

stitutional laws. They were a thousand miles from their persecutors, and invited none but the upright and good to participate in their barren and lonely retreats, and fondly hoped that all others would be deterred by the uncongenial and uninviting position. But after the roads were made, the snakes killed, and the bridges built, and when wealth and comfort began to smile where all had been desolate, men, whose gods are office, spoils, gold and corruption, began to follow on our track, spy out our liberties and settle in our midst, and some of them are here to this day. How like you, Senator Douglas, that portion of the true why of our population's being so nearly all 'Mormons' and located in so barren and rock-bound a region? The devil proclaimed that we could not tarry in Ohio, nor in Missouri, nor in Illinois, and we did not. Please mark that he prophesied truly in those three instances, and now what think you, when he has declared that 'all hell cannot drive the 'Mormons' out of the mountains'? If humanity and a decent respect for the rights of others have no weight with the Senator, and since he has rejected all the prophecies of the God of Heaven, it would seem that he might listen to the prophecies of his father the devil, and wisely adopt the non-intervention policy, inasmuch as he will not act lawfully and justly towards Utah.

It is not so very strange that the Senator placed lies for truth, throughout the entire balance of his 2nd batch of what he calls 'facts'; for all his information under that head was derived from liars, yet one might suppose that an old lawyer would have been a little more shy than to trust broad assertions upon the testimony of such false witnesses. But the hue and cry was so fierce against Utah, and the love of political preferment so engrossing, that he again blindly ventured upon the unstable bogs ever occupying the regions of misrepresentation. As to 'horrid oaths and terrible penalties', suffice it to say that all Saints, under the just rights guaranteed by the Constitution, 'recognize and maintain', and uphold by their faith, means, and prayers, 'the authority of Brigham Young' as President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, as do, or should, in accordance with their professions, and with such rites and ceremonies as they please, every so called Christian denomination and Masonic institution 'recognize and maintain the authority' of those they have elected to be their guides in salvation and morality. What is there wrong in that? What Roman Catholic, Masonic, or other Christian or moral denomination, have you ever dared to so much as talk of dragging for the practice of their religious rites and ceremonies, which only concern themselves? In compliance with a vital principle of our faith, President Brigham Young and every Latter Day Saint teach and practice, and ever have, the paramount Civil authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and are at the defiance of earth and hell to truthfully show one particle to the contrary. And so far from the truth is the statement that the 'Mormons' will 'use all the means in their power to subvert the Government of the United States, and resist its authority', that they will be found upholding the Constitution and Constitutional laws of our Republic when such men as Senator Douglas are rending it to pieces, and when he shall have sunk so far in political degradation that the glorious light of the Constitution is perfectly obliterated from his sight.

"3rd. That the Mormon Government, with Brigham Young at its head, is now forming alliance with Indian tribes in Utah and adjoining Territories—stimulating the Indians to acts of hostility—and organizing bands of his own followers under the name of 'Danites or Destroying Angels', to prosecute a system of robbery and murders upon American citizens, who support the authority of the United States, and denounce the infamous and disgusting practices and institutions of the 'Mormon' government."

Your frenzy for office has at last placed you, with no backing save false 'rumors and reports', barefacedly and undeniably in the ranks of the foul libelers and maligners of a people loyal and patriotic far beyond the short ken of your dark and feeble comprehension, for your '3rd' division, from beginning to end, is a most unmitigated tissue of lies hurled forth with all the concentrated venom you could then command, solely with a view to urge on the ardently desired extermination of innocent men, women and children, so you could thereby, as you fondly imagined, pave your way to a much coveted Senatorial re-election and a prospective seat in the Presidential chair. It is well known that the wicked are rapidly 'waxing worse and worse', but when such a lying, murderous attack can be publicly and with impu-

nity made by a Senator of Congress upon a Governor and Ex-Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who has honorably magnified his office above all precedent, and upon a people whose generous acts and kind deeds, even to their enemies, are above all praise and are a goodly example to all nations, the observing can but think that the time is at hand when the Almighty will vex our nation with a sore vexation.

When, where, and with whom has an 'alliance with Indian tribes in Utah and adjoining Territories' been formed by Governor Young? except certain friendly talks, parental counsels, mutual lawful agreements, and present makings, all enjoined by the Governmental duties of his office, and for which he has been justly and highly commended by the Hon. George W. Manypenny, late Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as the Senator could have reliably learned in a short examination of authentic documents in that Department. Who suppressed the publication of most of the documents forwarded by Governor Young to the Departments? Such men as you, lest their publication should give him that influence and power in the nation that a wise and strictly Constitutional course should ever command. Who could have dreamed that a faithful official compliance with the requirements of the Indian Department at Washington, wisely designed for the well being of all parties, would ever have been construed so outrageously perversely? The wantonly abusing and slaughtering of Indians in Oregon and Washington Territories can be rewarded with hundreds of thousands of dollars of Government money, but the kindest and most conciliatory treatment towards them in Utah, strictly in compliance with Department instructions and with a greater trial of patience and expenditure of private means than has ever been practiced elsewhere, meets with the vilest misrepresentation by a Senator of these United States. But Senator Douglas has placed his witches' caldron in the seven-fold heated furnace of party politics and, to further his wild incantations for political advancement, is casting therein stately buildings and fair fields now gladdening regions so lately waste, the salvation of his own soul, the safety of our Union, and the lives of a whole innocent and law-abiding community.

