

sight of heaven and of his co-religionists, whatever man and the law may say of the relation. And this demand of Judge Powers is made in excess of the law so as to render it impossible for a conscientious "Mormon" to make the promise which would save him from a prison. Its utterance is a piece of consummate hypocrisy and it is arbitrary and lawless. In attempting to enforce it he violates the law just as much, though in a different way, as the defendant on whom he vents his vindictiveness while pretending friendship and admiration.

The Powers fulmination, then, affords no basis for a settlement of the pending question. It does not give a final definition of the phrase that has been so twisted and distorted in order to put good men in prison, and it does not formulate a promise that is justified by law, or could be taken by any man who respects his own honor and his covenants with his wives and with his God.

WHAT IT INDICATES.

THE response of the "Mormon" prisoners in the Penitentiary to the conditional tender of freedom by Governor West is a characteristic document. The position taken by the signers is a grand one. Were it not for the bitter prejudice existing against them they would be viewed with universal admiration because of the conscientious stand they take, indicating a willingness to forego even earthly prospect for the sake of conscience and principle. It is, in this age of groveling selfishness, a wonderful spectacle of self-abnegation to present to the world, and will have a strong effect now and hereafter.

We do not hesitate to assert that the attitude assumed by those sufferers for religion and honor, is an exhibit of the ground upon which the community of Latter-day Saints stand upon as a whole. This planting of the feet with unwavering firmness on the sacred rock of human liberty is not confined to that portion of the people that has practically adopted the marital system on account of which the brethren have been imprisoned. It permeates the entire body-religious. It only requires the necessary circumstances to prove this to a demonstration. It is a matter that not only touches religious practice, but theory as well. In considering this extraordinary subject it should be viewed from this broad standpoint, and not merely as the resolution of a few men who are now deprived of their liberty. Indeed, it is not they alone who suffer. The deleterious effects of the crusade spreading, as it does, its poisonous arteries throughout the entire community. The body being affected in one part, feels the shock acutely as an entirety. The men who formulated and signed the response are made of the same kind of metal as their brethren who are with them in spirit though not in person.

It is not difficult, in the course of events, to comprehend the character of the issue involved in the controversy to which the Latter-day Saints are an enforced party. The prisoners assert that incarceration for life, or death itself would be welcome in preference to a course that to their conscientious minds would be dishonorable to the point of despicable perfidy. This is no boastful assertion, because the statement—which embodies the sentiment of the community as a whole—comes from men who probably love liberty more than life. They are deprived of their freedom, being shut up in a foul prison, therefore they do not speak from the standpoint of mere theorists. They know what imprisonment means, and being willing to accept of it for life rather than discard their families and renounce any principle of their religion, it needs no stretch of the imagination to believe that the conditional relinquishment of life would be almost as readily accepted.

Suppose that the cruel crushing process applied to the Latter-day Saints is to proceed, what are to be the results. It must be a perpetual process of imprisonment on a gigantic scale, with failure as the inevitable effect. Therefore all the expense of the inquisitorial and disgraceful coercive methods will be useless. All the heartburnings, sorrow, suffering and sickness piled upon an honest people will be thrown away for the very means of intended extirpation will cause the roots of their religion to go down deeper and deeper into the hearts of the martyrs, their children and their children's children. As the Lord lives, the honest convictions of this people cannot be crushed out by the relentless hand of persecution.

The only means by which religious opinions, which will always find active expression, can be crushed out of a community, is, to slay those who are impregnated with them. If, when bloodless methods fail, as they surely will, resort should be had to wholesale murder foul, and a mammoth slaughter should be ordered, in accordance with the theory of Mr. Maury, the government prosecutor before the United States Supreme Court, and the old time barbarous business of wiping out unpopular religions in blood be employed, the effect would be no more efficacious, for the principles for which the martyrs suffered would still live. "Truth crushed to earth" would "rise again." So plentiful

a sowing of the seed of religion would not be in vain. Out of it would arise a condition that would be a thousand-fold more potent and unassailable than the one whose extinguishment was sought.

