

across burned prairies where their footprints were marked by blood, and that too at an inclement season of the year!

The reason then assigned for all this, as set forth in an address by Governor Dunklin, signed by some hundreds of citizens, were, that the Saints pretended "to hold personal communication and converse with the Most High God, to receive communications and revelations direct from heaven; to heal the sick by laying on hands, and in short, to perform all the wonder-working miracles wrought by the inspired Apostles and Prophets of old!"

Grave reasons these for inflicting upon the Saints such outrages as they were subjected to! It will be observed that there was no charge then of the Saints believing in or practicing plurality of wives—the reason assigned for the persecution now arrayed against them—for that doctrine had not then been taught or practiced by them, but their persecution was none the less dire nor the spirit which prompted it none the less devilish than it has been since. If the people of Missouri, who inflicted those terrible wrongs upon an innocent and defenseless people, and those who now possess the property of which they were robbed and sanction the course then pursued in dealing with the "Mormons," only realized the condemnation that awaits them therefore, they would never think of the subject but with sorrow and anguish of heart, and never look upon such monuments of perfidy and cruelty as the old Liberty jail without heaping reproaches upon their own heads.

THE LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION SCHEME.

The Legislative Commission scheme is the *ne plus ultra* of Utah anti-"Mormons." Anything short of the political revolution that this would effect will not satisfy the cravings of the political cormorants that are watching for prey in this Territory. They want the control of all the offices and the handling of all the finances, particularly the latter. They want to reverse for their own greed the doctrine that majorities rule, and invest a very small minority with full power over the people.

This scheme does not seem to obtain a great deal of favor in Congress. Other measures have been introduced embodying the views of religious fanatics and political cranks who are crazy on the subject of "Mormonism." And it is expected that something very severe will be enacted because public sentiment has become so much influenced through pulpits, platform and press harangues, that the country has gone half-crazy over something that really does not affect them. But the plan to establish an oligarchy in the midst of a republic, is offensive to Congressmen who have any regard left for constitutional restrictions.

In order to remove their objections, very plausible endeavors are had to make it appear that the Legislative Commission scheme is proper because it has the force of precedent. It is urged that the Territory of Louisiana, the Territory of Florida, and the Territory north-west of the Ohio, were governed at first on this principle and that what was proper then cannot be improper now. The extraordinary powers of Congress in relation to the Territories, as construed by the Supreme Court of the United States, are also set forth to make it appear that the national authorities need stick at nothing in setting up just such a government as they choose in Utah.

All this may do very well for persons ignorant of the question, and who do not understand the motives that actuate the villains who advocate the destruction of every relic of republicanism in a Territory of the United States. We affirm, and challenge proof to the contrary, that there is not any precedent whatever for the revolution which is plotted under the name of a Legislative Commission. Never since the Government of the United States has been organized was anything of the kind attempted before. Here is a local government established by the votes of the people within it, under a Constitution formulated by Congress and called an Organic Act, which has been in existence and in uninterrupted operation for thirty-six years. Its population has grown in numbers, wealth, influence, and experience in self-government all the time, having been hindered only by such stumbling-blocks as have been placed in their way by Federal officials and other adventurers who have come among them.

If any change in their political condition is necessary, it is a step forward to Statehood. That is the legitimate movement. That is according to precedent. All the examples are in that direction. There is not one instance to the contrary. An organized Territory of the Union was never yet disorganized and turned over to the mercies of a Legislative Commission in whose appointment the commonwealth had no vote. Such a thing is totally without parallel in American history.

All the instances cited in which anything like a Legislative Commission was established, were in cases of unorganized and very small and scattered communities. They were not in a

condition to assume the responsibilities of local government. The appointment of legislative bodies to enact or rather adapt laws suitable to an inchoate commonwealth, was but a temporary expedient. And in every case it was abolished as soon as there were citizens enough to elect their own Legislative Assembly. Provisions for the assumption of this right as soon as the population became sufficient, were attached to the regulations for the preliminary government. The right of the people to choose their own local legislators was acknowledged even in the appointment of their first law-makers, and that right once put into exercise has never yet been taken away from any Territory of the American Union.

