

friendly intercourse; and I most sincerely hope that this desirable result may yet be brought about.

I verily believe that all the officers entertain the same feelings towards the Mormons as Capt. Van Vliet, and I entertain no doubt that an acquaintance with them would satisfy you that such is the fact.

I am very respectfully and truly yours,
R. B. MARCY.

Rev. John Taylor,
Great Salt Lake City, Utah Ter.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, Oct. 21st, 1857.

CAPT. MARCY—MY DEAR SIR:—

I embrace this the earliest opportunity of answering your communication to me, embracing a letter from Mr. Fuller, New York, to you, an introductory letter to me and also one from W. I. Appleby to Governor Young; the latter, immediately on its receipt, I forwarded to his Excellency, and here let me state, Sir, that I sincerely regret that circumstances now existing have hitherto prevented a personal interview.

I can readily believe your statement that it is very far from your feelings, and most of the command that are with you to interfere with our social habits or religious views. One must naturally suppose that among gentlemen educated for the army alone, who have been occupied by the study of the art of war, whose pulses have throbbed with pleasure at the contemplation of the deeds of our venerated fathers, whose minds have been elated by the recital of the heroic deeds of other nations, and who have listened almost exclusively to the declamations of patriots and heroes, there is not much time and less inclination to listen to the low party bickerings of political demagogues, the interested twaddle of sectional declaimers or the throes and contortions of contracted religious bigots. You are supposed to stand on elevated grounds, representing the power and securing the interests of the whole of a great and mighty nation.

That many of you are thus honorable, I am proud, as an American citizen, to acknowledge; but you must excuse me, my dear Sir, if I cannot concede with you, that all your officials are so high-toned, disinterested, humane and gentlemanly, as a knowledge of some of their antecedents expressly demonstrates. However, it is not with the personal character, the amiable qualities, high-toned feelings, or gentlemanly deportment of your personal, generous, friendly and humane feelings, or any predilection of yours, it is one that involves the dearest rights of American citizens, strikes at the root of our social and political existence, if it does not threaten our entire annihilation from the earth.

Excuse me, Sir, when I say that you are merely the servants of a lamentably corrupt administration, that your primary law is obedience to orders, and that you come here with armed foreigners, with cannon, rifles, bayonets and broad-swords, expressly and for the openly avowed purpose of "cutting out the loathsome ulcer from the body politic."

I am aware what our friend Fuller says in relation to this matter, and I entertain no doubt of his generous and humane feelings, nor do I of yours, Sir, but I do know that he is mistaken in relation to the rabid tone and false, furious attacks of a venal and corrupt press. I do know that they are merely the mouthpieces, the tools, the barking dogs of a corrupt administration. I do know that Mr. Buchanan was well apprised of the nature of the testimony adduced against us by ex-Judge Drummond and others, for he was informed of it, to my knowledge, by a member of his own Cabinet, and I further know from personal intercourse with members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, that there have been various plans concerted at head quarters for some time past for the overthrow of this people.

Captain, Mr. Fuller informs me that you are a politician. If so, you must know that in the last Presidential campaign the republican party had opposition to slavery and polygamy as two of the principal planks in their platform. You may know, Sir, that Utah was picked out and the only Territory excluded from a participation in pre-emption rights to land. You may also be aware that bills were introduced into Congress for the prosecution of the Mormons, but other business was too pressing at that time for them to receive attention. You may be aware that measures were also set on foot and bills prepared to divide up Utah among the Territories of Nebraska, Kansas, Oregon and New Mexico, (giving a slice to California) for the purpose of bringing us into collision with the people of those Territories; not to say anything about thousands of our letters detained at the post office in Independence.

I might enumerate injuries by the score, and if these things are not so, why is it that Utah is so "knotty a question?" If people were no more ready to interfere with us and our institutions than we are with them and theirs, these difficulties would vanish into thin air.

Why, again would I ask, could Drummond and hosts of others, mean scribblers, palm their bare-faced lies with such impunity and have their infamous slanders swallowed with such gusto? Was it not that the Administration and their satellites, having planned our destruction, were eager to catch at anything to render specious their contemplated acts of blood?

Or, in plain terms, the Democrats advocated strongly popular sovereignty. The Republicans tell them that if they join in maintaining inviolable the domestic institutions of the South they must also swallow polygamy. The Democrats thought this would not do, as it would interfere with the religious scruples of many of their supporters and they looked about for some means to dispose of the knotty question.