Let those who scoff at the bare idea of a resort to bloody methods for the obliteration of the "Mormon" religion, consider the savage sentiments of some men in influential places on this subject, and remember that the increase of such sanguinary feelings leads to appropriate action as they spread. The local efforts to precipitate an issue that would cause "Mormonism" to be annihilated in blood are well known. It is quite understood that the leading local anti-"Mormon" agitators have murder in their hearts. It is not difficult to prove this assertion. It is not long since their chief newspaper organ in this city threatened a recourse to blood and murder, providing other means should fail in the attainment of the result nearest their hearts. This was, according to the statement of that source, to be the dernier resort. It serves to show that no more bitter hatred ever inspired the cruelties of any crusades which furnish the blacker pages of history.

But, as already asserted, force will not destroy religious conviction, and it can no more be prevented from finding active expression by that means than a thunderbolt can be imprisoned by tying it with a cotton thread. The situation is clearly and unmistakably defined. Those who find pleasure or expect glory from applying the torturing process to so noble a people as the Latter-day Saints, are welcome to all the happiness or fame they can obtain from that source. They will find in time that they have been pursuing something more fruitless of satisfaction than a shadow. For peace they will obtain misery, and instead of glory, execration will cleave forever to their memories. Though Justice may be tardy in her movements, she moves steadily and noiselessly towards her rightful victims, and when she seizes their throats it is with an iron grip that can only be unclasped by the hand of Omnipotence.

A TRUTHFUL CORRESPONDENT.

THE Lancaster (Pa.) *Intelligencer* of May 5th contains a column of correspondence from Washington on the argument of Hons. George Ticknor Curtis and F. S. Richards in the Snow cases, before the Supreme Court of the United States. It is written in excellent style and gives a truthful and succinct epitome of the case and of the arguments.

The writer has been to Utah and describes the fine appearance and scholarly attainments of Apostle Snow, and shows how he kept the Edmunds law by living with only one wife. He says: "The author of the law and those who favored its passage by Congress declared that its purpose was to prevent the future practice of polygamous marriages. It was announced that its object was not to break up family relations which had been formed when there was no enactment making polygamy a crime. The issues of such marriages were legitimized. The common understanding was that while the male polygamists would maintain their plural families, support and care for their different wives, they must live and have intercourse as man and wife with one woman only."

There is no doubt that this was the view taken of the purport of the Edmunds' Act at its passage. But the courts in Utah have so manipulated it that it bears specially upon those to whom it was not intended to apply. The men and women who have been in the plural family relation for years, and have children and grandchildren associated with the system, are picked out for judicial vengeance and visited with pains and penalties, no matter how much they may have endeavored to comply with the spirit of the statute. Apostle Snow is an eminent example of this. As the writer of the article from which we quote explains, "the Government was not able to prove that he had lived with more than one of his wives after the enactment of the Edmunds law." Yet rulings were made to fit the facts and convictions followed ask matter of course, and the judge who made those constructions, when the case was appealed, "sat in review upon himself, and by his casting vote affirmed his own rulings."

The argument before the Supreme Court is briefly reviewed and described as "ingenious, masterly and most eloquent." The following in relation to the learned advocate tells how he is esteemed at the seat of government:

"Mr. Curtis is one of the few great constitutional lawyers of the old school remaining. His literary fund is quite equal to his reputation as lawyer and advocate. He is the author of a history of the Constitution, one of the most admirable books ever written on the subject. His biography of Daniel Webster is a masterpiece of biographical literature. His life of James Buchanan is known to all Pennsylvanians. His review of the last services of Gen. McClellan, recently published, is having an extraordinary sale, as it well deserves to have. A venerable man, highly intellectual in appearance, and

an easy and graceful speaker, Mr. Curtis spoke to-day with the fire of youth, coupled with all the impressiveness of age."

This is the legal sage and literary leader whose unblemished character was made the object of the vilest abuse from the Salt Lake organ of the conspirators, because he produced arguments that the libelous varlets could not reply to. The writer in the *Intelligencer* gives due credit to "the young Mormon Attorney Mr. F. S. Richards," and speaks of his unadverting "quite severely" upon some of the remarks of the representative of the Government reflecting upon the morality of the Mormons. He says "It was beautifully and tellingly done."

