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THE INDIAN QUESTION.

ONE of our exchanges says that the late winter campaign has been the first sensible Indian fighting done by this nation. This opinion is very generally shared by writers on this question throughout the West. A war that would be sharp, swift and cruel, that had for its object the complete blotting out of the Indians, would find many advocates in the Western States and Territories. It was only the other day that we read of a proposal which was made in Arizona to exterminate the Indians root and branch. Many are of the opinion that such a method of settling the Indian question would be the easiest and cheapest; but the nation would incur odium abroad by the adoption of such a barbarous plan of dealing with the aborigines, and it could not be sanctioned. The whole question is beset with difficulty, and will continue to remain so, as long as the present ideas respecting the Indians prevail.

There was a time in the history of our nation when the red men were supposed to have rights, and there was a disposition manifested to respect them; but that feeling is rapidly disappearing. So long as there was a large extent of country west of the Missouri river, known as the Indian Territory, to which the Indians could be induced to remove when the whites needed their lands and were willing to pay them a nominal price for them, the policy of treating with them prevailed. Of late years, much of this Indian Territory has been occupied by the whites. Many parts of it have been found to be rich in the precious metals, and also well adapted for agricultural purposes, and settlements and cities have been formed and built throughout its vast extent. The Indian really has no territory that he can call his own. There are a few reservations, it is true, but they are coveted; the surrounding whites want them, and the Indian sees very plainly that he cannot retain them very long, and that he is, in fact, already in the way.

The popular view, publicly advocated by influential persons and newspapers, is the old idea that "might makes right." It is now found that we need the entire continent in which to work out our destiny. We are conquerors, and the Indians the conquered. They must accept what we choose to give them, for this whole country, from ocean to ocean, by the law of the strongest, is the property of the white man.

The result is that most of the white men who live in an Indian country have become fully imbued with the idea that an Indian has no more rights than a wolf, and that like that fierce animal, he ought to be shot down at sight. This war of races, with which the West is threatened, can be traced to the prevalence of this most inhuman and murderous idea.

Naturally enough the Indians do not accept the white man's view of the case. Their fathers inhabited this land centuries before he came across the great waters. It was their land. The white man is an intruder. He has no rights which they feel to respect, except those which he has derived from them. Therefore, when they are driven from their lands, their game destroyed, and they, themselves, and their race killed without provocation, the law of self-preservation appeals to them as strongly as it does to those who have white skins. They deem themselves justified in adopting every means of retaliation. Let white men be placed in their position, and how long would they endure the treatment the Indians have received, and not resent it?

There never will be any settlement of this Indian question until a different policy is adopted towards them; unless, indeed, a settlement be obtained, as has been proposed, by exterminating them. They are human beings, and entitled to rights as such. Men by their sophistry

may dodge this, and talk about their acts of cruelty placing them outside the pale of humanity; but the stubborn fact still remains that they have rights, which they, in common with us, have derived from the Creator. No nation has ever prospered which has treated the conquered or aboriginal races within her borders as the Indians are treated.

As a people we have acquired a right to speak authoritatively upon this subject. There is not a community on the continent which has had any longer or more intimate experience with Indians than ours. And we have proved, to our own entire satisfaction at least, that where the whites treat the Indians kindly, they are but seldom troubled with Indian wars. We have had difficulties in our Territory; but, in nearly every instance, they can be traced to the wrong doings of the whites. Frequently our settlements have had to suffer for the misdeeds of strangers outside of our borders or traveling through our Territory.

CO-OPERATION AND HOME MANUFACTURE.