That taxation without representation is oppression and a violation of the rights of man, is an axiom that cannot be disputed in American politics. It is because of its universal concession that in all the semi-monarchical organizations formed outside of the States and called Territories, the right of the people to elect their Legislative Assemblies has been recognized in every Organic Act. A Legislative Commission will be a practical denial of this universal right, and a violation of every principle belonging to a republican form of government. This is understood by every statesman; hence the reluctance to its inauguration, notwithstanding the general willingness to do something severe in the case of the "Mormons." The claim of precedent for a Legislative Commission for Utah, then, which we have so frequently seen in reports of Anti-"Mormon" sermons and speeches and in articles written for the public papers, is totally without foundation. And the only excuse that can be offered for it in truth is, that it would be the quickest way of giving up the wealthiest and most prosperous and orderly Territory in the Union into the hands of political adventurers, who would steal themselves rich and the unfortunate people blind, before the shameless invasion of common rights and the wicked violation of republican principles could be remedied in any effectual manner. The Commission is demanded by thieves, and it is promoted by reckless partisans and ignorant and cranky anti-"Mormon" fanatics.

A NEW ANTI-"MORMON" BILL.

Our telegraph dispatches inform us that Mr. Woodburn, of Nevada, has introduced in the House of Representatives, an anti-"Mormon" bill similar in its provisions to the Idaho test oath bill. It is said to have received the approval of prominent Gentiles of Utah. This is quite likely, if by the "prominent Gentiles" is meant those hungry adventurers who are lusting for place and a chance to steal, in this Territory. The respectable Gentiles of Utah do not favor any such un-American and villainous scheme as that.

The meaning of the bill is that no member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commonly called "Mormons," shall vote or hold office in any of the Territories. I might have been much better expressed in those terms. All the verbiage of the bill is an unnecessary and roundabout way of getting at that result. Why should "Mormons" be prevented from voting or holding office, seeing that they form at least 80 per cent. of the voting population? Why, simply because the less than 20 per cent. minority want all political power in the Territory, and the religious bigots who hate the "Mormons," and the political time-servers who do the behests of the sectarians, want to put down "Mormonism" and inaugurate that is the most effectual manner of accomplishing the work.

We recommend our readers to scan the bill, which will be found in the dispatches from Washington, and see if it is a single redeeming feature, or one that would recommend it to a patriot or any citizen who venerates the institutions of his country. It is in complete antagonism to the constitution and to the fundamental principles of popular government, and is a reproach to the person who presented it to Congress. It is not likely to pass, being too anti-republican for even the radicals, and too anti-democratic even for weak-kneed and spineless semi-democrats.

There is one thing of which the projectors of these measures may be certain. They will not affect "Mormonism" in any degree except to make its adherents cling more closely together and stand up more manfully for their religion. All it will do to the other way will be to play into the hands of the plotting scoundrels who cannot make the "Mormons" vote as they want, and therefore desire to prevent them from voting at all, so that the schemers may have free access to the offices and the moneys of this Territory.

THE LADIES' MASS MEETING.

A COMMITTEE of representative ladies have published a call for a mass meeting, to be held in the Theatre on Saturday, March 6th, at 2 p.m., for the purpose of making known the griev-

ances of the women of Utah, and protesting against the indignities that have been heaped upon them in the present anti-"Mormon" crusade.

We think the movement an excellent one. It may not appear to accomplish much. The temper of the country is such that any truthful presentation of "Mormon" affairs is unlikely to be heard with patience by the unreasoning multitude. And the utterances of these ladies will be garbled and misrepresented by their malignant enemies, for the purpose of degrading them in the eyes of the world. But this does not matter. It ought not to deter them from performing a duty, or lifting their voices in support of truth and placing themselves on the record, to show how they stand on the important questions that are before the public in relation to Utah.

The great wrongs which the women of this Territory have been made to suffer in the senseless and cruel assaults that have been made upon "Mormon" homes, will form one of the blackest chapters in the history of the United States. Under the pretence of preserving the sanctity of home and the integrity of the family, raids have been made upon the houses of the "Mormons," by which all the safeguards which civilized society has set up to guard the domiciles of peaceful people from invasion, have been broken down and trampled into the mire. Hired spotters and crawling sneaks have peered into bedrooms and forced their way into the presence of ladies, with brutal arrogance and jeering taunts; delicate women have been halted before courts and grand juries; questions that no woman should be asked by strangers have been bluntly put to them, and they have been forced under threats of severe penalties to answer; some have been thrust into prison, with maternity close upon them or with babes in their arms, because they declined to answer impertinent queries that no woman should be required to notice. Ruffians under the shelter of a petty office have intruded into the bed-chambers of frightened women while they were *en dishabille*, under the pretence of reading subpoenas to them. Advantage has been taken of the absence of male members of the household to bully and intimidate defenseless females, and both law and sound public policy have been violated in compelling the legal wife to testify for the prosecution in a case against the husband.

