

ity for Governmental interference with polygamy, that pure institution which so enrages monogamists—lovers of the prostitution and degradation of the mothers of our race. However, it may be urged that the 'expedition AGAINST Utah' is based upon a certain 'Memorial and Resolutions to the President of the United States'. That every possible facility for correct information may be furnished, that 'Memorial and Resolutions' are printed as follows:—

MEMORIAL AND RESOLUTIONS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, CONCERNING CERTAIN OFFICERS OF THE TERRITORY OF UTAH.

Whereas the people of Utah Territory desire to live in the quiet enjoyment of those principles which the great charter of our Independence describes as being the inalienable right of all men, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness:"

And whereas we were driven forth, by our enemies and persecutors to perish on the plains, and were left for upwards of four years, from 1846 until September, 1850, to live or die, not only without the protecting care of the General Government, but on the contrary, having our strength drawn by that Government and sent to the most distant provinces to fight the battles of our country:

And whereas we complied with this, as we ever have with every requirement of the Parent Government, and did raise and turn out five hundred of our best men, who did actually march, to aid the United States in their war with Mexico, from the western part of Iowa to Fort Leavenworth and from thence to Santa Fe in New Mexico and from thence to California, under the command of Col. Cook, who also acted under the direction of Genl. Kearney:

And whereas those forces did actually perform that journey on foot and essentially aid in bringing into subjection, to the American Government, New Mexico and California and the Territory we now occupy:—

And whereas, while these forces were absent upon this tedious and distant march, their families had to be left in a destitute condition, in an Indian country, far from the abodes of civilization and unsettled, living in tents and wagons, traveling in search of a location where we could be far from our enemies—where we could rest and live in peace:

And whereas, during the absence of those forces and while our emigrating camps were traveling, halting occasionally to recruit our provisions, which we had mostly to raise from the earth as we proceeded, the remaining portion of our people, who through poverty or infirmity were unable to be removed for the time being from Nauvoo, and many of whose fathers and brothers were actually marching in the armies of the United States, as above set forth, to aid the Government in her then existing war with Mexico, were most wantonly and inhumanly attacked with cannon and fire arms, without cause or provocation, by mobs who murdered, plundered and indiscriminately drove across the Mississippi river into Iowa thousands of men, women and children, many of them sick with the fevers incident to the country in that season of the year, causing them to lie on the ground exposed to the broiling sun by day and damp and chilly air by night, and to rain and tempest; bereft of the shelter of their homes from which they were driven, of food and clothing of which they were robbed, and even of the care and sympathy of friends who were absent in the service of the country, hundreds died and were buried upon the road side by their companions in affliction, who, on foot, or as best they could by the scanty means left them by the mob, were endeavoring to make their way into the wilderness to overtake the camps who had gone before to find a place and prepare the way, in some far off nook or corner of the earth where we could be free from our oppressors and live in the quiet enjoyment of peace and that liberty which, though denied us, had been handed down by our fathers as a sacred legacy for our joint inheritance:

And whereas through the blessing and providence of God only, and not of man, we were finally preserved from our adversaries, from the savage tribes and from perishing through hunger and want, which often threatened our destruction, not only upon the deserts, the wild and barren plains, but in the repeated destruction of our crops by insects in these parched, unfruitful and inhospitable climes:

And whereas, after long and repeated solicitations, and after we had gathered strength and limited supplies of provisions, Congress did grant unto us a Territorial form of government, which was thankfully received and under which, until we shall obtain admission into the Union as a free, sovereign and independent State, according to our application and constitution, we expect to live, act and be governed:

And whereas it is made the duty of the President of the United States, in the Organic Act, passed September 9, 1850, for the organization of this Territory, to appoint the Senate concurring therein, the following officers for said Territory, namely, one Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, one Secretary, three Judges, one Marshal, one Attorney and, through the Secretary of the Interior and Commissioner of Indian Affairs, two, or more, Indian Agents:

And whereas false hearted men, office seekers and corrupt demagogues, from every section of this wide spread Republic, flock to the seat of the federal government, surround the President and influential men thereat, to be appointed to these and similar offices, vested in the discretion and patronage of the President and Senate:

