly by President Young and his counselor, Jedediah M. Grant. Those utterances, given under the circumstances described, have been garbled and misrepresented and published to the world for the purpose of prejudicing the public mind against the Latter-day Saints and hindering the preaching of the latter-day gospel. To correct

false impressions and present the truth on this subject, the address here printed was delivered, by request. And it is now published in the interest of true religion, for the benefit of erring humanity and for the vindication of eternal justice, which will surely claim its own while it takes nothing that belongs of right to sweet mercy.

CHARLES W. PENROSE.

BLOOD ATONEMENT.

THE subject upon which I have to speak to this congregation this evening is one of very great importance, and one that has not been preached upon very often in the manner in which I expect to investigate it. The subject of blood atonement, in a certain sense, is a very common one. All the Christian sects, so-called, believe in that doctrine in some form. But there are ideas in relation to this subject which are peculiar to the Latter-day Saints, and it is these I wish to elucidate. It is presented at the present time in consequence of so many misrepresentations concerning it. The Latter-day Saints and their creed are being continually misrepresented in the world. Some people make it a business to set forth notions and ideas which they claim to be the doctrines of the Latter-day Saints, and which they proceed to argue against and demolish, just like setting up a man of straw and then knocking him down. This doctrine of blood atonement is one of those that are thus misrepresented, and it is because of this that it becomes necessary for me this evening to take up the subject and present it before this congregation.

There is one thing very consoling to me, and that is that the enemies of our people and our faith are compelled to resort to misrepresentation and falsehood in order to find anything to fight us with. If they could bring truth wherewith to meet us they certainly would not resort to falsehood and error, because truth is always mighty, much more powerful than falsehood; and their only strength lies in the fact that the world is not acquainted with our doctrines, our aims and our desires, and therefore are easily imposed upon by anyone who puts forth an idea however monstrous and ridiculous it may be, purporting to be "Mormonism." The people of the world seem, generally, to be more willing to accept anything that is untrue in regard to us than to receive the facts in the case. But I hope there will come a time when we shall have the ears of the people; when we shall be able to present our doctrines from our own standpoint before the world; when we shall be able to represent ourselves instead of being misrepresented by others.

But there is one good that arises out of these persistent attacks upon us, and that is, it develops our powers. We are placed continually on the defensive; we are never let alone; we are all the time stirred to action. This is good for us. It causes us to think and to investigate for ourselves the principles of our holy religion, and to prepare ourselves to defend those principles before all mankind. This develops life among this people. Stagnation is death. Action is life. There is no life

without action, and there is no action without some life.

It will be my purpose this evening to present, first the doctrines of the Latter-day Saints on the subject of blood atonement, then, to show you some of the misrepresentations that have been made about it in the world, and let them be compared with the doctrine as we present it from our standpoint. I shall have to take up some of the writings and sermons of some of our leading men now deceased, such as Presidents Brigham Young and Jedediah M. Grant, also to allude to the scriptures and perhaps cite from one or two works written by persons unconnected with our faith. I will endeavor to do this in as concise a manner as I possibly can, and cover all the ground allotted to me. I trust I shall have your patience, and the faith and prayers of my brethren and sisters, as I feel I need both, not having been able to prepare my mind as thoroughly as I would like to have done for a subject of this magnitude.

The doctrine of blood atonement is founded on the sacrifice made by our Lord Jesus Christ for the sins of the world. When God made this earth—according to the revelations contained in this book, the Bible—He placed a man and a woman in the garden of Eden, and gave them a commandment in regard to a certain tree. They were told not to eat of the fruit of that tree. The penalty if they did eat of it was death. They partook of the forbidden fruit and the penalty came upon them. But a provision concerning this had been previously made, in

the mercy and foreknowledge of God. He understood—knowing all things from the beginning to the end—that Adam and Eve would transgress, that they would break the law, and that it would be necessary to provide some means for their restoration from the effects of that fall, and so we read that Jesus was “a lamb slain from before the foundation of the world.” He was provided beforehand as a sacrifice that this sin which our first parents would commit might be atoned for, so that they might be brought back into the condition that they were placed in before they committed the transgression, and—as the effect of their transgression was to fall upon others—that their posterity also might be restored through the same sacrifice.

When Adam and Eve were placed in the garden they were not mortal beings. They were not subject to death. They were able to live forever. If I were asked what an immortal being is, I would say, a being who is capable—that is, by continuing and living in the law of his existence—of living forever. Adam and Eve were capable of continual existence. But they broke the law of their being and the penalty thereof was death. Now, it took a person who was innocent of sin, a person who was spotless before God, a person upon whom death had no claim, to atone for that transgression. In the justice of God, a person upon whom death had no claim had to atone for the sin of one, or rather two people, made one who had committed that great transgression. They were immortal when they

committed it, and became mortal and not able to atone for it, and therefore the "Lamb without spot," a sinless person upon whom death had no claim, had to come and atone for the sin thus committed.

On the occasion when this great atonement was wrought out by the Lord Jesus Christ, who voluntarily sacrificed Himself that He might atone for this sin, not only was Adam's transgression atoned for by the shedding of Jesus Christ's blood, but His blood was shed as an atonement for the actual transgressions of all mankind. The sin that our first parents committed is technically called original sin. The sins of mortal men and women are called actual sins. I wish to direct your attention to this matter—that Jesus Christ not only died as an atonement for the sin of Adam, the original sin, but He died to offer up a sacrifice as an atonement for the sins of all mankind; for not only did Adam sin, but all his posterity have sinned. As the scriptures say, "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." So Jesus, who was sinless, who "knew no sin and guile was not found in His mouth," voluntarily laid down His life for the guilty. It is true that He was taken by wicked hands and put upon the cross and crucified. But He declared before that event took place, "I lay down my life, that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." And further we are told that "He is a propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only,

but also for the sins of the whole world;" and "as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."

Jesus, then, made a sacrifice for the original sin, and for the actual transgressions of man, but with this difference—Jesus Christ atoned for the sin that Adam committed without any act required on the part of Adam, and without any act on the part of his posterity. Adam's one sin brought death into the world, and it passed upon all mankind. Jesus Christ's atonement brings life again, and so all mankind must stand up again upon their feet in their resurrected bodies and be judged for their own sins, not for Adam's transgression. The penalty for Adam's transgression was death to the human family. The atonement wrought out by Christ brings life to them again. The atonement is as broad as the offence, and the effects of Christ's sacrifice are as extended as the effects of Adam's transgression. As I have quoted to you, "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." But when all men are made alive again, the good and the bad, the bond and the free, Jew and Gentile; when all are brought up again in the time and order that God has ordained, they must be judged for their own transgressions. Now, then, when they are judged for these transgressions, if they have accepted, by their obedience to the laws of God, the gospel of Christ, and the atonement which Christ wrought out for them, His blood will be a propitiation for their actual sins. If they have not accepted that by obedience

to the gospel, then the shedding of His blood will not have effect upon them, and they will have to suffer the penalty. That penalty is banishment from the presence of God, which is spiritual death.

This death was pronounced upon our parents in the beginning. They not only died, as to the body, but were shut out from the presence of God. This is the spiritual destruction which is coming upon the wicked. As the Apostle says, "The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with His mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of His power." But if people accept the atonement wrought out by Jesus Christ for them—and that acceptance is not merely in assenting unto it by word, but in obedience to His gospel—then it will act as a propitiation for their actual sins, just as the Apostle John says: "If we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin." If they are not in the light as He is in the light, if they have not fellowship with Him, then His blood is not a propitiation for their sins. It is shed *unconditionally* for the sin of Adam; it is shed *conditionally* for the actual sins of his posterity.

This may be a little different from the view entertained by "Christian" sects; but all people who

profess to be "Christians" believe in the atonement wrought out by Christ in some way or other—that is, they believe that through Christ's blood atonement was made for sin, and that through that atonement they have acceptance with God. They have various views in regard to doctrinal matters, but this is the cardinal point, and it enters into every creed of the "Christian" religion.

Now, on what principle was this predicated? It was on the principle laid down by the Apostle Paul in his epistle to the Hebrews, to which I will draw your attention, for there is a reason for all these things. There is a reason why blood had to be shed. Atonement could not have been made without the shedding of blood. The 22nd verse of the 9th chapter of Paul's epistle to the Hebrews says: "And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission." There is no remission of sins without the shedding of blood, and "the wages of sin is death." That is the penalty. "The soul that sinneth it shall die." That is the law of God. But Christ, who was sinless, offered Himself as a propitiation for the sins of those upon whom death had a claim, and if they accept His atonement, they obtain the benefit thereof. Instead of the blood of the individuals being shed, the blood of Christ was shed for them, and it stands in the place of their blood. What is the reason of that? Why, we are told in the book of Leviticus, the 17th chapter and 11th verse: "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon

the altar to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul." Here you see the doctrine of blood atonement laid down, and the reason for it. "The life of the flesh is in the blood," and it requires the shedding of blood to make "atonement for the soul." But, as I have shown you, the blood of every individual man and woman is not required, because of the atonement wrought out by Jesus Christ. Here is a cardinal principle of the law of God—that without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins. Therefore, if Christ's blood had not been shed, each individual would have had to have his blood shed, according to Bible doctrine. This may sound very horrifying to some people; but it is Bible doctrine all the same. It is the doctrine of the Old Testament, it is the doctrine of the New Testament; atonement or sacrifice was based on this, and this doctrine was practised by the people before the law of Moses was given.

Take the Old Testament and read the account given in the Book of Genesis. There you will find that sacrifices were offered as soon as our first parents came out from the Garden of Eden. They understood the principle of sacrifice, for the law of sacrifice was revealed to them. If I were to read from the book called *The Pearl of Great Price* you would see the reason for it; but a great many people would not receive what is contained in that book as authoritative. But the Bible shows that the law of sacrifice was revealed to the patriarchs, and under it, before the law of Moses was given,

the people are represented as offering up sacrifices for individual sins, and when the law of Moses was received, this was amplified and made clear. Plain and definite laws were given to the people by revelation from God through Moses, so that when they committed certain sins the blood of certain animals was shed as a sacrifice for those sins.

All those sacrifices which were offered up before Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, came into the world were typical of the atonement that He was to work out. It was not the shedding of the blood of goats, sheep and bullocks upon the altar that made the atonement; but this was typical of the atonement of Jesus Christ in the future; just as we, when we partake of the Lord's Supper, have a piece of bread and a cup of water, or wine, as the case may be, to represent the atonement wrought out in the past. As the bread and wine, or water, of the sacrament represent the body and blood of Christ who died for us, so all those sacrifices which were offered up in the Mosaic dispensation, and in the Patriarchal dispensation which preceded it, were typical of the atonement to be wrought out by Jesus Christ when He should come. Their ceremonies looking to the future, ours referring to the past. So the doctrine of salvation, you see, is absolutely based on blood atonement, and without blood atonement there is no salvation, for there is no remission of sin. And there would be no resurrection if it had not been for the shedding of the blood of Jesus Christ. He was given as a ransom for us all. He said, "And I if I be lifted up, will

draw all men towards me." And again on another occasion: "Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice. And shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." Showing that though His blood was shed for the resurrection of mankind, yet when they were resurrected, all would not enter into life and receive the full benefit of the atonement because they did not obey His commandments.

Now, the people called Latter-day Saints believe in the efficacy of the blood of Jesus Christ. They believe that it cleanses from sin. They believe that through faith in God and repentance of sin, and baptism in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, they obtain a remission of all their past guilt; that they become washed and made clean through obedience to this principle and ordinance. This is the gospel revealed in these last times to us, as God revealed it through Jesus in former times, which we may read in the New Testament. The people in the days of the Apostles were called upon to believe in Jesus Christ, to repent of their sins, and to be baptized in water for the remission of sins; remission of sins coming through the shedding of Christ's blood, baptism being administered by one having authority from Jesus Christ and being void without it is administered by that authority. But an individual who believes in Christ, and who

repents—that is turns away from his sins—and is baptized in the name of Jesus Christ by one having authority from Him, receives the blessing of the remission of sins, which is given to him through his obedience, in the act of baptism, and through the shedding of Jesus Christ's blood. Persons who have been thus washed from their sins, who have been thus made clean, who have been thus regenerated, are thus made fit to receive the Holy Ghost—which Holy Ghost will not dwell in unclean tabernacles. But being washed clean, and believing in the blood of Christ, they are made fit to receive the Holy Ghost. This is the Spirit of Truth, which bears record of the Father and of the Son, and makes the things of God plain to humanity. It is a constant monitor to those who will listen to its voice.

But there are persons who, after having been washed and made clean through the blood of Christ, and made members of His Church, again commit sin. What about them? Why, if they truly repent, and make all the restitution that lays in their power, they may be forgiven, they may be cleansed again. But there are some sins that can be committed from which they cannot be cleansed by the blood of Christ. After receiving the gospel and entering into sacred covenants with God Almighty, after having been enlightened by the spirit of truth, having tasted of the good word of God and the power of the world to come; if they commit certain sins they cannot gain the remission of those sins through the blood

of Jesus Christ. That may be a new doctrine to many people of the world, but it is an old doctrine to the Latter-day Saints, and you can find it laid down distinctly and clearly in the Bible.

As the misrepresentations that have been made concerning this doctrine are all founded upon some remarks made some years ago by Presidents Brigham Young and Jedediah M. Grant, I will here read President Young's doctrine on this subject so that you may understand it as it was enunciated by him. I have here a volume of a work called the *Journal of Discourses*, containing sermons preached by our leading Elders for many years. These were first published in the *Deseret News* in this country, and afterwards in England—42 Islington, Liverpool—in book form. Thus they were no secret, as some traducers would have the world believe. What I am about to read is in the Fourth Volume, page 53 :

"There are sins which men commit for which they cannot receive forgiveness in this world, or in that which is to come, and if they had their eyes open to see their true condition, they would be perfectly willing to have their blood spilt upon the ground, that the smoke thereof might ascend to heaven as an offering for their sins; and the smoking incense would atone for their sins, whereas if such is not the case, they will stick to them in the spirit world.

"And furthermore I know that there are transgressors, who, if they knew themselves, and the only condition upon which they can obtain forgiveness, would beg of their brethren to shed their blood, that the smoke thereof might ascend to God

as an offering to appease the wrath that is kindled against them, and that the law might have its course. I will say further I have had men come to me and offer their lives to atone for their sins.

"It is true that the blood of the Son of God was shed for sin through the fall and those committed by men, yet men can commit sins which it will not remit."

Now, according to the doctrine of President Brigham Young, the blood of Jesus Christ, as I have shown you, atoned for the original sin, and for sins that men commit, and yet there are sins which men commit for which they cannot receive any benefit through the shedding of Christ's blood. Is that a true doctrine? It is true if the Bible is true. That is Bible doctrine. I will direct your attention to one or two passages of scripture which bear on this subject. In the first place I will refer you to the words of the Lord Jesus Christ, which you will find in the 12th chapter of the gospel according to St. Matthew and the 31st and 32nd verses, namely:

"Wherefore I say unto you, all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men.

"And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh a word against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come."

Here is one sin spoken of by the Lord Jesus Christ which will not be forgiven in this world,

nor in the world to come, notwithstanding that Christ's blood has been shed for the remission of sins. And why is this? It is to be supposed that a person who sins against the Holy Ghost must have first received the Holy Ghost. A person who never received the Holy Ghost, never was enlightened by it, never enjoyed that heavenly gift, could not sin against the Holy Ghost; but if he has received the Holy Ghost through obedience to the gospel of Jesus Christ—having first been washed clean of his transgressions through the atoning blood of Christ—then if he sins against that Holy Ghost he sins against light, he sins against knowledge, he sins understandingly, he sins wilfully, and then there is no more cleansing from sin, as I will show you from another text, in the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews, 10th chapter 26th verse:

“For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins.”

There is then no more sacrifice for sins. Why? Because he has received the benefit of Christ's atonement and the light of God as the consequence of obedience, and then sinned against that light, for which there is no forgiveness in this world, nor in the world to come. Now, you take that with the doctrine of Brigham Young and you will find that they harmonize and that there are some sins for which we cannot receive forgiveness. We must pay the penalty. There are some sins that people commit, and no matter how much they may repent, no matter how sorry they may be af-

terwards, yet the effects of the sins have such far-reaching consequences that they will have to pay the penalty of their transgressions before they can come forth from punishment and receive the blessing of God. As Jesus said, "They shall be cast into prison and verily they shall not come out thence until they have paid the uttermost farthing." There are sins that can be forgiven. There were sins that could be forgiven in olden times by offering certain sacrifices on the altar. Then there were other sins that could not be atoned for in that way; the individual himself had to pay the penalty by his blood, as I can show by reference to the book of Leviticus. However, I will cite you now to the First Epistle of John, 5th chapter and 16th verse, namely:

"If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it."

The Apostle John seems to have understood this doctrine in the same way that President Young understood it—that there are some sins that are sins unto death, and he would not counsel men to pray for a man who had sinned unto death. Hence you see that John the Apostle and Brigham Young are in harmony on this question. Let me turn now to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the 4th verse of the 6th chapter, which reads:

"For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly

gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost,

“And have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come,

“If they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame.”

According to the Apostle Paul, then, after a man has been enlightened by the heavenly gift, after he has received the Holy Ghost as a gift from God, after he has tasted of the good word of God and of the powers of the world to come, if he shall fall away it is impossible to renew him again unto repentance; therefore it is impossible for him to be saved; for he cannot repent, and there is no forgiveness without repentance, and when a man gets into such a condition that he cannot repent, he cannot be saved. If he cannot repent he cannot be forgiven; he must pay the penalty; and if his sins are of such a character that he is worthy of death he must suffer the penalty: otherwise there is no salvation for him, according to the doctrine that the Apostle lays down in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Now let me cite you to the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians and 5th chapter. In the first part of this chapter the apostle refers to a very great sin, a sexual crime, which was had among the Corinthian saints. The former-day saints sometimes committed great transgressions just like some of the Latter-day Saints, so that the Latter-day Saints are no worse than the former in that

respect. For in the ancient church of Christ some apostatized, and those who came into that church and afterwards fell away, became much worse than people who had never tasted of the word of God, nor of the power of the world to come. The Apostle Paul writes about a gross sin that I need not mention to-night; but he says:

“For I verily, as absent in body but present in spirit, have judged already as though I were present concerning him that hath done this deed,

“To deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.”

I wonder how much our modern Christian friends understand of that doctrine. Paul understood it, the Corinthian saints understood it. Here was a man who came into the church, received the Holy Ghost, was made partaker of the heavenly gift, had rejoiced in the truth, and then, through temptation and wickedness, he went into corruption, violated the covenants he had made to be true and faithful to God by ceasing from sin, and committed a gross transgression for which he could not have forgiveness—such a one was to be delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Now, it seems, according to this doctrine of the Apostle Paul, that if that man was destroyed in the flesh there would be some chance for him to be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Why? Because he had made as much atonement as he possibly could for his sin. He had given his life. What is life? The life of

the flesh is the blood. So the scriptures say. He was delivered over to the buffetings of Satan that he might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. This is the same as the doctrine taught by the Savior. Brigham Young understood it perfectly. He says there are some sins men may commit for which they cannot get forgiveness, for which they will have to suffer the penalty in the world to come, but if their blood is shed as an offering for their sin, their spirits might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus; just exactly as the Apostle Paul teaches here, in the text I have read to you.

Now, what kind of sins are there for which men cannot get forgiveness? The Apostle John says in the same epistle I read from just now—the 3rd chapter of the First Epistle of John:

“No murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.”

The man who commits murder, who imbrues his hands in the blood of innocence, cannot receive eternal life, because he cannot get forgiveness of that sin. What can he do? The only way to atone is to shed his blood. Hanging is not the proper method. I refer you now to the 9th chapter of the Book of Genesis, 6 verse:

“Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed.”

That is the law of God as laid down in the beginning; that if a man shall shed blood, by man shall his blood be shed. Why? Because the blood is the life of the flesh, and is the only atonement a man can make for killing another. A mur-

derer, by the shedding of his blood, may make some atonement for his sin; but he cannot come forth and inherit an exaltation in eternal life, he must be content with a less degree of glory. Still, as Brother Brigham taught, there is a chance for some men who have committed this great transgression if their blood be shed, and there are others who, even if they were willing to have their blood shed, could not obtain forgiveness for their transgressions. You can read about this in the revelation on celestial marriage. (*Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. cxxxii, par. 26-7.*) They are those who have not only been baptized into the Church of Christ, received the power of the Holy Spirit and been enlightened from on high, but have been in the most sacred places on the earth, ordained of God by His holy law, and have made special covenants in relation to that and other sins; they have been specially enlightened; they have gone from step to step, from grace to grace, from knowledge to knowledge, and have had keys of power placed in their hands whereby, if they are faithful, they may climb to the highest pinnacle of honor and glory in the presence of our Heavenly Father, and then they turn round and commit this great transgression, the shedding of innocent blood. For them there is no forgiveness. They will be banished from the presence of God; they cannot inherit the glory which was sealed upon them, however repentant they may be; they cannot come up in the first resurrection and enter into their exaltation; but they must be cast out from the pres-

ence of God and have the everlasting penalty pronounced, "Depart from me ye workers of iniquity." They will be banished from the presence of God, which is spiritual destruction, that spiritual death which is called the "second death."

