

forth. With the defeat of their cherished hope of forcing slavery into the national territories by means of the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise and the Dred Scott decision, the ambitious political leaders of the south saw that the sceptre of their political power had departed, and they became desperate and treasonable.

Unable to defeat the nomination for President, of Mr. Douglas—the champion of popular sovereignty and the acknowledged leader of the northern democracy, by the Charleston convention of 1860—the southern faction with the co-operation of a few northern allies, divided the Democratic party and prepared the way, not only for the success of the opposition at the north, but for the dissolution of the Federal Union.

The conspiracy to destroy the Democratic party and Senator Douglas was successful. The Northern Democracy stood faithfully by its brave and patriotic leader, and most of the Free States stood by the patriotic leader of the Republican party—Abraham Lincoln, and his party triumphed. The event was seized as a pretext for open treason, and was soon followed by the secession of South Carolina, and other slaveholding States, and the opening of civil war in the bombardment of Fort Sumter.

Fresh from the excitement of the great campaign of 1860, the party in power, flushed in with success, and the secession leaders of the South, desperate with disappointment and defeat, were neither in the mood to survey calmly the angry sea of national affairs. The spirit of compromise—the guardian genius of the unity of the nation and its constitution, was for a time discarded or unheeded. Between the secession of South Carolina and the fall of Fort Sumter, a few noble and manly efforts were made in Congress and in the Peace Conference of 1861, to re-enthroned compromise and to stay the swelling tide that was bearing the nation to the yawning abyss of civil war, but they were in vain. The enraged sea rolled not back when Canute gave command, and the Power that rules the sea and the storm, and holds the nations in the hollow of His hand, was too strong for even the efforts of wisdom and patriotism to stay His purposes. For wise purposes which history will reveal, Providence has permitted the American people to be tried in the furnace of affliction, which is now heated for them.

There can be no difference of opinion among men, unbiassed by passion or prejudice, as to where rests the responsibility of beginning this civil war. Whatever may be our opinion of the folly and violence of abolitionists in the North—or pro-slavery men in the South—up to the hour when the national banner came down before the guns of the Confederate States, at Fort Sumter, the Federal Government had been void of offence towards the South in regard to its peculiar institution of slavery. It had fulfilled all its constitutional obligations to them—even if it had not gone beyond them—as in the case of Kansas, in the interest of slaveholders, and in no respect had the South sustained any wrong at the hands of the Northern people, but what could have better been remedied by calm and kind appeals to the intelligence and justice of Northern majorities, under the forms and within the jurisdiction of the Constitution, than by a dissolution of the Federal Union, and an appeal to arms in the ordeal of civil war.

Attacked, as it was, by open and avowed rebellion, the Federal Government—the trustee of the whole nation and the representative of its power and glory before the world—could not but stand upon its defence, and repel force by force. To have admitted withdrawal of the cotton States, the doctrine of secession as a constitutional right of any State—would have been an act of imbecility in the Government, worse than suicide. It would have been a virtual abdication of governmental power, and treason to the American people. The Government could not, without degradation and dishonor, do otherwise than defend itself. This is its true position. The war, so far as the Federal Government is concerned, is a war to defend the national existence and Constitution; not to change the Constitution—not to subvert the Federal system of Government—not to abolish African slavery, nor to interfere with the social and domestic institutions of the people of any of the States or Territories—not to subvert the sovereignty of States and hold them as conquered provinces—not to wantonly devastate and destroy. The Government must discharge its high and holy duty to the American people of maintaining the government given them by their fathers, by compelling rebellion (by the strong power it has madly invoked) to lay down its arms, and yield to reason and the authority of the nation's fundamental law. This be assured, men of Utah, is the high purpose which guides the policy and measures of the Federal Administration, and nerves the hands and hearts of the men who follow the banner of the Union. The Government is fully awake to its mighty responsibility, and it will manfully meet it in the fear of God and in confidence of His aid. Men of Utah, are you ready to assist?

