

first dragoons, have shared and given you valuable aid in all these labors.

Thus, volunteers, you have exhibited some high and essential qualities of veterans. But much remains undone. Soon you will turn your strict attention to the drill, to system and order, to forms also, which are all necessary to the soldier.

By order of Lieutenant Colonel P. St. George Cooke,
P. C. MERRILL, Adjutant.

Those official papers explain the absence of the five hundred men on the day the pioneers reached their new home "in the valleys of the mountains." They were proving their fidelity to their country, their devotion to its flag, by fighting under the stars and stripes of that banner which is now planted, for the first time, upon soil which never before was penetrated by civilization.

THE PEOPLE PIONEERS IN ENTERPRISE.

But, sir, these people were no strangers to pioneer life. They were pioneers in Missouri, and published the first newspaper west of Jefferson City, I think in 1831. They were pioneers in western Illinois, and built the beautiful city of Nauvoo. They first settled western Iowa, published the first paper in that part of the State, and made a settlement where now stands the thriving city of Council Bluffs. They landed the first ship freighted with emigrant settlers where now stands San Francisco, a city unrivaled in wealth, population, and commercial importance for its age in the history of the world; a city which we, as Americans, are all so proud of. They were the first of our American citizens to remove the earth and unkenel the gold, which had lain for ages in its undiscovered resting-place, the result of which revolutionized the commercial world. These are all facts which have passed into and become a part of the history of the country. Wherever they have been industry and enterprise have marked their progress.

SUBJECT OF THE SETTLEMENT OF UTAH RESUMED.

But, sir, to return to the settlement of Utah. This settlement was commenced when that which now constitutes Utah belonged to Mexico. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, if I am not mistaken, by which our extreme western and south-western possessions were acquired, was not signed until February, 1848, six months after the pioneer settlement. While the brave Mormon battalion, under its gallant leader, were enduring the sufferings of a military campaign in Mexico, their brethren and families were planting American civilization and American industry in a Mexican province, where the red man had for ages held undisputed dominion. The country was a desert, so known in your geographies and upon your maps. It was uninhabited, except by the Indians, and understood to be uninhabitable for purposes of civilization. High ranges of mountains towering into the very heavens, covered with perpetual snow, deep gorges, narrow and impassable canyons, chasms, and fissures, everywhere surrounding the small valleys which reposed in wild and undisturbed nature at their base, presenting a cold and cheerless prospect to an agricultural people. Experimental cultivation had never been tried, and so confident was the old mountaineer and Indian trader Captain Bridger that when tried it would prove a failure, that he offered \$1,000 to the bold pioneers for the first ear of corn that was raised. Add to these frowns of nature the appalling fact that the country was destitute of rain, and that death from starvation must be the inevitable result if they failed to raise a crop, and you may well imagine how a people with less faith would have felt situated as they were.

But, sir, this was not all. The company, consisting of men, women and child, had penetrated twelve hundred miles west through a continuous Indian country. Eight hundred miles still further west to the Pacific was an unbroken Indian country; while to the north for six hundred miles the Bannocks and Flat-Heads kept the white man at bay and occupying the inviting valleys of the Willamette and Columbia, and for almost an unknown distance on the south the Utes, Pah-Utes, Pi-Utes, and Navajos held proud and undisputed possession.

This, sir, is a mere glance at the condition of the country at the time the pioneers arrived and commenced their first settlement in July, 1847. Still, under such circumstances, which Captain Stansbury well says were enough to appall the stoutest heart, they faltered not, but under the direction of their wise president, Brigham Young, they went to work, building forts for protection against the Indians, erecting their houses, laying out their city, planting fields, digging ditches for irrigation, and making preparations for the subsistence of human life. Only four years afterwards Captain Stansbury in his report uses the following language in speaking of Great Salt Lake City, where the first settlement was commenced:

"When it is remembered that within the space of four years this country was but a wild and dreary wilderness, where the howl of the wolf and the cry of the miserable Indian alone awoke the echoes of the mountains, and where the bear the deer and antelope roamed securely over what is now a compact and populous city; that the physical obstacles to the occupation of a region so unpromising were sufficient to discourage the most sanguine imagination and to appall the stoutest heart, the mind is filled with wonder at witnessing the immense results which have been accomplished in so short a time, and from a beginning apparently so insignificant."—Page 144.

PROSPERITY OF THE SETTLEMENT.

But, sir the people have been blessed in their efforts to subdue the desert. The city here mentioned by Captain Stansbury has now a population of about fifteen thousand people, with nearly every branch of mechanical and manufacturing industry represented, and not

a drinking saloon, a billiard saloon, or a bowling saloon to demoralize the people and check the onward progress of industry. What city in America of its population can say as much? It is truly a gem in the desert. The half-way house to the Pacific, it is a most convenient resting place for the traveler after journeying twelve hundred miles over plains of sand, without a tree or shrub save the constantly recurring sage, and before encountering a desert which still lies before him, a distance of six hundred miles before he reaches the Sierra Nevada.