But, there are other persons who by making this atonement may obtain redemption—persons that have not advanced to this degree of knowledge and understanding, and whose sins are not of so heinous a nature. Because sin is guaged by the light of the individual. The depth of man's infamy is guaged by the degree of his light and his opportunity. He that knows much is expected to do much. Of him that knows but little, only little is expected. If a man has great light and he sins he is the greater sinner. I have heard people argue that all sin is the result of ignorance. Well, it is just the other way. Sin is rather the result of knowledge; because a man cannot sin without some light. An idiot cannot sin, because he is irresponsible. It takes a responsible being to do responsible wrong. The more responsible a man is, the greater wrong he does if he commits transgression. The greater a man's light is, the greater his sin. The greater the light, the greater the condemnation for doing wrong. That is based upon the eternal principle of justice. From this, then, it would seem that if a man commits a sin unto death there is no redemption: if not unto death, and he pays the penalty, there is for him a chance of salvation.

This divine law for shedding the blood of a

murderer has never been repealed. It is a law given by the Almighty and not abrogated in the Christian faith. It stands on record for all time—that a murderer shall have his blood shed. He that commits murder must be slain. “Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed.” I know there are some benevolent and philanthropic people in these times who think that capital punishment ought to be abolished. Yet I think the Lord knows better than they. The law He has ordained will have the best results to mankind in general.

Well, is there any other sin that a man may commit which is worthy of death? I think there is. I will refer you to one in the Book of Leviticus, 20th chapter and 10th verse:

“And the man that committeth adultery with another man’s wife, even he that committeth adultery with his neighbor’s wife, the adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death.”

That was the law of God in the days of Moses. It was the law of God previous to the days of Moses, as you will find by reference to the Book of Genesis. It has been a law of God from the beginning. Some people have an idea that Jesus Christ did away with that law, and they bring up the case of the woman that had been taken in transgression. The object of the Pharisees in bringing the woman to the Savior was that they might catch Him in some way. You will find by reading the history of Jesus Christ’s ministry on the earth that it was then as it is to-day—snares are all the time being laid to catch the servants of

God. They tried to entrap Him in many ways, but He was able to meet them with the wisdom of the Great God; for the Spirit of God was given to Him without measure. The woman they brought to Him was taken in this great transgression. The Pharisees knew the law of Moses was that she should be put to death. They inquired what Jesus had to say. He stooped down and thought a little while, then wrote with His finger on the ground and exclaimed, "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone!" The Pharisees looked at each other and finally they slipped away. Why? Because that was "an evil and adulterous generation." Those self-righteous hypocrites were guilty of the transgression themselves, and the person to inflict the penalty justly, had to be one who was not guilty; for how could one such sinner rightly inflict the penalty upon another? Jesus Christ's words smote them to the heart, and they slunk off and left the woman standing there. Did the sinner go free? Did Jesus say the law ought not to be inflicted? No. He asked: "Woman, where are thine accusers?" They were gone. "Neither do I accuse thee." It must be remembered that there must be accusers as well as judges. Jesus set a pattern which judges in these times would do well to follow. He did not act as an attorney for the prosecution or as a witness against the accused as well as a judge to pronounce the sentence. "Woman, where are those thine accusers? * * * Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more."

In regard to this offence the law of the Lord to the Latter-day Saints teaches that if a member of the Church commits adultery and repents with all his heart he shall be forgiven, but if he does it again he shall be cast out. But there is another law in relation to this that goes a little further, that is in regard to persons who have advanced in the knowledge of God. A man who comes into this Church and is baptized for the remission of his sins and advances no further in the order of God, if he commits this transgression and truly repents and commits the sin no more—and true repentance is shown by refraining from sin in future—he may be forgiven. But if he has entered the sacred covenant spoken of in the revelation on celestial marriage and then commits that transgression, what is the penalty? Why, if it were carried out to the full extent as in times of old his blood would be shed. As it is he is excommunicated—cut off from every gospel privilege. Is not that strong doctrine? Yes, it is strong doctrine, but it is true doctrine. Should not virtue be at least as dear to us as life? I think it should. I think that virtue should be dearer than life, if there is any difference between them. Then if he who sheds a man's blood should have his blood shed: if he who takes life is worthy of death, then he who takes that away which is dearer than life is also worthy of death, and any man who commits adultery with his neighbor's wife, or leads his neighbor's daughter astray, after he has entered the new and everlasting covenant, can only make atonement for his trans-

gression by the pouring out of his blood upon the earth. For he has tampered with the fountain of life, he has defiled life at its mainspring and polluted the source from which life comes. That is the doctrine upon which the law was predicated—that the adulterer and the adulteress should be put to death. Thus, there are some sins that cannot be atoned for through the blood of Christ. They can only be atoned for by the shedding of the sinner's blood. A murderer is one, and an adulterer is another. And there is plenty of proof in what I have read that this is Bible doctrine.

But I want to carry this subject a little further. Suppose we grant the position that a murderer is worthy of death, and that he is particularly worthy of death if he has been enlightened by the power of God and knows the full extent of that great transgression—supposing we admit that for the sake of argument—the next question that arises is, Who is to inflict the penalty? What do our Church laws say on this subject? I will refer you to section xlii of the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and the eighteenth verse:

“And now, behold, I speak unto the Church. Thou shalt not kill; and he that kills shall not have forgiveness in this world, nor in the world to come.

“And, again, I say, Thou shalt not kill; but he that killeth shall die.”

Here is the law of God to the Church. You know it is represented abroad that the Latter-day Saints believe in killing in a great many different

directions. But here is the law of God to the Church by revelation. This is the word of God Almighty to the Saints. This law is given to people who have been baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost, who have been made partakers of the heavenly gift—"Thou shalt not kill; but he that killeth shall die." But that does not answer the question, Who is to inflict the penalty? I will refer you to a passage a little further on in the same revelation—section xlii, verse 79:

"It shall come to pass, that if any persons among you shall kill, they shall be delivered up and dealt with according to the laws of the land; for remember that he hath no forgiveness, and it shall be proven according to the laws of the land."

Now, there is the word of the Lord to this Church—that if a man kills he shall be delivered up to be dealt with according to the laws of the land. Again we are told,

"Let no man break the laws of the land, for he that keepeth the laws of God hath no need to break the laws of the land. (*Doc. and Cov. sec. lviii, par. 21.*)"

I will say here in passing that the law of 1862 in regard to our religious tenet of plurality of wives was not passed when this revelation was given. It was afterwards enacted with special reference to a principle, doctrine, tenet and practice of our religion; it was passed with a view to putting down an establishment of our religion.

In another revelation to be found in the Doctrine and Covenants, section xcvi, paragraphs 6 and 7, we are told:

"Therefore, I, the Lord, justify you and your brethren of my Church in befriending that law which is the constitutional law of the land.

"And as pertaining to the law of man, whatsoever is more or less than these cometh of evil."

We regard the law of 1862 as unconstitutional, as you are well aware, on the ground I have mentioned, namely, that it aims to suppress an establishment of our religion, and therefore is contrary to the Constitution. But here is a general principle laid down by the Lord to the Church—that they are to obey the laws of the land. If a man commits a crime he is to be delivered over to be dealt with according to the laws of the land, and his offense is to be proven, not by the laws of the Church, but by the laws of the land. The Church can withdraw fellowship from him, but the Church has no authority to execute the death penalty. A man may be deserving of death; but it is not in the province of the Church to kill, he must be delivered over to be dealt with according to the laws of the land.

But here I shall be cited by our opponents to some remarks by Elder Jedediah M. Grant. Little bits of extracts have been sent abroad from time to time, and a great many false constructions put upon them. But here is something that seems to come in conflict with the revelation I have read:

"I say that there are men and women that I would advise to go to the President immediately, and ask him to appoint a committee to attend to their case; and then let a place be selected, and let that committee shed their blood." (*Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 4, page 51.)

What kind of folks was he talking about? Let us see.

"Some have received the Priesthood, a knowledge of the things of God, and they dishonor the cause of truth, commit adultery and every other abomination beneath the heavens, and then meet you here or on the street and deny it. (*Journal of Discourses, Vol. 4, page 51.*)

These were the kind of people he was talking about. Brother Grant expressed in this strong language his feelings in regard to these transgressors. He felt that they were worthy of death; and that the only chance for them was to have their blood shed. You must remember that this was at the time of the reformation, when all the people in these valleys were required to repent of their sins and renew their covenants; when the power of God rested upon the people and caused them to rise in their meetings and confess their sins, and then it was found that some men who had received the Priesthood had committed adultery and other great transgressions, as members had done in the early Christian church. This was why Brother Grant expressed himself so strongly.

The question arises whether any one of these received the penalty. Does any one know of a single case of blood atonement, in the popular sense of the term, having been inflicted in Utah? If you do, you know more than I do, and I have investigated the matter pretty thoroughly. Has there ever been a case of blood-shedding by the authorities of the Church, or by the sanction of the Church, outside of the regular operations of

the criminal law? I say there has not, and let those who say there have been such instances bring forth their proofs. The burden of proof is upon them. I deny that there has ever been a case of blood atonement in Utah, in the sense that the charge has been spread abroad to the world. I admit that the doctrine has been preached, that men have committed sins for which they were worthy of death—sins for which they could not get forgiveness short of shedding their blood; but I deny that the law has been enforced, and I will give you the reason why it was not enforced. This is from a sermon by President Brigham Young, published in the same book, page 220:

“I could refer you to plenty of instances where men have been righteously slain in order to atone for their sins. I have seen scores and hundreds of people for whom there would have been a chance (in the last resurrection there will be) if their lives had been taken and their blood spilled on the ground as a smoking incense to the Almighty, but who are now angels to the devil until our Elder Brother Jesus Christ raises them up—conquers death, hell and the grave. * * * *

The wickedness and ignorance of the nations forbid this principle's being in full force, but the time will come when the law of God will be in full force.”

I now read from the same discourse, page 219:

“The time has been in Israel under the law of God, the celestial law, or that which pertains to the celestial law, for it is one of the laws of that kingdom where our Father dwells, that if a man was found guilty of adultery he must have his blood shed, and that is near at hand. But now I say, in

the name of the Lord, that if this people sin no more, but faithfully live their religion, their sins will be forgiven them without taking life."

President Young and Jedediah M. Grant preached this doctrine to the people at that time, because there was a necessity for it in consequence of the transgressions of the people, and it worked upon them in the same way that the instructions which Jesus Christ gave to His apostles acted upon the people in His day, and have a similar effect in this day—that is, by the principle of fear. For instance, Jesus declared:

"He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned."

You will find just such declarations all through the revelations of God. His servants in preaching the gospel have had to hold up the penalty for sin that fear might take hold upon the wicked, and that people might be led not to transgress the divine commands. There is a higher law to which we all should advance, and that is that men should learn to do right for righteousness sake; men should learn to avoid wrong because it is wrong, not because they will be damned for doing it, not because there will be a penalty inflicted for committing sin, but because it is wrong and their souls revolt against it. Men should do right for the love of it, not because there is a reward for doing right, but because right is good, and is beautiful, and is exalting. But have all mankind reached that high plane? No; very few have advanced to it. The doctrine of condemnation has to be

preached to the world as well as the doctrine of salvation. People have to be encouraged by the hope of reward, and deterred from doing wrong by the fear of punishment; whereas, he that is governed by the higher law—the law that God lives, that Jesus Christ lives—says, “This is right, therefore I will do it; that is wrong, therefore I will avoid it *because* it is wrong; for if I do wrong it debases me, but if I do right it exalts me.” For the practice of right elevates a man, while the practice of wrong brings him down and degrades him. But the divine appeal to all is, generally, “If you will keep my commandments you will be rewarded; if you commit transgression you shall be damned.” That is the word of the Lord to the world. Now, Brothers Jedediah M. Grant and Brigham Young, because of the transgression of the people, spoke as I have quoted. This was the time of the “reformation” and the fears of evil-doers were worked upon to induce reform, and hence the strong language used at that time. Do we need the same language now? I hope not; but if there was any need for it, it would be just as applicable now as then.

The reason why this penalty referred to by President Young was not inflicted as in olden time was because of the laws of the land. We have to observe them as I have just read to you. The law of the land says that if a man kills he shall suffer death. But the laws of the land don't say that the adulterer shall be put to death. Therefore, the penalty, however deserved, cannot be inflicted.

Sometimes an injured husband pursues the seducer or the adulterer, and sheds his blood, and it is very seldom if ever, in this country, that a person who takes the law into his own hands and inflicts this penalty has to suffer the judgment of the law against murder. A jury of his countrymen will scarcely ever convict a man who takes vengeance on the seducer of his wife, sister or daughter. But it is not for the Church to inflict this deserved penalty, because the church wishes to observe the laws of the land; and the commandment of God is, if a man commits murder he shall be delivered up to be dealt with according to the laws of the land.

Now, if there appears to be some conflict between Elder Jedediah M. Grant's remarks which I have quoted, and what I read to you from the Doctrine and Covenants—I don't think there is however—it must be remembered that we are to be governed by the law of God. And the law of God by revelation from on high, the law of God as revealed through the head, is of greater importance and more binding than the opinions of any man no matter who he may be. The law of God is paramount. When men give their views upon any doctrine, the value of those views is as the value of the man. If he is a wise man, a man of understanding, of experience and authority, such views are of great weight with the community; but they are not paramount, nor equal to the revealed law of God. However, I see no conflict between Brother Grant's views and the revelation, and I have

explained to you from President Young's own discourse the reason why the death penalty was not inflicted, and this is evidence that as a matter of fact it was not inflicted.

Yet the most frightful stories have been published concerning the alleged blood atonement among the "Mormons," and the most horrible pictures have been printed to illustrate those imaginary sacrifices. I wish I could throw upon a screen these pictures published in this book "The Mysteries of Mormonism," that you might see for yourselves. These stories and disgusting pictures have been published and spread abroad throughout the United States for the purpose of misrepresenting this doctrine of blood atonement. I know of no fitting use for such works unless it is to be put in the fire. But that you may know something of the character of this book I will read to you an extract :

"Mrs. Maxwell had two sons, aged respectively fourteen and sixteen years. Their father urged them to go through the Endowment House and become Mormons, bound by all the oaths of the church. Mrs. Maxwell objected, and in order to prevail over her sons she told them the secrets of the Endowment House.

"The penalty for revealing these secrets is dismemberment of the body, the throat cut, and the tongue torn out.

"Mr. Maxwell overheard his wife, being in an adjoining room, and forthwith he informed the Elders, who sent for the unfortunate woman and her two sons. They were taken into what is called the "dark pit," a blood atoning room under Brig-

ham Young's house. The woman was then stripped of all her clothing, and then tied on her back to a large table. Six members of the Priesthood then performed their damnable crime; they first cut off their victim's tongue, they then cut her throat, after which her legs and arms were severed.

"The sons were compelled to stand by and witness this dreadful slaughter of their mother. They were then released and given twenty-four hours to get out of the Territory, which was then an impossibility. The sons went directly to the house of a friend, to whom they related the butchery of their mother, and obtaining a package of provisions they started; but on the following morning they were both dead.

"They had met the Danites.

"Created in the most sombre secrecy, this infamous organization was from the first a shadowy terror known only by its works. The real calling of a "Destroying Angel" is rarely known save among his fellows. To the bulk of the people to whom he is a constant menace, the assassin of the church is a mere spectre, red-handed, merciless and deadly, but invisible" "and therefor the more dreadful. Your murderer might be your own brother, and you never dream it, so well are the secrets of this shameful order kept."

Now the person who wrote this, claims to have seen one of these "Destroying Angels," or "Danites," and I will read what is said, so that you will see how much value to place upon the story:

"An instance of this: One day in Salt Lake City I was out walking with a male relative, and a man stopped us. During the conversation I watched him closely, because he was so handsome—with light, wavy brown hair, skin like a girl's, and beautiful blue eyes. He was tall and

of slender build. He was dressed after the fashion of men in general, except that he wore a large sombrero, which he kept drawn well over his face. He conversed affably, his voice being noticeably melodious. After he went his way my cousin said:

"Well, you have seen one at last."

"One what?" I asked.

"An Avenging Angel."

"Where, where?" I asked, looking around.

"Why, the man who has just left us. He is the chief "Avenging Angel," and has had a hand in the bloodiest deeds that have stained the record of this Territory."

That is how she knew that she had seen a "Destroying Angel." What could be more convincing? Her cousin told her so and she was prepared to credit that and more too, and hence the "horrible tales" that are told to travelers who are ready to gulph them down.

These are the kind of stories published to the world in regard to this doctrine of blood atonement. I think I will read an extract or two from another work: "Fifteen years among the Mormons," which has been circulated extensively throughout the country. The author of this work—Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith—says:

"I deem it proper to state in connection, that the mysteries of the Second Anointing of the Endowments, among other inhuman ceremonies are supposed"—

A good many things supposed, you see. "to be defiled by the monstrous rite of offering human sacrifices, or at least, that the doctrine is fully taught and developed there. Enough has

already transpired among the women to justify this conclusion. Those who have not taken this anointing, and but a comparatively small number have taken it, are very alarmed about this as they know not what to expect. They are always upon the rack, as they are liable to be called upon at any time to go to the Endowment rooms for that purpose."

How much truth there is in that you folks that are "on the rack" can tell. You would never have known in what fears you lived if this veracious(?) historian had not told you.

Again:

"The Mormons recognize the *right*, and inculcate the *duty* of the father to slay his daughter or her lover, as a last resort, to prevent her marriage with a "Gentile."

Did you "Mormons" ever hear of such a "right or duty" before? But here is a story of a father who is said to have been absent when his daughter married a "Gentile." I read from the same book:

"For when he heard of it, he wrote to the prophet blaming him very severely for not preventing the marriage by the sacrifice of her life. He wrote that he should always feel dissatisfied because the blood of his daughter had not been shed to atone for the sin of marrying out of the church."

What do you think of a story like that? But here is an account of a man by "the name of Hartly, who is said to have been blood atoned:"

"I do not understand all he discovered, or all he did; but they found he had written against the Church, and he was cut off; and the prophet

required, as an atonement for his sins, that he should lay down his life. That he should be sacrificed in the endowment rooms, where human sacrifices are sometimes made in this way. This I never knew until my husband told me, but it is true. They kill those there who have committed sins too great to be atoned for in any other way. The prophet says if they submit to this he can save them; otherwise they are lost. Oh, that is horrible!"

It is indeed very horrible; almost as horrible to invent such falsehoods as the stories would be if they were true. But I do not think I will take up any more time in reading extracts of that kind. There is just one more, however, that I would like to read from a lecture by the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, who was once in this city, and who has delivered a great many misleading lectures on "Mormonism." In a lecture delivered in Dr. Cuyler's church in Brooklyn, he said:

"The Mormon women are expected to do all the work of the farm and support the man, leaving him to idle away his time if he likes, perhaps hunting or fishing. They are not only servants, but slaves; and if any wife tries to escape she is shot down by the Danites, and her carcass is left to rot on the ground."

These are a very few of the stories circulated in regard to this doctrine of blood atonement, and it has been given out by a sheet published in this city—the name of which I never like to mention, it always leaves such a bad taste in my mouth—that a great many persons, Latter-day Saints, have been blood atoned; that is, they have had their

blood shed for the commission of certain sins; that the doctrine of the Church is that apostates must have their blood shed, and to carry this doctrine still further it has been stated that persons who never were members of the Church at all have been "blood atoned." The Mountain Meadows massacre is referred to. Those who suffered that awful fate were, it is asserted, "blood atoned;" and the same has been said of some horse-thieves who were killed while escaping from the officers of justice. Well, the best answer to all these stories is, that they cannot produce a single case of blood atonement—cannot produce one individual case of a man or woman in this Territory who has suffered, at the hands of the Church, this penalty that President Young said ought to be inflicted upon persons guilty of capital crimes. There are, no doubt, many persons that ought to be killed who are still living, and you need not go very far from this hall to find them. Criminals may be worthy of death, but who is going to kill them? I would not soil my hands with their blood nor their persons. The further I can get away from them the better for me. Would I touch a hair of their heads? No, I would not. I would let the law take its course, and if the law does not take its course, then I would leave them in the hands of the Lord. Is not that the doctrine of the Latter-day Saints? I think it is. I know the principles of our faith pretty well.

I know the feelings of the leaders of the Church—Presidents Taylor, Cannon and Smith—and other

authorities of the Church. They have a horror, a repugnance to the shedding of blood. They have no desire in their hearts to inflict any penalty of that kind upon any individual. And as to transgressors who are not of our faith, they want nothing to do with them. All we claim the right to do in this respect is to defend ourselves against our enemies, and we have the law of God on that question. We are told in the book of Doctrine and Covenants that if our enemies come against us and they repent, we are to forgive them. And if they come again the second time, they are to be forgiven; also the third time they are to be forgiven; and if they still persist and seek our lives, we have the right to defend ourselves to the last extremity. But if we then forgive them we shall be rewarded for our righteousness. All this shows that the Lord does not delight in the shedding of blood, neither do His servants. We are told that we shall not be blood shedders. We are to be temple builders. David of old was not allowed to build the temple because he was not clean from the blood of his generation. And the people called Latter-day Saints, from the heads of the Church down to the humblest member, have a horror of the shedding of human blood. They are not a bloody-minded people. They are a forbearing people, as our cowardly persecutors are well aware. And yet there is a point where forbearance ceases to be a virtue.