The position of the "Mormons" who are required to abandon their wives—virtually "declare that they are simply mistresses"—in order to escape a prison, and the proof their determination not to do so, affords against the charge that they practice polygamy for lust, are sharply put, and the whole article is truthful and forcible. The writer is to be congratulated as a rare example of journalistic veracity on a "Mormon" subject, and the *Intelligencer* is to be commended for publishing the communication.

MISTAKING THE ISSUE.

THE *Christian Union* is glad that "the Constitutionality of the laws of Congress prohibiting and punishing polygamy in the Territories" has been brought before the Supreme Court, "by a no less able lawyer than the venerable George Ticknor Curtis," but believes there is nothing in the Constitution to prevent a law making cohabitation with a woman as wife adequate as evidence of marriage in support of a prosecution for polygamy."

The *Christian Union* is entirely mistaken as to the nature of the cases which the Supreme Court has dodged from deciding upon. The polygamy phase of the "Mormon" question was not before the court. The points to be decided were whether a man who lived all the time in a separate house from a woman whom he had married many years before, and who rarely saw her and then only in company with some one else, could be punished for criminal cohabitation; and whether his presumed offense, thus constructed, could be segregated into separate offenses during a series of years, so as to multiply upon him the extreme penalties of the law. The Court could not sustain such absurdities established by the Utah courts, so it evaded the issue by declaring it had no jurisdiction.

The *Christian Union* will find upon investigation that polygamy is not being attacked in Utah. The efforts of the Federal officials here are directed towards the breaking up of quiet homes and the persecution of people who are dwelling in peace, injuring nobody, but having a faith which is obnoxious to their persecutors. They cannot be reached by the polygamy laws. They contracted their marriages at too remote a date for prosecution. Some of them have not lived with more than one wife since the enactment of the law against "cohabitation with more than one woman."

These are the men who are assailed. The crusade is a profitable one to its promoters. It bristles with fees. It affords a fine opportunity for the gratification of bigotry, vindictiveness and avarice. It is popular because the "Christian" public, like the *Christian Union*, vainly imagine the polygamy—or the marrying of more wives than one, is being suppressed and punished. The official effort is not in that direction, but in the paying line of harassing, imprisoning and despoiling husbands and fathers, and disrupting and making desolate industrious and affectionate families. And all this in the pretended interest of home and Christianity!

We wish that papers like the *Christian Union* would try and obtain correct information on the "Mormon" question before commenting upon it, but that would be hoping for too much. We are sure that if the true inwardness of the present anti-"Mormon" crusade were comprehended, even those journals which are the most opposed to the "Mormon" system, would protest against the iniquity and infamy now being perpetrated in the name of the Government and under the pretence of law.

LAUGHABLE CLUMSINESS.

WHEN mendacity goes to the most extreme bounds it becomes grotesque, and consequently to some extent amusing. The chief organ of the Utah conspiracy against the peace of this commonwealth, in its unbroken course of falsehood makes such frantic breaks beyond the barriers of truth that its contortions are frequently provocative of laughter. It has an active imagination, but often betrays the most clumsy inventive power in forming the bases for its prolific crops of "conspicuous inexactitudes." Here is an illustrative instance from this morning's issue:

"It is almost certain that Joseph F. Smith penned the document which

was addressed to Governor West, and signed by the polygamists in the Pen."

This is another striking example of imitating the senseless ostrich, which, when pursued, sticks its head in the sand and imagines itself hidden from sight, while the posture only serves to throw other and more formidable portions of its physical structure into greater conspicuousness.

Our vicious cotemporary forgot that all communications to inmates of the "Pen" are examined by the Warden before they are delivered. It ought to have given that gentleman, who is an intelligent officer, credit for being able to understand that Governor West is not one of his wards, and sufficient good sense to deter him from sending a communication addressed to His Excellency into the interior of the prison. It is not exceedingly supposable, as the paper referred to would make it appear, that the Warden would mistake some one, or other of his wards for the Governor and deliver to him a correspondence intended for the chief Territorial Executive.