Buchanan, with Douglas, Cass, Thompson and others of his advisers, after failing to advise legal measures, hit upon the expedient of an armed force against Utah; thus, by the sacrifice of the

'Mormons,' to untie the knotty question, do a thousand times worse than the Republicans ever meant, fairly out-Herod Herod and, by religiously expatriating, destroying or killing a hundred thousand innocent American citizens, satisfy a pious, humane, patriotic feeling of their constituents, take the wind out of the sails of the Republicans and gain to themselves immortal laurels.

Captain, I have heard of a pious Presbyterian doctrine that would inculcate thankfulness to the All-Wise Creator for the privilege of being damned. Now, as we are not Presbyterians, nor believers in this kind of self-abnegation, you will, I am sure, excuse us for finding fault at being thus summarily dealt with, no matter how agreeable the excision or expatriation might be to our political, patriotic or very pious friends. We have lived long enough in the world to know that we are a portion of the body politic, have some rights as well as other people and that, if others do not respect us, we, at least, have manhood enough to respect ourselves.

Permit me here to refer to a remark made by our friend Mr. Fuller to you, viz., 'that he had rendered me certain services in the city of New York and that he had no doubt that when you had seen and known us as he had, that you would report as favorably as he had unflinchingly done.' Now, those favors, to which Mr. Fuller refers, were simply telling a few plain matters of fact, that had come under his own observation during a short sojourn at Salt Lake.

This, of course, I could duly appreciate, for I always admire a man who dare tell his sentiments. But, Captain, does it not strike you as humiliating to mankind and to the pride of all honorable American citizens, when, among the thousands that have passed through and sojourned among us and know, as well as Mr. Fuller did, our true social and moral position, that, perhaps only one in ten thousand dare state their honest convictions; and further, that Mr. Fuller, with his knowledge of human nature, should look upon you as a *rare avis*, possessing the moral courage and integrity to declare the truth in opposition to the floods of falsehood that have deluged our nation. Surely we have fallen on unlucky times when honesty is avowed to be at so great a premium.

In regard to our religion, it is perhaps unnecessary to say much; yet, whatever other feelings may be about it, with us it is honestly a matter of conscience. This is a right guaranteed unto us by the Constitution of our country, yet it is on this ground and this alone that we have suffered a continued series of persecutions, and that this present crusade is set on foot against us.

In regard to this people, I have traveled extensively in the United States and through Europe, yet have never found so moral, chaste and virtuous a people, nor do I expect to find them, and, if let alone, they are the most patriotic and appreciate more fully the blessings of religious, civil and political freedom than any other portion of the United States. They have, however discovered the difference between a blind submission to the caprices of political demagogues and obedience to the Constitution, laws and institutions of the United States; nor can they, in the present instance, be hood-winked by the cry of 'treason.'

If it be treason to stand up for our Constitutional rights; if it be treason to resist the unconstitutional acts of a vitiated and corrupt administration, who, by a mercenary armed force, would seek to rob us of the right of franchise, cut our throats to subvert their party and seek to force upon us their corrupt tools, and violently invade the rights of American citizens; if it be treason to maintain inviolate our homes, our firesides, our wives and our honor, from the corrupting blight of a debauched soldiery; if it be treason to maintain inviolate the Constitution and institutions of the United States, when nearly all the States are seeking to trample them under their feet;—then, indeed, are we guilty of treason.

We have carefully considered all these matters and are prepared to meet the 'terrible vengeance' we have been very politely informed will be the result of our acts. It is in vain to hide it from you that this people have suffered so much from every kind of official that they will endure it no longer. It is not with them an idle phantom, but a stern reality. It is not, as some suppose, the voice of Bigham only, but the universal, deep-settled feeling of the whole community. Their cry is, 'Give us our constitutional rights; give us liberty or death.' A strange cry, indeed, in our model republic, but a truth deeply and indelibly graven on the hearts of 100,000 American citizens by a series of twenty years' unmitigated and unprovoked, yet unrequited wrongs.

Having told you this, you will not be surprised that, when fifty have been called to assist in repelling our aggressors, a hundred have volunteered, and, when a hundred have been called, the number has been doubled; the only feeling is, 'don't let us be overlooked or forgotten.'

And here let me inform you that I have seen thousands of hands raised simultaneously, voting to burn our property rather than let it fall into the hands of our enemies. They have been so frequently robbed and despoiled without redress, that they have solemnly decreed that if they cannot enjoy their own property, nobody else shall.