And whereas such bangers on and office seekers, who are continually whining around the President for office, are unworthy of the confidence of the Government; and the principle of favoritism so generally practiced, of throwing a bone to satisfy this hungry hound and a crumb to that yelping cur, cannot be too strongly deprecated by every lover of American liberty, by every person who desires the perpetuity of the free institutions of our country:

And whereas it is our honest conviction that no sensible persons would accept such offices, contrary to the known and expressed wish of the people, only to serve their own selfish purposes, totally regardless of the rights of others:

And whereas the conduct of the large majority of the appointees has been an insult to humanity, an imposition upon intelligence and, so far as lay in their power, a serious injury to the interests of this Territory and of this Union:

And whereas thus to appoint officers and impose them upon a people contrary to their wishes is repugnant to every principle of Republican Government, whose pride and boast is that all power is inherent in the people and that government should emanate from them:

And whereas the people are continually urging the authorities of this Territory to free them from these abuses and unanimously declare that it is almost unendurable to longer submit to be thus maltreated and trodden under foot by a corrupt and base set of officials who, without authority of law or right, impose upon us and think to force us into quiet subjection to their base and hellish purposes, simply because they hold offices by the appointment of the Government of the United States:

And whereas we do not understand that such appointments should screen any offender from the just indignation of an insulted, injured and much abused community:

And whereas the practice of appointing to the offices of this Territory strangers and non-residents has frequently thrown into our midst base and corrupt men, whose only business seems to have been to devise mischief, misrepresent us and stir up strife, not only in our midst, but between us and the Indians and also between us and the Federal Government; men who seek to corrupt our community, trample upon our rights, walk under foot our laws, rules and regulations; who neither fear God nor regard man and, whenever checked in their mad career, threaten us with death and destruction by the United States troops, which they seem to consider are ready to march against us at their foul and false instigations:

And whereas our laws, which have been passed by the Legislative Assembly, and not been annulled by Congress, as provided in the Organic Act, have been set at naught and trampled under foot by a portion of said officers, they having caused, by their rulings and decisions, other laws than those either of our own or the enactment of the Congress of the United States to be enforced, thus subverting the ends of justice and overriding the laws of the Territory, to thwart their operation and insult and oppress the people:

And whereas, in our well founded opinion, there are citizens of our Territory who are capable and honest, whose interest is identified with the people, who desire the promotion of peace and the prosperity of the Territory and Union:

And whereas we have furnished our worthy Delegate in Congress, the Hon. John M. Bernhisel, a list of the names of certain citizens of this Territory, with instructions to him to respectfully request the President of the United States to make the appointments for this Territory therefrom, or to select some other citizens of this Republic whose interest is and will be here and somewhat identified in the growth and prosperity of the Territory:—

Resolved, be it

Resolved by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, in solemn assembly convened and having the foregoing facts and suggestions under consideration, that, while we respect the General Government and are at all times willing to observe the laws thereof, so far as they may be applicable to our condition in our Territorial capacity, we will resist any attempt of Government officials to set at naught our Territorial laws, or to impose upon us those which are inapplicable and of right not in force in this Territory.

Resolved, that, while we will seek to carry out the rules and regulations of the various Departments of the General Government, as we invariably have, we will resist any attempt of any of its officers to bring us into difficulty, by misrepresentation or otherwise, with either of said Departments of the Government.

Resolved, that we will maintain the Constitution and laws of the United States, so far as they are applicable to our Territory, but we will not tamely submit to being abused by the Government officials, here in this Territory; they shall not come here to corrupt our community, set at defiance our laws, trample upon the rights of the people, stir up the Indians and use the patronage of the Government to prejudice them against us and endeavor to influence the General Government against us, as a people, by their false statements and misrepresentations, or if they do come and act in this manner, as has been done, we will send them away, asking no odds either of political demagogues or bigots, for we well understand and know that neither the one nor the other is justified by the Constitution and laws in thus trifling with the liberties of the people, or trampling upon their rights.