A statement of the same sheet's belief, that the News' review of the document was penned by the same hand to which it attributed the paper addressed to the Governor, is of a piece, in point of absurdity, with the assertion embodied in the quotation at the opening of this article. If we had an idea that it would do the writers of our nauseous cotemporary good, we would tender them some sound advice. It is evident, however, that they are too far gone to be affected by a salutary and friendly influence. It is to be hoped, nevertheless, that in pursuit of their daily vocation of falsification they will be a little more ingenious. It is bad enough for them to be so much given to mendacity, but it only makes matters worse when the work is done with such a transparently clumsy hand. They should think a little. A little thought would do them good and would be so refreshingly novel in their columns. Let them try it, and see the effect. Otherwise, if they will continue to plow along like the "unthinking horse," or the ruminating, long-eared animal, let the standard article on "Mormon slavery—Menace to the Republic—Prostitution of the Ballot—Should not be Entrusted with Making of the Laws—A Foreign Government within the United States—No Mind of their Own," etc., be stereotyped. It would save scribbling and composition, and would make not a particle of difference to the readers. By all means have it stereotyped. Many of the professed friends of the sheet would be no more nauseated with feeding on the same dish drily as they are now. The infiction would not be increased, while the expense would be at least a trifle reduced.

A SAMPLE UTAH METHODIST PRIEST.

THE *Levant Herald*, published in Constantinople and printed partly in French and partly in English, contains in its issue of April 27th a letter signed "James D. Gillman, Methodist Episcopal Minister, Tooele, Utah, U. S. A." The writer says he noticed in the *Deseret News* an announcement from the *Levant Herald* that some Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had held a meeting in Constantinople, and so he proceeds to endeavor to enlighten the people of the Turkish capital in regard to Utah affairs after the style of his tribe. He says:

"Utah is not the most prosperous of the nine Territories of the Union." "The public school is a thing unknown in Utah." "The Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodist (Episcopal) have the greatest number of schools in the Territory." "Nothing can be known of the purity and innocence of the 'Mormons' from the reports of the city and county prisons, since every city officer is a Mormon, and only Gentiles (as non-Mormons are called) are apprehended." "There has always existed in the United States laws against plural marriage, and did exist also, in Mexico at the time the Saints settled in this region, even before it was acquired by the United States Government." "The Government never drafted a man in the Mexican war." "The U. S. Government paid the way for 500 of the self-styled exiles, but their leader, Brigham Young, the 'prophet of the Lord' pocketed the money."

The foregoing selected falsehoods are enough to stamp the character of the creature who penned them. They need no refutation here. They were sent abroad where there was little danger of their meeting the eye of one familiar with Utah affairs. Every Methodist in the Territory who reads those extracts knows that their Tooele minister is a latter-day Ananias.

The Tooele people, who have treated him with nothing but kindness, can understand the sort of pious snipe that has perched itself at their county seat. Things of that kind should be let severely alone. It will be creeping around with canting pretences to entice children to be taught "in a purely secular manner without reference to religion," and will then privately instill falsehoods into the minds of the young about their parents and their faith. Of such is not the kingdom of Heaven.

But of such are most of the pious and impecunious frauds who are hired

to come here and entrap the rising generation, while they misrepresent abroad all they see and hear, and so prepare themselves for the fate of the liar and the hypocrite. Let them alone!

FUNERAL JUNKETS.

THE *Philadelphia News* makes some vigorous strictures on the doling of Congress at funeral junkets. We think they are justified if the alleged facts are correct. Representative Oates has declared that the regular funeral escorts made whenever a member of Congress dies become drunken debauches at the public expense. These congressional funerals are very expensive to the country, and, according to vouchers sworn to by the Sergeant-at-Arms, a large portion of the money goes for "liquors for the mourners." The funeral junkets of the present session have cost the country the snug sum of fifty thousand dollars. It would require a great deal of whisky and an enormous number of cigars to make up half that amount. And why should the interment of a legislator require such a flow of fiery liquid, and such an immense cloud of tobacco smoke? The look of the whole thing is bad, the example to the nation is bad and the moral it conveys is bad. Surely some better method of paying respect to the departed congressman could be devised than surrounding his corpse with the fumes of ardent spirits and sending him off to the grave in smoke. Congressional funeral junkets ought to be better regulated or entirely stopped.

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An Editor's Friend.

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