These are some of the ideas entertained by the Latter-day Saints on the subject of blood atonement. After baptized persons have made sacred

covenants with God and then commit deadly sins, the only atonement they can make is the shedding of their blood. At the same time, because of the laws of the land, and the prejudices of the nation, and the ignorance of the world, this law cannot be carried out. But when the time comes that the law of God shall be in full force upon the earth, then this penalty will be inflicted for those crimes committed by persons under covenant not to commit them.

There is one passage I read from Prest. Young's discourse that may need a little explanation. We will let him explain himself. I read to you just now that Prest. Young said he had known of many instances where men had been righteously slain to atone for their sins. Let me read it again:

"I could refer you to plenty of instances where men have been righteously slain in order to atone for their sins."

That sentence is copied and scattered broadcast throughout the nation, coupled with some other little bits, here and there, from his sayings. Our opponents tack them together, sometimes giving the first part of a sentence and leaving the latter part out; at others, giving the latter part, but omitting the former, making the quotation have a different meaning to that which was intended; after the fashion of joining these two scraps of scripture:

"And Judas went out and hanged himself."

"Go thou and do likewise."

They tack portions of sentences together and

send them forth as the veritable utterances of the "Mormon" leaders. I will read to you what Brigham Young really meant and said in regard to those who had been "righteously slain for their sins." I read from the same page of the same discourse. (*Journal of Discourses*, page 220):

"Now, take the wicked, and I can refer you to where the Lord had to slay every soul of the Israelites that went out of Egypt except Caleb and Joshua. He slew them by the hands of their enemies, by the plague and by the sword. Why? Because He loved them and promised Abraham He would save them."

Who was Brigham Young referring to when he said that in many instances men had been righteously slain to atone for their sins? Any one who had lived in latter times? No, but those old Israelites whom the Lord slew. He referred also to the people that lived in the days of Noah, and other transgressors in early times whom the scriptures say the Lord destroyed for their sins. Now, that is Brigham Young's doctrine of blood atonement.

It will be necessary to say a few words in regard to the supposed order of "Danites," because the doctrine of blood atonement, as misrepresented to the world, is always intimately connected with that alleged order. Danites are supposed to be a body of men who inflict the penalty of blood atonement. Let me say here, once and for all, that I know of no such order, never have known of any such order. Is there anybody here who knows of Danites, cut-throats or destroying angels, who lie in

the way of apostates, and prevent their leaving the Territory? No. You will find that all these stories told by lecturers and others are derived from tales told by untruthful men who are opposed to us. Talk about Danites and destroying angels, and about people being killed to prevent their escape from Utah! Is it not remarkable that these people who have been in such imminent danger of being killed always manage to make their "escape?" Our enemies cannot point to a single instance where a person who wanted to get away from Utah did not "escape."

The Danite idea sprang from a circumstance that occurred in the days of the Prophet Joseph Smith. I will read an extract from the history of Joseph Smith, under date of October, 1838, published in the *Millennial Star*, in 1854. This idea of Danites had gone abroad so much that the Prophet thought the falsehoods circulated ought to be corrected:

"And here I would state, that while the evil spirits were raging up and down in the State to raise mobs against the "Mormons," Satan himself was no less busy in striving to stir up mischief in the camp of the Saints; and among the most conspicuous of his willing devotees was one Doctor Sampson Avard, who had been in the Church but a short time, and who, although he had generally behaved with a tolerable degree of external decorum, was secretly aspiring to be the greatest of the great, and become the leader of the people. This was his pride and his folly, but as he had no hopes of accomplishing it by gaining the hearts of the people in open strife, he watched his opportu-

nity with the brethren, at a time when mobs oppressed, robbed, whipped, burned, plundered and slew, till forbearance seemed no longer a virtue, and nothing but the grace of God without measure could support men under such trials, to form a secret combination by which he might rise a mighty conqueror, at the *expense of the overthrow of the Church*; and this he tried to accomplish by his smooth, flattering and winning speeches, which he frequently made to his associates, while his room was well guarded by some of his pupils, ready to give him the wink on the approach of anyone who would not approve of his measures.

"In this situation, he stated that he had the sanction of the heads of the Church for what he was about to do; and by his smiles and flattery persuaded them to believe it, and proceeded to administer to the few under his control, an oath, binding them to everlasting secrecy to everything which should be communicated to them by himself. Thus Avaré initiated members into his band, firmly binding them, by all that was sacred, in the protecting of each other in all things that were lawful; and was careful to picture out a great glory that was then hovering over the Church, and would soon burst upon the Saints as a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, and would soon unveil the slumbering mysteries of heaven, which would gladden the hearts and arouse the stupid spirits of the Saints of the latter-day, and fill their hearts with that love which is unspeakable and full of glory, and arm them with power, that the gates of hell could not prevail against them; and would often affirm to his company, that the principal men of the Church had put him forward as a spokesman, and a leader of this band which *he* named *Danites*. * * * * *

“After those performances he held meetings to organize his men into companies of tens and fifties, appointing a captain over each company. * * * * *

“When a knowledge of Avard’s rascality came to the Presidency of the Church, he was cut off from the Church, and every means properly used to destroy his influence, at which he was highly incensed, and went about whispering his evil insinuations, but finding every effort unavailing, he again turned conspirator, and sought to make friends with the mob.

“And here let it be distinctly understood, that these companies of tens and fifties got up by Avard, were altogether separate and distinct from those companies of tens and fifties organized by the brethren for self-defense, in case of an attack from the mob, and more particularly that in this time of alarm no family or person might be neglected, therefore, one company would be engaged in drawing wood, another in cutting it, another in gathering corn, another in grinding, another in butchering, another in distributing meat, etc., so that all should be employed in turn, and no one lack the necessaries of life. Therefore, let no one hereafter, by mistake or design, confound this organization of the Church for good and righteous purposes, with the organization of the Danites, of the apostate Avard, which died almost before it had existence.”

There is a further reference on the same subject in a letter from the Prophet Joseph Smith, dated December, 1838, to be found in the same volume, page 627:

“We have learned also since we have been prisoners, that many false and pernicious things,

which were calculated to lead the Saints far astray and to do great injury, have been taught by Dr. Avard as coming from the Presidency, and we have reason to fear that many other designing and corrupt characters like unto himself, have been teaching many things which the Presidency never knew of being taught in the Church by anybody until after they were made prisoners, which if they had known of, they would have spurned them and their authors from them, as they would the gates of hell. Thus we find that there have been frauds and secret abominations and evil works of darkness going on, leading the minds of the weak and unwary into confusion and distraction, and palming it all the time upon the Presidency, while meantime the Presidency were ignorant as well as innocent of those things which were practising in the Church in their name."

It will be seen, then, that this notion about "Danites" and "Destroying Angels" originated in the way indicated in what I have read. This was the little bit of fire from which all this smoke has arisen. Behold how great a matter that little fire hath kindled! All the stories about preventing people leaving this Territory, about "Danites" or "Destroying Angels" way-laying apostates and shedding their blood; all the horrible, blood-curdling stories like those I have referred to—stories about men and women being taken out on the prairie to starve or to welter in their blood—all these are lies made out of whole cloth. The organization was started in the way I have shown. That is all there is to that matter.

But before I sit down I want to say a word or two about the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Per-

haps this subject should be taken up on another occasion and gone into fully. I claim, however, that the Latter-day Saints are no more to be charged with the great crime that was committed at Mountain Meadows than any other church is to be charged for the wrongs done by its church members. I have not time to-night to go into the details of this subject, to show who were engaged in the crime, and how it came to be committed; I will leave that to be done on some other occasion. I wish, however, to put on record for myself, and my brethren and sisters of the Church of which we are members, that we have a horror, a loathing and a repugnance at the wickedness of that crime; that the Church never did endorse the deed; that the Church never had any hand in it; that the Church never condoned it afterwards; that as soon as the President of the Church found out that John D. Lee had been implicated in it he was cut off from the Church and left to be dealt with according to the laws of the land; that President Young was innocent of any participation in that crime; and that the delay in bringing Lee to justice was not due to President Young, or to any stumbling blocks thrown in the way by the Latter-day Saints—any leader of the Church, any Elder or any member of the Church—but was due to the laxity of the officers of the law themselves, and I could prove it, if there was time, by documents which I could produce.*

*—See my lecture ‘The Mountain Meadows Massacre.’

But the word has gone out to the world—it is published all over the earth wherever our Elders go; it is sent out from this city purposely to misrepresent this people, and our Elders who go forth to preach the gospel without purse or scrip, who leave their homes and suffer hunger and thirst, and sometimes have no place to lay their heads, to bear testimony, as servants of God, to the truth as it has come from heaven—that the gospel is restored, that the power of the Priesthood is here, that the way is opened up whereby men may gain access to the Father and a knowledge of the things of eternity; I say when these men go out to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and to warn the inhabitants of the earth of the judgments to come, they are met with copies of that sheet that I have alluded to with falsehoods about the Mountain Meadows massacre, holding the Church responsible for it, putting the blame on President Young, and people's minds are closed against the truth in consequence of the flood of falsehoods that has been poured out.

I wish to say here to-night, that the Church never authorized that terrible crime committed upon the emigrants at Mountain Meadows; that the few whites engaged in it claimed that it was principally done by Indians; that the Church does not condone the shedding of blood; that the doctrine of the Church is, he that kills shall be delivered over to be dealt with according to the laws of the land, but it shall be proven against him by the laws of the land. Has there ever been an iota

of proof brought forward to convict President Young with that terrible crime at Mountain Meadows? No. No proof, but a great deal of supposition. If imagination and jumping at conclusions are worth anything it might be said to have been proven. But it cannot be proven because it is not true. President Young's body lies in the tomb; his spirit has gone to the spirit world; he is not here to defend himself; but I take the liberty of saying, in behalf of President Young, from conclusive evidence, that he was not aware of that dreadful crime until after it was committed; that he never condoned it, never sanctioned it, never palliated it in the least degree; he had a horror of it. And our leading men to-day—Presidents John Taylor, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith—have a horror of that dreadful deed; they denounce it as a crime and never palliated it in the least degree. From what I have read to you to-night you will see that our belief accords with the scripture that says: "A murderer hath not eternal life abiding in him," and that a man who has been enlightened by the Holy Ghost and who commits that great crime cannot obtain forgiveness in this world nor in the world to come, and that after receiving the new and everlasting covenant even the shedding of his blood would not atone for that sin.

Now, my brethren, and sisters, and friends, although I have had to lay aside a number of extracts, which I have not had time to introduce, I think I have proved to you that the doctrine of

blood atonement is a Bible doctrine, Patriarchal, Mosaic and Christian; not only an Old Testament, but a New Testament doctrine; that the Bible as well as President Young teaches that a murderer should have his blood shed, and that the adulterer should suffer the penalty of his crime by death; that the stories that have been circulated and told by our enemies concerning this matter are fabrications and misrepresentations, sometimes lies out of whole cloth, and sometimes a little bit of truth mixed up with a great amount of error—in the proportion of one grain of wheat to a sackful of chaff. I have proven to you that the blood of Christ will not atone for certain sins committed by enlightened persons; that there are some individuals, who, if they have advanced in the knowledge of the truth, and are under sacred covenants, and commit certain transgressions, cannot obtain forgiveness in this world nor in the world to come. I have given you an outline of this subject, and you can reflect upon it still further. It is a subject that ought to be understood by the Latter-day Saints, that they may defend themselves against the falsehoods of their enemies.

In conclusion, my brethren and sisters, I would say, let us cleave to the gospel of Jesus Christ; let us keep ourselves free from transgression, especially those who have made sacred covenants with God our Heavenly Father. Let us live holy, and pure, and chaste lives. Let us avoid those deadly sins. Let us remember our covenants and keep them faithfully unto death. If we do, there is laid up

for us a crown of eternal life. Let us look forward to that great reward which God has promised to the righteous, that if we are faithful we shall come forth in the morning of the first resurrection; death shall have no power over us; we shall ascend to the presence of God and be made like Him, and receive thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, and lives eternal, and to the increase of our kingdoms there shall be no end. All bliss and blessing in the heights, and depths, and breadths of eternity shall be ours. All things shall be ours, and we shall be Christ's, and Christ shall be God's. But if we break the new and everlasting covenant, and turn away altogether therefrom, then are we damned, we cannot be saved, we cannot enter into the glory of God, but must be cast down to hell and suffer our portion in the eternal punishment; we must go to the prison prepared and will "not depart out thence until we have paid the uttermost farthing." And when we come forth from that prison, if we have committed the great and indelible transgression, we can never enter into our exaltation worlds without end; we shall be shut out from the presence of God, which is spiritual death.

May God help us to avoid these great sins, to keep the covenants we have made, that we may gain our everlasting exaltation in His presence, for Christ's sake. Amen.

THE
MOUNTAIN MEADOWS
MASSACRE.

WHO WERE GUILTY OF THE CRIME?

The Subject Fully Discussed and Important
Documents Introduced in

AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED IN THE

TWELFTH WARD ASSEMBLY HALL, SALT LAKE CITY,

October 26, 1884,

BY ELDER CHARLES W. PENROSE.

REPORTED BY JOHN IRVINE.

PRINTED AT JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR OFFICE,
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1884.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is a general misunderstanding in the public mind in reference to nearly every subject connected with "Mormonism." Particularly is this the case in regard to "Mormon" doctrine on the taking of human life. It is popularly supposed that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints authorizes and justifies the killing of men and women for apostasy, or for any grave act in opposition to its interests. This is called "blood atonement" by unprincipled writers and lecturers who wish to deceive the public, and many people believe that this is really one of the tenets of this Church. The Mountain Meadows Massacre has been made to do active duty in the work of deception. It has been charged to the "Mormon" Church and the "Mormon" leaders so many times and in so many places that any attempt to present the facts seems almost like labor in vain. And yet to allow these falsehoods to go unrefuted appears wrong and impolitic. They should be met and overturned for the benefit of the few among mankind who prefer the truth to deception and love light rather than darkness. It was for the purpose of aiding in the correction of error concerning these subjects that the author responded to an invitation to deliver a public ad-

dress in the Twelfth Ward Assembly Hall, Salt Lake City, on the subject of "Blood Atonement," and another two weeks later on "The Mountain Meadows Massacre." In the former address the doctrine of the Church on the shedding of human blood was explained and substantiated and popular errors exposed, by reference to the Church standards and the sermons of leading Elders. In the latter address the responsibility of the terrible crime committed at an early date in this Territory was traced to its true source, and numerous references were made to anti-Mormon works, and documents of unimpeachable authenticity and veracity were introduced for the first time in a public assembly. These addresses have now been published, by request, in pamphlet form, and are submitted to the world for the perusal and judgment of thinking men and women everywhere. And the blessing of the Author of all truth and light is invoked upon these simple but earnest efforts to enlighten mankind, to the end that prejudice may be dispelled, to make way for the everlasting truths which a maligned and misunderstood Church has a mission to proclaim for the salvation of man and the glory of God.

CHARLES W. PENROSE.

THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE.

THE subject upon which I have to speak this evening has attracted a great deal of attention. It has been mentioned, I think, in every part of the civilized world. Wherever our Elders have gone abroad to preach the gospel of Christ they have been met with the statement that the "Mormon" Church, with Brigham Young at its head, is a bloody church; that it not only teaches, but practices the doctrine of shedding human blood for apostasy; that there is an organization in the midst of the people called "Danites" or "Destroying Angels," * whose business it is to kill everyone who attempts to escape from Utah, or any obnoxious person, "Mormon" or Gentile, who may come into the midst of the people. This has been denied frequently, and those who have made these statements have been challenged to the proof. The proof, of course, has not been forthcoming, because the charge is a falsehood. Still, wherever our Elders go they meet with a statement of this kind, and particularly is the cry of "The Mountain Meadows Massacre" raised against them. It is

*—For refutation see my "Address on Blood Atonement," published at the JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR Office.

claimed that that awful tragedy was performed by the "Mormon" Church, or that the "Mormon" Church is responsible for it; that it was perpetrated at the command of Brigham Young as the leader of the Church, and that it was in accordance with the doctrines of the Church.

This untruth has been repeated so many times that the world, who are not acquainted with our principles and our acts, have come to believe in a great measure that it is true. It has been proclaimed by the press repeatedly. Over and over again the Mountain Meadow massacre has been charged to the "Mormon" Church, and particularly to its former President. Ministers in the pulpit have found this a convenient weapon wherewith to oppose the Elders of the Church in the preaching of the gospel. They could not refute the arguments which they brought forth, they could not overturn the doctrines which they preached, and so stories like those I have mentioned have been told from the pulpit, over and over again, to prejudice the public mind against the Elders of the Church. Wherever the servants of God have gone to preach the gospel, the Mountain Meadow massacre has been thrown in their teeth.

Now, this evening I will endeavor to give a brief account of this terrible occurrence, and then, if possible, to trace up the responsibility for it, show who perpetrated it, who were the guilty parties, so far as I can, and to see whether the "Mormon" Church is responsible or not for that terrible deed; whether Brigham Young was or was not an acces-

sory before the fact, or an accessory after the fact; and whether the charge that has been made against the "Mormon" people has any foundation in fact. I hope I shall have the assistance in doing this of the faith of my brethren and sisters, that I may have the Spirit of the Lord to rest upon me to quicken my mind, to give me grasp of thought, so that I may be able to bring forward clearly those evidences which I have been able to collect, and put them before the people in an intelligent shape so that all can understand them.

In the Summer of 1857, a company of emigrants, as stated by some, composed of two parties, one from Missouri and the other from Arkansas, came into Salt Lake City. They were on their way to California. After staying here a short time, they were advised to take the northern route to California by way of Bear river. There were two routes by which the stream of emigration flowed to the west from this point. One was northward, and the other south and westward. They were advised by Elder Charles C. Rich to go by the northern route. They went as far as Bear River, but returned and concluded to take the southern route. On their way south they became very impertinent and abusive. At that time news had been received here of the approach of Buchanan's army, supposed to be coming here to destroy the Latter-day Saints, to endeavor to break up "Mormonism," and to execute the atrocious threats which had been made by the soldiery in their camps on

the plains, news of which had been brought here by runners.

These emigrants boasted to the people as they passed through the settlements that they were going to California, where they intended to get up a company and return and attack our people in the south when the army arrived in Salt Lake City. It is related that on the way, when going through small settlements—it was a large company, 120 to 150 persons, differently estimated—they would rob hen-roosts, and passing through the streets would flip off the heads of chickens with their whip-thongs. At one place, it is related, they poisoned the springs, so that the people who partook of the water died in consequence thereof. Still further, it is said that they poisoned beef and gave it to the Indians, and several Indians died from its effects, and at another place they caught an Indian, tied him up to a wagon wheel and whipped him severely. These are the stories which were told concerning these emigrants; whether they are true or false I am unable to say, but these were the stories told concerning them, and the people believed them. The Indians became very much enraged, and as this company traveled further and further south the rage of the Indians increased. On the way they met Jacob Hamblin and asked him—as a resident of this Territory, a man well acquainted with the country, who had been among the Indians a great deal—which was the best place to camp in a certain region, and he told them the Mountain Meadows, at the north part

of which he had a ranch. They went on and camped at the Mountain Meadows. But, as I told you, all the way down they were committing these depredations, by which not only were the settlers very much aggrieved, but the Indians were aroused to the greatest indignation and fury. When they arrived at Mountain Meadows they were attacked by Indians, but they entrenched themselves; they threw up earthworks to the level of the hubs of their wagon wheels, and prepared to defend themselves as in a state of siege. According to the evidence presented, it appears that John D. Lee was at that time a member of the Church—not a Bishop, by the way, I understand he never was a Bishop, but was a member of the Church and looked after the interests of a great number of Indians in that part of the country as Indian farmer. It is stated that John D. Lee led the first attack of the Indians against those emigrants. About this time a council was held at Cedar City at which were present Isaac C. Haight, Philip Klingensmith, who was the acting Bishop, a man by the name of Laban Morrill, and some others. These persons at this council took into consideration the depredations which had been made by this party of emigrants.