The war, thus developed by even's from the causes which I have stated, has in fact begun. It is no mean contest. The rebellion or revolution, by whatever name men see fit to call it, is one of giant proportions. It is backed by the power of ten millions of people, whom their leaders represent to be of one mind to carry it forward to success. On the other hand, the rebellion is met in the spirit of an earnest and determined patriotism by over twenty millions of free people, intelligent,

brave, rich in material resources and power of war, strong in moral power, and resolved as with one will, in the strength of God and their own power, that the Federal Union, the national life—the issue of a struggle in which heroic hearts shed their blood like water—must and shall be preserved. Men of Utah, do you like this resolution? If need be three millions of stalwart men stand ready, upon Northern soil, to assume arms and to conquer or die in defence of a government whose existence, up to the hour when lawless ambition struck at its life, was the glory and the hope of the civilized nations of the earth. Men of Utah! are you ready to join that host?

A treasonable attempt has been made by parricidal hands to destroy a government based in clear acknowledgment of the universal rights and intelligent capacity of man for self government—a government which, while it holds in itself the material and moral power of a puissant nation to build up or to destroy, to attack or defend, has yet even in its operations and influences upon its people, been as gentle and beneficent as the genial rays of the sun or the dews that distil from evening air upon the earth on which they fall.

The great question now before the American people and the world is, shall this great and beneficent government, whose name and flag have been a shield to its people all over the earth, and a hope to the oppressed of all nations, be now destroyed by the hands of its own sons? Shall it go down amid the horrors and desolation of civil war, leaving only the blackness of ashes to mark where it stood; or shall it emerge and rise in renewed strength and beauty from the clouds and darkness that rest upon it? Shall it, or not, as the Holy Word describes the Christian Church, once more come up out of the wilderness, fair as the sun, clear as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners. Men of Utah! what answer will you make? Why need I ask you where you stand on this great question? Here, in this peaceful valley, which you, by wonderful perseverance and industry, have reclaimed from a state of nature, and made its sterile plains blossom as the rose, as few people on earth could, and for which you are entitled to the thanks of the nation—here, far removed from the scenes of conflict, where your brethren and fellow citizens are ruthlessly shedding each other's blood, you can not but look with deep, earnest interest upon the struggle and its final result. United, as you are, in the bonds of a peculiar faith and social life, which has, in a measure, separated you, as a peculiar people, from your American brethren, you are yet bound to them by the ties of kindred, language and country, and the recognition and worship of the same Divine Father and Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. You are a people of the United States, and I was rejoiced to hear how you stand affected toward the Federal Government—the Union and the Constitution. In the city of Washington, a few weeks ago, it was my pleasure to read the first dispatch of the President of the Mormon Church, the sentiment of which was correct, and also about the same time to read another from the then Acting Governor—the Hon. Frank Fuller, which signified the loyal faith of this people to the great Federal Government. This important message, on the lightning's wings, was but a confirmation of previous utterances of Ex-Governor Brigham Young, expressive of his high appreciation of the Constitution of the United States. He had before said:

"I want to say to every man, the Constitution of the United States, as framed by our fathers, was revealed—was put into their hearts by the Almighty, who sits enthroned in the midst of the heavens; although unknown to them, it was dictated by the revelations of Jesus Christ, and I tell you, in the name of Jesus Christ, it is as good as I could ever ask for. I say unto you, magnify the laws. There is no law in the United States, or in the Constitution, but I am ready to make it honorable."

It confirmed also the words another of your eminent men, General D. H. Wells, when, in speaking of the sentiments of the Mormon people towards the United States, he said:

"That country—that Constitution—those institutions were all ours; they are still ours. Our fathers were heroes of the Revolution. Under the mast spirits of an Adams, a Jefferson, a Washington, they declared and maintained their independence; and under the guidance of the Spirit of Truth they fulfilled their mission, whereunto they were sent from the presence of the Father."

And again, he said in your behalf:

"Never! no, never, will we desert our country's cause; never will we be found arrayed on the side of her enemies, although she herself may cherish them in her bosom; although she may launch forth the thunderbolts of war, which may return and spend their fury upon her own head. Never! no, never, will we permit the weakness of human nature to triumph over our love of country, our devotion to her institutions, handed down to us by our honored sirs, and made dear by a thousand tender recollections."

And now that the country is still the same—the Constitution the same—the institutions the same—all ours, and a state of war exists—will you not be found arrayed on the side of that Constitution—that Union—that Government "revealed and put into the hearts of our fathers by the Almighty?"

