

## THE DESERET NEWS.

TRUTH &amp; LIBERTY.



ALBERT CARRINGTON, EDITOR.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11.

TO ADVERTISERS.—Advertisements to insure insertion in the current number must be handed in before 10 o'clock on Tuesday morning. Remember this.

## EXTRACTS

From the

# SPEECH OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD FOR THE IMMEDIATE ADMISSION OF KANSAS INTO THE UNION.

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, APRIL 9, 1856.

[The extracts are taken from the speech as published in the N. Y. Weekly Tribune of April 12, the comments thereupon are such as we have deemed proper to make, so far as space and time would permit.—Ed. 'News'.]

We will commence with the four first periods.

"MR. PRESIDENT: To obtain empire is easy and common; to govern it well is difficult and rare indeed. I salute the Congress of the United States in the exercise of its most important function, that of extending the Federal Constitution over added domains, and I salute especially the Senate in the most august of all its manifold characters, itself a Congress of thirty-one free, equal, sovereign States, assembled to decide whether the majestic and fraternal circle shall be opened to receive yet another free, equal and sovereign State. The Constitution prescribes only two qualifications for new States, namely—a substantial civil community, and a republican Government. Kansas has both of these."

Most frankly do we coincide with the statement that to govern well 'is difficult and rare indeed,' so much so that in the strict sense of the term well, in this connection, it never has and never will be done upon this earth without direct revelations from the Almighty, who organized and peopled this planet, and unto whom it belongs. A steady persistence in practically rejecting this fact is the grand cause of the weakness, jarring and confusion prevailing in the counsels of the nations, and explains the curious mixture of part truth, and part error, part wisdom and part fanaticism, part liberality and part selfishness to be found in the sayings and doings of nearly every professed and acknowledged wise man and statesman.

After the beautifully expressed salutation to Congress, we find the following truthful enunciation of the ONLY two constitutionally prescribed 'qualifications for new States, namely, a substantial civil community, and a republican government,' followed by the statement that 'Kansas has both of these.' Admit these statements to be true, and we rightfully claim the same candid admission and argument for Utah from Senator Seward, his friends and every lover of freedom and equal rights. Neither can this claim be put by without rank and obvious injustice, more especially as Utah has demonstrated for a much longer period, and with far greater numbers, her 'substantial civil community, and a republican form of government.'

For these reasons alone we shall confidently look for consistency in Mr. Seward, and for his advocating a prompt compliance with the present unanimous knocking of Utah for admission, with at least as much zeal, learning and ability as he has displayed in favor of Kansas in the speech now under consideration. Now, Mr. Seward, we most respectfully ask you to sustain your positions, as above made known, both by voice and vote, when our Delegates present Utah's UNANIMOUS memorial petitioning for simply what is her right.

"The Declaration of Independence asserts the political equality of ALL men, and even the Constitution itself carefully avoids any political recognition not merely of slavery, but of the diversity of races."

Most true, and equally true is it that the first two lines of Article I of the amendments to that Constitution read, 'Congress shall make NO LAW RESPECTING AN ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION, OR PROHIBITING THE FREE EXERCISE THEREOF.' Does not Mr. Seward value the last named priceless boon at least as highly as he does those he has named? And can he be so short-sighted and unjust as to be more careful of rights, colors and bodies pertaining to time and flesh, than he is of aiding to secure to every American citizen, whether in State or Territory, the right and privilege of worshipping God in accordance with His commandments and the dictates of conscience? We

shall know, when Utah knocks at the doors of Congress halls.

"Whatever is forbidden expressly by the Constitution is unlawful. Whatever is not forbidden is lawful."

We most cordially thank you for that assertion, for you are reputed to be learned in international, national, State and municipal law, hence it comes to the public with more weight, and being printed in the Tribune will have a wide circulation. But as memories are often treacherous and highly excited fanaticism rife in the land, we sincerely trust that you will not forget your last quoted assertion, nor let Article I of the amendments of the Constitution escape your notice in connection therewith. So may you be preserved from blowing hot today and cold to-morrow, or from being caught in the predicament of the lawyer in the spelling book, who was found saying, 'and if, and if, and if,' when there was no ground for a single if.

"Examine the code created by the Legislature (of Kansas). All the statutes of the State of Missouri are enacted in gross, without alteration or amendment, for the government of Kansas; and then, at the end, the hasty blunder of misnomer is corrected by an explanatory act, that wherever the word 'State' occurs it means 'Territory,' and what a code! One that stifles not, indeed, the fruits of the womb, but the equally important element of a State, the fruits—the immortal fruits—of the mind; a code that puts in peril all rights and liberties whatsoever, by denying to men the right to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience—a right in itself conservative of all other rights and liberties."