Resolved, that we are a portion of the great American Republic; that we have rights civil, political and religious, in common with the rest of the States and Territories; that those rights are as sacred to us as they are to any other people, and that it is the duty of the Government to protect us in the peaceable enjoyment thereof, so far as it is in their power, and not to seek to annoy and distress us either with foreign appointments or by fastening upon our necks the yoke of tyranny and oppression; thus depriving us of those rights

of freedom pertaining to every Republican Government and held sacred by every State and Territory.

Resolved, that we inherit from our fathers, who declared that Governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," the right to have a voice in the selection of our rulers, and that to deny the right is anti-republican and fraught with evil, not only to us who are unwisely and unjustly held in a Territorial capacity, but to every lover of American freedom.

Resolved, that we desire to live in peace and have ever done so, when let alone by our enemies; that we have sacrificed much to get out of their way, and that, if they follow us up, as in times past, to seek our destruction, we are ready and willing to sacrifice far more, rather than not be rid of them; they shall not live in our midst to plot treason against the Territory and to bring against us the forces of the United States to our destruction.

Resolved, that we eschew as evil and utterly repudiate all social intercourse with those officials who practice under the garb of their official dignity every species of iniquity, also with the murdering thieves and vagabonds with whom such officials associate; and they must and shall leave this Territory, so soon as they manifest themselves to be of the character set forth in these Memorial and Resolutions.

Resolved, that we respectfully solicit the President of the U. S. to make the appointments to the offices for this Territory from among the citizens, or else select other good citizens of this great Republic who will endeavor to promote the interest of the Territory and become identified therewith.

The above Memorial and Resolutions were signed by all the Members of the Legislative Assembly, to which we also add an accompanying 'Memorial to the President of the United States,' as follows:—

MEMORIAL TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

We, the undersigned, Members and Officers of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, beg leave to present to your honorable notice the following list of names, from which we most respectfully solicit that the appointments to the offices of this Territory may be made:

[Here followed one name to each office.]

These are our first selections, but if there should be any objection to any of them, except that for Governor, we give the following list of names of citizens of this Territory, who, together with those above mentioned, are entitled to the confidence of the Government and are every way capable and worthy to receive any of the above specified appointments:

[Here followed five additional names for the office of Secretary, nine for Judges, four for Marshal, two for District Attorney, three for Surveyor General and four for Indian Agent.]

In recommending Brigham Young to fill the office of Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, we echo the unanimous wish of the people of this Territory, whose unlimited confidence he has long enjoyed, since he has, during our Territorial existence, administered in that office not only to our satisfaction, but with credit and honor to himself and the Government.

President Buchanan, do those documents breath aught of a 'defiant spirit,' aught of a spirit unworthy our Constitution and American citizens? You are therein most respectfully informed that our rights in and objections to Territorial appointments are waived, if you prefer it, with an exception that we do not want and will not have such men as were P. E. Brochus, Mrs. Secretary Ferris, District Attorney Hollman, W. W. Drummond, G. P. Styles and other whores, lying, filthy, rotten curses of that class, to scatter pollution among our citizens both white and red, and to bring destruction upon us so far as in their power, as their works have proved. President Buchanan, does that breathe a 'defiant spirit?' Or do you wish to officer Territories with such sinks of corruption, that they may have the aid of official station in overriding every virtuous and lovely principle? It is out of the question to believe that you are ignorant of the just position taken by your memorialists in the above documents, and it is staggering to even common humanity to suppose that you will use the powers of your position upon the side of the oppression, moral death and extermination of your fellow citizens. But if the latter be not the course you are pursuing, upon what principle have you ordered nearly one fourth of the standing army of the United States to escort civil officers to a Territory where such officers have ever been received and treated with all the kindness and courtesy their conduct merited, and with far more than Brochus and his class ever deserved. It is self-evident that by fitting out such an 'expedition against Utah' the Government had pre-determined to sweep the 'Mormons' and 'Mormonism' out of existence, by holding them still while mobocrats, blacklegs, thieves, liars, demagogues, whomasters and all hell worked their loved and characteristic destruction of the virtuous and innocent. It is folly and wickedness to allege that such a body of troops has been ordered here for peaceful purposes, for such a course is in open defiance of all law and trampling under foot every just principle.

