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RETROSPECTIVE AND PROSPECTIVE.

A few hours more and the year eighteen hundred and sixty-seven will be ended. In reflecting upon the events which have transpired during the past year, how interesting and important they seem! One occurrence has trod on the heels of another in rapid and exciting succession, and we have scarcely recovered from the sensation which one has produced, before our attention has been called to another. Twenty years have wrought wondrous changes in our circumstances here. We could scarcely have dreamed at that time that space would have been so nearly annihilated as it is now by the aid of the telegraph and that a journey that occupied long, weary months of time, would be performed as it is now, in a very few days. Some prescient minds doubtless foresaw all this, and more; but the mass of the people, who were here at that early day, had but little idea of the wonderful changes which twenty years would effect.

About six months had elapsed, from the passage of the act creating Utah Territory, before the citizens of this city received the news. The previous year they were, for about the same length of time, in total ignorance of the individual's name who had been so lucky as to be elected President of the United States. In those days this valley was almost a little world by itself. News from the States seemed like intelligence from a world in the affairs of which we had once been active participants, but which we had only a remote interest in then. Year by year the distance lessened, until now we are in constant communication with all the world. No important event occurs in the most distant part of Europe, and even Asia, without our hearing the particulars of it in a few hours after it has transpired. Our remote and almost inaccessible Territory has, in the space of a few, brief years, become the great highway of the nation. Our city now occupies one of the most commanding positions on the continent. So attractive and important is it, that should the directors of the Union Pacific Rail Road decide upon running their main line through its borders, their decision would meet with the unqualified approbation of every person throughout the world who ever expected to cross the continent in their carriages; and were they to decide upon some other route, and leave this to one side, the line would lose, in the estimation of the traveler, one of its chief objects of interest.

If such changes as these have been brought about in our Territory in the past twenty years, what may we not expect by eighteen hundred and eighty-seven? A numerous, wealthy, polished and powerful people will fill these valleys. The earth will be cultivated to a perfection hitherto but rarely seen, since the days of primeval innocence. Temples, meeting-houses, seminaries of learning, public and private edifices of the most magnificent character, will adorn our cities and country. A civilization will be attained to, and a perfection of government be reached, which are now viewed as unattainable and utopian. A people so industrious, so virtuous, so free from vice and vicious habits, so united, and so rapidly improving in these qualities every year, with their efforts so wisely and judiciously directed, can not fail to work wonders in twenty years.

Already we are remarkable. The causes which have made us so, still operate, and daily receive increasing strength. Give us time, and with the assistance and favor of the Lord, we will show the world what man is capable of accomplishing when living in harmony with the laws of his being, and in submission to the requirements of his great Creator.

MR. CRAGIN'S BILL AGAIN.

Our readers will now have the opportunity of seeing Mr. Cragin's Bill in full, and will all, doubtless, agree with us in calling it atrocious.

Section ten gives the Governor the entire right to select, appoint and commission all officers of the Territory, except constables elected or appointed under the laws of the Territory.

Section twenty-one says: "criminal cases arising under said act of 1862, as well as criminal cases arising under this act," &c., "shall be heard, tried and determined by the district courts of said Territory of Utah, without a jury," &c. This section would deprive our citizens of the right to be tried by a jury of their peers, and is in express violation of the Constitution, which says, article three, section two, "The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as Congress may by law have directed."

Section twenty-six makes it unlawful for our church, or any officer or member thereof, to solemnize marriages.

Section twenty-seven makes the Governor of the Territory a kind of Grand Inquisitor over the affairs of the Church, and empowers him to pry into all its business transactions.

Section thirty-four places unwonted and extraordinary limitations upon our probate courts; the only reason for this is, they are likely to be composed of "Mormons."

Section thirty-five deprives the Legislature of the authority it now holds, and gives the judges of the Supreme Court of the Territory, or a majority of them, the power to fix or to alter the time and place of holding the supreme court, the district courts, the number of terms to be held annually, and to assign the judges to the several districts.

Section thirty-six virtually gives the judges and their associates the opportunity of framing enormous bills of expenses, to be paid to the district attorney and marshal, and to draw the amounts from the Territorial treasury.

Section thirty-seven authorizes the U. S. marshal, or his deputies, to take possession of any court-house, council-house, town-house, and to furnish the same to suit themselves at the expense of the Territory, unless the same shall be previously furnished by the Territorial authorities, for court to be held in it as long as the judge pleases.