All these things, and other indignities heaped upon the ladies of this Territory, ought to be brought to the notice of the public, with the attempts now being made to deprive them of the right of suffrage which they have enjoyed and exercised for nearly fifteen years. If their protests are treated with indifference or scorn, they will at least have proclaimed against the injustice they have suffered, and the good effects may be much greater than will at first appear.

We hope there will be a hearty and united response to the call. The ladies, young and old, should attend the mass meeting and give it the support of their presence. And those who are able to contribute to the interest and force of the assembly, should use their God-given talents and cultivated abilities in the cause of womanhood and in vindication of the rights of their sex. Submission has been practised in the most praiseworthy manner under the wrongs that have been endured, but it is a woman's privilege to speak even if she submits, and the oppression and insults which the women of Utah have suffered from the unprincipled creatures who have been waging a war upon the "Mormons," ought not to be longer endured in silence.

The mass meeting should be a rousing and enthusiastic gathering of ladies, earnest in their sentiments and vigorous in the expression thereof. And we expect that they will let the world hear from them in unmistakable tones, on the questions that involve their rights and liberties and their happiness in this world and the world to come.

A WISE BUSINESS POLICY.

THERE has been a great deal of talk about the folly of business men in Utah, in permitting lucrative branches of business to fall into the hands of persons not identified with the history or interests of the Territory. If the business concerns of Utah had been manipulated by men representing the majority of its people, a great deal of the trouble which has come upon the Territory might have been avoided. The advice of wise men to the people to do their trading with their friends and abstain from patronizing their foes, was in the line of sound policy. A great many people who have treated that counsel with contempt in the past can see now wherein they were mistaken.

Ordinarily speaking, it is the right of every man to buy and sell where he chooses. But discretion should suggest to every man the wisdom of using his business forces, in such a way that his own good and the good of his associates will be promoted. And when he directs them to the in-

jury of the community by aiding its enemies, he, so far, becomes himself an enemy and takes a suicidal course, injuring himself as well as his friends.

Practical efforts have been made of late to combine financial efforts for the promotion of general business interests among our own people. One of the most important ventures of this kind has been inaugurated under the firm name of Grant, Odell & Company. It unites the names and interests of a number of well known solid business men who have the public confidence in a marked degree. Some particulars concerning the corporation and its business affairs will be found in another column. We only propose to speak about it on general principles.

This company has brought into the hands of our own people, agencies for a large number of agricultural and other implements and vehicles which are in great demand in this mountain region. It is growing rapidly and becoming a financial power as it already has proved itself a financial success. It is worthy of general patronage. The people of Utah, in trading with it, are trading with their friends and not their enemies. In obtaining anything needed among the various articles it has on sale, they will purchase to at least as great advantage as elsewhere and will not be putting a knife into the hands of an enemy wherewith to stab them "under the fifth rib." This is or should be a powerful consideration. To those who have voluntarily agreed that they will, so far as possible, transact their business with friends instead of foes, it is a welcome opportunity.

We recommend this company to the patronage of our readers in town and country. The goods kept by Grant, Odell and Company embrace such a large variety that there will be little or no need, for farmers and others, to pass by the houses established by this firm in various parts of the Territory. We endorse the principle upon which the combination has been effected, and look for as excellent results to accrue from it in the future as in its past brief but extraordinarily prosperous career. It may yet extend to the incorporation within its live organization of other agencies and business affairs, and it has given a hint and an example of what may be accomplished in a direction that cannot fail to be beneficial to other sharp and active men if they will "go and do likewise."

If God helps them who help themselves, he will also bless them who stand by his friends and their own. And we trust our readers in this and the adjacent Territories will perceive the necessity of acting upon the policy in business of which they have heretofore talked so much and acted upon so little.

"MORMON" TRUTH AND INTEGRITY.

As our readers have learned from our local reports, several more of our brethren have gone to the penitentiary because they would not blind themselves, by their word to the courts, to place the will and law of God below the renderings and opinions of men upon a human enactment.