THE people throughout the Territory have engaged in the Co-operative movement with such zeal that fears have been entertained by some that it would be carried too far. Attention has been directed mainly, thus far, to co-operation in the business of merchandise, and those who have had these fears have thought that home manufactures were in danger of being neglected. For ourselves, we have no such fears; co-operation has not been introduced to weaken the home producer or manufacturer, but must ultimately tend to his advantage. True, as in all movements, that involve great changes in the commercial relations of a numerous people, some may suffer for a time; but the injury their trade or manufacture may receive will not be permanent; if their ware is worthy of public patronage. All things have to have a beginning, this co-operative movement amongst the rest, and a great deal of capital is now being thrown into merchandizing—merchandizing being the first branch of business brought into co-operation—that must ultimately flow in the channels of home production. We regard the development of co-operation as one of the great aids, to make the people of Utah independent and self-sustaining. The trade of the Territory, so far as concerns importation, being now directed by one central board, there will be no necessity for glutting our market with unsaleable goods through ignorance; as has been done in times past through one merchant not knowing what any other was likely to purchase. We look for nothing being imported now but what is really needed by the people, and as our facilities for home manufacture increase, we expect that importation in those lines of goods that can be manufactured here will gradually decrease until the scale is turned, and we shall export the very goods we import to-day. This list of home manufactured articles will be ever on the increase, and co-operation will be found to be the mainstay to make home production profitable to the producer and advantageous to the great body of our citizens.

LITERATURE AND ITS INFLUENCE.

IF our children knew no other characters by which to read than those of the Deseret Alphabet, they might labor under some disadvantages; but these would not be wholly unmixed with benefits. They would be deprived of the privilege of reading very many excellent works; but they would also be kept free from the contagion of evil with which much of the popular literature of the day is filled. The whole country is flooded with books and periodicals which can not fail to produce the most pernicious results upon those who peruse them. A walk down Main Street, in this city, and a glance at the illustrated periodicals which are there displayed to tempt the gaze of young and old, must satisfy every properly constituted mind upon this point.

There is a class of books and papers, which find ready sale in the world, the circulation of which can not fail to promote vice, licentiousness and crime. They contaminate and corrupt those who peruse them. Probably the number that is sold in this community is very small when our population is considered. We have been informed that they are bought but very rarely by our citizens. But the question frequently arises, in witnessing the manner in which they are vended, why parade them so openly? Why

display them in the broadest and most open style, to catch the eyes of the young of both sexes and cause them to collect in groups around them? Pictures are attractive, and to none more than to children. When they see them spread before them they are sure to look at them; but what parent who has seen the *Police Gazette*, the *Day's Doings*, the *Last Sensation*, or any of that class of illustrated papers, would be pleased if he knew his children had access to them? He would not have his home contaminated by their presence; he would not let his children visit a neighbor's if he knew he would put such papers in their hands; and why should his care go for naught, or be neutralized, by the exposure of this class of publications on the public street in such a way that his children, in passing, can not fail to see them? If there is a class of so vile and prurient a taste that none but such papers will satisfy them, let them go elsewhere and obtain them. Such society is undesirable here. Decency, good morals and the well-being of society, alike forbid the circulation and displaying of these vile sheets in our midst.

There is another class of papers which is largely patronized in this Territory, that wisdom and a regard for the Kingdom of God would suggest as being altogether unsuitable for Latter-day Saints, and especially their children, to read. Many of them are illustrated also; but they are of an entirely different character to the others of which we speak. The illustrations are modest, and depict prominent incidents and scenes brought out in the story. But it is not to their style or make up that we object; it is to the character of their reading. Constant dropping, it is said, will wear away a stone; the constant repetition of incorrect ideas, especially when told in an attractive manner, will, if listened to, have their effect.

These papers have greater influence than many people imagine. They are noiseless, but they are effective. The influence of the press is not fully understood or recognized by us as a people; many do not understand its power. A book or a paper that contains false ideas and carries a pernicious influence is bought or subscribed for by parents, without the least suspicion, apparently, that it can do harm. They will let their families read these week after week, and never object to their doing so, while at the same time, if visitors were to go to their houses, and convey the same ideas orally, they would be indignant, and consider them very unsuitable associates for their families! Why this difference of feeling? Because men are careless and do not reflect; they know not the influence and power of literature; if they did, an improper book, or paper of any kind, would be expelled from the house as quickly as the authors would be in *propria persona* if they were to go there and talk the stuff they write.