Section thirty-nine makes it lawful for the U. S. marshal or his deputies, to take possession of any jail or prison in the Territory, and to occupy the same so far and so long as shall be necessary to execute any act of tyranny a judge may order.

Section forty takes away the functions of the Legislature and bestows them upon the Governor. He has full control given him of the jails and other prisons of the Territory, prescribes his own rules and regulations respecting them, removes whom he pleases of the officers and appoints the creatures of his will as often as he chooses.

Section forty-one makes it unlawful to elect a member for a State Legislature, or for members to assemble together as such legislatures.

Could devilish ingenuity cram more odious features into smaller limits than are to be found in this Bill? We have read of laws against the Jews, in the days when it was almost considered meritorious to rob and murder one of the race who had crucified Jesus; we have read of the bloody edicts passed against heretics when Catholicism held high carnival in the earth; but when we consider the age in which we live, the nation to which we belong, we must assign Senator Cragin, of New Hampshire, a pre-eminence over all his predecessors in tyranny. Their reputation for turpitude pales before the baleful light which his acts emit.

The forty-one sections into which his Bill is divided, might have been spared had he stated his object in plain English. Had he stated what he thinks—"No American citizen who is a 'Mormon' has any rights—he is not a free man, but is a slave, to be tried, convicted, fined, imprisoned, at the will of his masters—to be made to pay taxes, but to have those funds spent by his masters in persecuting and torturing him and enriching them for the service—to wear the form of man, but to have none of the privileges of manhood—to have no right to believe the Bible, practice its precepts, follow its examples, or to worship its God." These are the sentiments and objects of this Bill. They might have been stated more pointedly in a few words than in so many columns.

In reading this Bill, indignation overmasters every other feeling. We examine our skins, they are white. We look at the people around us, their lineaments proclaim their Anglo-Saxon descent. We listen to their speech—it is the language of freedom, the language in which Shakespeare, Milton and Thomas Jefferson wrote—the language

in which Patrick Henry, Adams, Lee and a host of other patriots clothed their immortal ideas. We look at our mountains, though their summits are covered with eternal snow they are not Siberia. The valleys they encircle are the abodes of a free people—American citizens, many of whose fathers fought and died for liberty and taught their sons its accents—not serfs whose lives and fortunes are at the disposal of an autocrat. Our color, our lineage, our language, our heaven-born and bequeathed rights, our grand mountains and noble valleys, are so many certificates of freedom. And we are FREE. We have consecrated this land to liberty. She has no more fitting or glorious abode, no more willing and devoted adherents.

Were our color darker—were we lazy, profligate, vicious and abandoned, we would have rights which Senator Cragin might feel it politic to respect. But we are none of these. We are the gentleman's equals—his peers, in birth, breeding, education and every quality of manhood, aye, shall we not say his superiors in our conception of the rights of American citizenship? We never

"let the candied tongue ilek absurd pomp, And crook the pregnant hinges of the knee, Where thrift may follow fawning;"

no, not even to save our homes and to obtain the quiet enjoyment of our inalienable rights, much less to gain political power and preferment.

We leave this Bill and its author, for the present, lack of space precluding further comment to-day.

ARE WE TO BE CRUSHED?—A MALIGNANT SCHEME.

Mr. Cragin's Bill offers us two alternatives, one of which we must accept, either abandon our religion, cease to practice its ordinances and obey its requirements, or be tried by a despotic court—unknown to the Constitution, unheard of among men of our race since Jeffreys held his bloody assizes—and be fined, imprisoned and deprived of every right of citizenship. Nothing can be plainer than that these are the objects to be accomplished. They appear, without disguise, in every section of the Bill. The Governor, Judges, District Attorney and Marshal, all officers appointed at Washington, are to be endowed with extraordinary powers and are to have unrestricted control of the Territory and its officers. Lest our Probate Judges should be "Mormons" and too favorable to us, if the power should be left as at present to the Legislature to elect them, the Governor is to be empowered to appoint them.