Believing that such noble sentiments of patriotism animated the breasts of the people of Utah—undertaking the long and tedious journey which has brought me here to your iso-

lated home among the mountains of Deseret, trusting that I should find here the same faith, and hope, and love for the Federal Union, its Constitution, and its laws, as animate the hearts and nerve the arms of my own people of Indiana, nearly forty thousand of whose youth are already scattered from Missouri to the Atlantic coast, under arms for the nation's defence; and that noble State is prepared to triple, on the field of battle, the number of her sons, when the nation's need calls for them.

If wisdom and true patriotism, and the spirit of enlightened Christian humanity, continue to guard the policy of the Federal government in the conduct of the war, as there is no doubt they will do, there can be no question of its final result. Temporary reverses to the Federal arms, afford no criterion of the ultimate victory; that must be with the strongest arm, sustained as it is by the right. Weary of a contest, however, as it is disastrous, the people of the South, seeing by the course of the Federal Government that it has no design in the war to do aught but maintain the rightful authority and dignity of the Constitution, and learning that they have been wickedly misled by designing men, will ultimately, and ere long, lay down their arms and be content, nay, glad, to take their old places in the Union, co-equal sharers in all the rights and powers incident to it.

I have deemed it due to the occasion thus to dwell somewhat at length upon national affairs, and have endeavored to deal with them in a patriotic and candid spirit, so that they might be seen as they are, and there be no misunderstanding between us in regard to them.

That the true interest of the people of Utah is with the Federal Union on no rational man can doubt; and let no man urge a different course, for such will be a dangerous one.

The boundaries of your Territory place it within territory consecrated by the laws of nature to free labor; its isolated position calls for the protection of a powerful government, and for its aid in the development of its material resources. Surrounded as it is by organized Territories of the United States, soon to develop to the proportions and power of free States of the Union, Utah has a common interest and common destiny with them. Isolated it is weak, and this let no men controvert; united in the bonds of the Federal Union it shares its powers, its prosperity, its glory and its ultimate destiny. Let this sink deep into the hearts of all true men of Utah.

In reference to my own policy as the executive authority of this Territory, I have only to say that I am here faithfully and honestly and fearlessly to discharge my duty under the laws and Constitution of the United States and the laws of the Territory of Utah consistent with them. In the language of your distinguished citizen Brigham Young, "I say unto you I will magnify the laws; there is no law of the United States, or in the Constitution but I am ready to make honorable," and to this end I shall, as is my right, ask and confidently expect the cordial co-operation of the Legislature and people of Utah, as they will find in me a cordial co-worker in all that concerns their peace and substantial good.

Keeping in view the loyalty of this people, I refer you to the act of Congress, entitled "An Act to provide increased revenue from imports, to pay interest on the public debt, and for other purposes: Approved, Aug. 5, 1861, by which the sum of \$26,982 is levied on this Territory to be collected annually either through officers of your own appointment, or by such as the law itself provides, of a Federal character. Let this law be made honorable; let it be magnified at the earliest possible period by legislative action and thus put yourselves before the world vindicated of the charge of disloyalty, which I regret to say has obtained some credence in portions of the United States.

The establishment of the Overland Daily Mail from the Missouri river to the Pacific Ocean, being one of the great enterprises ever undertaken on this continent, and of vast importance and advantage to this Territory, and the company having manifested astonishing and commendable ability and energy in the transportation of the mail since it has had possession of the route, I deem it entitled to the utmost confidence of the public and of the Government of the United States. And passing as it does for so many hundred miles through the Indian country, the security of the mail and the safety of the passengers and employees of the company, aside from the safety of the great tide of immigration and travel pushing westward, demand the protection of the Government of the United States; and, to this end, I recommend that you memorialize Congress on the subject, asking appropriations of money to improve the roads and build bridges at places on that line and in your Territory, such as seem indispensable. Also the appointment of agents at convenient distances along the line, to meet and confer with the Indians and supply their wants, as well as the occupation of commanding points, by a small yet efficient military force, passing frequently along the line, keeping good order and peace, and giving safety to mail and travelers against savage and civilized marauders. My recent travel over the line from the Missouri river to this city, satisfies me of the necessity of such action on the part of Congress.