You must understand that the people were very much excited at this time. The news of the coming of the army had reached different parts of the Territory, and a plan had been prepared, if they should come into the Territory, to burn down our houses, to destroy our property and leave the Territory a desert, a barren waste; for the peo-

ple to flee to the mountains and leave nothing as a prey to their enemies. The people were getting ready for this emergency. You must remember also that the people living here in that early period had been driven from different parts of the United States, time and time again, for their religion; they had suffered untold hardships, privations and persecutions, and now the prospects were that an army was coming in upon them to drive them out again, or pull them up, root and branch, and destroy them. Of course there was a great deal of excitement at the time, and this body of emigrants having made those threats, cursing Brigham Young, declaring that "old Joe Smith ought to have been killed before he was," some of them declaring that they had taken part in his assassination, naturally aroused the anger of the people. Well, this council was held in Cedar City to determine what was best to be done, whether or not to intercept them and prevent the emigrants from going further south. Some person present on that occasion advocated their interception and destruction. Laban Morill and some others were of a different mind, stating that the proper thing to do was to send a messenger to Governor Young to find out what his advice was concerning this matter, and to desist from doing anything of a hostile nature until word was received from Governor Young. A messenger was despatched on the 7th day of September, 1857. His name was James Haslam. He came to Salt Lake City, saw President Young, delivered his message and a letter

from Isaac C. Haight, and received a despatch from President Young to take back, and he was told to "spare no horse-flesh"—to go "with all speed" and deliver the despatch as quickly as possible. That despatch was delivered to Isaac C. Haight at Cedar City on the following Sunday, which, according to the dates that I have traced up, must have been on the 13th day of September. Isaac C. Haight's answer was, "It is too late." It appears that a number of men had been called by Philip Klingensmith, the acting Bishop, and John M. Higbee, who claimed to be acting under orders of Isaac C. Haight and John D. Lee, to go to the Mountain Meadow. According to the testimony delivered at the trials, to which I will refer presently, most of these men had not the least idea that they were going to Mountain Meadow to perform any deed of blood or to commit anything wrong. They expected to be gone two or three days. Some of the emigrants had been killed by the Indians and they expected they were going to help bury the dead. When they arrived there, according to the testimony given at the trial of John D. Lee, a man was sent down into the camp of the emigrants with a white flag, or a flag of truce. Afterwards John D. Lee went down and had some conversation with the emigrants, and they were induced to give up their arms, which were placed in wagons and they were all drawn out of the camp. When they had passed a considerable distance away, the Indians, and it is said some of the whites, fired upon the emigrants and they were

all butchered, men and women, and none were saved but about seventeen small children, the oldest seven years of age. It is related that John D. Lee assisted in the slaughtering of the wounded emigrants who were in the wagons; those who were able to walk, marching without arms, were set upon by the Indians and, as stated, some white men fired among them. But it appears that John D. Lee assisted in the killing of the wounded persons, so that all the men, and the women, and the older children were slain; there were none left but the seventeen little children, who were taken and distributed around among the people, until Forney, the Indian agent, some time afterwards came and gathered them up and took them away.

Now, I have endeavored to tell you, as briefly as possible, the dreadful story of the massacre. It was a horrible affair. It makes one's blood run cold to think of such a slaughter. One hundred and twenty persons—some say one hundred and nineteen, but it is generally conceded to be about one hundred and twenty—inhumanly butchered. They were murdered. No one can palliate the crime. I would not attempt to do so. No circumstances that existed at that time could, in my mind, palliate that dreadful deed. And to think that any white person should be engaged in it is most horrible to my mind, most repugnant to my feelings, and I know it is repugnant to the feelings of my brethren and sisters, not only those present to-night, but the great body of people called Latter-day Saints wherever they may be.

Now, this terrible crime is laid at the door of the Church because certain individuals, who were then members of the Church, were engaged in this horrible massacre. This has always appeared to me to be very unjust. Why should the "Mormon" Church, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, be held responsible for the crimes of a few of its members any more than other churches for the crimes of a few of their members? The Roman Catholic church for the deeds alleged to have been done by members of that church; the church of England, the Episcopal church, for the deeds done by men belonging to that church in early times, and some in later times? Why should the different denominations of the day, as religious denominations, as churches, be charged with the weaknesses, the corruptions and the diabolical deeds perpetrated, not only by members of these denominations, but by persons who officiate therein as ministers? Sensible people do not lay these crimes at the door of the denomination to which the individuals may belong, but charge them home to the individuals themselves. They are responsible for their acts, they alone should be charged with them, unless—unless what they do is taught by the church to which they belong, or is allowed by that church, or is in consonance with any of its doctrines. If it can be shown that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints teaches the people to commit murder; if it can be shown that the Church, as a religious body, ordered that massacre, or, after it occurred, condoned it, palliated it, or

agreed that it was right, considered it was proper, then we may lay this crime upon the Church and claim that the Church is responsible for it. But if the Church teaches to the contrary, if the spirit of the whole people is against such deeds of blood, if it can be shown that in doing these dreadful things such white persons as were members of this Church who were guilty, actually violated the laws of the Church, then I say that the crime cannot be reasonably and consistently laid upon the Church as a body.

Mr. Stenhouse, in his work called "Rocky Mountain Saints," says that no sane person ever did lay the crime at the door of the Church. Now, I would like to refer you to a few of the charges that have been made concerning this crime, laying it upon the Church and people, and particularly upon Brigham Young; because if it is true that the charge has not been made against the Church, then there is no need for me to make any rebuttal; but if the charge is made that the "Mormon" Church is responsible for this crime, then I am justified and it is my duty to-night to bring forth evidence showing that the "Mormon" Church had nothing to do with it.

On the 7th of February, 1863, John Cradlebaugh, of Nevada, who was once one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of Utah Territory, made a speech in Congress, and I will quote from page 17 of the pamphlet published with the full text of his speech and references:

"I shall publish a portion as an appendix to these remarks that you may see that I am justified in charging that the Mormons are guilty, aye, that the Mormon Church is guilty, of the crimes of murder and robbery as taught in their books of faith."

You see, according to the Hon. John Cradlebaugh, the "Mormon" Church is charged with this crime, and charged in the Congress of the United States, in a speech published to the country.

There was a pamphlet prepared in this city called "The Handbook of Mormonism"—perhaps you have heard of it before, it is a most abominable book—I will make a short quotation from it, page 67:

"It is said to be a truth that Brigham Young sent letters south authorizing, if not commanding, that the train should be destroyed."

I will now refer you to a speech made by Mr. W. McGrorty in the case of McGrorty *versus* Hooper. You will remember that Mr. McGrorty, in 1868, contested the seat of Hon. W. H. Hooper, our Delegate in Congress, and made an attack upon the "Mormons." He received 105 votes against Mr. Hooper's 15,068. Let me say here that nearly all the anti-Mormon stories that have been since dished up in various shapes and forms have been taken from Mr. McGrorty's speech in Congress; from that speech Cradlebaugh made up most of his story, and it has been retold over and over again from that time to the present. I will read from page 40 of the pamphlet containing Mr. McGrorty's speech. Mr. McGrorty thought that

the Territory ought at once to be put under martial law, and he said:

"This may be the only practicable way in which even partial punishment can be meted out to these latter-day devils. But how inadequate would be the punishment of a few even by death for this crime which nearly the whole Mormon population from Brigham Young down, were more or less instrumental in perpetrating."

I have a work here which was published by Mr. Bishop, who defended John D. Lee at both of his trials. I will make a quotation from this book, page 19. He says:

"I claim that Brigham Young is the real criminal and that John D. Lee was an instrument in his hands. That Brigham Young used John D. Lee as the assassin uses the dagger, to strike down his unsuspecting victim; and as the assassin throws away the dagger, to avoid its bloody blade leading to his detection, so Brigham Young used John D. Lee to do his horrid work; and when discovery becomes unavoidable, he hurls Lee from him, cuts him away from the Church, and casts him far out into the whirlpool of destruction. The assassin has no further use for his weapon. I also claim that if religious fanaticism can clear a man from crime that John D. Lee was guiltless, for he was one of the most intensely fanatical Mormons that infested Utah in 1857. But I do not claim that the fact of his being a fanatic and blinded believer of Brigham Young's so-called revelations excused him—far from it. In place of excusing him it added to his crime. Such insanity as that which fanaticism breeds can only, and should only be treated by the executioner. And there are many thousands in Utah who are afflicted with the

disease that calls for the radical treatment that was administered to Lee."

I will read to you now some opinions of the press appended to a report of the first Lee trial, in a pamphlet emanating from the *Tribune* office in this city. These are ciled from different newspapers.

From the Leavenworth, Kansas, *Commercial*:

"The Mormons are making a desperate effort to clear Brigham Young of the Mountain Meadow massacre, but they will never succeed in convincing the world that the old sinner was not guilty of participation in the preliminaries to the inhuman outrage, nor that the work of butchery was not perpetrated with his sanction, if not by his positive command."

From the Fort Mayne (Indiana) *Journal*:

"The evidence in the trial of the Mormon leader, John D. Lee, charged with participating in the Mountain Meadow massacre in 1857, clearly points to the unmistakable guilt of many distinguished Mormons, including Brigham Young, Hooper, the ex-Congressman, and others."

From the Leavenworth *Times*:

"It would be a waste of time and money to attempt to bring the Mountain Meadows assassins to justice. They have too strong a following. The Church of the Latter-day Saints is bound to stand by them. To convict Lee would be to convict the Church and strike a fatal blow at its foundation."

From the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*:

"The investigation, however, has resulted in fixing an indelible stain on the Mormon Church and settling the responsibility for an act of barbarism which was even regarded as a reproach by the law-

less savages of the west, who are supposed to know no shame nor pity, but who protested against the infamy of such a deed."

From the Idaho (Montana) *Statesman* :

"This circumstance is so enormous and crime so heinous, and the evidence so plain that it must and will be laid at the door of the Church with Brigham Young as its leader, and be remembered by every man, woman and child wherever the name of Mormon is mentioned."

From the Hartford (Connecticut) *Times* :

"That much at any rate has been shown by Lee's trial, and the guilt of mercilessly sacrificing unarmed men, women and children to religious fanaticism are justly chargeable against the Mormon Church. It now remains to be seen whether American justice will much longer allow the existence of such a blood-thirsty and barbarous organization in the country. The good repute of our institutions is at stake in permitting Mormonism a place in the land."

I think it will not be denied now that the charge has been made that the "Mormon" Church is responsible for the massacre at Mountain Meadows. Now, I claim that the Church is not responsible, and to begin my defense of the Church, I will read to you from the 42nd section of the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. This is a revelation given through the Prophet Joseph Smith to the Church, February 9th, 1831, to be found on page 170 of the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, new edition :

"And now behold I speak unto the Church. Thou shalt not kill; and he that kills shall not have forgiveness in this world, nor in the world to come.

“And again I say, thou shalt not kill; but he that killeth shall die.”

I will now read to you from page 176, the same revelation :

“And it shall come to pass that if any persons among you shall kill, they shall be delivered up and dealt with according to the laws of the land; for remember that he hath no forgiveness, and it shall be proven according to the laws of the land.”

That is received by Latter-day Saints in all the world as a revelation from God, and as a commandment, a standing commandment to this Church—that is, “Thou shalt not kill, and he that killeth shall not have forgiveness in this world nor in the world to come.” In the revelation on celestial marriage it is set forth that when persons have entered into certain covenants before God of a sacred character, and partaken of the Holy Ghost, and received the higher ordinances of the Church, if they commit murder—shed “innocent blood,” it will be impossible for them to be forgiven either in this world or in the world to come; it will be impossible for them to regain their salvation; their exaltation is gone. Now, then, that being the doctrine of the Church, how could the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints authorize the wholesale destruction of men, women and children? It could not be. Such an act would be contrary to the doctrines of the Church, contrary to the revelations believed by its members to be the word of God, believed by the people to be binding upon them, their faith being that if they commit

such crimes they cannot be forgiven either in this world or in the world to come.

I will refer you now to a book published by an anti-Mormon named Beadle—perhaps you have heard of Mr. Beadle before. He is the author of a good many blood-curdling stories, and some of them are told in this book. But I am not going to read them to-night, I will merely read to you Beadle's testimony in regard to this point. This is the evidence of an enemy:

"Some months passed away before it was whispered in the northern district that white men were concerned in this affair; and to the credit of the Mormon people be it said, a great horror spread among them at the report.

"John D. Lee still resides in Harmony (1870) no longer a Bishop [he never was a Bishop] and one can scarcely restrain a feeling of satisfaction of knowing that his life is one of misery. He is shunned and hated even by his Mormon neighbors; he seldom ventures beyond the square upon which he lives; his mind is distracted by an unceasing dread of vengeance and his intellect is disordered." (*Beadle's Mysteries of Mormonism*, page 185.)

Now, I ask, how could "a great horror" spread among the people if the people were accessories to this deed? If it was part of the doctrine of their Church, if they were willing and anxious for this massacre, how could a great horror spread among them at the report of it? And why should Lee be shunned by his neighbors if this was a deed that the Church ordered or approved, or that its members condoned or palliated?

I will now read to you a few quotations from Stenhouse's "Rocky Mountain Saints." This work, as you are well aware, was published against the "Mormons." Stenhouse was a member of the Church and afterwards apostatized and wrote a book against the Church. On page 459 he says:

"The Mormon newspapers very properly declaim against "the people" of Utah being branded as murderers, because murders have been committed within their Territory, and further they protest against the great crimes being charged to Brigham Young."

That shows that the "Mormon" people themselves did not approve of that crime, or of any other crimes of a similar character.

I will next read from page 460 of the same work:

"When the news of that deed was heard, the people north were terror-stricken, and shuddered with horror at the thought of the barbarous crime, and the recital of the bloody work is harrowing to them to-day.

"The Mormon people of Utah are not the offspring of a barbarous race, neither were they raised and nurtured in uncivilized nations. Apart from the spitefulness of religious controversy—which, by the by, is nothing peculiar to them—a kinder and more simple-hearted people is not upon the face of the earth. Had the Mountain Meadow massacre occurred in any of the neighboring Territories, and that crime was clearly the work of white people, the Mormons would have despised them, hated them, and in all probability would have refused all intercourse with them."

And on the same page appears the following:

"That Brigham Young is by his natural instincts a bad man, or that his apostles and his bishops are men of blood is not true. Here and there among them a malicious man is met with, but apart from religion, the ruling men in Utah would be considered good citizens in any community."

That is the testimony of Mr. Stenhouse in a book written against the Church.

I have a little work here published by Jacob Hamblin, the man whose ranch was at Mountain Meadows, but who was not at home when the massacre took place; he was here in Salt Lake City. He met the emigrants on his way here as they were going south. I will read you from page 46 of his book:

"This deplorable affair caused a sensation of horror and deep regret throughout the entire community, by whom it was unqualifiedly condemned.

"In Cove Creek Valley we met others from the south, who told us that the Indians were gathering to attack another company of emigrants. I procured a horse, left the wagons, and rode on day and night. At Cedar City I found Brothers Samuel Knight and Dudley Leavitt.

"As I was weary with hard riding and want of sleep, I hurried them on after the emigrants, while I traveled more slowly. I instructed these men to make every possible effort to save the company and their effects, and to save their lives at all hazards.

"They overtook the company 156 miles from Cedar City, on Muddy Creek, in the heart of the Indian country. They found a large body of excited Indians preparing to attack and destroy them.

"Finding it altogether impossible to control the Indians, they compromised the matter. The Indians agreed to only take the loose stock of the company, and not meddle with the teams and wagons, and not make any efforts to take their lives.

"The Indians took the loose stock, amounting to 480 head, on the fifty-mile desert beyond the Muddy.

"The brethren remained with the company, determined to assist in its defense, should the Indians attempt anything more than they had agreed."

This was the company that followed immediately behind the company that was killed, according to Jacob Hamblin.

I need not tell the Latter-day Saints that the deed was condemned. It was a long time before any news of this massacre reached the north. It should be understood that at that time the southern settlements were few and far between, and the country was sparsely settled. The place where the massacre took place was 350 miles or thereabouts south and west of Salt Lake City. There were no railroads in the country at that time; there were no telegraphs here at that time; and the United States mails had been stopped. Uncle Sam had sent out an army—or James Buchanan, representing the government, had sent it out, in hostility to the "Mormons," and the mails were suspended. We had no regular mail connection between these settlements, no telegraphs, no telephones, no railroads, no swift method of communication, and it was a long time before the bad tidings reached the

north, and when it did it was supposed that the crime had been perpetrated by the Indians. It was known very well that the feeling of the Indians at that time was hostile towards the whites, and it was a common expression among them that they wanted to fight the "Mericans" as they called them. It was thought, therefore, when the word came, that the crime had been committed by the Indians, and then a feeling of horror pervaded the entire community, and it was deplored and condemned in toto.

I have shown in these few references I have made that this dreadful crime cannot be laid to the door of the people, and it takes the body of the "Mormon" people to make the Church. The "Mormon" Church is not composed simply of the First Presidency. It was not composed at that time of Brigham Young and his Counselors. They merely formed one quorum in the Church. It was not composed of the First Presidency and the quorum of the Twelve Apostles. It took the whole body of the Church to make the Church. We are told in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants that "all things in the Church shall be done by common consent," and nothing can be called an act of the Church except that which the Church votes for or consents to. Even if it could be proved that Brigham Young, or George A. Smith, or other leading men of the Church were in any way compromised in that terrible affair, it would not prove that the "Mormon" Church was guilty. The Church is not responsible for the acts of Brig-

ham Young, nor for the acts of any individual. Each person is responsible before God for his own acts. He is responsible to the Church when he violates the laws of the Church. Every man in the Church, from the highest authority down to the lowest, is amenable to the Church courts when he falls into transgression; but the transgression must be proved and established by the mouths of two or three witnesses according to the Church laws, and if a member of the Church transgresses, if any man holding the Priesthood transgresses, if any man holding any authority whatever transgresses the laws of God and the laws of the Church he is amenable to the courts of the Church. Provision is made for the case of every individual, from the First Presidency down. If he does anything that is unrighteous he can be judged by the Council which is set apart for that purpose. So I say that any movement that is made, to be rightly chargeable to the Church, must be endorsed by the Church as a body, must be done by common consent of the Church. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints never preached the doctrine that it was right to kill men, women and children, as those emigrants were killed at Mountain Meadows. The Church never endorsed that deed, never approved of it. The crime caused a thrill of horror to run through the entire community.

I think I need not dwell any further on the accusation in regard to the body of the Church. The principal charges that are made as to individ-

uals center right against President Brigham Young and Apostle George A. Smith, who was afterwards the first Counselor of President Young. Brother George A. Smith has been charged with going before the emigrants down south and arousing the people against them. He has been also charged with counseling the people not to sell to this company of emigrants any grain, or flour, or provisions of any kind. He has been charged with stirring up a feeling of hostility among the people against this particular company, and it is claimed that the effects of his teachings culminated in the massacre.

I will then first take up the case of George A. Smith and see how far he was implicated in this matter. I will read to you the affidavit made by George A. Smith himself, which was presented at the Lee trial, and I will take it from this lovely (?) book of Mr Bishop's, on page 307. I prefer, where I possibly can, to get my evidence from the works of persons who are bitterly opposed to us:

TERRITORY OF UTAH, }
 Beaver County. } ss.:

In the Second Judicial District Court of the Territory of Utah. The people, etc., vs. John D. Lee, William H. Dame, Isaac C. Haight, et. al., Salt Lake Co. Indictment for murder, committed September 16th, 1857.

George A. Smith, having been first duly sworn, deposes and says that he is aged 58 years. That he is now and has been for several months suffering from a severe and dangerous illness of the head and lungs, and that to attend the court at

Beaver, in the present condition of his health, would in all probability end his life.

Deponent further saith, that he never, in the year 1857, at Parowan or elsewhere, attended a council where Wm. H. Dame, Isaac C. Haight or others were present to discuss any measures for attacking, or in any manner injuring an emigrant train from Arkansas or any other place, which is alleged to have been destroyed at Mountain Meadows in September, 1857.

Deponent further saith, that he never heard or knew anything of a train of emigrants, which he learned afterwards by rumor was from Arkansas, until he met said train at Corn Creek on his way north to Salt Lake City, on or about the 25th day of August, 1857.

Deponent further saith, that he encamped with Jacob Hamblin, Philo T. Farnsworth, Silas S. Smith and Elijah Hopps, and there for the first time he learned of the existence of said emigrant train, and their intended journey to California.

Deponent further saith, that having been absent from the Territory for a year previous, he returned in the Summer of 1857 and went south to visit his family at Parowan, and to look after some property he had there, and also visit his friends, and for no other purpose, and that on leaving Salt Lake City he had no knowledge whatsoever of the existence of said emigrant train, nor did he acquire any until as before stated.

Deponent further saith, that as an Elder in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints he preached several times on his way south, and also on his return and tried to impress upon the minds of the people the necessity of great care as to their grain crops, as all crops had been short for several years previous to 1857, and many of the people

were reduced to actual want and were suffering for the necessities of life.

Deponent further saith, that he advised the people to furnish all emigrant companies passing through the Territory with what they might actually need for breadstuff, for the support of themselves and families while passing through the Territory, and also advised the people not to feed their grains to their own stock, nor to sell to the emigrants for that purpose.

Deponent further saith, that he never heard or knew of any attack upon said emigrant train until some time after his return to Salt Lake City, and that while near Fort Bridger he heard for the first time that the Indians had massacred an emigrant company at Mountain Meadows.

Deponent further saith, that he never at any time, either before or after that massacre, was accessory thereto, that he never directly or indirectly aided, abetted or assisted in its perpetration, or had any knowledge thereof except by hearsay; that he never knew anything of the distribution of the property taken there, except by hearsay as aforesaid.

Deponent further saith, that all charges and statements as pertaining to him contrary to the above are false and untrue.

(Signed)

GEO. A. SMITH.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of July, A. D. 1875.

[Signed]

WM. CLAYTON, Notary Public.