The infamous Jeffreys, whose name has become a synonym for every thing vile in a Judge, did have a semblance of trials by jury; but the author of this Bill, fearful that convictions could not be obtained by that process, gives the district courts the right to hear, try and determine without a jury. These courts can be held as often in the year, and at as many places as may suit the judges. They can hold them all the time if they choose. All the funds necessary to pay the fees of the officers of their courts are to be placed within their reach. If the territorial authorities (who are meant by the territorial authorities is not stated) should not furnish a building to suit them, these officers have the right given them to seize any public building—our council-houses, meeting-houses, tabernacles, or temple, if it were finished—furnish it at our expense and retain perpetual possession of it, if such should be their pleasure. If they want to put any or all of our citizens in jail, and one should not be convenient to suit them, it is made lawful for them to seize any jail or prison in the Territory, carry them to it, and keep them incarcerated there until their vengeance shall be satisfied. If the treatment at these places of confinement should not be rigorous enough, and "Mormon" wardens and jailors should sympathize with "Mormon" captives, the Governor is to have power to change all this, and make rules and regulations to suit himself and put in officers who will treat the prisoners with the necessary harshness.

There is to be no loophole left for escape. Dire punishment is to be meted out to us, and we are to be stripped of every means of defending ourselves against it. And why are the people of this Territory to be made the special objects of the terrible vengeance which this Bill contemplates? Do brazen-faced gorgeously-appareled barlotts through our streets as they do Pennsylvania Avenue, nodded to here, and smiled at there by our legislators and other leading men of our Territory? Do gambling

hells, brothels and other disreputable places of resort line our streets? Do we spread vice; or do our people groan under the dreadful effects of the social evil? Do we betray virtue, seduce our neighbor's wives, encourage promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, practice concubinage, fill the country with foundlings? No; we are guilty of none of these. Our climate is not favorable for their growth. Neither are we singled out because we indulge in these practices. We are made the objects of this formidable Bill of forty-two sections because such evils do not flourish among us. We might have mistresses by the score, children by the hundred, if we would not dignify the women as wives, or the children as legitimate and our own.

It is not because we have more women than one, or that we have more children than belong to that one, that Senator Cragin's soul is vexed. It is because that having them we will honor them, that having them we will maintain their legitimacy. Against these features in our religion the whole strength of his Bill is directed. We must not marry. We shall not marry. It shall not be lawful for an officer or member of our church to perform ceremony of marriage. We may believe marriage, when properly solemnized, to be an eternal ordinance, one which affects our future condition throughout eternity. But Senator Cragin says it is a civil contract, and every person, whether male or female, will shall aid and assist in, or even be present at, the ceremony of "Mormonism" known as sealing shall be fined more than ten thousand nor less than five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment at hard labor in the penitentiary not more than five years nor less than three months, or by both such fine and imprisonment, and the person or person who may solemnize such rite shall also be punished as above, and, in addition by a fine of at least one thousand dollars each, and imprisonment at hard labor in the penitentiary, for at least two years.

Inasmuch as we do not and cannot recognize any other authority than that which he prohibits, as having the right to celebrate marriage, or that such marriage would have validity before the Almighty, this Bill refuses us the right of marriage and virtually says we must either live in acknowledged whoredom or all intercourse between the sexes must cease. By it not only is the man who has a plurality of wives, excluded from all participation in the ordinance of sealing for eternity; but the man whose wife is in the same dilemma, if he take a wife, he must be married by a judge of the supreme court, by a justice of the peace, or by a pet priest—Senator Cragin's selection. This leaves him the alternative of neglecting to comply with a direct revelation of the Almighty, upon compliance with which his eternal happiness depends, or enduring the pains and penalties of Senator Cragin's Bill. By this Bill every minister of our faith is muzzled. God has bestowed a revelation giving us plurality of wives as a doctrine of His Church, and which we are commanded to preach and practice. But Senator Cragin says if we do obey the Almighty, and do preach and counsel it, we shall be fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisoned for a term not exceeding twelve months. Why do we take all we have, and put a roof over the Territory and make of it a penitentiary?

This man, Cragin, has evidently read history to no profit. When did fines ever accomplish what he has in view? Others more powerful, every way smarter than he, have tried their hands at revising creeds, and have endeavored to enforce those of their framing upon the people; but with what success history can answer. Our own history is a case in point. Where are our past persecutions? Sunk into such utter contempt that they are not remembered, except to be execrated. They had as good a prospect of achieving fame in their opposition to us as this Senator Cragin now has. A faith that has peopled a Territory, and has accomplished what ours has, is not easily uprooted. When the question arose in the past, shall we obey God or obey man? we answered it, by forsaking all, and taking up our line of march into an unknown and almost untrodden wilderness. When the question is again presented to us: Shall we still every conviction of our souls, do violence to our reason, flagrantly disobey God's requirements, become apostate to all that He has revealed, to please man? our answer will be as plain and decided as at any time in the past. We are not made to be coerced. It is not our character, to cringe and bow and speak with abated breath, and accept other men's