You will see by this that it would be literally madness for your small force to attempt to come into the settlements. It would be courting destruction. But say you, 'have you counted the cost? Have you considered the wealth and power of the United States and the fearful odds against you?' Yes, and here let me tell you that, if necessitated, we would as soon meet 100,000 as 1,000, and, if driven to the necessity, will burn every house, tree, shrub, rail, every patch of grass and stack of straw and hay and flee to the mountains. You will then obtain a barren, desolate, wilderness, but will not have conquered the people, and the same principle in regard to other property will be carried out. If this people have to burn their property to save it from the

hands of legalized mobs they will see to it 'their enemies shall be without fuel; they will haunt them by day and by night.'

Such is, in part, our plan. The 300,000 dollars worth of our property destroyed already in Green River county is only a faint sample of what will be done throughout the Territory.— We have been thrice driven by tamely submitting to the authority of corrupt officials and left our homes and houses for others to inhabit, but are now determined that if we are again robbed of our possessions, our enemies shall also feel how pleasant it is to be houseless, at least for once, and be permitted

'To dig their own dark graves,
Creep into them and die.'

You see we are not backward in showing our hands. Is it not strange to what length the human family may be goaded by a continued series of oppression?

The administration may yet find leisure to pause over the consequences of their acts, and it may yet become a question for them to solve, whether they have blood and treasure enough to crush out the sacred principles of liberty from the bosoms of 100,000 freemen and make them bow to craven servility, to the mendacious acts of a perjured, degraded tyrant.

You may have learned, already, that it is anything but pleasant for even a small army to contend with the chilling blasts of this inhospitable climate. How a large army would fare, without resources, you can picture to yourself. We have weighed those matters: it is for the administration to foot their own accounts.

It may not be amiss, however, here to state that, if they continue to prosecute this inhuman, fratricidal war, and our Nero would light the fires on, sitting complacently in his chair of state, laugh at burning Rome, there is a day of reckoning even for Neros.

There are generally two sides to a question. As I before said, we wish for peace, but that we are determined on having if we have to fight for it; we will not have officers forced upon us who are so degraded as to submit to be sustained by the bayonet's point. We can not be dragooned into servile obedience to any man.

These things settled, Captain, and all the little preliminaries of etiquette are easily arranged, and permit me here to state, that no man would be more courteous and civil than Governor Young, and nowhere could you find, in your capacity of an officer of the United States, a more generous and hearty welcome than at the hands of his Excellency. But when, instead of battling with the enemies of our country, you come (though probably reluctantly) to make war upon my family and friends, our civilities are naturally cooled and we instinctively grasp the sword.

Minie rifles, Colt's revolvers, sabres and cannon may display very good workmanship and great artistic skill, but we very much object to having their temper and capabilities tried upon us. We may admire the capabilities, gentlemanly deportment, heroism and patriotism of U. S. officers, but in an official capacity, as enemies, we would rather see their backs than their faces. The guillotine may be a very pretty instrument and show great artistic skill, but I do not like to try my neck in it.

Now, Captain, notwithstanding all this, I shall be very happy to see you, if circumstances should so transpire as to make it convenient for you to come, and to extend to you the courtesies of our city, for I am sure you are not our personal enemy. I shall be happy to render you any information in my power in regard to your contemplated explorations.

I am heartily sorry that things are so unpleasant at the present time and I can not but realize the awkwardness of your position and that of your compatriots, and let me here say, that anything that lies in my power, compatible with the conduct of a gentleman, you can command. If you have leisure, I should be most happy to hear from you. You will, I am sure, excuse me, if I disclaim the prefix of 'Rev'd.' to my name. Address: John Taylor, G. S. L. City.

I need not here assure you that, personally, there can be no feelings of enmity between us and your officers. We regard you as the agents of the administration, only in the discharge of a probably unpleasant duty and very likely ignorant of the ultimate designs of the administration.

As I left the East this summer, you will excuse me when I say I am probably better posted in some of these matters than you are, having been one of a delegation from the citizens of this Territory to apply for admission into the Union. I can only regret that it is not our real enemies instead of you. We do not wish to harm you or any of the command to which you belong, and I can assure you that in any other capacity than the one you now occupy you would be received as civilly and treated as courteously as in any other portion of our Union.

On my departure from the States the fluctuating tide of popular opinion against us seemed to be on the wane. By this time there may be quite a reaction in the public mind. If so, it may probably affect materially the position of the administration and tend to more constitutional, pacific, and humane measures. In such an event, our relative position would be materially changed, and instead of meeting as enemies, we could meet, as all Americans should, friends to each other and united against our legitimate enemies only.

Such an issue is devoutly to be desired, and I can assure you that no one would more appreciate so happy a result to our present awkward and unpleasant position than
Yours, truly,
JOHN TAYLOR.