In connection with this, is the location and construction of a railway to connect the roads constructed westward to the Missouri river, with the road built eastward in California. Trade and business between the eastern and

western sections of the United States appear to have selected by the stage and telegraph routes, the most convenient route for this great artery of commerce and bond of union strength, which, as it passes nearly the entire length through the Territories of the United States, may, without a question as to the Constitutional power of Congress, be located and constructed by the authority of Congress and with the funds of the United States. The character of the country is such for the greater part of the distance, that it is too much to expect that it can be constructed by private capital; and, as it must become a national road, it is right that it should be made by the nation. On this subject I also recommend you to memorialize Congress.

The extinguishment of the Indian title to such portions of the Territory as may be desirable for agriculture, appears to be equally demanded by the condition of the Indians and the progress of settlement. The survey of the public lands and the establishment of land offices, the appointment of proper officers, and the sale of the lands, will enable the settlers to procure title to the lands occupied and improved by them; which seems to me to be necessary for their security and prosperity.

Free grants of land having been made by the General Government to the first settlers of some other Territories, and the propriety of such a course having, in most instances, been proved, I deem it eminently proper and wise for Congress to grant the same privileges and bounties to the settlers of this Territory; and to effect this, I urge you to make early application to Congress.

The acts of Congress organizing the Territories of Colorado and Nevada, having disarranged the boundaries of some of the judicial districts of the Territory, as also the limits of some of the counties of the Territory, I bring the subject to your notice that it may receive your action with as little delay as possible.

The stability of a Constitution, and hence of a government, depends more on public opinion than on its structure; and the principles of a people will prevail regardless of Constitution or laws. Hence, to have a good Constitution respected, and the government revered by the governed, the people must be enlightened and free, and vigilant in their duties. That mind which is enslaved is not a free agent; nor can it enjoy freedom. When the will is a vassal, nothing is more degrading. A mind, not its own, can not be free—it is a slave and in chains, though so well gilded as not to be self-seen. And it is in such a state of society that encroachments on private rights are common, and permanent mischief hourly deplored.

Without education and intelligence general and diffuse, the best constitution and government, and laws the most wise, can never, in a democratic government, have permanent claims to longevity, nor the people, peace, tranquility or justice.

In a good government, where wisdom and intelligence bear sway, the laws have a moral force far beyond the fears which their penalties awake; for, in such a condition of things, as the laws support all, so all support the laws; and every infraction thereof is a thrust at the peace and security of every citizen.

With these remarks, I commend to you the subject of education, which, I sincerely hope, will be fostered by you, and the children of the Territory thereby educated in the habits and principles of freemen. I have more especial reference to common schools, which are to educate the masses, because the situation of your Territory is such that, at present, colleges can not be sustained. Such schools are indispensable to the great happiness and glory of the Territory. Every child in the Territory should be educated, because they are the children of the Territory and the subject of its guardian care.

The condition of the Territorial Penitentiary not having been reported to me, I can convey no information to you concerning that institution.

The financial condition of the Territory has been reported to me by the Auditor and Treasurer of the Territory, respectively; and I herewith submit their reports, as accompanying documents for your consideration.

Having now presented you with the substance of my message, I deem it proper to conjure you, as I would all other American citizens, to remember that, if ever there was an hour which, more than another, called for loud and earnest enunciations of true American principles, inspired by the memory of the past and the greatest hopes of the future, the unity and peace, of the Union of the States, that hour is NOW. Let us, therefore, be all encouraged by the patriot's hope, that peace may again return. Let us be true to God, true to ourselves, and true to our country and mankind, and all will be well.

JOHN W. DAWSON.

Great Salt Lake City, U. T.,  
Dec. 10th, 1861.

NOAH A SCIENTIFIC SHIPBUILDER.—A scientific periodical states that fifty years ago, and at least half that period of practical knowledge, has elicited, for the best propositions for steam-vessels, the following result: Length of keel, 1; breadth of beam, 1-6; depth of vessel, 1-10. The dimensions of Noah's ark were: length, 800 cubits, say 1; breadth, 50 cubits, say 1-6; height, 80 cubits, say 1-10. The proportions are identical. Here's a nut for those who never tire of talking of the progress made in the science of shipbuilding.