That the citizens of Utah have formed alliances, as asserted by the Senator, is a lie too absurd to deserve even a denial, for the citizens of Utah know their rights and duties too well to transcend their bounds, neither have they a desire or occasion for transcending them, either in this or any other matter.

If there is or ever has been a Danite or a Danite society, in Utah, according to Senator Douglas' representation and that of others, we do not know it. And, moreover, if any such person or persons are here, they must have been exceedingly slack in the performance of the duties assigned them by the Senator, for of all our enemies who have passed and re-passed, tarried, traded, lied, drank, plotted our destruction, &c., &c., they have all escaped to tell the horrible tale about the 'Mormons.' Senator Douglas, it may be well to inform you that had there been bands of the character you assert, and had they pursued the line of duty you have marked out for them, you would probably never have seen or heard the 'rumors and reports' your remarks are based upon, and might not have had the opportunity of making those remarks. Therefore, on this point you are again, in your hot fury for office, found lying so grossly that you defeat yourself.

No doubt there are 'Destroying Angels', but they do not reside in Utah at present. They are on another planet, waiting for permission from the Father to go and reap down the earth. When they appear, such men as you are will feel their power.

When and where have Latter Day Saints, under any name, 'prosecuted a system of robbery and murders upon American citizens'? Never, and nowhere. On the contrary, they have ever striven for the just protection of the lives and rights of all, so far as in their power, else, as before remarked, 'rumors and reports' would not have been so numerous.

What 'practices and institutions' of the 'Mormon' government are 'infamous and disgusting'? for you have not told us. We do not get drunk, for that is a civilized and Christianized 'practice and institution', and we lay no claim to it. So also of whoredom, fornication, adultery, profane swearing, lying, duelling, cane-breaking, gambling, law-breaking, murder and the whole dark catalogue of civilized and Christianized 'practices and institutions' so popular and prevalent in the world. It is difficult to even guess at what

the Senator calls 'infamous and disgusting practices and institutions', unless they consist in the utter abhorrence of the above list of popular crimes and in a strict effort to practice and cultivate every pure, virtuous, noble and upright principle pertaining to moral, philosophical, civil and religious advancement.

An apology is, perhaps, due to the public for having condescended to so minutely follow the Senator in his low, inhuman, tortuous and slimy path throughout his three divisions of what he calls 'facts', all of which are palpable lies, to our certain knowledge; the only statement, anything like truth, being the one in which he says that the whole people of the Territory are 'Mormons.' But as those three divisions were made the platform of his 'remarks' upon his '3rd point', it will be obvious that fairly canvassing the false premises in the three divisions, was the shortest method for disposing of 'remarks' so disgusting and treasonable. Yet, although taking so short a course, the task is still not completed.

After giving another stab under cover of an 'if', and after advancing his opinion of the duty of the President towards Utah 'under this (his) view of the subject,' he then whips into the ranks of the dogs who are howling for our extermination and, in order that all politicians might know that he was a dog with them, barks as follows:—

"When the authentic evidence shall arrive, if it shall establish the facts which are believed to exist, it will become the duty of Congress to apply the knife and cut out this loathsome, disgusting ulcer. [Applause.] No temporizing policy—no half way measures will then answer."

In three short paragraphs, two of which contain 'ifs' of precisely the same character, a Senator is found, under one 'if', advocating the old English colonial policy for officering a people at the point of the bayonet, and in the next breath, and under the same character of 'if', recommending the extermination of that people. Who cannot see that reason and mercy have left him, (if he ever had any,) in his mad and wickedly truckling career after popularity and office?

After such an exhibition of crazy inconsistency and treasonable advice, it hardly excites wonder that, in the very next paragraph, after several lines of foolish and slanderous twaddle prefaced by another 'if' of precisely the same character as the two which preceded it, the Senator advises a third course as follows:

"In my opinion, the first step should be the absolute and unconditional repeal of the organic act—blotting the Territorial government out of existence—upon the ground that they are alien enemies and outlaws, denying their allegiance and defying the authorities of the United States." [Immense applause.]