I will now read to you the testimony given at the first Lee trial in regard to this matter on pages 33 and 34 of *Tribune* report. This testimony was given under oath by Jesse N. Smith, with whom many of you are acquainted—a man of honor, a

man of veracity, a man of integrity, well known in this community, whose word is as good as his bond. I will not read you the whole of the testimony, but just that part pertaining to George A. Smith:

"I lived in Parowan in 1857, came to Utah ten years previously. Knew Wm. H. Dame, saw the emigrant train at the town above-named; sold them flour and salt, had flour to spare and asked if they wanted more; they wanted vegetables, but witness had none to spare. Saw George A. Smith in Parowan Aug. 8th; he came in from the north, went down among the settlements, witness accompanying him. A meeting was held in every settlement. Witness attended them all. He (George A. Smith) deprecated selling grain and breadstuffs to feed to horses and mules. Never heard him, in his public addresses, allude to this train."

I will now read from the testimony of Silas S. Smith, a man that is as well known and as highly respected as Jesse N. Smith, and was, for many years in this community, a member of the Legislative Assembly:

"Know George A. Smith; saw him in August of 1857 at Parowan and traveled with him through the southern settlements, returning with him to Cedar Springs, Millard County. George A. Smith, in his speeches, referred to the necessity of saving grain and not feeding it to horses or stock; he disapproved of selling it for any such use. Heard nothing said to discourage the sale of provisions to emigrant trains for food. Witness camped at Corn Creek and found the Arkansas train in camp there on arrival. Some of them came over to witness' fire and simply made inquiries. Nothing special was said. One of the party asked if the

Indians would be likely to eat the flesh of an ox that lay dead near camp. Some said that they probably would.

"Two days after came to Beaver, passing the emigrants at Indian Creek, six or seven miles from here. Took supper with the emigrants there. Four days after this the emigrants passed through the town where witness lives, thirty miles south, and camped there. Spoke to some of the party; saw the leader, heard him called Mr. Fancher. Duke's party followed several days after. They got into trouble with the Indians near Beaver and witness was sent over with ten men by Col. Dame, who called at his house to request witness to go to the relief of the emigrants. Reached Beaver at night, and in the morning found the train corralled and a rifle pit dug for their protection. Sent a runner, who brought in the chief, and witness placated the wrath of the red men by a liberal distribution of beef. The Indians claimed that some of their braves had been shot by men belonging to the train, and they must wash out the offense in blood. Witness understood that his intervention had settled the difficulty. Had no further connection with the emigrant trains.

"Traveled with George A. Smith from Parowan to Santa Clara, 150 miles. Held five or six meetings on the way. George A. Smith invited witness to accompany him. The object of his visit was to preach to the people and lay up grain for their future support. Col. Johnston's army was then approaching Utah. Heard nothing said against allowing emigrant trains to pass through the country. * * George A. Smith did not tell witness why he left Salt Lake alone to travel through the Territory. His only mission, so far as witness knows was to counsel the people to save their grain and not feed it to stock."

It is well known by those who were residing in Utah at that time—I was not here—that this was the advice given all over the Territory. The people were counseled not to feed grain to their stock, nor to sell their grain to emigrants for their animals, but to save it for breadstuff, because of the coming of the army. These facts appeared in the *Journal of Discourses*, which I had the privilege of reading in a distant land at that time, and these instructions were given to the whole people, not only in the south, but in the north, and to the whole community. George A. Smith, when traveling to Parowan, preached this to the people in every settlement where he stayed, and when he returned to Salt Lake City he reported in public, in the Tabernacle, and his discourse was published in the *Journal of Discourses*, previously appearing in the *Deseret News*—that he had counseled the people not to waste their grain nor feed it to their own stock, or sell it for that purpose to the emigrants. George A. Smith has been charged with going out in advance of this company, prejudicing the minds of the people against the emigrants and counseling the people not to sell them provisions of any kind. The affidavit of George A. Smith and the evidence of the two Smiths, that I have just read to you, show to the contrary. There is no proof whatever, no reliable evidence of any description that Geo. A. Smith did anything of the kind imputed to him. We all know that George A. Smith was not a man of vengeance nor a man of blood. I do not think I need spend much more time in regard to

his case, because, after all, the chief person upon whom responsibility for the massacre was desired to be saddled was President Brigham Young.

The question now is whether President Young was responsible for that awful crime committed at Mountain Meadows. President Young must have been an accessory before the fact, or an accessory after the fact, if he was in any way chargeable with that dreadful deed. I will first examine the evidence to see whether he was an accessory before the fact; whether he advised this crime; whether such of the people who were guilty were influenced by any instructions or message he had sent to them.

Those of you who are acquainted with the facts in relation to the coming of the army from the east against the people here, are well aware that it was a time of great excitement. The army was encamped out east, and our brethren were in Echo Canyon preparing their defenses. Some of them who were out on the plains taking measures to arrest the progress of the army, received instructions from President Young. Of what nature were they? Everybody acquainted with the facts knows that the instructions from President Young were, that they might arrest the progress of the army, burn the grass, stampede their animals and destroy their trains; but they were not to shed a drop of blood. These instructions were given over and over again to those in charge. I have read copies of those despatches in a letter book, signed by Brigham Young. I have seen these instruc-

tions with my own eyes. I have heard the brethren who were engaged in that defense bear testimony to this. The instructions that were given over and over again were that they were not to shed a drop of blood unless actually compelled to do so in self-defense. And, mind you, this was at the very time that President Young is said to have given instructions to destroy this company of emigrants!

I have to refer you to a good many documents and papers, for I do not want you to rely on my testimony, but I want to bring forward as clear evidence and proof as I have been able to collect in regard to this matter. I want to read to you now a statement made by General Daniel H. Wells, which was published in the *New York Herald* of May 6, 1877, being a part of an interview between the representative of the *New York Herald* and President Young; the former having been sent here especially to interview the latter in regard to this matter:

“Everybody remembers how the people behaved when ordered out by President Young to prevent Johnston from entering the Territory at what might have seemed to another man a most dismal moment of his career. The President issued an order which, while it obliged us to burn forage in advance, set fire to the grass at night, carry off animals and do various other things to hold back the enemy, absolutely forbade a single man to shed a drop of blood.

“I remember when a young officer was captured by one of your troops a wallet found on him con-

tained an order to him signed by me, on the back of which was the usual inscription, 'Shed no blood.' That order was taken first to Johnston, and was afterwards taken to Washington and brought out in the famous debate of the next session."

You see, this man that was captured had the document upon his person giving him instructions, and the positive command was that he was to "shed no blood."

I will now read to you an extract from a letter published by a company of teamsters who passed through this country at the time of the Utah expedition. It was published on the 5th of June, 1858, in the *Southern Vineyard*, a paper printed in Los Angeles. It shows the disposition of the people at that time, and the orders of the authorities:

"On the 16th we arrived at a Mormon station at the mouth of Echo Canyon in a famished condition. On representing our distressed circumstances our wants were *promptly and gratuitously supplied*. Here we were furnished with an escort to the city, where we met with Lieut. Gen. D. H. Wells, of the Utah militia, who issued instructions regarding our safety throughout the settlements, accompanied with a relieved escort at each station. We recruited ourselves at Beaver City, and it was deemed advisable to fit up for the journey to California. We would be exceedingly ungrateful in omitting an expression of our sincere thanks and deep indebtedness to our Mormon friends of Utah, and the mail carriers, for the disinterested kindness evinced towards us in ministering to our wants, and for the aid extended to us in our journey to California, without which we could never have

reached our destination, but have perished in the desert, or been killed by merciless savages."

This very company of teamsters the "Mormons" were accused of murdering, while the facts were they owed their lives to "Mormon" generosity. Their testimony shows the disposition of the people here at that time and the orders of the President to Gen. D. H. Wells.

I will now read to you the instructions of President Young to Col. Dame, at Parowan, which you will find in the beautiful (?) book of Mr. Bishop's, page 316. I do not think I will take up the time in reading the whole of this circular. I will, however, read the latter part of it. It is published in full in this and other books. It is dated, "Great Salt Lake City, September 14, 1857"—just about the time of the massacre. I will give you the exact date of that occurrence presently. It has been disputed as to the actual date when the massacre took place, the dates varying from the 10th to the 16th of September; but I think I can give you the exact date:

"Herewith you will receive the Governor's proclamation declaring martial law.

"You will probably not be called out this Fall, but are requested to continue to make ready for a big fight another year."

At the close of the circular, which was not only sent to this gentleman, Col. Dame, but all over the Territory, it says:

"And what we said in regard to saving the grain and provisions we say again, let there be no waste.

Save life always when it is possible. We do not wish to shed a drop of blood if it can be avoided."

Now, here is Brigham Young sending a circular to all the chief men of the militia throughout the Territory, declaring that he does not want a drop of blood shed if it can be avoided. They were to save, not destroy, life. And yet we are expected to believe that right at that time, or a day or two previously, President Young sent down word to our brethren in the same neighborhood to kill off the emigrants! The story does not hold very well together in the light of this circular, from which I have just read.

I will now refer again to Mr. Stenhouse's book, "Rocky Mountain Saints." You must excuse me if I take up a good deal of time in reading extracts. My object is to establish the facts, as far as possible, from the testimony of persons not connected with us. I read from Stenhouse's book, page 369:

"The Prophet had given orders that no blood was to be shed under any temptation or provocation, save only in the extremity of self-defense."

That is the testimony of T. B. H. Stenhouse, an enemy. I will refer you again to the same book, page 385. It is an extract from an address by President Young:

"Should I take a course to waste life? We are in duty bound to preserve life—to preserve ourselves on the earth—consequently *we must use policy* and follow in the counsel given us, in order to preserve our lives."

This address was delivered at the time when the army was coming in. I have read this extract

to show you that the policy of President Young was to preserve life, notwithstanding there was a hostile army right on our borders, coming for the express purpose of destroying the people, yet the policy of President Young was not to shed blood.

Next, I will read to you an extract from the Lee trial—remarks made by Mr. Sumner Howard, the U. S. prosecuting attorney at the second trial of John D. Lee:

“He proposed to prove that John D. Lee, without any authority from any council or officer, but in direct opposition to the feelings and wishes of the officers of the Mormon Church, had gone to the Mountain Meadows, where the Indians were then encamped, accompanied only by a little Indian boy, and had assumed command of the Indians, whom he had induced, by promises of great booty, to attack these emigrants; that in his attack on the emigrants he was repulsed; that finding he could not get the emigrants out, he sent word to the various settlements of southern Utah for men to be sent to him, representing that the men were needed for various purposes, to some saying the Indians had attacked the emigrants and it was necessary to have men sent to draw off the Indians, to others that men were necessary to protect the emigrants, and still others that the emigrants were all killed, and that they were required to bury the dead; these men went in good faith to perform a humane act; that he had arranged with the Indians to bring the emigrants out from their corral, or fort, by means of a flag of truce; that by this act of perfidy he had induced the emigrants to give up their arms and place themselves under his protection, loading the arms and the wounded with the helpless children into two wagons, which he

had ordered up for the purpose; that he then started the wagons ahead, following them himself, and the women following next, the men bringing up the rear in single file; that Lee, after having traveled from three quarters of a mile to a mile, gave the order to fire, and the slaughter commenced; that Lee shot one woman with his rifle, and brained another woman; then drawing his pistol, shot another, and seizing a man by the collar and drawing him out of a wagon, cut his throat; that he gathered up the property of the emigrants and took it to his own place, using and selling it for his own benefit and use. All these charges against John D. Lee, he (District Attorney Howard) proposed to prove to the jury by competent testimony, beyond reasonable doubt, or beyond any doubt, and thought no appeal to the jury would be required to induce them to give a verdict in accordance with the evidence."

I will now read to you a passage from Lee's confession, or reported confession. John D. Lee made a great many so-called "confessions" which are rather contradictory. This confession is supposed to be the "only true and genuine one." Whether it is or not I cannot say. My opinion is from what I have read that John D. Lee furnished particulars and data to Mr. Bishop, who worked them up with some of his own notions and fabrications into this book. I cite this work of an enemy to show that President Young was not an accessory before the fact. I read from Bishop's book, page 233:

"Major Higbee said 'Here are the orders' and handed me a paper from Haight. It was in sub-

stance that it was the orders of Haight to decoy the emigrants from their position and kill all of them that could talk. This order was in writing. Higbee handed it me and I read it, and then dropped it on the ground, saying 'I cannot do this.' The substance of the orders were that the emigrants should be decoyed from their stronghold and all exterminated so that no one would be left to tell the tale and then the authorities could say it was done by the Indians."

You see this order did not come from Brigham Young. If it was given at all it come from Haight. We will now turn to page 245 of the same work:

"After the dead were searched the brethren were called up and Higbee and Klingensmith, as well as myself made speeches, and *ordered* the people to keep the matter a secret from the entire world. Not to tell their wives, or their most intimate friends, and we pledged ourselves to keep everything relating to the affair a secret through life. We also took the most binding oaths to stand by each other, and to always insist that the massacre was committed by Indians alone. * * *

"Knowing that Dame and Haight had quarrelled at Hamblin's that morning, I wanted to know how they would act in sight of the dead, who lay there as the result of their orders. I was greatly interested to know what Dame had to say, so I kept close to them, without appearing to be watching them. Col. Dame was silent for some time. He looked all over the field and was quite pale and looked uneasy and frightened. I thought then that he was just finding out the difference between giving and executing orders for wholesale killing. He spoke to Haight and said:

"I must report this matter to the authorities."

"How will you report it?" said Haight.

"Dame said, 'I will report it just as it is.'"

"Yes, I suppose so, and implicate yourself with the rest," said Haight.

"No," said Dame, "I will not implicate myself, for I had nothing to do with it."

"Haight then said, 'That will not do, for you know a d—— sight better. You ordered it done.' * * *

"Col. Dame was much excited. He choked up and would have gone away, but he knew Haight was a man of determination and would not stand any foolishness."

You see that there was a quarrel, according to John D. Lee, between Haight and Dame in regard to this matter right on the field near where the dead were lying. Dame disclaimed having anything whatever to do with the crime; but Haight, as I have read to you, tried to place the responsibility upon him. Dame declared he had had nothing to do with it, that he had given no orders concerning it, and threatened to report the details to the authorities of the Church. Haight immediately was afraid, and asked him what he was going to report. Now, then, if Brigham Young had given orders to have the emigrants massacred, why should Haight be in such a state of alarm at the declaration of Dame that he was going to report the matter to President Young? We are asked to believe that President Young ordered that massacre. Yet here we learn by the confession of John D. Lee, who states that he heard this

quarrel between Haight and Dame, that Haight, who had given the order, wanted to lay the blame upon Dame, and that Haight was afraid to have the massacre reported to the authorities of the Church. Here is an account of some speeches made just after this; page 347:

"The speeches were first—thanks to God for delivering our enemies into our hands; next, thanking the brethren for their zeal in God's cause; and then the necessity of always saying the Indians did it alone, and that the Mormons had nothing to do with it. The speeches, however, were in the shape of exhortation and commands to keep the whole matter secret from everyone but Brigham Young. It was voted unanimously that any man who should divulge the secret, or tell who was present, or do anything that would lead to a discovery of the truth, should suffer death.

"The brethren then all took a most solemn oath, binding themselves under the most dreadful and awful penalties, to keep the whole matter secret from every human being, as long as they should live. No man was to know the facts. The brethren were sworn not to talk of it among themselves, and each one swore to help kill all who proved to be traitors to the Church or people in this matter.

"It was then agreed that Brigham Young should be informed of the whole matter, by some one to be selected by the Church council, after the brethren had returned home."

Now, you see, there was an agreement that this matter should be reported to President Young, and yet we are asked to believe that President Young had ordered it. Dame and Haight quarreled over it. Haight feared that it would be reported just as

it was, and the whole body of men were sworn to keep it entirely secret. John D. Lee was selected to go to President Young and make a report. We will find out presently what kind of a report Lee made. John D. Lee says, page 250:

“The first time I heard that a messenger had been sent to Brigham Young for instructions as to what should be done with the emigrants, was three or four days after I had returned home from the Meadows. Then I heard of it from Isaac C. Haight, when he came to my house and had a talk with me. He said:

“‘We are in a muddle. Haslam has returned from Salt Lake City, with orders from Brigham Young to let the emigrants pass in safety.’

“In this conversation Haight also said:

“‘I sent an order to Higbee to save the emigrants, after I had sent the orders for killing them all, but for some reason the message did not reach him. I understand that the messengers did not go to the Meadows at all.’

“I at once saw that we were in a bad fix, and I asked Haight what was to be done. We talked the matter over again.

“Haight then told me that it was the orders of the council that I should go to Salt Lake City and lay the whole matter before Brigham Young. I asked him if he was not going to write a report of it to the governor, as he was the right man to do it, for he was in command of the militia in that section of the country, and next to Dame in command of the whole district. I told him that it was a matter which really belonged to the military department, and should be so reported.

“He refused to write a report, saying:

“‘You can report it better than I could write it.

You are like a member of Brigham's family, and can talk to him privately and confidentially. I want you to take all of it on yourself that you can, and not expose any more of the brethren than you find absolutely necessary."

Now, here are the instructions of Haight to John D. Lee. Here is Haight trying to cover up from President Young the crime which we are asked to believe President Young had ordered. The message had come saying that the emigrants were to be allowed to pass. But Haight wanted John D. Lee to go to Salt Lake City and fix it up; make a report to the President so as to allay his feelings. John D. Lee subsequently agreed to do this.

Now I will cite to you the testimony of Laban Morrill in regard to the dispatch from President Young to Haight. I will refer again to Bishop's book, page 320. An objection was made on the part of the defense at the second Lee trial to the introduction of this testimony, but the objection was overruled:

"As I said, there appeared to be some confusion in that council. I inquired in a friendly way, what was up. I was told that there was an emigrant train that passed along down to near Mountain Meadows, and that they had made threats in regard to us as a people—said they would destroy every d——d Mormon. There was an army coming on the north and south, and it created some little excitement. I made two or three replies in a kind of debate of measures that were taken into consideration, discussing the object, what method

we thought best to take in regard to protecting the lives of the citizens.

"My objections were not coincided with. At last we touched upon the topic like this: We should still keep quiet, and a dispatch should be sent to Governor Young to know what would be the best course. The vote was unanimous. I considered it so. It seemed to be the understanding that on the coming morning or next day there should be a messenger dispatched. I took some pains to inquire and know if it would be sent in the morning. The papers were said to be made out, and Governor Young should be informed, and no hostile course pursued till his return. I returned back to Fort Johnson, feeling that all was well. About eight and forty hours before the messenger returned, business called me to Cedar City, and I learned that the *job had been done*, that is the destruction of the emigrants had taken place. I can't give any further evidence on the subject at present.

"What was the name of the messenger sent to Salt Lake?

"James Haslam."

I will now read to you the testimony of James Haslam:

"James Haslam, of Wellsville, Cache Valley, was sworn. He lived in Cedar City in 1857; was ordered by Haight to take a message to President Young with all speed; knew the contents of the message; left Cedar City on Monday, September 7, 1857, between 5 and 6 p. m., and arrived at Salt Lake on Thursday at 11 a. m.; started back at 3 p. m., and reached Cedar about 11 a. m. Sunday morning, September 13th; delivered the answer from President Young to Haight, who said it was too late. Witness testified that when leav-

ing Salt Lake to return, President Young said to him: "Go with all speed, spare no horseflesh. The emigrants must not be meddled with, if it takes all Iron County to prevent it. They must go free and unmolested." Witness knew the contents of the answer. He got back with the message the Sunday after the massacre and reported to Haight, who said, 'It is too late.'

That is the testimony of James Haslam at the second Lee trial. According to what I have shown you President Young could not have been an accessory before the fact. He knew nothing about this matter until the dispatch came from Haight. As soon as he received that dispatch he sent back word—and told the messenger to spare no horseflesh in returning—that the emigrants must not be meddled with, and that if it took all Iron County to prevent them being interrupted by the Indians, it must be used for their protection. That is the testimony of James Haslam.

We have been tantalized a great deal in regard to the dispatch or letter sent by President Young by this messenger Haslam. As I had never seen it published I supposed that it could not be found. I had learned from President Young's testimony that the letter sent to him from Haight by Haslam was lost. But the evidence is clear that he sent a dispatch in reply to Haight at that time, and since President Young usually kept a copy of his correspondence, I supposed that this dispatch or a copy of it was in existence. The *Tribune* of this city, over and over again, has challenged the "Mormons" to produce a copy of the dispatch or letter

that Brigham Young sent by James Haslam. James Haslam testified that he delivered the dispatch to Haight, but Haight said it was too late. But it is objected, "Why don't you produce the dispatch?" Now, I have taken pains to hunt this matter up, and succeeded in getting the letter-book in which the correspondence of President Young at that period was copied, and found this identical dispatch in its order of date, and I am going to read it to you to-night. I read the letter myself in the copying-book from Aug. 20, 1856 to Jan. 6, 1858 filed away in the President's office, I have obtained a certified copy of it, and I know that it is correct:

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, Sept. 10, 1857.

Elder Isaac C. Haight:

DEAR BROTHER:—Your note of the 7th inst. is to hand. Capt. Van Vliet, Acting Commissary, is here, having come in advance of the army to procure necessaries for them. We do not expect that any part of the army will be able to reach here this fall. There is only about 850 men coming. They are now at or near Laramie. A few of their freight trains are this side of that place, the advance of which are now on Green River. They will not be able to come much if any further on account of their poor stock. They cannot get here this season without we help them. So you see that the Lord has answered our prayers, and again averted the blow designed for our heads. In regard to the emigration trains passing through our settlements, we must not interfere with them until they are first notified to keep away. You must not meddle with them. The Indians we expect will do as they please, but you should try and preserve good feelings with them. There are no other trains going south that I

know of. If those who are there will leave, let them go in peace. While we should be on the alert, on hand, and always ready, we should also possess ourselves in patience, preserving ourselves and property, ever remembering that God rules. He has overruled for our deliverance thus once again, and He will always do so if we live our religion and be united in our faith and good works.