We are not familiar with that code, neither does it concern us, at least for the present. What we particularly wish now to note is the earnest, emphatic and correct opposition to any 'code that puts in peril all rights and liberties whatsoever, by DENYING TO MEN THE RIGHT TO KNOW, TO UTTER, AND TO ARGUE, FREELY, ACCORDING TO CONSCIENCE—A RIGHT IN ITSELF CONSERVATIVE OF ALL OTHER RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES.'

And not only any code, Mr. Seward, but any course or practice, whether in Congress or elsewhere. Be pleased to bear particularly in mind that portion of your above quoted important statement which we have honored with small and large capitals; and condescend to allow a small amendment, (doubtless overlooked in the hurry of speaking) by adding the words 'to act' after the words 'to know,' so far as such action does not infringe upon any true rights of others, or upon any wholesome law or regulation. Will you be kind enough to accept of our amendment, so obviously necessary and in keeping, and to be mindful of your position in the hours of temptation so soon to assail you?

"I propose to apply the remedy now, by admitting the new State with its PRESENT population and present Constitution."

Again you are strictly and constitutionally correct, as also in the following:—

"Freedom justly due cannot be conceded too soon."

"The Constitution does NOT PRESCRIBE 93,700, OR ANY OTHER NUMBER of people, as necessary to constitute a State."

"The point made concerning numbers is therefore practically unimportant and frivolous."

If this true doctrine is applicable to Kansas with her reputed 40,000, and we contend it is, most certainly should it be extended to Utah with her 80,000 inhabitants, who are permanently increasing as rapidly as they are in Kansas, and probably more so. And is it aught but simply just to expect that Senator Seward, in his place in Congress and elsewhere, will give Utah his powerful aid in her lawful efforts to procure full constitutional liberty?

"Precedents in such cases, (steps for admission) BEING WITHOUT FOUNDATION IN LAW, are without authority. This is a country whose government is regulated, not by precedent, but by Constitutions."

Right again; and inasmuch as Utah, in her preliminary measures and action, followed the best precedents that government and governmental mail facilities had placed within her reach, then most certainly she has no cause for apprehension on the ground of informality or accidental oversight, should any thing of that nature be discovered in her proceedings, which we are confident will not.

"No republican government ever has endured, WITH STANDING ARMIES MAINTAINED IN ITS BOSOM TO ENFORCE SUBMISSION TO ITS LAWS."

We commend the perusal of the above quotation to the New York Herald and its readers, a paper that recommended, with unblushing effrontery, the sending of troops into Utah, not to aid her inhabitants against the aggressions of the red men, for well it knew that she

sought no such aid; not to enforce submission to laws, for equally well did that 'Satanic print' know that Utah had been most loyal and law-abiding. On what ground, then, did it advocate such a devilish policy? Forsooth to compass, if possible, the corruption of the fairest and most virtuous of all the female sex, the lovely daughters of Utah. A policy most worthy the boasted Christianity and enlightenment of the 19th century!!!

With the quotations thus far made we cheerfully and almost entirely coincide, and had hoped to be able to do so to the end. But, alas for poor human nature, even in a man so noted for political wisdom as is Senator Seward, for he broke down on his own platform, in his efforts to get a fling at polygamy in Utah before so polished an audience, as will be plainly seen by comparing the teachings and positions of previous quotations with the following:—

"Even then you must give over Utah to Slavery, to make it secure and permanent in Kansas; and you must give over Oregon and Washington to both Polygamy and Slavery, so as to guarantee equally the one and the other of those peculiar domestic institutions in Utah; and so you must go on sacrificing on the shrine of peace Territory after Territory, until the prevailing nationality of freedom and of virtue shall be lost, and the vicious anomalies, which you have hitherto vainly hoped Almighty Wisdom would remove from among you without your own concurrence, shall become the controlling elements in the Republic."

Mr. Seward, what evil spirit could have tempted so great a man to take so long a stride from his subject, and to pour his scattering insinuations upon isolated Utah? How could you have so far forgotten your text, and like a sectarian priest preached so far from it, and so entirely irrelevant to it? Who told you that the practice of polygamy was unvirtuous, that it was a vicious anomaly? Is it possible that sound arguments for the rights of 40,000 freemen in Kansas were not, at least, as valid in favor of 80,000 freemen in Utah, a contiguous Territory of the same great Republic? Had you so soon entirely forgotten Article 1 of the amendments, or must you sacrifice candor and consistency in order to tickle the ears of your auditory?

If your object was to please the ladies who thronged the galleries, we must courteously correct the delusion which blinded you, with the information that every noble-minded, every virtuous and truly intelligent female in all Christendom is despising celibacy, monogamy and their attendant accursed abominations, as rapidly as you will permit true light and knowledge from Heaven to enlighten their understandings.

