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ALBERT CARRINGTON, EDITOR.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 2.

COMMENTS

UPON

'The Remarks of Hon. Stephen Arnold Douglas.

DELIVERED IN THE STATE HOUSE AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, ON THE 12TH JUNE, 1857; AND PRINTED IN THE MISSOURI REPUBLICAN OF JUNE 18.

In compliance with a request, Senator Douglas remarked at some length upon the three following 'points':

1st. The present condition and prospects of Kansas.

2nd. The principles affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case.

3rd. The condition of 'things in Utah, and the appropriate remedies for existing evils.'

The Senator's remarks upon his 1st and 2nd points will be passed over very briefly, as the past and present condition of affairs in Kansas are very well understood; and it is not probable that either the pro or anti slavery party will cease wrangling, though ever so wise a policy were pointed out to them.

'The Supreme Court of the United States have decided that under the Constitution, a negro is not and cannot be a citizen.'

The Republican or Abolition party pronounce that decision cruel, inhuman and infamous, and appeal to the American people to disregard and refuse to obey it.

Grant that a negro is not a citizen of the United States, but goods, chattels, or stock in trade, yet we see that not far from 131,000 chattels send a Representative to Congress; how do you reconcile this, Mr. Senator?

If the present rule of apportionment for negroes in slave states is persisted in, Congress, in justice, should arrange that apportionment upon a sliding scale, to fairly keep pace with the whitening process so rapidly going on through amalgamation.

There is an inconsistency in the Representative apportionment that should be remedied, but did Mr. Douglas allude to that inconsistency, or point out a statesmanlike method for obviating it and, by meting out even-handed justice to black as well as white, strive to allay the storm that is so rapidly rising on account of injustice and oppression?

By the Senator's own statement, a very numerous 'political organization' is fast tending to rebellion, if not already fairly in that position. And he did not pitch his voice to its sternest tones and rebuke in his severest manner a course so obviously treasonable, neither did he pour forth counsel like a line of light and truth, the observance of which would prevent the dissolution of a Union which every patriot is bound to sustain.

It is an old saying, that it takes nine tailors to make a man; now, five negroes make three men. How many cabinet-makers it takes to make a wise statesman, we do not know; but of scrub-pettifoggers and picayune-job-lawyers, we never know enough.

In his '3rd point' Mr. Douglas turns fiercely upon Utah, for at present she has hosts of enemies and no Presidential votes, and strenuous-

ly lends his aid to further the oppression of a numerous class of American citizens, and to excite beyond control a frenzied thirst for the blood of the innocent. That course was popular, and since the speaker's peculiar forte in chicanery, trickery, misrepresentations, dodging and shifting is most clearly exhibited in his '3rd point', the quotations therefrom must be more numerous, that the public may know in what manner a United States Senator, upon a foundation of 'rumors and reports', rears a superstructure for the ungodly extermination of fellow citizens.

After finishing the three first periods with a goodly show of fairness and correctness, with the exception of the word 'supposition' in the first sentence and the word 'hope' in the third, which were placed as they are for the purpose of fixing a plausible starting point, he at once, hound like, gave full tongue and joined in the popular hue and cry as follows:—

'If we are permitted to place credence in the rumors and reports from that country, (and it must be admitted that they have increased and strengthened and assumed consistency and plausibility by each succeeding Mail.) seven years experience has disclosed a state of facts entirely different from that which was supposed to exist when Utah was organized.'

Have we not fallen upon evil times, when a would-be-leading politician, once Judge in a Supreme Court and now Senator in Congress, illegally and unconstitutionally accuses, tries, and condemns to destruction a large class of American citizens, and that too upon mere 'rumors and reports', the most if not all of which were gathered from anonymous letters written by persons too dastardly to sign their names to their infamous lies?

The Senator knew, or should have known, something of the character of the authors of those 'rumors and reports'. If he did know their character, then by using their lies as testimony he has fallen to a lower depth than we had supposed him to be so soon prepared for. And if he did not know their character, upon what principle did he assume their 'rumors and reports' for the basis of such a tirade of foul slander aimed at tyrannically depriving us of our inalienable rights?

It is but just to inform the public of the character of the witnesses so unblushingly produced and relied upon by Senator Douglas, that all may understand what miserable shifts politicians will resort to, in their reckless pursuit of notoriety and spoils. The 'rumors' have proceeded from the ignorant, the corrupt, the prejudiced, and the anonymous letter writers. Would the Senator like to risk so much as the chance of only his own life, with such witnesses arrayed against him? Would he not rightly and most strenuously object to their being heard? Then why adduce them in a studied effort to jeopardize the lives of a whole community? The 'reports' have been furnished by disappointed politicians and others who never did know us, but had formed a prejudice against us on account of our religion, and whom the speaker knew, or ought to have known, had been soured and maddened by disappointment in their senseless quest for office, by being thwarted in their corrupt desires and practices, by being reproved for transcending the bounds of well defined duties while leaving those duties unattended to, and, in short, by learning that they had been weighed in a correct balance and found wanting and were in a region where lies, whoredoms, and all other abominations of modern civilization are very unpopular. To specify names and detail proof for those assertions would be an easy, though lengthy, task, hence they will for the present be delivered to the already published, able and ample rebutting testimony of such men as Gen. John Wilson, Capt. Howard Stansbury, Chief Justice Lazarus H. Reed and Chief Justice John F. Kinney, and to that of every honorable, correct observing, and truth speaking man really acquainted with the political, moral, social, and religious manners and customs of the inhabitants of Utah; to which is added a Petition to Franklin Pierce, while President, for the re-appointment of Governor Brigham Young, all the signers to which, except eight, are what you call gentiles, and many of them civil and military officers of the United States.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY FRANKLIN PIERCE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:—