All is well with us. May the Lord bless you and all the Saints forever.

Your Brother in the gospel of Christ,

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

TERRITORY OF UTAH, }
County of Salt Lake. } ss.:

I, Nephi W. Clayton, a notary public, within and for the County of Salt Lake, Territory of Utah, hereby certify that the foregoing is a full, true and correct copy of an impression of the foregoing letter; as witness my hand and official seal, at my office in Salt Lake City, Utah, this 18th day of October, A. D. 1884.

NEPHI W. CLAYTON,

Notary Public, Salt Lake County, U. T.

That is a full and verbatim copy of the letter sent by President Young in the hands of James Haslam to Isaac C. Haight, which arrived, as has been testified, forty-eight hours after the massacre. He reached Cedar City on Sunday the 13th. The massacre then took place on September 11th, the day after this letter was written. Isaac C. Haight said, "It is too late." He had sent for instructions, according to the agreement in council, but had been prevailed upon by John D. Lee to hurry the thing up and not wait for a reply. John D. Lee said he never heard of this letter until after he returned from the Meadows. But it is clear that a

letter was sent. It is evident that Haight had written to President Young to find out how near the army was, and what prospects there were of its coming here. He had undoubtedly referred to this emigrant train, and he informed the President of the antagonism that prevailed against the emigrants on the part of the Indians, and, in the answer, President Young emphatically declared that the emigrants must not be meddled with. This is strictly in accordance with the instructions that I have shown you this evening were given by President Young during the whole of that period, that exciting time when the army was coming, namely, to "shed no blood." That was the counsel of the President, and that is corroborated by this dispatch.

I do not think I need to spend any more time in proving that President Young was not an accessory before the fact. I believe it will be conceded by everybody that understands these facts, that Brigham Young did not order the massacre; that he was not implicated in it at all; that he did all in his power to have these emigrants go through free and in peace. I think this evidence is complete. It is to me; and I have looked into this matter very closely for my own information, and that I might lay it before my friends.

Now, as to President Young being an accessory after the fact. It is claimed that Lee came to Salt Lake City, as directed by Haight, about the latter part of September, to make a full and complete report of the massacre to President Young;

to tell who was there; and to give the names of the white men who were engaged in the tragedy. The question arises, is that true? Is it a fact that President Young was informed that John D. Lee and other white men were engaged in that awful massacre? I hope you will be patient while I go into that part of the subject and make this thing complete; for it is an important matter, we ought to understand it, and the name of President Young ought to be cleared from this stigma, if the story is untrue. If it is true the responsibility should be placed upon him, it doesn't belong to the "Mormon" Church. If Brigham Young was guilty of any complicity in this crime we want to know it, and I do not shrink the investigation of anything. If there is anything about this Church that cannot be investigated I want to know it. But everything I know about "Mormonism" will bear the light of day. Everything I know of "Mormonism" will bear investigation in the light of eternal truth, and so with its relation to the subject before us to-night. I know it, for I have looked at it in its bearings, in all its details, and I am not afraid to investigate anything pertaining to it. If there is anything that will not stand investigation it is not worthy of credence, not fit to be a part of our faith and practice. Then let us examine this matter and see if President Young was an accessory after the fact. I will read from Bishop's book, page 252. Here is John D. Lee's statement:

"According to the orders of Isaac C. Haight, I started to Salt Lake City to report the whole facts

connected with the massacre to Brigham Young. I started about a week or ten days after the massacre, and I was on the way about ten days."

Now remember the massacre took place, according to the testimony, on the 11th day of September, 1857, for this reason: Haslam reached Cedar City on the Sunday, forty-eight hours after the massacre. Everyone who has testified about it agrees that it took place on a Friday. The Friday before the 13th was the 11th. John D. Lee started for Salt Lake City about a week or ten days after the massacre and was about ten days on the road. That would bring him here about the end of September. I will read Lee's statement again:

"According to the orders of Isaac C. Haight, I started for Salt Lake City to report the whole facts connected with the massacre to Brigham Young. I started about a week or ten days after the massacre, and I was on the way about ten days. When I arrived in the city I went to the President's house and gave to Brigham Young a full, detailed statement of the whole affair, from first to last—only I took rather more on myself than I had done.

"He asked me if I had brought a letter from Haight, with his report of the affair. I said:

"No, Haight wished me to make a verbal report of it, as I was an eye-witness to much of it."

"I then went over the whole affair and gave him as full a statement as it was possible for me to give. I described everything about it. I told him of the orders Haight first gave me. I told him everything."

That is the statement of John D. Lee published after his death. Whether he said that or not I

am not prepared to state; but it is published here, and we have to take it for what it is worth. We have seen a good many conflicting "confessions of John D. Lee," and that is one of them. Suppose it is true—although there is a doubt in my mind—that he claimed to have told President Young everything. This is the testimony of a being who is said to have brained a woman, who, it is proved, cut a man's throat, shot wounded emigrants, whom he had decoyed out of their camp with a flag of truce. That is his testimony. Now, let us take the testimony of a man whose evidence is worthy of credence. I have two or three documents here. I will read you a statement made to me by President Wilford Woodruff, to which I got him to certify. Brother Woodruff is an honest, upright, truthful man, whose word can be relied upon implicitly. Is he not? I am sure everybody who knows him will answer "Yes." Here is his statement:

TERRITORY OF UTAH, }
County of Salt Lake. } ss.:

Personally appeared before me the undersigned, a notary public in and for said county, Wilford Woodruff, who, being duly sworn, on his oath deposes and says: I am a citizen of the United States and a resident of Utah Territory, over the age of twenty-one years. In the Fall of 1857 I was in the office of Governor Brigham Young, in Salt Lake City, when John D. Lee, who had just arrived from the south, and was dusty and tired, came to the front office and asked for a private interview with Governor Young. He was invited by the

Governor to the back office; I was requested to accompany him. We all went into the back office. There John D. Lee made a statement concerning the massacre of emigrants that had then recently taken place at Mountain Meadows. He stated that the emigrants had aroused the hostility of the Indians by poisoning several springs from which the Indians obtained water for drinking purposes; that they had poisoned cattle which had died, by putting poison into the carcasses, and that some of the Indians, who had eaten of the meat, died from its effects; that in consequence of this and their vile acts, the ire of the Indians was aroused, that he could not restrain them. He held them back as long as he could, until the emigrants arrived at the Mountain Meadows, when he could hold them back no longer, and they attacked these emigrants and killed them all except some small children. Governor Young was profoundly affected. He shed tears and said he was sorry that innocent blood had been shed within the limits of this Territory. John D. Lee remarked, "There was not a drop of innocent blood in the camp." Governor Young asked indignantly, "What do you call the blood of women and children?" Lee was silent. Lee did not intimate by a single word that any white man had anything whatever to do with the massacre. He laid the whole thing to the Indians, and claimed that he had done his best to prevent the occurrence. In the Fall of 1870 I was with President Brigham Young on a tour of the southern settlements. Erastus Snow who was then in charge of those settlements, informed President Young, as I then learned, that there were evidences of a strong character showing that John D. Lee was personally implicated in the Mountain Meadows massacre. President Young was very much surprised, and declared that if it was true,

John D. Lee had lied to him. When the President and company returned to Salt Lake City, he called a council of the President and the Twelve Apostles, when the matter was investigated, Elder Erastus Snow assisting in presenting the evidence; and the council unanimously voted to excommunicate John D. Lee for assisting in the murders at Mountain Meadows, and Isaac C. Haight, who was then President of the Stake in which Lee resided, for not restraining and preventing his participation in the crime. It was not until this occurrence last related, that President Young and his immediate associates fully realized the facts of Lee's guilt. Some had heard rumors of this, but the facts had not been brought to the knowledge of the President.

WILFORD WOODRUFF.

Subscribed and sworn to before me by the above-named affiant, this 24th day of October, A. D. 1884.

[SEAL.]

NEPHI W. CLAYTON,
Notary Public.

After getting this affidavit from Brother Woodruff I said to him: "Brother Woodruff, you are credited with keeping a regular journal of all important events in your history."

"Yes," said he, "I have got a large trunk full of books comprising my journal."

"Well," said I, "you must have some record of this occurrence that you have related to me."

He said he thought it quite likely. He looked among his books and succeeded in finding the journal of that period and brought it to me. It is an old book a little over an inch thick, and the writing in his own peculiar hand. I extracted

from it (under date of September 29, 1857) all I could find in relation to this matter, and I will give you my affidavit:

TERRITORY OF UTAH, }
County of Salt Lake. } ss.:

Personally appeared before me undersigned, a notary public in and for said county, Charles W. Penrose, who on his oath deposes and says: I am a citizen of the United States over the age of twenty-one years, and a resident of Salt Lake County. I have obtained from Wilford Woodruff of this city, a volume containing his journal from January 1, 1854, to December, 1859, in his own handwriting, with which I am acquainted. Under date of September 29, 1857, I find the following:

"We have another express in this morning, saying that the army are rapidly marching toward us, will soon be at Bridger, and wish men immediately sent out. John D. Lee also arrived from Harmony with an express and an awful tale of blood. A company of California emigrants, of about 150 men, women and children. Many of them belonged to the mobbers of Missouri and Illinois. They had many cattle and horses with them, and they traveled along south. They went damning Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and the heads of the Church; saying that Joseph Smith ought to have been shot a long time before he was. They wanted to do all the evil they could, so they poisoned beef and gave it to the Indians, and some of them died; they poisoned the springs of water, and several of the Saints died. The Indians became enraged at their conduct and they surrounded them on the prairie, and the emigrants formed a bulwark of their wagons, and dug an entrenchment up to the hubs of their wagons, but

the Indians fought them five days until they had killed all the men, about sixty in number. They then rushed into the corral and cut the throats of the women and children, except some eight or ten children which they brought and sold to the whites. They stripped the men and women naked and left them stinking in the sun. When Brother Lee found it out he took some men and went and buried their bodies. It was a horrid, awful job. The whole air was filled with an awful stench. The Indians obtained all the cattle and horses and property, guns, etc. There was another large company of emigrants who had 1,000 head of cattle, who was also damning both the Indians and the 'Mormons.' They were afraid of sharing the same fate. Brother Lee had to send interpreters with them to the Indians to help save their lives, while at the same time they were trying to kill us. I spent most of the day in trying to get the brethren ready to go to the Mountains. Brother Brigham, while Lee was speaking of the cutting of the throats of women and children by the Indians down south, said it was heart-rending; that emigration must stop, as he had said before. Brother Lee said he did not think there was a drop of innocent blood in the camp, for he had two of the children in his house, and he could not get but one to kneel down in prayer-time, and the other would laugh at her for doing it, and they would swear like pirates."

The foregoing extract is copied verbatim by me from the journal of said Wilford Woodruff.

CHARLES W. PENROSE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me by the above-named affiant, this 25th day of October, A. D. 1884.

[SEAL.]

NEPHI W. CLAYTON,
Notary Public.

I have read that extract from Brother Woodruff's journal because it completely corroborates what he so clearly gave me from memory. I will now read you the affidavit of Brother John W. Young:

TERRITORY OF UTAH, }
County of Salt Lake. } ss.:

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned, a notary public, in and for said county, John W. Young who, on his oath, deposes and says: I am a citizen of the United States, over the age of twenty-one years. In the Fall of the year 1857, I being then 13 years of age, was engaged at the office of my father, Governor Brigham Young, as messenger. I distinctly remember one day in the latter part of September 1857, being at my father's office when John D. Lee, travel-worn, as if he had come in haste from a long journey, entered the office and asked for a private interview with Gov. Young. He was shown into the back office, Elder Wilford Woodruff going in with him. I followed them and heard the conversation. It was customary for me to be present during those exciting times when messengers arrived, so as to be ready to carry any message that might have to be sent. I do not remember that anyone else was present.

It is distinctly impressed on my mind beyond the power of time to efface, how Lee described the deed which he said was committed by the Indians at Mountain Meadows. He told of the depredations committed by the company of emigrants destroyed; how they poisoned meat and gave it to the Indians, and also poisoned springs in their way, by which several persons were killed. Declared that he tried to pacify the Indians, but they

were so enraged against the emigrants that it was impossible to prevent their attack. He related how the Indians killed the men and then butchered the women, none being saved except a number of little children, which he, Lee, was instrumental in rescuing. Also that he took men to help to bury the dead. Gov. Young was greatly moved. I saw him wipe away the tears as he listened to the recital. He expressed his horror at the deed, and the shedding of innocent blood in this Territory. Lee declared that no innocent blood was shed, for the emigrants were a corrupt and murderous set. Gov. Young referred to the women and children who were slain, and declared that it was an awful crime. I was present during the whole interview, and know that Lee laid the matter entirely to the Indians, claiming that they alone killed the emigrants, against his earnest efforts to prevent it; that he was on the spot only to restrain the Indians and save life, and afterwards to bury the dead. He did not utter a syllable or convey any idea that either he or any other white person had any hand in the deed. The interview on that September morning impressed my boyish mind very strongly. Lee's recital was so forcible regarding the crime being committed by the Indians, and his sorrow and tears at the occurrence, appeared so sincere, that, years after, when it was rumored that white men were engaged in the massacre, I could not, and did not, believe it. It was only when proofs were brought which led to John D. Lee's excommunication from the Church, that I believed in his guilt. I was present on several occasions at the office of Gov. Young during the time of the approach of the army and heard Gov. Young warn those who had anything to do with the troops sent to intercept the army, to be careful not to shed blood. This was many

times repeated. I have been present when Indian chiefs came to Governor Young and asked to go out against the army. Gov. Young would not consent to the shedding of one drop of blood. I also distinctly remember a meeting after the coming in of the army, and after the return from the move south, at which Gov. Cumming and one or two of the United States judges appointed with him were present, when the report that white men had been engaged in the massacre at Mountain Meadows was referred to, and President Young offered to go with the governor and one of the judges—Cradlebaugh, I believe, and help to fully investigate the matter, and also to remain as a hostage in the hands of the federal authorities, if necessary, until the investigation was made complete, so strong was his confidence in the statement that none but Indians were engaged in the massacre.

JOHN W. YOUNG.

Subscribed and sworn to before me by the above-named affiant this 25th day of October, A. D. 1884.

[SEAL.]

NEPHI W. CLAYTON,
Notary Public.

I have yet another affidavit I want to present. Some years ago in Ogden I had a conversation with Judge Aaron Farr, who used to reside in Salt Lake City, but for many years has resided in Ogden—a man of veracity, who was probate judge of Weber County for many years. I was talking with him about this deplorable affair and he told me that after John D. Lee had made his report to Brigham Young he (Lee) with whom he was well acquainted, called at his house and saw him and gave him an account of the massacre. I sent

word a few days ago to Judge Farr that I would like his statement in writing, and here it is:

"I was personally acquainted with John D. Lee, having known him when a boy in Nauvoo. In the Fall of 1857, he came to Salt Lake City from his home in Iron County, shortly after the massacre, to report to Brigham Young how it occurred. On the same day that he reported to President Young in the morning, he came to my residence on West Temple Street, opposite Bishop Hunter's place, in the afternoon, and in a conversation with me, lasting about an hour and a half, detailed every particular of the horrible occurrence. He placed the whole blame of the massacre on the Indians. He stated that he and his associates had done all in their power to protect the emigrants, but were totally helpless in their object. He seemed very earnest while he was telling me this story, and at intervals wept bitterly. I asked him if he had informed President Young of these particulars, and he answered me that he had seen President Young that same morning and had related to him the circumstances as he had told them to me."

AARON F. FARR, SEN.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, }
TERRITORY OF UTAH, } ss.:
County of Weber.

On this 23rd day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, before me, Edward H. Anderson, a notary public, within and for Weber County, in the Territory of Utah, duly commissioned and qualified, personally appeared Aaron F. Farr, Sen., who acknowledged that the above statement to which his name is subscribed, is true.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my seal
in Ogden City, this the 23rd day of October,
1884.

E. H. ANDERSON,
Notary Public, Weber County.

It appears to me that is pretty straight testimony. Place these three pieces of reliable evidence against the statement of John D. Lee, the assassin, the butcher of women and children. Whose testimony would you receive if you were sitting on a jury? Would you believe the testimony of these three men of undoubted veracity, or the testimony of this cut-throat? I think you would prefer the testimony I have just read to you, at least I know I would, and I judge you by myself.

We are apt to measure other people's cloth by our yard-stick.

I will now read to you a very small portion of a letter to Secretary Belknap from President Young. The letter of President Young is under date of May 21, 1872. It is on file in the department at Washington:

"In 1858, when Alfred Cumming was governor of Utah Territory, I pledged myself to lend him and the court every assistance in my power, in men and means, to thoroughly investigate the Mountain Meadows massacre and bring if possible the guilty parties to justice. *That offer I have made again and again*, and although it has not yet been accepted, I have neither doubt nor fear that the perpetrators of that tragedy will meet their just reward. But sending an armed force is not the means of furthering the ends of justice, although it may serve an excellent purpose in exciting pop-

ular clamor against the "Mormons." In 1859, Judge Cradlebough employed a military force to attempt the arrest of those alleged criminals. He engaged in all about four hundred men, some of whom were civilians, reputed gamblers, thieves and other camp followers, who were doubtless intended for jurors (as his associate, Judge Eccles, had just done in another district); but these accomplished absolutely nothing further than plundering hen-roosts, and render themselves obnoxious to the citizens on their line of march. Had Judge Cradlebough instead of preemptorily dismissing his grand jury and calling for that military posse allowed the investigation into the Mountain Meadows massacre to proceed, *I have the authority* of Mr. Wilson, U. S. prosecuting attorney, for saying the investigation was proceeding satisfactorily, and I firmly believe, if the county sheriffs, whose legal duty it was to make arrests, had been lawfully directed to serve the processes, that they would have performed their duty and the accused would have been brought to trial. Instead of honoring the law Judge Cradlebough took a course to screen offenders, who could easily hide from such a posse under the justification of avoiding a trial by court martial.

"It is now fourteen years since the tragedy was enacted, and the courts have never tried to prosecute the accused; although some of the judges, like Judge Hawley, have used every opportunity to charge the crime upon prominent men in Utah, and influence public opinion against our community."

Here is President Young's statement to the Secretary of War at Washington, that he had offered personally to Governor Cumming and Judge Cradlebaugh to do all in his power to trace up the

massacre to its proper source. At that time Prest. Young was firmly of the conviction that no white man had been engaged in the massacre. The perpetrators of the massacre were sworn to secrecy, as I have read to you. They were bound together not to tell. If anybody did tell he was to be killed. The mouths of those who knew were closed. President Young, therefore, had no idea that any white man was engaged in the deed; and when the rumor came that white men had been engaged in it he would not believe a word of it. And here we see that he offered to investigate the matter. Cradlebaugh came here at the time Governor Cumming came. He and Judge Eccles and Judge Sinclair were the three associate justices of Utah then appointed. Cradlebaugh was appointed to the southern district. He held his court at Provo, and he sent to Camp Floyd for the assistance of the military to help serve the processes of his court; but on an appeal being made to Governor Cumming to prevent the military from acting in this capacity, he issued his proclamation against this usurpation of the military, and because of this, the governor being sustained by the war department, and Cradlebaugh failing in his ulterior designs, no further effort was made to ferret out the criminals who were engaged in the Mountain Meadows massacre. The object of Judge Cradlebaugh was to criminate President Young; he did not care about anybody else, as I will prove to you from his own statement. I want you to pay particular attention to Judge Cradlebaugh's remarks:

“If it is expected that this court is to be used by this community as a means of protecting it against the peccadilloes of Gentiles and Indians, unless this community will punish its own murderers, such expectations will not be realized. It will be used for no such purpose. When this people shall come to their reason, and manifest a disposition to punish their own high offenders, it will then be time to enforce the law also for their protection. If this court cannot bring you to a proper sense of your duty, it can, at least, turn the savages held in custody loose upon you.”

This he proceeded to do, turning loose both Indians and white savages who had come into the Territory. His object was to try and implicate President Young, and have him arrested by this military posse, and brought before his court. Judge Sinclair tried the same thing here in this city, but did not succeed. Orders came from Washington that the military could not be used in executing the processes of civil courts, whereupon Judge Cradlebaugh, finding he could not implicate the authorities of the Church, nor force them before his court, got mad and turned loose all the criminals in custody in his district, as he describes them, “savages and others.”

I will read to you now just a little extract from Stenhouse's book, page 401:

“The machinery of the courts was soon set in motion. The chief justice preferred the military camp for his residence. Associate Justice Sinclair was assigned to the district embracing Salt Lake City; and Associate Justice Cradlebaugh had within his district all the southern country.

“Up to this time the governor of the Territory had also been Superintendent of Indian affairs, but on the appointment of Governor Cumming, the office of Superintendent was conferred upon Jacob Forney, of Pennsylvania. Alexander Wilson, of Iowa, was appointed district attorney of the Territory, and thus was completed the full list of federal officials.”