One of the mightiest revolutions of which we have any knowledge has been accomplished in a single generation in the United States by the means of the press. Men who are still young can recollect when anti-slavery writers and lecturers were subjected to the grossest abuse. No longer ago than 1837, Elijah P. Lovejoy, the editor of the *Observer* and an advocate of anti-slavery, was killed by a mob at Alton, Illinois. But though persecuted and mobbed they were determined to persevere. They lectured and wrote and labored with indefatigable industry, despite every obstacle. But, above all, they appreciated the power of the press. They used it largely. Their ideas were disseminated broadcast over the land with unflagging zeal. They sowed the seed diligently, and waited patiently for it to germinate and yield a crop. And they were not disappointed. A new generation arose which was fully imbued with their ideas, and anti-slavery became popular; even politicians, the most fickle, timorous and unreliable class in the world, whose god is popularity, brought offerings to their shrine. The leading advocates of the doctrine of abolition are still alive. They have lived to see their ideas triumphant, and the negro emancipated. Who, after this, can doubt the power of the press when effectively used?

A judicious parent will not suffer his children to read a book or a paper which conveys ideas that he would object to hearing conversed about in their presence. Let each parent, before he buys a book or subscribes for a paper, ask himself whether he wishes the ideas it conveys to prevail in his family, and be the staple of their reading, week after week, so long as the book or subscription remains. If he does, then buy or subscribe for it. If not, have nothing to do with it.

POPULATION—CAPITAL.

THE best capital a State can have is a sturdy, industrious and economical population. In these respects Utah Territory is favored; for her people are of this class. We have had but very little monied capital brought from abroad. That which we possess has been made out of the elements by which we are surrounded. The improvements and created wealth, the produce we have on hand and that which we have furnished for others to consume, the world is that much richer for than it would be if we did not live and had not settled this country. There have been many times since we came to these mountains when it seemed that if we had had more monied capital it would have been a great advantage to us, and we could have accomplished much more in the same space of time than we did. But though our progress in some respects may have been slow, yet it has been sure, and it is no longer questionable that the habits of self-dependence which we, in our struggles with nature, have acquired, are of more value to us now than gold. If we had the gold without these habits, it would soon slip from our grasp, and we would be poor indeed.

Monied capital is rapidly increasing among us. The establishment of the co-operative stores, and other branches of business on the co-operative principle, is proving this. We do not have a class of monied capitalists among us, as is the case in other communities; but there is a large amount of means diffused throughout the Territory and in the hands of the masses of the people—much more than is generally supposed. The remark has been attributed, we believe, to Stephen Girard, that he had found it more difficult to accumulate the first five hundred dollars of his fortune than any portion of the immense amount of wealth he subsequently owned. And we are of the opinion that our experience in this country will be somewhat similar in this respect. If the means that we have already acquired as a community, be wisely invested and judiciously managed, and our habits of industry be maintained, we feel assured that our most difficult times, so far as poverty is concerned, are past. Of course this is necessarily conditional on our continued faithfulness to our God and the principles He has revealed.

Our neighboring States and Territories have had many advantages over us so far as monied capital is concerned. California especially has been flooded with means from abroad. The whole civilized world has invested money, in some shape or other, within her borders. But her thinking men begin to perceive that while money is very useful, and monied men a very desirable class to them, they need something more than these to produce permanent prosperity in the State. They want population. They can no longer afford to shut their eyes to the fact that population is a greater need at present for them than monied capital; for population is capital. It has taken years to prove this fact to them; but they see it clearly now; results have established it. Now California is making exertions to do what Utah has been doing from the beginning of her settlement; that is, to bring in immigrants. It is now recognized there, that a stream of immigration flowing within her borders would be an advantage to California.

Another fact that has been forced home upon California, and which it required actual experience to convince her of, is that gold mines are not the greatest sources of wealth a nation or State can have, and that gold mining is not the best pursuit her citizens can follow. The mining counties of that state are going to decay. The mines have ceased to afford a sufficient revenue for the proper maintenance of county governments; and it is now admitted that their only hope of prosperity in the future lies in a change of system. That change can only be effected, it is said, by encouraging the institution of agriculture, viniculture and horticulture within their limits; for with all their advantages of soil and climate, those counties are struggling in poverty, "with," in the language of one of their local papers, "decay written in flaming characters all over them." It is now felt that the State must look to an immigration of industrious, frugal and persevering men to redeem the mining counties from decay.

What a grand vindication are these statements of the wise policy which has governed the people of Utah. We have had to submit to considerable abuse and ridicule for not encouraging mining in our Territory. The worst of motives have been ascribed to us for the feeling