It is not to be expected that the troops ordered

here understand the merits of the question now at issue or comprehend the base designs of the politicians and speculators who are the prime movers in the case. Troops are expected to obey orders, but if those orders are in glaring contradiction to the true principles of our Government and to compass the destruction of American citizens and the dissolution of the American Union, as is now the design of many in power, then indeed can those troops alone manifest loyalty to the Government by refusing to obey orders knowingly and designedly planned for its overthrow. When the administrators of a Government pursue a course obviously subversive of the principles of that Government by which alone they hold power, by what right can they claim obedience to their orders? By none, save that of popularity and might.

Every American and every intelligent person will at a glance perceive that there is naught in the above Memorials and Resolutions but what is strictly and nobly in accordance with the Constitution and Constitutional laws of the United States, except it may be an expressed willingness to so far waive our Constitutional rights as to submit to the British system of appointing officers for Territories other than those for States, a practice alone worthy a despotic government and not in the least degree consistent with republicanism. And yet we are informed that a grave member of President Buchanan's Cabinet said that those Memorials and Resolutions breathed a 'defiant spirit'! Perhaps, most respectfully and with the best of reasons, asking President Buchanan to make his appointments from a list of preferred and vouched for residents of Utah, was breathing a 'defiant spirit'!! or perhaps, waiving our choice and respectfully asking him, in case he did not see proper to appoint from the names petitioned for, to appoint moral, upright and honorable men of his own choice, was breathing a 'defiant spirit'!!! for these are the main features in those documents.

Though after all, the exception rightly taken by Utah to a certain class of former appointees may have been the objectionable feature, for we will candidly admit that whomasters, demagogues and rotten hearted scoundrels of every grade were particularized as not being wanted here, and that class alone were excepted to. This is the brief and fair statement of the gist of those Memorials and Resolutions, and merely excepting to having any more scoundrels thrust upon us to sow corruption, debauchery, litigation and all manner of evil in our midst, is probably the pretext made use of by Government in their attempt to crush every virtuous principle out of our Territory, for the 'expedition AGAINST Utah' can be truthfully viewed in no other light. And since President Buchanan, with all those and far more facts plainly before him, has seen fit to order troops to a Territory where all is peace, it is fairly presumable that he has determined to send as officers the meanest curses that he could find, for he was most plainly informed that truly honorable men as officers would be respected and treated with courtesy, as they ever have been. And as Governor Young has always been widely known to be the unanimous choice of Utah for the position he occupies, and an officer against whose wise administration of affairs not the first objection can be substantiated, upon what principle of Constitutional equity did President Buchanan appoint a stranger in his stead? That appointment was made in diametrical opposition to every known correct principle touching the government of freemen, for all just power is alone derived from the voluntary consent of the governed. Mr. President, Cabinet and Congress, if that is not the foundation and key stone of our Republican Government, will you be kind enough to inform us what is? It is the quintessence of tyranny in a free Government to appoint contrary to that consent, and none but off-scourings of the earth would accept of an office among a people where they knew they were not wanted and had no just right to be.

We have sought for peace all the time, and have yielded ground to our enemies until we have been driven into the fastnesses of the mountains, and we are not going to be again driven by infernal mobbers, no matter in what guise they come. A wanton usurpation of power, by those who have done 'nothing for the Mormons' but all they could against them, is too tyrannical to be tamely endured forever, for the spirit thereof is bondage and the end thereof is death, and it is far preferable to die freemen than to live and die slaves in a land whose Constitution and Constitutional laws guarantee freedom to such as will be free. And though our nation has now arrived at a period when a man risks his life in advocating the cause of justice and innocence, and though earth and hell oppose and howl, that cause will prevail.

Our enemies—the enemies of truth, peace, virtue and the Union—are now openly and indisputably arrayed under the black banner of despotism, while we as ever are upon the side of local self-government, of republicanism, and of every principle that tends to peace, happiness, salvation, and exaltation both here and hereafter, trusting in the help of the Almighty and the aid of all good men in every clime, fearless of the final result and prepared, if need be, to warmly welcome all mobocrats to the possession of naked rocks, arid plains, and BLACKENED DESOLATION.