Your petitioners would respectfully represent, that whereas Governor Brigham Young possesses the entire confidence of the people of this Territory, without distinction of party or sect; and from personal acquaintance and social intercourse we find him to be a firm supporter of the Constitution and laws of the United States and a tried pillar of Republican institutions; and, having repeatedly listened to his remarks in private as well as in public assemblies, do know that he is the warm friend and able supporter of Constitutional liberty, the rumors published in the States to the contrary notwithstanding; and having canvassed, to our satisfaction, his doings as Governor and

Superintendent of Indian Affairs and also the disposition of the appropriation for public buildings for the Territory, we do most cordially and cheerfully represent that the same has been expended to the best interest of the nation; and whereas his reappointment would better subserve the Territorial interest than the appointment of any other man, and would meet with the gratitude of the entire inhabitants of the Territory, and his removal would cause the deepest feelings of sorrow and regret; and it being our unqualified opinion, based upon the personal acquaintance which we have formed with Governor Young and from our observation of the results of his influence and administration in this Territory, that he possesses in an eminent degree every qualification necessary for the discharge of his official duties, and unquestioned integrity and ability, and that he is decidedly the most suitable person that can be selected for that office; we, therefore, take great pleasure in recommending him to your favorable consideration and do earnestly request his reappointment as Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for this Territory.

- Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, December 30, 1854. J. F. KINNEY, Ch. Justice U.S. Sup. Court, Utah. E. J. STEPTOE, Lt. Col. U.S. Army. JOHN P. REYNOLDS, Bvt. Maj. 3d Arty. RUFUS INGALLS, Capt. U.S. Army. SYLVESTER MOWRY, Lieutenant U.S. Army. LAURETT L. LIVINGSTON, Lt. 3d U.S. Arty. JNO. G. CHANDLER, Lt. 3d U.S. Arty. ROBT. O. TYLER, Lt. 3d U.S. Arty. BENJ. ALLSTON, Bvt. 2d Lt. 1st Dgs. U.S. Army. CHAS. A. PERRY, Supt. WM. G. RANKIN, Quarter Master's Clerk. HORACE R. WIRTZ, Medical Staff, U.S. Army. LEO. SHAVER, Ass. Just. S.C. of U.S. Ter. of Utah. W. L. APPLEBY, Okl. Sup. and 1st Dist. Ct. U.S.T.U. CURTIS E. BOLTON. A. W. BABBITT, Secretary of Utah Territory. WM. MAC, Merchant. J. M. HOCKADAY, Merchant. GEORGE SIMS, Merchant. HENRY C. BRANCH, Merchant. C. C. BRANHAM, Merchant. C. J. BYRNE, Merchant. LUCIAN L. BEDELL, M.D. CORTLAND LIVINGSTON, Merchant. FELIX TRACY, Jr., Agent Adams & Co. Express. E. SMITH, Post Master, Salt Lake City. JOSEPH HOLLMAN, U.S. Dist. Atty. for Utah. JOSEPH L. HEYWOOD, U.S. Marshal, Utah Ter. JOS. GREENE, Merchant. J. GEO. ZIEGLE, Merchant. LOUIS SCHOLL, Clerk, Kinney, Greene & Co. B. W. GANNON, do do JOHN J. KERRY, do do S. L. WALLACE, do do F. S. KLUMP, do do STEPHEN B. ROSE, Ind. Sub Agent for Utah Ter. JAMES LOAN. W. H. HOOPER, Merchant. GEO. P. STILES, Ass. Just. S.C. U.S. for Utah Ter. T. S. WILLIAMS, Merchant. JOHN NEEDHAM, Merchant. WM. BELL, Merchant. CHARLES G. McLUVE, Govt. Wagon Master.

The parenthetical expression in the quotation last made from Mr. Douglas' remarks is so foolish, but so well designed to deceive the unreflecting, that it may not be amiss to re- quote it:—(and it must be admitted that they' (the 'rumors and reports') 'have increased and strengthened and assumed consistency and plausibility by each succeeding mail.'). It is well known that this generation is singularly prone to making and loving lies, but it is rather novel that a man professing to possess even a small portion of good sense should assert that merely increasing the number of lies strengthens a position founded in falsehood; and that a given number of added lies increases the 'consistency and plausibility' of the first lie. However, the remark in that parenthesis is a fair specimen of the mode of argument invariably brought to bear against the Saints, in which the wicked imagine, perhaps, that they are doing valiant service for the welfare of mankind when they are only selfishly serving their own corrupt designs and those of their master. If those 'rumors and reports' were relied upon, why not have advocated the sending a peaceful Committee of upright and responsible men to enquire into the real facts in the case and report thereon? Would not such a course have been far more pacific, honorable, lawful, and consistent with the fair usage each human being has a right to expect from his fellow? But no, fury, fire, and destruction for the 'Mormons' is the watchword and party cry of our enemies, though they wade through the torments of the damned, in their mad efforts to overturn the correct principles of our Government.