You will see that the office of governor went out of the hands of President Young about that time. When the army came in Cumming superseded him as governor, and Jacob Forney as agent of Indian affairs. But it is claimed that President Young was agent of Indian affairs at the time of the massacre, and ought to have reported this massacre to the authorities at Washington. Well, before he went out of office he did make a report. Let us see what it is like. It is published in Bishop's book:

OFFICE OF SUPT. OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
G. S. L. CITY, Jan 6th, 1858.

Hon. James W. Denver, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington City, D. C.:

SIR:—On or about the middle of last September, a company of emigrants traveling the southern route to California, poisoned the meat of an ox that died and gave it to the Indians to eat, causing the immediate death of four of their tribe, and poisoning several others. This company also poisoned the water where they were encamped. This occurred at Corn Creek, fifteen miles south of Fillmore City. This conduct so enraged the Indians that they immediately took measures for revenge. I quote from a letter written to me by John D. Lee, farmer to the Indians in Iron and Washington

Counties: "About the 22nd of September Captain Fancher & Co. fell victims to the Indians' wrath near Mountain Meadows. Their cattle and horses were shot down in every direction; their wagons and property mostly committed to the flames." Lamentable as this case truly is, it is only the natural consequence of that fatal policy which treated the Indians like wolves, or other ferocious beasts. I have vainly remonstrated for years with travelers against pursuing so suicidal a policy, and repeatedly advised the government of its fatal tendency. It is not always upon the heads of the individuals who commit such crimes that such condign punishment is visited, but more frequently the next company that follows in their fatal path become the unsuspecting victims, though, peradventure, perfectly innocent."

On page 310 of the same book is the text of a letter to the same department, dated September 12, 1857, in which President Young advises some measures to be adopted, either to prevent the emigrants coming or to provide measures for their preservation.

Now, you see, Governor Young did report this as he was in duty bound to, and after making this report he was superseded, as I have told you, by Jacob Forney, as Indian agent.

I want to read to you now a word or two as to what Jacob Forney had to say on the subject. It appears on page 40 of Cradlebaugh's speech in Congress, and is a report to the department at Washington:

"GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, Sept. 22nd, 1859.

"I gave, several months ago, to the attorney general and several of the United States judges, the

names of those who I believe were not only implicated, but the hell-deserving scoundrels who concocted a part to the successful termination of the whole affair."

Thus, Jacob Forney made a report to the authorities at Washington, but no steps were taken to investigate the matter.

President Young then had gone out of office, both as governor and as superintendent of Indian affairs, and he was not responsible for any investigation in the matter in an official capacity. As you will perceive, there were some attempts made by the different governors and judges who rapidly succeeded each other, to show some interest in this affair. Their feeble efforts, however, were directed towards implicating President Young, and there was no real endeavor to convict the actual criminals ever made until Sumner Howard, U. S. district attorney for this Territory, prosecuted John D. Lee on his second trial. Previous to that all pretended efforts were directed towards criminating Brigham Young and the "Mormon" Church; no sincere movements were made to ferret out the persons who perpetrated this deed. President Young, not being acquainted with the facts in the matter, took no steps to punish Lee. He was profoundly impressed with the idea that the deed had been perpetrated by the Indians. This explains the reason why President Young, not now Governor Young, did not exercise ecclesiastical authority in reference to the assassin. I will here read to you the affidavit

of Hon. Erastus Snow, whose word no one who knows him will dispute for a moment:

TERRITORY OF UTAH, }
County of Salt Lake. } ss.:

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned, a notary public in and for said county, Erastus Snow, who, being first duly sworn, on his oath says: I am a citizen of the United States and resident of the Territory of Utah, over the age of 21 years. That inasmuch as President B. Young has been reproached for not expelling from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints John D. Lee, immediately after the Mountain Meadows massacre instead of waiting until October 8th, 1870; the reason was that President Young and other authorities of said Church in Salt Lake City were in ignorance of the full facts relating to John D. Lee's connection therewith; by the false representations made by said Lee, as Indian farmer, to Governor Brigham Young, to the effect that the Indians were alone responsible for that slaughter, and that Lee and others visited the scene in the interests of peace, but were unable to restrain them. After colonies of our people began to locate in Washington County, in the years 1861, 1862 and 1863, and I was sent there to preside over them, I began to learn from various persons, little by little, the facts in the case, which satisfied me that the said Lee had taken a direct hand with the Indians in that affair; and I felt it my duty to acquaint the Presidency of the Church with the facts so far as I had been able to gather them.

Bishop L. W. Roundy, of Kannarra, some ten miles from Lee's ranch, was also engaged as well as myself, in ferreting out the facts in relation thereto. President Young made a visiting tour through the southern part of the Territory in the

Fall of the year 1870. I met him at Kannarra, on his downward trip, and took him and Bishop L. W. Roundy by themselves; Roundy is now dead; and communicated to President Young the facts as we had learned them, and the sources of our information. It made a profound impression on President Young; he expressed great astonishment, and said if such were the facts, Lee had added to his crime lying and deceit to him, and wondered how and why those facts had been so long concealed from him. On his return to Salt Lake City President Young called a council of the Twelve Apostles of the Church, and laid the facts before them, and President Young himself proposed, and all present unanimously voted to expel John D. Lee and Isaac C. Haight, who was his superior officer in the Church, for failing to restrain him, and to take prompt action against him, and President Young gave instructions at that time that John D. Lee should, under no circumstances, ever be again admitted as a member of the Church.

During the following Winter, while Presidents Brigham Young and George A. Smith were at my home in St. George, Lee made application to me to intercede for him to obtain an interview with them; but when I spoke to them about it they both positively declined to see him or receive any communication from him.

ERASTUS SNOW.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 21st day of February, A. D. 1882.

[SEAL.]

JAMES JACK, Notary Public.

Now, you will see how the facts first came to the cognizance of President Young. Brother Erastus Snow was sent down to take charge of the southern country. There certain hints were given and things began to come out; he commenced to trace

them up, and when he had gathered certain facts he laid them before President Young. It was found, that Lee had added lying and deceit to his deeper crimes, and he was cut off the Church and denied re-admission.

Now, suppose that Lee was an accomplice of Brigham Youngs, that Brigham Young was an accessory either before or after the fact, would he have dared to take these steps against Lee or Haight? No. If Lee and Haight had received instructions from President Young, or the latter had palliated or condoned the crime, would Prest. Young have cut them off the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and that without a remedy?

At Lee's first trial he was not convicted. The jury was composed partly of "Mormons" and partly of non-Mormons; but the jury disagreed. And if you had read the testimony as I have done, you would see that in refusing to bring in a verdict of "guilty," they who did so were justified, because the crime was not then clearly traced to Lee. One of the main objects of the prosecution then was to implicate the higher ecclesiastical authorities of the "Mormon" Church. But, of course, they were not on trial. Mr. Baskin for the prosecution said:

"The country does not want to see that old man hanged; it only wants to see the fair fame of the country vindicated."

And he went on to arraign the "Mormon" Church and Brigham Young as "commanding men to mur-

der and spoliates." And it is admitted in the *Tribune* report of that trial, page 6, that

"The prosecuting officers, in dealing with this great crime, were less desirous to convict and punish the prisoner than to get at the long-concealed facts of that case. The impression that there was 'some person (or persons), high in the estimation of the people,' at the bottom of the affair, had grown to be a settled conviction; and as Lee had been a subordinate actor in the massacre it was thought that the ends of justice would be attained by releasing this man if he was honest in his avowed resolution to tell it all."

At the second trial the evidence was plain and direct as to Lee's complicity in the massacre; he was convicted by "Mormon" testimony, and a verdict of "guilty" was brought in against him by a "Mormon" jury—I have a list of their names,* all members of the "Mormon" Church. Strange thing, was it not, to have a "Mormon" jury? It would be singular in these times. But John D. Lee was convicted by a "Mormon" jury, a thing said by some of the newspapers, extracts from which I have read to you, to be "impossible."

All this goes to show to this audience and to the world that the charge of this massacre cannot be laid to the "Mormon Church," to George A. Smith, to Brigham Young or to the Twelve Apostles; it can only be laid to John D. Lee and such white men who were present on that occasion and who

*—Wm. Greenwood, John E. Page, A. M. Farnsworth, Stephen S. Barton, Valentine Carson, Alfred I. Randall, James S. Montague, A. S. Goodwin, Ira B. Elmer, Andrew A. Correy, Charles Adams and Walter Granger.

participated in the massacre. But it is very evident from the testimony, both on the first and on the second Lee trial, that but few white men fired a gun. Most of the massacre was done by the Indians, who were armed, some of them with guns and some with bows and arrows. I could bring you a mass of testimonies given at the two trials to show how these white men came to go to the Meadows; that they were "lured" by Haight, and Lee, and Klingensmith. They were told to go there with guns and spades; that the Indians had attacked the emigrants, and that they were wanted to help bury the dead, and protect the emigrants. They were not told to go there and kill the emigrants, and it is very clear that very few of them took any active part in the massacre. After the terrible deed was done, however, they were all sworn to secrecy, and kept their oaths for a while. But the thing began to leak out. It was too horrible, too wicked, too much against their religion to keep. Every person who belongs to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and understands the doctrines of the Church, and has a particle of the spirit of this gospel, knows that it is not the spirit of its members to shed blood, knows that the doctrines of the Church teach to the contrary, and that it is looked upon as the very worst of crimes for a man to kill his fellow-man. As I showed you two weeks ago in a discourse on "blood atonement," there were certain capital sins that could not be atoned for except by the shedding of the person's own blood, and that after a person has received certain

ordinances and made certain covenants, and then commits murder he cannot be forgiven in this world or in the world to come. That is the doctrine of this Church.

How, then, can this people be accused of complicity in a crime which is right against their feelings, contrary to their faith, prohibited by the revelations, which they believe to be the revelations of God, opposed to the public teachings and the private instructions of the leaders of the Church right in the face of the positive injunctions of those leaders not to shed blood under any circumstances except in self-defense.

I think I have made out a case that Brigham Young was not an accessory after the fact. I will have to pass over some items I would like to have brought before the congregation, all in this same line of argument; but I will skip them owing to the lateness of the hour. It was said that some property was brought into Salt Lake City from Mountain Meadows and that Brigham Young got possession of it while Captain Hooper bought the stock. Allow me to read a little more from Bishop, page 268. Here is what John D. Lee said after he was condemned to death :

"But is there no help for the widow's son? I can no longer expect help from the Church or those of the Mormon faith. If *I escape execution* it will be through the clemency of the nation, many of whose noble sons will dislike to see me sacrificed in this way. I acknowledge that I have been slow to listen to the advice of friends, who have warned me of the danger and treachery that awaited me,

yet I ask pardon for all the ingratitude with which I received their advice. When the people consider that I was ever taught to look upon treachery with horror, and that I have never permitted one nerve or fibre of this old frame to weaken or give way, notwithstanding I have been cut loose, and cast off and sacrificed by those who from their own standpoint, and according to their own theory, should have stood by me to the last, they may have some compassion for me. Perhaps all is for the best."

You see there is an intimation in that, that he thought he might perhaps escape punishment. There was considerable reason perhaps for that. It is stated that there was an agreement made between John D. Lee and Sumner Howard, the prosecuting attorney, and Mr. Nelson, who was then U. S. Marshal, and is now one of the editors of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, that John D. Lee should make out these documents that they might publish them to the world and make money out of it; but I will not enter into the evidences of that tonight. But John D. Lee had an idea that perhaps there was a loop-hole through which he might escape. His first confession did not suit. He made up a "confession" at the first trial for Messrs Carey and Baskin who were the prosecuting attorneys on that occasion, and it was supposed that that confession would save a great deal of trouble at that trial. The substance of that confession is published in this *Tribune* pamphlet. After giving an account of the massacre the report says:

"But the statement goes no further in its implication than the local leaders who directed the butchery, and totally fails to throw light upon the

complicity of the higher ecclesiasts from whom the order emanated."

It was for that reason it did not suit, for as I have already shown you the real object at that trial was if possible to criminate Brigham Young. Now I want to read to you a short paragraph from Mr. Howard's statement at the next trial, when John D. Lee was convicted:

"District Attorney Howard opened the case to the jury for the prosecution. He reviewed the history of the case, and announced that he came here to try John D. Lee, and not Brigham Young, and the Mormon Church, who were not indicted. He intended to try John D. Lee for acts committed by Lee personally. He recited to the jury the facts which he proposed to prove by competent testimony as to John D. Lee's guilt in the case."

After he had made his opening speech, Mr. W. W. Bishop, the publisher of this book, said:

"He was glad to hear that Brigham Young and the Mormon Church were not on trial in this case. It was the first time in Utah that he had the pleasure of trying the case on its own merits."

Mr Bishop here acknowledges that the attempt before was merely to implicate Brigham Young and the "Mormon" Church; but now John D. Lee was on his trial on his own merits. The "Mormon" Church and Brigham Young were not then on trial.

At the close of the second trial U. S. District Attorney Sumner Howard,

"In his opening address, repeated again that he had come for the purpose of trying John D. Lee, because the evidence lead and pointed to him as the main instigator and leader, and he had given the jury unanswerable documentary evidence,

proving that the authorities of the Mormon Church knew nothing of the butchery until after it was committed, and that Lee, in his letter to President Young a few weeks later, had knowingly misrepresented the actual facts relative to the massacre, seeking to keep him still in the dark and in ignorance.

"He had received all the assistance any United States official could ask on earth in any case. Nothing had been kept back, and he was determined to clear the calendar of every indictment against any and every actual guilty participator in the massacre, but he did not intend to prosecute any one that had been lured to the meadows at the time, many of whom were only young boys and knew nothing of the vile plan which Lee originated and carried out for the destruction of the emigrants."

Now, in regard to what became of the property said to have been taken from Mountain Meadows, I will refer to John D. Lee's statement, page 245:

"The bodies were all searched by Higbee, Klingensmith and Wm. C. Stewart. I did hold the hat a while, but I soon got so sick that I had to give it to some other person, as I was unable to stand for a few minutes. The search resulted in getting a little money and a few watches, but there was not much money. Higbee and Klingensmith kept the property, I suppose, for I never knew what became of it, unless they did keep it. I think they kept it all."

It was currently reported that Brigham Young gobbled it all. In regard to the cattle that Capt. Hooper was supposed to have obtained. It was stated in Congress that Hooper had the cattle that came from the Mountain Meadows. I will read from page 292:

"My worthy attorney, W. W. Bishop, will please insert it in my record or history, should I not be able to write up my history to the proper place, to speak of my worthy friend, Wm. H. Hooper. Please exonerate him from all blame or censure of buying the stock of that unfortunate company, as there is *no truth* in the accusation whatever."

On page 250, Lee declares Klingensmith sold these cattle; that he and Haight kept all the proceeds and started a mercantile business with it in Cedar City. I give that for what it may be worth, but it goes to disprove that Brigham Young obtained any of the ill-gotten property.

John D. Lee was taken to the Mountain Meadows and there shot for the crime committed, on the 23rd of March, 1877. This was done for dramatic effect. It is between 80 and 90 miles from Beaver, where he was convicted. I do not think that such a thing as moving a criminal for execution to the spot where his crime was committed was ever done before within the limits of the United States. If it has been I am not aware of it. But the object of it was to make the book sell a little better. The book is a dramatic one, and the crime to which it related was made to have a dramatic termination.

I will now read to you a few words taken down from the lips of President John Taylor in regard to this matter. I want you to understand his sentiments in regard to this affair. It was written in the Winter of 1882:

"I now come to the investigation of a subject that has been harped upon for the last seventeen years, namely, the Mountain Meadows massacre.

That bloody tragedy has been the chief stock-in-trade for penny-a-liners, and press and pulpit, who have gloated in turns by chorus over the sickening details. 'Do you deny it?' No. 'Do you excuse it?' No. There is no excuse for such a relentless, diabolical, sanguinary deed. That outrageous infamy is looked upon with as much abhorrence by our people as by any other parties in this nation or in the world, and at its first announcement its loathing recital chilled the marrow and sent a thrill of horror through the breasts of the listeners. It was most certainly a horrible deed, and like many other defenseless tragedies, it is one of those things that cannot be undone. The world is full of deeds of crime and darkness, and the question often arises, Who is responsible therefor? It is usual to blame the perpetrators. It does not seem fair to accuse nations, states and communities for deeds perpetrated by some of their citizens, unless they uphold it."

I have read this that you may know the sentiments of the present President of the Church in regard to this crime, and I think his sentiments will be endorsed by every Latter-day Saint.

I have read to you to-night a number of the stories circulated in regard to this matter, laying this massacre to the body of the "Mormon" Church. In the beginning of my remarks I read copiously from papers published in different parts of the world, showing that the crime was broadly charged to the Latter-day Saints. I might also read to you from the Salt Lake *Tribune*, but I will not detain you. That paper has over and over again laid this crime at the door of the "Mormon" Church. These bugaboo stories put me in mind a great deal of the boy's essay on pins. After several amusing

remarks about those useful articles, he said they had been "the means of saving thousands of human lives, by reason of their not swallowing of them." Whenever these stories *are* swallowed they produce poisonous effects. They are injurious to the vision. And that is the object for which they are used, that the eyes of the people may be blinded, so that when the Elders go forth with the gospel of Christ, people, being blinded through prejudice, will not be willing to receive it. The clergy have helped to spread abroad these infamous stories. I think I have proved to-night that the "Mormon" people are not guilty of this massacre in any way; that the "Mormon" Church, as an organization, is not responsible for it; that George A. Smith merely went south, as some did to the north, to warn the people in regard to the waste of grain and flour, and other provisions; that he did not speak against this company of emigrants at all, for he did not know of their existence until he was on his way back. I think I have proved to you that Brigham Young was not an accessory before the fact, nor an accessory after the fact; that when the facts came to the knowledge of President Young he then and there excommunicated John D. Lee and Isaac C. Haight from the Church and would not allow them to enter again; that Brigham Young's name stands to-day clear from the guilt which malignant people have tried to fasten upon it. Brigham Young was not a man of blood, nor even a warrior, but a philanthropist and a statesman—a statesman of a very high order. His soul did not delight in physical conflict, nor in the shedding of blood. I could

produce to you to-night sermon upon sermon from the *Journal of Discourses* in which he deprecates the shedding of blood. I could produce to you to-night, as I did two weeks ago, his teachings concerning the awful penalties attached to the shedding of the blood of a human being; and I think all this mass of testimony produced to-night goes to prove that neither Brigham Young nor the Church either authorized, or countenanced, or palliated, or excused in the least degree the horrible massacre at Mountain Meadows.

And now I will bring to a close my remarks. Let us investigate. Let us be a thinking people, a reading people, a people that think for ourselves, a people that will not be led away by any story that may be spread abroad in the world. And let us help to send forth the truth. I think we have been a little to blame in this matter. We have been continually assailed. Our enemies have told some of the most monstrous stories that it is capable for the mind of man to invent, his tongue to repeat or devils inspire him to pen. I think we should take a stand to expose these falsehoods, to defeat this influence, to place ourselves on record against them. I think the people called Latter-day Saints should use the pen and the press to scatter truth broadcast in the world. We do not expect to meet all the lies they tell of us. A man can ask questions and bring forth by implication as much in an hour as would take ten years to refute. If we cannot reply to all the lies that are told about us, we can, at least, endeavor to do our best in refuting some of the worst. It is our duty

to do so. We have been warned; now let us warn our neighbors. We have got the truth; let us spread it abroad. By the help of God we will labor to this end. I devoted myself to the work of spreading the truth in my boyhood. I feel just the same to-day; and I know I have been blessed of God in this labor. I know the Spirit and power of God is in this Church. I know this is the work of God. I know God has established it and I know He will bring it to a glorious consummation. I know that all the lies, the engines of destruction and all the influences, physical, or moral, or intellectual, that may be brought against this Church will ultimately fail. "Truth is mighty and will prevail." And while I live, by the help of God, I shall endeavor to do my part, both by tongue and pen, in defending my brethren and sisters and the servants of God in this Church from the malicious attacks and calumnies of their opponents, and in preaching the gospel of peace to the ends of the earth. To this I have consecrated my life, and in doing this I have done but the same as many others. I know my words find an echo in your hearts. You know as well as I do that this is the spirit of this Church, that the spirit of our leaders, the First Presidency, the Apostles and our leading men is peace. Our motto is "Peace on earth, good-will to all men." Our mission is salvation, not destruction. We come to save men's lives, not to destroy them.

May God help us to labor in this spirit and give us strength and faith that we may accomplish the work unto which we are called, for Christ's sake. Amen.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LECTURE
ON THE
MOUNTAIN MEADOWS
MASSACRE.

IMPORTANT ADDITIONAL
TESTIMONY RECENTLY RECEIVED.

PRINTED AT JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR OFFICE,

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

1885.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES HOLT HASLAM.

TAKEN AT WELLSVILLE, CACHE COUNTY, UTAH,
DECEMBER 4, 1884.

JAMES HOLT HASLAM, being interrogated by S. A. Kenner, Esq., answered the interrogatories to him propounded as follows:

What is your full name?

James Holt Haslam.

And where do you now reside?

In Wellsville, Cache County, Utah.

How long have you resided in this Territory?

Since the Fall of 1851.

Have you been here continuously from that time?

You mean in Utah?

Yes.