It must be conceded that undertaking to ride three nags of so different a color with the same bridle of 'ifs' and before an audience of American citizens, was a circus feat in the ground and lofty tumbling of politics at which the most brazen and abandoned stage might well have stood aghast. But what single point of discretion and Constitutional policy will the devil permit a thorough-paced politician to advocate and follow, when the inhabitants of Utah are in question? Not one, for we first find a should-be-grave Senator advocating the sending a large, armed force with a class of officers to a Territory where all such officers have always been courteously received, as they will testify before the world, if they will tell the truth, and gentlemanly and hospitably treated, often far beyond what the conduct of some of them would warrant. What need then of sending troops with those officers? Not the least. Would such a useless waste of treasure have been recommended for any other Territory, where all had ever been and were peaceful and law-abiding? No. Would an 'if', even under a pile of 'rumors and reports' mountain high, have passed current as a cover for such a recommendation? No. Would any American dare risk advising, under a like 'if', the wholesale extermination of any class of our citizens other than 'Mormons', even though their acts had proceeded to the extent of civil war, as in Kansas? No. Would any sane man, under an 'if', have counseled 'the absolute and unconditional repeal of the organic act' of any Territory except Utah, or of that of Utah, were it not inhabited by 'Mormons'? No. It is, therefore, easy to discern that the Senator's shafts of oppression and destruction are not aimed at us because of any illegal or unconstitutional act of ours, for there is and has been no act of that description, but solely because we are Latter Day Saints and he expects to make political capital by assailing us, since that course is at present, through the prevalence and predominance of lies, so very popular.

Another singular feature in the case is that a frenzied love of office should so soon cause the Senator to steal thunder from the old-line-Whigs, and, at the first breeze of mere 'rumors and re-

ports', abandon the only enlightened and liberal policy for the government of Territories. Such being the fact, it is no matter of surprise that, after counseling the 'absolute and unconditional repeal of the organic act', he starts off with asserting as truth a gross legal error, follows that assertion with trying to make black look white and white look black, (by being all things to all parties, that thereby he may catch votes,) parades instances and suppositions entirely foreign to the question, in his zeal to place Utah under military despotism, and after thus floundering through two long paragraphs at length brings up with,

"I am free to say that in my opinion there is no moral right to repeal the organic act of a Territory, and abolish the government organized under it, unless the inhabitants of that Territory, as a community, have done such acts as amount to a forfeiture of all rights under it—such as becoming alien enemies, out-laws, disavowing their allegiance, or resisting the authority of the United States."

It is certainly a great relief to at last find one clearly expressed truth, in that portion of the Senator's remarks more particularly under examination. And since the inhabitants of Utah never have been, are not, and never expect to be, 'alien enemies', nor 'out-laws', nor 'disavowing their allegiance', nor 'resisting the authority of the United States', in any Constitutional construction of those expressions, it is to be hoped that the Senator will see the folly of stealing Whig thunder, the eventual poor pay attending the trimming of his sails to catch every breeze arising from the rabble, the certainty of his coming to the ground in his effort to sit upon THREE stools when two are proverbially fatal, and, after so ridiculous a political somersault, again settle his brains and once more advocate, as an American always should, an enlightened and liberal policy towards Territories.

When have you, Senator Douglas, lifted your voice to bring the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith to justice? They were murdered in prison, and that too in your own State and in your own judicial district. Had they done anything worthy of death? Did you not hear their murderers exclaim, 'the law cannot reach them, but powder and ball must?' Now you have joined in the hue and cry, 'exterminate the 'Mormons', 'cut out this loathsome, disgusting ulcer'.

In your last paragraph you say, 'I have thus presented plainly and fairly my views of the Utah question'; with at least equal plainness and with far more fairness have your 'views' now been commented upon. And inasmuch as you were well acquainted with Joseph Smith and this people, also with the character of our maligners and did know that their allegations were false, but must bark with the dogs who were snuffing at our heels, to let them know that you were a dog with them; and also that you may have a testimony of the truth of the assertions that you did know Joseph and this people and the character of their enemies, (and neither class have changed, only as the Saints have become BETTER and their enemies WORSE,) and also that you may thoroughly understand that you have voluntarily, knowingly, and of choice sealed your damnation and by your own chosen course have closed your chance for the Presidential chair, through disobeying the counsel of Joseph, which you formerly sought, and prospered by following, and that you, in common with us, may testify to all the world that Joseph was a true Prophet, the following extract from the 'History of Joseph Smith' is again printed for your benefit, and is kindly recommended to your careful perusal and most candid consideration:—

[From the Deseret News, Sep. 26, 1856.]

Thursday, May 18, 1843.—We left Macedonia about 8 1/2 a. m., and arrived at Carthage at 10.

The following brief account is from the journal of William Clayton, who was present:—

"Dined with Judge Stephen A. Douglas, who is presiding at court. After dinner Judge Douglas requested President Joseph to give him a history of the Missouri persecution, which he did in a very minute manner for about three hours; he also gave a relation of his journey to Washington city, and his application in behalf of the Saints to Mr. Van Buren, the President of the United States, for redress, and Mr. Van Buren's pusillanimous reply. 'Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you;' and the cold unfeeling manner in which he was treated by most of the senators and representatives in relation to the subject: Clay saying, 'You had better go to Oregon.' Calhoun shaking his head solemnly, saying, 'It's a nice question, a critical question, but it will not do to agitate it.'"

The judge listened with the greatest attention, and then spoke warmly in deprecation of the conduct of Governor Boggs and the authorities of Missouri, who had taken part in the extermination, and said that any people that would do as the mobs of Missouri have done, ought to be brought to judgment, they ought to be punished.

President Smith, in concluding his remarks, said, that if the government which received into its coffers the money of citizens for its public

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