From the word 'organized'; as above quoted, the Senator continued, 'These rumors and reports would seem to justify the belief that the following facts are susceptible of proof.'— Waiving comment upon his singular connection of the words 'seem'; 'belief'; and 'facts', when founded upon 'rumors and reports' from which he has not quoted, neither given names nor dates, what he has termed 'the following facts' will be quoted and considered in the numerical order of the divisions he has given them.

1st. That nine tenths of the inhabitants are aliens by birth, who have refused to become naturalized, or to take the oath of allegiance, or to do any other act recognizing the government of the United States as the paramount authority in that Territory.'

That short sentence contains only four gross and palpable lies, for there are not nine tenths of our population who are aliens, and those who are aliens have not refused to become naturalized, have not refused to take the oath of allegiance, and have not committed nor so much as desired to commit a single act contrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States or to their paramount authority in the broadest fair construction. So much for the

speaker's untruthfulness, or ignorance, whichever he prefers. But it is surely rather curious that a Senator in this boasted asylum for the oppressed from every clime should object to foreigners' settling upon fertile acres which in millions upon millions are inviting the improving hand of industry, or should so soon forget the channel of his own pedigree and the noble deeds enacted upon our soil by foreigners from the days of La Fayette until now. Has the Senator become so contracted and bigoted in his views, as to confine worth and rights to place of birth rather than to true merit? No, that miserable fling at foreigners, who are making homes under our Constitution, must be placed to the credit of an intense desire to win Senatorial and Presidential votes; for his term as Senator shortly expires, his State is rapidly changing from Democracy to Black Republicanism, and the glitter of the White House in Washington is luring him to desperate efforts for the Presidential campaign in 1860. But really how is it about the foreign population in Utah? Without being fully in possession of the statistical information requisite, it is safely within bounds to state that foreigners bear a very much smaller proportion to the number of native born and naturalized citizens in Utah than they do in many, if not all, the principal cities in our Union; and the small proportion that is here have, almost to a man, applied for their naturalization papers. The latest report which our liberal minded administrators of a free form of government have permitted to reach here, places the American portion of the citizens of St. Louis at only a trifle above one fourth part of the whole number. What 'appropriate remedy' will the Senator apply to that 'evil' in St. Louis? Again, the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is and ever has been composed of NATIVE BORN Americans, and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the Presidents of the High Priests' Quorum, the seven First Presidents of the Seventies, and the Presiding Patriarchs are and ever have been, with but one exception, NATIVE BORN Americans. And the Territorial Assemblies and the Territorial offices have invariably been filled, with very few exceptions, with NATIVE BORN Americans. Can that be said of the same number of people in any other part of our country, or even of Congress? Verily no, as should have been well known before making an attack so unwarrantable, and one in a channel so contemptible. And aside from all that, the foreign population in Utah have ever evinced and carried out a desire to become naturalized and take the oath of allegiance, even under a Government where of late so many of its administrators have proven to be on the side of the would-be-stiffers of almost every Republican principle; and they never have so much as offered to do an act which did not recognize 'the government of the United States as the paramount' (civil, for the Constitution grants no religious), 'authority in that Territory'.

2nd. That all the inhabitants, whether native or alien born, known as Mormons, (and they constitute the whole people of the Territory,) are bound by horrid oaths and terrible penalties, to recognize and maintain the authority of Brigham Young, and the government of which he is the head, as paramount to that of the United States, in civil as well as in religious affairs; and that they will, in due time, and under the direction of their leaders, use all the means in their power to subvert the government of the United States, and resist its authority.'

No, Mr. Douglas, it is you and such men as you are who are sapping the foundation of our government and every good institution thereof. Giving ear to 'rumors and reports', concocted by spirits kindred to your own, has caused you to be almost as wide of the truth in your 2nd statement of what you term 'facts' as you was in your 1st. To plainly reply in order, again requires re-quoting; '(and they (the 'Mormons') constitute the whole people of the Territory.)' a remark which is very nearly true. But how happened it that we are nearly all 'Mormons?' Through tyranny, oppression and violence most inhumanly and illegally meted out by professedly civilized and Christianized citizens of our Republic. That treatment successively expelled the Saints from Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, and undertook their destruction by a draft for a battalion of 500 men while they were within the then Indian country. Yielding before the ruthless persecution of their enemies, they sought out and peopled the dreary wastes of this great American desert, which they gained by conquest in connection with their American brethren in the war with Mexico, and where many of them fondly anticipated that they would be left unmolested in the observance of wholesome Con-