The comparatively small beginning in 1847 has grown and lengthened until now the settlements extend a distance of five hundred miles north and south; and wherever a valley can be found that can be watered, there you will find the industrious, uncomplaining settler, making an honest living in the way most congenial to nature and most conducive to health, by the cultivation of the soil. Not only are the ordinary vegetables and cereals produced, but in the southern part of the Territory they are raising cotton, and last year exported some tons to the States, the product of free white labor, thereby removing the objection of some of our eastern friends to the use of this necessary article. In a word, the desert has been converted into the fruitful field, and the frowns of nature exchanged for smiles and gladness.

But, Mr. Chairman, all this has been the result of constant, uncomplaining toil, great hardship and exposure, and often the sacrifice of life. For the first few years of the infant settlements, the people were compelled to huddle together, and build and live in forts for protection against the jealous hostility of the Indians. Their policy has been to feed and not to fight them. It has been estimated that it has not cost the people less than \$100,000 annually to support these wards of the General Government since 1847, making a total of \$1,600,000. During the same period what have our Indian wars in Oregon cost the Government? in New Mexico? and the Indian service in California? More, I venture the assertion in one year than the Government has paid for Indian service during the entire time Utah has been a Territory.

APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR.

To the peaceful, wise and conciliatory policy pursued by Governor Brigham Young, who was appointed Governor and ex officio superintendent of Indian affairs by Mr. Fillmore on the organization of the territorial government, and who was continued in office over seven years, is to be attributed the fact that Utah has not been afflicted with Indian wars as have other Territories. By this policy vast sums of money have been saved to the United States.

In relation to the appointment of Governor Young, Captain Stansbury, on pp. 144-147, says:

"Upon the action of the Executive, in the appointment of the officers within the newly created Territory, it does not become me to offer other than a very diffident opinion."

"Yet the opportunities of information to which allusion has already been made may perhaps justify me in presenting the result of my own observations on this subject. With all due deference, then, I feel constrained to say that, in my opinion, the appointment of the president of the Mormon church and head of the Mormon community in preference of any other person to the high office of Governor of the Territory, independent of the political bearings, with which I have nothing to do, was a measure dictated alike by justice and sound policy. Intimately connected with them from their exodus from Illinois, this man has been indeed their Moses, leading them through the wilderness to a remote and unknown land, where they have since set up their tabernacle, and where they are now building their temple. Resolute in danger, firm and sagacious in council, prompt and energetic in emergency, and enthusiastically devoted to the honor and interests of his people, he had won their unlimited confidence, esteem and veneration, and held an unrivaled place in their hearts."

"Intimately acquainted with their character, capabilities, wants and weaknesses, identified now with their prosperity, as he had formerly shared to the full in their adversity and sorrow, honored, trusted, the whole wealth of the community placed in his hands for the advancement both of the spiritual and temporal interests of the infant settlement, he was surely of all others, the man best fitted to preside, under the auspices of the General Government, over a colony of which he may justly be said to have been the founder. No other man could have so entirely secured the confidence of the people; and this selection by the Executive of the man of their choice, besides being highly gratifying to them, is recognized as an assurance that they shall hereafter receive at the hands of the General Government that justice and consideration to which they are entitled."

"As to the imputations that have been made against the personal character of the Governor, I feel confident they are without foundation."

"Certain it is that the most entire confidence is felt in his integrity, personally, official and pecuniary, on the part of those to whom a long and intimate association, and in the most trying emergencies, has afforded every possible opportunity of forming a just and accurate judgment of his true character."

GOVERNOR YOUNG'S SUCCESSOR.

Governor Young was succeeded by the appointment, in 1857, of Alfred Cumming. Early in the present session of Congress a very serious charge was made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. FERNANDO WOOD] against the people, charging them with rebellion, which I replied to at the time. He said this "rebellion commenced early in 1857. The immediate cause was the exercise of Federal authority and the appointment of a territorial Governor." The truth is, so far from there having been any opposition by Governor Young to the exercise of Federal authority by his successor, Governor Cumming, that it is a notable fact that Governor Young sent out a party to escort the new Governor into the city, and furnished Governor Cumming with fresh animals, and the party conducted the new Governor into Great Salt Lake City; and when he arrived he was greeted and made welcome by Governor Young as his rightful successor in office. It is due to Governor Cumming to say that he discharged the duties of his office to the entire

satisfaction of the people. From the elaborate work of Captain Burton, (the English tourist, and author of that celebrated work *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*) entitled *The City of the Saints*, page 215, I quote the following relative to the entire of Governor Cumming:

"He had been told before entering that his life was in danger. He was not, however, a man to be deterred from a settled purpose, and experiment showed that so far from being molested he was received with a salute and all the honors."