Yes, sir.

In what part of Utah were you residing in the year 1857.

In the year 1857 I was residing at Cedar City, in Iron County.

What part of Iron County?

Cedar City.

Do you remember September of that year?

I remember it well.

Do you remember the incident in the history of Utah known as the Mountain Meadows massacre or murder?

Yes, sir.

What time of the year did it occur?

It was in September.

In 1857 or 1858?

In 1857.

Did you perform any office or any service in connection with those engaged in that transaction?

All that I performed was to carry an express from Cedar to Salt Lake City.

Who sent you on that errand?

Isaac C. Haight.

What position, if any, did he hold in that community where you lived?

President of Cedar City.

By virtue of what authority was he president, if you know?

No more than he was called to that office.

I mean under what dispensation or government?

Under the church government of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Did he hold any other position?

I believe he was colonel of militia of what is called the Nauvoo Legion.

As the presiding officer of that community, were you subject to his order?

Yes, in a church capacity I was.

Do you remember the company of emigrants that were massacred at the Mountain Meadows?

I remember seeing them pass through Cedar City on their way south.

About what time was that with reference to your receiving this dispatch?

A few days after, I should say it must have been somewhere about the fifth or sixth of September, 1857.

Was it before or after you received the dispatch?

Oh, before I received the dispatch.

About how many days before?

I should judge from one to two days, but I could not say positively.

State now, as nearly as you can, considering the state and circumstances leading to Mr. Haight giving that dispatch and with orders to convey it there.

Word came up to Mr. Haight from John D. Lee, stating that the Indians had got the emigrants corralled on the Mountain Meadows, and wanted to know what he should do.

Who brought that word?

I don't know, I did not see the man who brought the word to Haight.

What did Mr. Haight tell you in relation to the matter at that time?

He sent for me. He had a message written to send up to Brigham Young, and he wished to get a man to take it up. He had not found one when I went down there to his house, and he asked me

if I would take it. I told him I would if it was possible to take it.

Did he then state the nature of that message that he wanted you to carry and deliver?

He gave me the message to read.

Did you read it?

Yes, sir.

State the contents of it as near as you possibly can.

The same as I stated before: that the Indians had got the emigrants corralled at the Mountain Meadows, and Lee wanted to know what should be done. Lee at this time was major of what was called the Post, and he was the Indian agent.

My question was in relation to the emigrants—what do you mean by the Post?

It was a fort and intended to devise means of protection from the Indians.

Was that message placed in an envelope and sealed?

Yes, sir.

To whom was it addressed?

To Brigham Young, governor of Utah Territory.

What did you do with it when you took possession of it?

I wrapped it up carefully and put it away where no one would get it until I delivered it.

How long after receiving it was it before you started for Salt Lake City?

Just as quick as I could go home, put on a shirt and saddle a horse.

About how far did you live from Haight's, or from where you received the message?

About a quarter of a mile.

How long did it take you to go and do that?

Probably from ten to fifteen minutes.

Is it a fact that after the receipt of that message you were in the saddle ready to depart and did depart within fifteen minutes from the time of its reception?

Yes, sir.

What kind of a horse did you start on.

A spanish horse.

Please state as to its fleetness.

I could not state as to that.

How long did it take you to arrive at Parowan?

I could not say exactly, might be about two hours.

What is the distance?

Between eighteen and twenty miles.

Did you proceed on the same horse from there?

Yes, sir, to Beaver.

Do you know about what time you arrived at Beaver?

To the best of my recollection now, Bishop P. T. Farnsworth was Bishop there, and to the best of my recollection when I arrived at Beaver he said it was nine o'clock, or a little past, in the evening.

Do you remember the time when you left Cedar?

A little past four o'clock in the afternoon.

Did you change horses at Beaver?

Yes, sir.

How long were you in effecting the change of horses?

While I was eating supper they got the horse and put the saddle on it. They got the horse from Edward Thompson, Sen.

Did you state the nature of your mission to the Bishop?

I did, sir.

And he then proceeded immediately to get you a fresh horse?

Yes, sir.

So you immediately got on and went as fast as possible, did you?

Yes, sir; I got a note from Col. Dame to all the Bishops, stating my business, and for them to furnish me horses.

And it was by virtue of you showing this note that the Bishop at Beaver furnished you a horse?

Yes, sir.

Did you proceed immediately on your journey to Fillmore?

Right away.

How long did you ride after that?

From that to Fillmore.

Without stopping?

Without stopping, on the same horse, yes, on the same horse to Fillmore.

Can you remember the time you arrived at Fillmore—time of day or night?

I could not recollect exactly.

Can you remember how many hours?

No, sir; I got to Fillmore sometime before daylight, but I could not say exactly what time of the following day.

How long did you stay in Fillmore?

I had to stay till the Bishop came, and that was pretty near evening. He was off on a hunt, he and his horses too.

Who was Bishop there at that time?

Seymour Brunsen.

Were you resting during this time?

I had to do: my horse could not go any further without urging him very much, as he had come from Beaver.

How long were you there waiting for the Bishop to arrive?

That day; and after he arrived I did not stop but a little while.

Did he get you a horse immediately?

Yes, sir; but it was a horse that I could only ride ten miles. I rode to Cedar Springs, or Holden.

Did you there obtain another horse?

They hadn't got one in Holden—had to send back to Fillmore and get another one.

How much time did that occupy?

That occupied, before they got back with another horse, till three o'clock in the morning next day.

Did you then immediately proceed?

Yes, sir.

How far did you go that time?

To Salt Creek, or Nephi.

In about what time did you make that journey?

I was there at seven o'clock in the morning.

And you obtained another horse there, did you?

Yes, sir.

How much time did that occupy there?

Just long enough to eat breakfast—not to exceed half an hour.

And you then proceeded northward?

Yes, sir.

How far did you go that time?

To Payson.

How long did you stay there?

Just long enough to change horses.

That would be but a few minutes?

That is all.

How far did you go next time?

To Provo.

Did you get another horse there?

Yes, sir.

How much time did you spend in Provo?

An hour.

Then proceeded on your journey again?

Yes, sir.

Where was your next stopping place?

At American Fork.

Did you get another horse there?

Yes, sir.

How long did you stay there?

Well, about half an hour.

And then went on continuously?

Went right on.

Where did you arrive at next?

I went right on to Salt Lake City from American Fork.

How long did it take you to go from American Fork to Salt Lake City?

I could not say exactly how long it was, but I went right on, yet got kind of sleepy that night.

What day of the week was it you arrived at Salt Lake City?

I can't remember that, but think it was Thursday morning.

Can you give me the time you occupied from Cedar City to Salt Lake City, altogether, including stoppages and everything?

I left Cedar at four o'clock in the afternoon, and it was the morning of the third day from then that I got to Salt Lake City.

After you left Cedar?

Yes, sir; I was at the Lion House just after day-break, where Brigham Young had his office, or it was then.

That would be, then, about sixty hours, would it not, on your journey?

Yes, sir, somewhere along there: two whole days and a little more than half of another.

Well, was it not about sixty hours?

Yes, about that time.

How many hours were taken up by these stoppages and delays altogether?

Well, about fifteen—yes, there was all of twenty hours taken up. What was the first thing you did when you arrived at Salt Lake City?

To go to Brigham's office.

Did you see him there?

Yes, sir.

Immediately upon your arrival?

You might call it immediately. It was not over fifteen minutes.

Did you see him in his office?

Yes, sir.

What did you do when you first saw him?

I handed him my message.

Did you tell him whom you received it from?

Not until he asked me the question.

Did you then?

Yes, sir, I did.

What did he do?

He opened it and read it.

What, if anything, did he say after he read it?

He told me I had better go and lie down and take a little sleep.

What else, if anything?

He told me to be there again at such a time, and he would be ready to give me an answer.

Did he mention any time?

Yes, sir.

What time was it that he suggested?

One o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

Were there any others present besides President Young on that occasion?

Yes, sir.

State, if you can recollect, who they were.

I can't recollect all, but Squire Wells, John Taylor and I should think about as many as half a dozen.

Do you remember George Q. Cannon and John Taylor?

I cannot say whether George Q, was there or not; I cannot say as to him positively, because I don't recollect.

Mention as many as you can remember.

That is about as many as I can remember—Daniel H. Wells and John Taylor.

How many were there altogether?

I should think there was all of half a dozen or more in a council.

Was this at the time you first went in—who was there when you first went to President Young?

I don't recollect only seeing one clerk in the office.

Was this at the time you first went into the office?

No, it was in the afternoon when I went for the answer.

Do you know for what purpose the council was assembled?

I do not.

What were they doing when you went in?

Sitting in council.

Do you know what they were sitting in council about?

I do not.

Did you hear or did you learn at the time what the nature of the council was?

No, sir.

And you know nothing about what they were doing?

No, sir; only that the council was being held in President Young's office. •

Did President Young read the message aloud when you first delivered it to him, or silently?

He did not read it aloud.

What did he do after he read it?

He read it and told me to go and take a little sleep.

As to the message—what did you do with reference to that?

He asked if I could stand the trip back; he said the Indians must be kept from the emigrants at all cost, if it took all of Iron County to protect them.

You remember he said that very distinctly?

I do, I know he said it.

Was there anything said with reference to that subject by any other person that was present there?

No, sir; Brigham Young did all the talking.

What disposition did he make of the message after he read it?

That I do not know.

Did you then immediately depart?

No.

You took the rest that he suggested?

Yes, sir.

Were you there at the time he mentioned for you to come?

I was.

What took place then?

He told me to start and not to spare horseflesh, but to go down there just as quick as possible.

Did he give you any written message?

Yes, sir.

Was it sealed or unsealed?

It was not sealed, but I never opened it.

Did you know the contents of it?

I did not—I could have done.

Did you see it subsequently or after?

When I handed it to Brother Haight he offered it to me to read.

About how long were you on the road taking the message down and going to Cedar City?

About the same as I was coming up, as near as I can think.

What did Mr. Haight say to you when you handed him the message or answer and he read it?

He said, "Too late, too late." The massacre was all over before I got home.

Did he say anything further on that subject?

No, sir; he cried like a child.

How long were you in his company at that time?

About half an hour.

Did he make any further reference to the subject?

No, sir; he could not talk about it at all.

At what place was this, and where?

In Cedar City.

Was he at his home at the time you delivered this message to him?

No.

At what place was he?

Between his house and mine, on the way coming down to see if I had got back.

Did he, at that time or afterwards, say anything with reference to his being at the massacre or not?

Never to my knowledge.

Did you see John D. Lee then at that time?

No, sir, I did not.

Have you seen him since?

Yes, sir, many times.

How long after that before you saw him first?

About two weeks.

Did he make any reference to the subject?

No, sir.

Did you?

No, sir.

Have you at any time since that date heard him or Haight speak in reference to that subject?

No, sir.

Do you know John M. Higbee?

Yes, sir.

Have you ever heard him say anything about it?

No, sir.

Have you heard the subject discussed by anyone there or elsewhere about that time?

No more than common rumor since that date.

Have you ever heard Mr. Dame talk about it?

No, sir.

Do you know what became of that dispatch?

You mean the one I brought back?

Yes.

I do not.

Did you see what disposition Mr. Haight made of it?

He put it in his pocket after he read it.

Have you ever seen it since?

No, sir.

Have you ever heard it mentioned in Church meetings or anywhere else?

No, sir.

Was there at that time a telegraph line in the Territory?

No, sir.

What was the mail service, if any, through the Territory at that time, if you know?

Mails were carried just as it happened.

Was there a regular through mail?

The mail came now and then about as it happened, as near as I can remember. If anybody went up to Salt Lake City they would bring back what mail there was there.

About how often did the mail come there?

Only as it was brought, kind of promiscuous.

Did it come as often as once a month?

I don't think it did.

Was it any oftener than that?

No, sir, I don't think it was.

How long was it after that time that you next met President Young?

I can't say, for I don't recollect. I came up to Salt Lake City in 1859 and worked there till Fall: I can't remember any particular date.

But you have met him since?

Oh, yes, many times.

And heard him speak in places, in pulpits?

Yes, sir.

Have you ever heard him, in his house, in any place, or in any of the streets, or in any place of worship, or pulpit, or at any place whatever, make

any reference to the subject that you have just testified to and under discussion?

I have.

Will you, according to your best recollection, give me, as near as possible, the nature of what he said at any of these places or times?

If I can recollect anything he said at all, he said it was one of the worst things that ever happened or could have happened in Utah, and those that had perpetrated that deed would go to hell for it. I have heard him use such an expression as that.

Then, to the best of your recollection, from what you have seen of him, what you have known of him, what you have heard him say, he was not only bitterly opposed to that whole proceeding, but discountenanced the men who engaged in it?

He did.

Do you know anything concerning any spoils or property that accrued from that massacre?

Only from hearsay.

Have you ever seen any of it?

Oh, yes.

In whose possession did you see it?

John D. Lee's.

Did you ever see any in anybody else's possession?

I can't say that I did, unless they bought it from Lee.

Did you ever know or hear of Brigham Young having any property or money that was obtained from that affair at that time?

No, sir.

Did you ever hear of any having been offered him?

Only by report to me from a man that Lee told.

What was the nature of that report?

The nature was that Lee offered him money that he had got from that company, and he told him to take it out of his sight and not let him see him any more, didn't want to even see him, let alone the money; that is only common report.

Did you immediately after that?

Many times.

Do you know what his relations were after that with Brigham Young?

I do not; but as far as I know I don't believe there was any.

Do you know whether or not either ever visited the other after?

I don't know, but I don't believe they ever did.

You were in such a position at that time, were you not, that anything of that nature going on in the community would have most likely reached you, if it had taken place?

I think it would.

Were you in as good a position for knowing such things as other people at that time?

Yes, sir.

Do you know what the sentiment of the people of the Church was at that time—I mean those that you were intimately associated with—in relation to that affair?

Yes, sir; the sentiment was it never ought to have happened.

Have you heard members of the Church, in good standing, speak of it since?

Yes; that it never ought to have happened.

What was the state of the community at that time—at the time you took this dispatch to be carried to Salt Lake?

On the way through the Indians were very bad—they were excited, and they were up in arms on account of the treatment they had received from this company of emigrants.

Do you know anything of this treatment they complained of?

I know what the Indians told me when I was on the road carrying the dispatch.

State what it was.

They told me the emigrants had poisoned their water and had done everything that was mean for them, and that they were going to kill the emigrants for doing it.

Did the Indians at that time know the nature of your message?

Of what I was carrying?

Yes.

Yes, sir.

Did they oppose you in any way?

No more than to stop me and inquire if I was going to see the “big captain,” and I told them I was. They wanted to know what it was about and I told them they were not to kill the “Mericans,” but to let them go about their business; for the “big captain” would be angry with them if they did it.

Who was meant by the "big captain?"

Brigham Young.

What did they say to that?

They said they should not do it; they were mad and they were going to kill the emigrants. They said they were going to do it before I came back.

Can you remember the precise place where this conversation with the Indians occurred?

The place was down between what was called Cedar Ridge, or Pine Creek Hill, and Cove Creek.

How long, if you know, had it been before that that the emigrants had passed there?

There was one company camped in Beaver.

When you were going up with the dispatch?

Yes, sir.

Were there any others ahead of them?

This company that was massacred at the Mountain Meadows was ahead of them.

And those that were in Beaver were not massacred?

No; but two of them were shot in Beaver, but not killed.

By whom were they shot, if you know?

By the Indians.

Did the Indians point out to you, or tell you on your journey, where any of these poisoned springs were?

Yes, sir.

Where were they?

On the north of Salt Creek, where the Willow Creek is now.

Were there any other places?

Yes, sir; down below Fillmore, between Fillmore and Corn Creek, at some springs down there in the bottom.

Do you know of any fatality resulting to the Indians by reason of this poisoning?

No.

Did the Indians claim of any?

No.

By what means did they tell you, if they told you at all?

They didn't tell me by what means, only they knew that the "Mericans" had done it.

Were the Indians pretty boisterous in their behavior?

Yes, sir; threatening all along through the settlements, that is what they were.

And this had caused the excitement in the community?

Yes, sir.

What, if anything, do you know concerning any orders issued to John D. Lee previous to the massacre by any one in authority?

There was an order issued to John D. Lee by Isaac C. Haight to keep the Indians in check till I came back from Salt Lake City, and that I was starting right then.

Did you see that order?

I saw that order and read it and those words were on it—I know this to be the fact.

When did you first learn of the massacre?

Not till I got home again. Never heard of it from the time I left till I got back.

You said when you gave the dispatch to Haight he read it and burst into tears and said it was too late?

Yes, sir.

Who was, to the best of your knowledge and belief, duly considering your opportunities for knowing, responsible, or held responsible, for the massacre at Mountain Meadows?

John D. Lee.

Was it by authority from any one or upon his own responsibility?

On his own responsibility.

Is that all you know of the transaction of a material nature?

I guess that is about all.

Do these answers that you have given here embrace the sum and substance of your testimony given at the second trial of John D. Lee, in Beaver City?

That is the sum and substance of it.

Does it embrace all you gave there?

Yes, sir; and more.

TERRITORY OF UTAH, }
County of Cache, } ss.,

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned, this 12th day of January, 1885, a Notary Public in and for said County of Cache, James H. Haslam, of said county; who, being first duly sworn, says upon his oath that the above and foregoing answers to the questions propounded to him are full, true and correct so far as his best knowledge

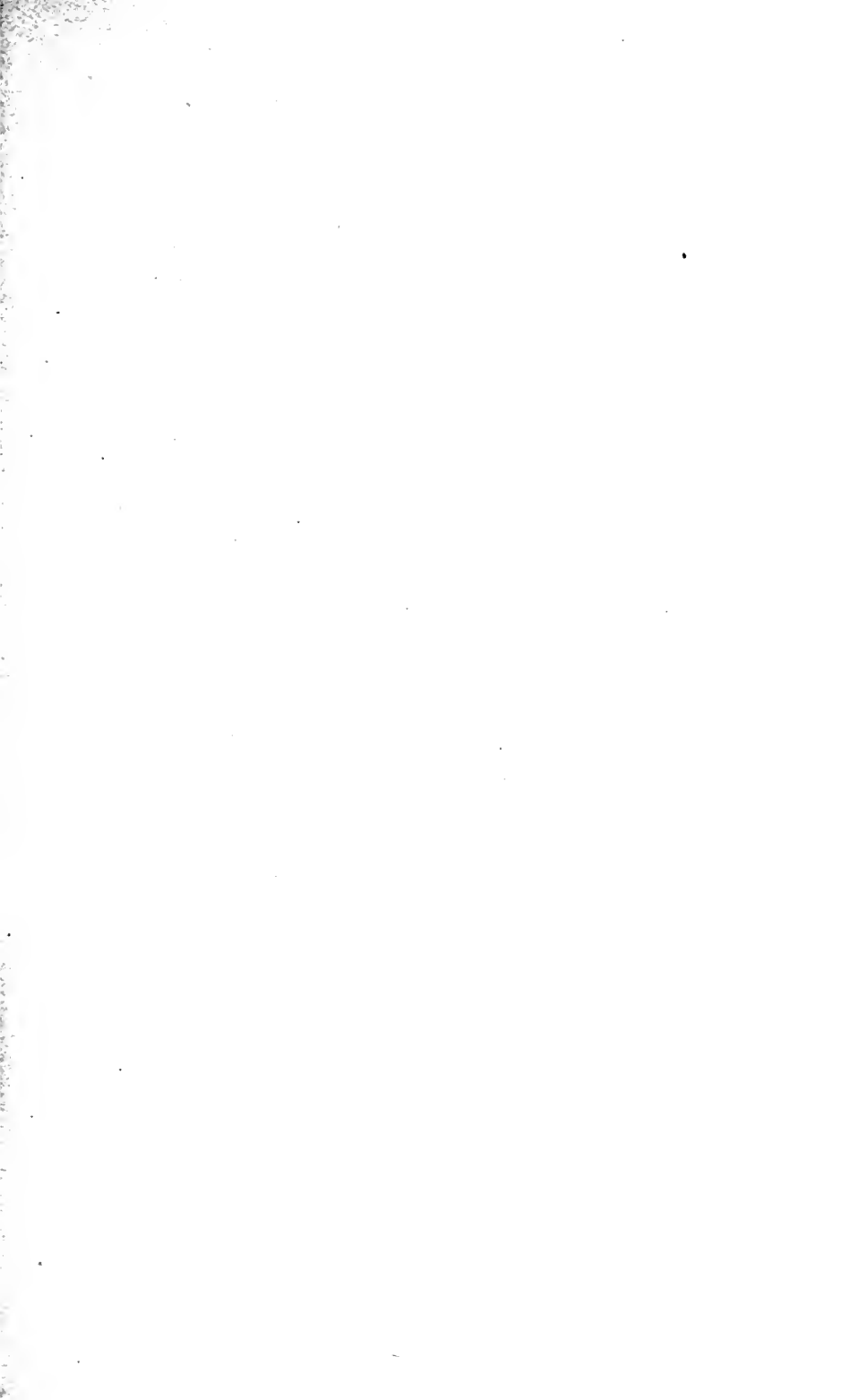
and judgment and recollection enable him to answer the same.

JAMES HOLT HASLAM.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12th January, 1885.

[SEAL.]

JOSEPH HOWELL,
Notary Public.



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