MEMORIAL

From the Members and Officers of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah to the President and Congress of the United States.

GENTLEMEN:—Your memorialists beg leave to represent that, at the last session of the

Legislative Assembly of this Territory, Resolutions and a Memorial to the President of the United States were adopted and presented to him, which partially set forth our grievances and made known to the Government at Washington our desires and wishes in regard to the appointment of the Federal officers for Utah. We have received no response to those documents, unless it is to be understood that the appointment of a full set of officers for this Territory, backed by an army to enforce them upon us—as reported by common rumor to have been ordered and fitted out and sent to this Territory by the President—is to be deemed an answer. Certain it is that such an army is now invading our Territory, claiming to have been sent by the authority of the President of the United States.

We now forward to you respectfully, to wit:—the President and each House of Congress, a printed copy of those Resolutions and Memorial, and if it is true that the army now menacing this Territory is at the instance of the President and by the authority of the Government, we request to be informed of the fact, and why it is so; for what reasons our Resolutions and Memorial are treated with silent contempt, and a hostile course pursued towards an unoffending people; why it is that our Eastern mails have been stopped and the communication between this Territory and the General Government cut off.

If officers had been appointed and sent in accordance with the voice of the people, as ever should be the only course in a Republican Government, there would have been no need of an army's being sent here. Were the Resolutions and Memorial disrespectful, or defiant? Read them again, and see. There is not a word or sentiment in them that can fairly be construed to throw obstacles of any kind in the way of good men that might be appointed to rule over us; they simply express a fixed determination not to submit to the misrule of corrupt demagogues who are a disgrace to the government and who, as subsequent events have proved, expended their time in endeavoring to create a disturbance between us and the General Government.

Cannot American citizens, upon American soil, be heard in their own defence? Can they not petition the Parent Government, without incurring its hot displeasure? Are we to be sacrificed, because lying officials and anonymous letter writers wish it so? and does the Government rely upon their false statements to base its action, and such action, to send an army compromising the constitutional rights—the liberties—of freemen? Are the horrid scenes of Missouri and Illinois to be re-enacted by the General Government? Are we to be robbed and plundered—our best men slain—and the residue again driven from their homes by merciless and infuriate soldiery under authority usurped by the General Government?

Do you not know, Gentlemen, that when Government ceases to perform its legitimate functions to the people, and to protect them in their inalienable rights, among which, as our fathers declared, are 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'; and seeks to oppress and destroy, it becomes an object of dread—of terror—a foul disgrace to its name, and cannot expect the support, respect and esteem which should be its pride and are its duty to inspire?

We appeal to you as American citizens who have been wronged, insulted, abused and persecuted; driven before our relentless foes from city to city—from State to State—until we were finally expelled from the confines of civilization (?) to seek a shelter in a barren, inhospitable clime, amid the wild savage tribes of the desert plain. We claim to be a portion of the people, and as such have rights which must be respected, and which we have a right to demand. We claim that in a Republican form of Government, such as our fathers established, and such as ours still professes to be, the officers are and should be the servants of the people—not their masters, dictators, or tyrants.

To the numerous charges of our enemies we plead, not guilty, and challenge the world, before any just tribunal, to the proof.

Are we mistaken in our views in regard to the policy and intention of Government? We hope that you will prove to us that we are.— We ask you to reconsider the course that has been taken, to evince, by some act of returning justice, that you respect our Constitutional rights, and see whether it will not lighten the burden of oppression which you have inflicted. And that the people may have just cause to rejoice in and applaud—not condemn—your acts, withdraw your troops and give us a voice in the selection of our officers, thus proving to us your willingness to extend peace rather than war.

True, this Territory is a part of the public domain of the United States, but how was it acquired? Did not the people of Utah furnish, at the call of the Government, an altogether unprecedented quota of troops to aid in the war then raging with Mexico, and that too under the most adverse circumstances? And did not the people settle this Territory, while it was still under the dominion of Mexico? And did not the Government discharge the 'Mormon' Battalion in an enemy's country, after a most toilsome march of over two thousand miles, without furnishing them the means to return? Your present acts would deprive of life and liberty those very men who so gallantly perilled their lives for the common good.

We do not charge the acts of his predecessors upon the present incumbent, but now restore unto us our rights in Missouri and other States, of which we were inhumanly robbed; re-instate and guarantee unto us the peaceful possession of lands for which you have taken and yet retain our money; bring to justice the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, who were massacred while in the custody of the law—under the pledged faith of a sovereign State;