Brothers H. S. Gowans and W. H. Lee, of Tooele, John P. Ball, Thomas C. Jones, John Y. Smith, James Moyle, George H. Taylor, Samuel F. Ball and O. F. Due, of Salt Lake City, James O. Poulsen, of West Jordan, W. G. Saunders and C. H. Greenwell, of Ogden, and H. H. Tracy, of Marriotts, Weber County, have retired from the public gaze because they were true to their faith, since our last editorial notice of the victims to a strained interpretation of an unjust enactment.

If these gentlemen had been as unfaithful as their enemies would like to have it appear, they could easily have made the promise exacted of them, even if they had no intention of keeping it. It is a simple, verbal agreement that the courts demand. And it is for declining to make it that our brethren go to prison. Their incarceration is, in fact, a voluntary retirement. They are not criminals. They could escape punishment if they would answer a question as desired by the court. It follows that the penalty imposed upon them is not for an offense committed, but for refusing to make a promise; not for anything they have done in the past, but for failure to promise what they will or will not do in regard to one thing in the future.

There is a singularity about all these proceedings against the "Mormons" that is not a little remarkable. In the first place, the law under which they were prosecuted was specially framed to catch them in reference to a feature of their religion. Next, that law had to receive a special, and forced construction, and well known terms had to bear an unprecedented interpretation. Then, the meaning applied to the law in one case had to be changed so as to apply it to another. And either men's own testimony or testimony forced from their wives and children had to be obtained to gain their conviction. Also juries, picked for their antagonism to the faith of the defendant, became necessary in the process. Without these peculiar proceedings they would not be made to appear as offenders against the law. And lastly, on conviction,

brought about by such means, they were promised immunity from punishment if they would give their word not to do so any more.

Such proceedings were never heard of in the courts here for the prosecution of real crime. Neither are criminals plied with questions as to their intentions for the future. Persons found guilty of crime are not set free on saying they will not do it any more. They are punished for what they have done, not for what they fail to agree to do. It is a deserved compliment that is paid to our brethren, when the courts virtually admit reliance upon the bare word of those who stand up for sentence. It is a standing refutation of the falsehood that the "Mormons" are perjurers. They go to prison rather than make a simple promise in word that they may possibly not keep in deed, and the courts show their confidence in the truthfulness of the brethren by exhibiting willingness to accept their verbal agreement to observe the law in future, as an equivalent for the penalties for non-observance of the law in the past.

We honor our friends for their integrity, and rejoice that so many are willing to suffer all things rather than prove recreant to their sacred covenants, and we trust that the time of their retirement will flit by as on airy wings, and that they will be comforted and sustained by the Divine hand while the period of their trial shall last.

OUTRAGES BY DEPUTIES.

ACCORDING to the *Southern Unionian*, quoted from in another part of this paper, some deputy marshals have been committing outrages in Beaver County that call for an investigation. The report states that the deputies entered through windows, before the inmates of the house were out of their beds, and compelled women to arise in their night clothes and hear sub-porners which they had to read to them. The officers had no warrants to serve. They also committed other depredations which are described. No man was in the house, or the cowardly whelps would not have intruded in this manner. Is there no male member of the family, where the ladies were thus treated, who can take up this matter in the shape that it deserves?

We once more inform our readers in country places where raids of this kind are perpetrated—the ruffians do not attempt them in town—that they are under no obligations, human or divine, to submit to such outlawry. If things in the shape of man act like burglars, they may be treated as burglars. Citizens are not bound to put up with their brutality.

It is time these things were stopped. If the Marshal will not arrest this kind of ruffianism, or will not see that those of his deputies who perpetrate these outrages are punished for their offenses, the people will have to protect themselves in the best manner possible. They will be justified in guarding their homes and protecting their domiciles from unreasonable searches and seizures, and men who have a spark of valor and a proper regard for womanhood will defend to the last ditch their rights under the law, by fair means if possible and when these fail by force if necessary.

Submission to lawful authority, obedience to the mandates of a court, respect for an officer serving lawfully any legal process, we have always advised and still advise. But such lawless conduct as related in the *Southern Unionian*, we believe every man and woman in the community has a right to resist to the utmost extremity. Let the dogs be called off or muzzled, or take their just deserts.

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