You must surely have let dust accumulate thickly on your Bible, the source of all valuable laws with which you are acquainted, or you could not have been unmindful that it was in the seed of polygamic Abraham that all the nations of the earth were to be blessed. A polygamist who received the word and will of God, who talked with angels and with his Maker, and whose second wife, during the life of the first, was counseled in her domestic affairs by the Almighty and received promises from Him concerning her offspring. "If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham." John viii. 39. Why did it not occur to you that the Savior himself was a lineal descendant from that righteous polygamist Jacob? Then you might have saved yourself from your present ignorant predicament, and peradventure have remembered that the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob was the same yesterday, to-day and forever; that his course is one eternal round; that he changeth not, but that it is foolish men who "change the laws, transgress the ordinances and break the everlasting covenant."

Having made our quotations in all fairness, and having criticized your speech far more daintily than you commented upon the course of President Pierce, after calling your closer and more prayerful attention to your Bible, after again asking you to urge Utah's request for admission into the Union with the same ability with which you have argued the cause of Kansas, after urging upon yourself the strict practice of those portions of your speech which we have quoted and coincided with, we will close with its ending as we began with its beginning, also commending your own exhortation to your careful study, lest peradventure you be again found forgetful, and again make yourself as one of the simple ones in the eyes of the assembled beauty and wisdom of our nation:—

"Mr. President, the Continental Congress of 1787, on resigning the trust, which it had discharged with signal fidelity, into the hands of the authorities elected under the new Constitution, and in taking leave of their constituents,

addressed to the people of the United States this memorable injunction: "Let it never be forgotten that the cause of the United States has always been the cause of human nature." Let us recall that precious monition; let us examine the ways which we have pursued hitherto, under the light thrown upon them by that instruction. We shall find, in doing so, that we have forgotten moral right in the pursuit of material greatness, and we shall cease henceforth from practising upon ourselves the miserable delusion that we can safely extend Empire, when we shall have become reckless of the obligations of Eternal Justice, and faithless to the interests of Universal Freedom."

[Will the New York Weekly Tribune please copy?]

## The Eastern Mail,

Which left Independence May 1st, reached the Weber on the 30th of the same month, and arrived in this city about 4 p.m. of the 4th inst., being over 5 days in crossing a small stream (swimming to a horse for about a rod) and traveling 44 miles. Locomotives and telegraph wires must be abashed at the display of such astonishing energy and speed, and the Ox LINE may now crack its whip with impunity on route No. 8911, for it has beat contractor time, over the same ground and distance, at the rate of 2 days to the contractor's 5.

The mail brought, on the 4th, 21 brass-lock sacks, 1 iron-lock way sack, 1 iron-lock drop-letter bag and 3 bags tied with cords. Much of the mail matter was wet through, and the entire contents of 2 of the corded bags, containing the Patent Office agricultural report for 1854, were in excellent condition for bleaching and throwing into the pulp tub of the paper maker, as wrappers, cloth covers, pasteboard and leaves were soaked and chafed into a useless and nondescript mass. This is more to be regretted, for that report contained much information highly valuable to our agricultural interests.

There are other singular circumstances connected with this mail. The sack containing some letters was not quite half full, and of that unusually small amount, there were only 66 came under brass lock for this city, and about one-third of those had been missent. What makes this small number all the more strange and unaccountable, is the fact that a clerk in the Post Office at Independence told Mr. Leonard I. Smith, just previous to the mail's starting, that within the last three days they had done up between 5 and 10,000 letters for G. S. L. City. Again, as near as we can at present learn, the office at Independence put the through mail matter of May 1st into 12 new brass-lock sacks, and only 10 of that description have arrived. The other two sacks would have held that large number of missing letters, concerning which the clerk informed Mr. Smith at the time of their being mailed. The condition and locality of the large number of letters, THAT SHOULD HAVE ARRIVED, are to us unknown.

Another brass-lock sack, filled with newspapers, was brought in from the Weber on the 7 inst.; whether there are still other sacks on the bottom, banks, or tow-heads of the Weber, is also to us unknown.

The failure of the letter mail has, for the present, thrown confusion over details which we had hoped to be enabled to continue to report, not only for our accommodation and the information of our readers, but also that the Post Office Department might be familiar with actual facts touching mail arrivals on route No. 8911, in addition to the official returns from the Post Office in this place.

We are well assured that the mail, which left Independence on the 1st of May, started with 12 brass-lock sacks and, as already mentioned, it has brought in 22 sacks of that description and 3 corded or book sacks. By reference to No. 10 of the current vol. of the 'News,' it will be found that there were at that time 15 brass-lock and 9 book-sacks still left somewhere on the route, which with the 12 brass-locks last started with make 27 brass-lock and 9 book sacks that this mail should now have delivered, thus leaving at least 5 brass-lock and 6 book sacks somewhere between this city and Independence, since last November. The almost total failure of the letter mail prevents our being any more exact at present, and for aught we know there may be yet at random still more than the 11 sacks above noted.

There is so favorable a prospect that the contractor will be released from further performance (NON-PERFORMANCE?) of his contract, from and after the 18th of August, 1856, that we gladly waive comment upon his memorial to the Postmaster General, and upon his mis-