This information was obtained from Governor Cumming, when the author was in Great Salt Lake City, in 1860.

EFFORTS OF THE PEOPLE TO BE ADMITTED INTO THE UNION. EXTRACTS FROM STANSBURY'S REPORT AND LECTURE OF COL. KANE.

I propose now, sir, in conclusion, to review, in a brief manner, the repeated efforts made by the people of Utah to be admitted into the Union.

As preliminary to this, I extract from the well-considered report of Captain Stansbury, to which reference has already been made, as containing the views of this able officer, formed after an intimate acquaintance of more than a year with the people. On page 144 he says:

"Apprehensions have been entertained as to the expediency of giving any countenance to the founding in our midst of an association of men so peculiar in views and so distinct in principles, manners, and customs from the rest of the American people. Serious doubts, too, have been expressed in regard to the policy of appointing Mormons to offices of high trust in the administration of the affairs of the newly created Territory, and direct charges have been widely published, seriously affecting the patriotism and reputation of the Mormon leaders, as well as the loyal feelings of the people toward the General Government."

Such doubts and apprehensions are, in my judgment, totally groundless; and the charges I believe to be either based upon prejudice or to have grown out of a want of accurate information. A residence of a year in the midst of the Mormon community, during the greater part of which period I was in constant intercourse with both rulers and people, afforded much opportunity for ascertaining the real facts of the case."

He also says, on page 133:

"Nothing could exceed the appearance of prosperity, peaceful harmony, and cheerful content that pervaded the whole community."

And on page 134 he uses this language:

"In their dealings with the crowds of emigrants that passed through their city, the Mormons were ever fair and upright, taking no advantage of the necessities of condition of many if not most of them. They sold them such provisions as they could spare at moderate prices, and such as they themselves paid in their dealings with each other. In the whole of our intercourse with them, which lasted rather more than a year, I cannot refer to a single instance of fraud or extortion to which any of the party was subjected, and I strongly incline to the opinion that the charges that have been preferred against them in this respect arose either from interested misrepresentation or erroneous information. I certainly never experienced anything like it in my own case, nor did I witness or hear of any instance of it in the case of others while I resided among them."

"In short, these people presented the appearance of a quiet, orderly, and well-organized society, as much so as one would meet with in any city of the Union, having the rights of personal property as well defined and as religiously respected as with ourselves, nothing being further from their faith than the spirit of communism, which has been most erroneously supposed to prevail among them."

These are the views of a highly educated and impartial Army officer, as set forth in his official report to the Government. I cannot but regard them as possessing more truth and merit, and entitled to far more weight, than the partisan statements of disappointed demagogues.

In this connection I cannot refrain from quoting the concluding part of the eloquent lecture of Col. Thomas L. Kane, delivered before the historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia. He has spent much time with the people, knows them well, and sustains no relation to them, except that formed by the tie of a common humanity. A brother to the late illustrious Dr. Kane, his character is well known to some of the members of this House:

"I have gone over the work I assigned myself when I accepted your committee's invitation as fully as I could do without trespassing too largely upon your courtesy. But I should do wrong to conclude my lecture without declaring in succinct and definite terms the opinions I have formed and entertain of the Mormon people. The libels of which they have been made the subject make this a simple act of justice. Perhaps, too, my opinion, even with those who know me as you do, will better answer its end following after the narrative I have given."

"I have spoken to you of a people whose industry had made them rich, and gathered around them all the comforts and not a few of the luxuries of refined life; expelled by law's force into the wilderness; seeking an untrodden home far away from the scenes which their previous life had endeared to them; moving onward, destitute, hunger-licked, and sinking with disease, bearing along with them their wives and children, the aged, and the poor, and the decrepit; renewing daily on the march the offices of devotion, the ties of family and friendship and charity; sharing necessities and braving dangers together, cheerful in the midst of want and trial, and persevering until they triumphed. I have told, or tried to tell you, of men who, when menaced by famine, and in the midst of pestilence, with every energy taxed by the urgency of the hour, were building roads and bridges, laying out villages, and planning cornfields for the stranger who might come after them, their kindness only by a common humanity and peradventure a common suffering; of men who have renewed their prosperity in the homes they have founded in the desert, and who, in their new-built city, walled round by mountains like a fortress, are extending pious hospitalities to the destitute emigrants from our frontier lines; of men who far removed from the restraints of law, obeyed it from choice, or found in the recesses of their religion something not inconsistent with human laws, but far more controlling; and who are now soliciting from the Government of the United States, not indemnity, for the appeal would be hopeless, and they know it; but protection, for they now have no need of it, but that identity of political institutions and that community of laws with the rest of us which was confessedly their birthright when they were driven beyond our borders."

"I said I would give you the opinion I formed of the Mormons; you may deduce it for yourselves from these facts. But I will add that I have not heard a single charge against them as a community, against their habitual purity of life, their integrity of dealing, their toleration of religious differences in opinion, their regard for the laws, or their devotion to the constitutional Gov-

ernment under which we live, that I do not from my own observation, or the testimony of others, know to be unfounded."

Colonel Kane, as does Captain Stansbury, indorses the loyalty of the people and their devotion to our constitutional Government. This, sir, is proven by their desire and efforts to be admitted as a State. Never were they more anxious than now, in the present unfortunate condition of the country. They want to constitute one link in the chain, stretching from the Atlantic west to the Pacific, binding together in one glorious sisterhood a corridor of States across the American continent. To this end they desired to be admitted in 1850; but on the 9th day of May of that year you made California a State with no larger resident population than Utah, and organized Utah into a territorial government. Early in 1856 a convention prepared a constitution which was ratified by the people, and special delegates were sent to Washington for the purpose of presenting it. It was in all respects republican, and I think no one was sufficiently fastidious to raise the slightest objection to the constitution. Still the application did not meet with favor, and no formal action was had in Congress. However Utah submitted to the disappointment with as much grace as was possible for a disappointed child when forbidden the hospitalities of the family board. She returned to the scanty fare of a territorial government, her patriotism and loyalty undiminished.

After enduring her semi-colonial condition six years more, the people of Utah called another convention, and prepared another constitution. Again were the people called upon to vote, and again was the constitution unanimously adopted. This, like the other, was republican and in all respects unobjectionable. It was presented to Congress by my predecessor, Hon. John M. Bernhisel, but was never brought to a vote in the House.

ENABLING ACT FOR STATE GOVERNMENT.

Following in the wake of Nebraska, Colorado, and Nevada, I have had the honor of presenting a bill for an enabling act to authorize the people to form a State government. This I trust will be more fortunate.

Mr. Chairman, in forming your new western States it is proposed to jump over Utah, and take in Nevada, but is but an offshoot of Utah, once belonged to her western boundary, has had a territorial existence of only about three years, and has far less population than Utah? Is it proposed to take in Nebraska, lying immediately west of the Missouri river, Colorado west of it, and then take in Nevada, and leave out the most valuable and important link in your chain of States to the Pacific? Why, sir, these Territories are infants in age and population when compared with Utah. Fourteen years has Utah had a territorial existence, and at no period since her organization has she not had a larger resident population than either Nebraska or Colorado.

In behalf of near one hundred thousand people I protest against this unjust discrimination. In behalf of those who first explored and settled the country west of the Missouri river seventeen years ago, who made the road across the continent, opened up the way to California, discovered the rich placers of gold on the shores of the Pacific, and gave you to know and understand that there was a great and mighty West, rich in mineral resources, way beyond the Rocky mountains, I ask for justice and equality. In behalf of those who with lives in their hands in an Indian country have reclaimed your deserts, prepared the way for your great postal inter-oceanic communication, your telegraph and Pacific railroad, who have contributed more to the settlement of California by reason of the facilities and position of their settlements than all the ships of the Pacific, I ask for justice and equality. In behalf of those who follow with intense interest and anxiety your flag, whose whole heart beats in unison with the Constitution and Government, and who, if admitted, will be represented in Congress by those who will vie with the foremost in sustaining your nationality, I ask that you do not turn them coldly away, and for the third time reject their petition and prayer. We come to you in friendship and love. We offer you our devotion, our industry, our enterprise, our wealth, our humble counsels in the affairs of the nation in this the darkest hour of our country's history. We present to you for a State your deserts reclaimed and fertilized by persevering industry and the sweat of uncomplaining toil. We offer you one hundred thousand people who can truthfully boast that in all their settlements is not to be found a drinking saloon, a billiard table, or a bowling alley, and who with pride point you to their cities, their churches, their school-houses, their manufactories, farms, and possessions as evidences of their achievements and the results of their industry. Will you accept the offering? The Constitution invests you with the power; exercise it charitably, deal justly, and decide wisely.

—M. de Lamartine is said to have realized \$80,000 last year from one of the lotteries established for his relief. Another is on the tapis, and its tickets, which cost only five sous, are in every tobacco and stationary window; when it is drawn, he will receive \$120,000. The latest report concerning him is that he is about to saddle a Russian princess with his debts.

The punishment of death is about to be abolished in Portugal, except for military crimes committed during war with a foreign power.