

made by a portion of the Mormon battalion of Col. Cooke after their discharge from service. The first mint for coining that treasure into a circulating currency was erected in Utah for the convenience of her people, and that coinage is now sought for as a curiosity by persons from all portions of the globe. The first American emigrants who entered the harbor of Yerba-Buena, now San Francisco, came on the Mormon ship *Brooklyn*, bringing with them a printing press and library, thus founding the literature of the State, and introducing many improvements in the building of mills and other important enterprises. The first brick ever burnt in California were the work of a Mormon.

And now, sir, having recounted some of the difficulties under which the Territory of Utah was settled it becomes my pleasing duty to epitomize the chief features of its present condition. I could refer you to numerous narratives of disinterested travelers—to the works of Burton, of Bowles, of Greeley, of Richardson, of Hepworth Dixon—for full details; but shall content myself in view of my limited time, with a brief recapitulation. The stranger visiting Utah to-day will find not only a railway reaching to within fifty miles of its chief city, but good wagon-roads, many of them constructed with great labor, extending in all directions, and lines of magnetic telegraph aggregating over five hundred miles in length, and the work entirely of Mormon industry and capital. He will see over one thousand miles of canals, bringing the mountain streams into contact with the fields which it is their mission to fertilize, and can then better understand how it is that a population superior in numbers to that of some of the States is supported in comfort, including one hundred villages and thirty incorporate cities. Inquiry will instruct him that not only is the Territory free from debt, but that the local, county, and other scrip is so limited in amount and so promptly paid as to be on a par in value with the legal-tender currency of the United States. If a foreigner—a native, perchance, of any of those European countries from the humblest classes of which a large percentage of the citizens of Utah has been drawn—he will be amazed to know that seventy-five per cent. of the families of the Territory are sheltered by their own roofs and owners of the homes which they have created, and which year by year increase the comforts which reward their industry and their frugality. He will see more than this, a population comprising one hundred thousand souls, and not one adult of either sex among them who is not able to read and write his native language intelligibly.

To-day the material improvements of Utah exceed those of any other Territory in the Union. She has one hundred and fifty grist and saw mills, three cotton and four woolen factories, and twenty five tanneries, with numerous manufactories of shoes, hats, wagons, furniture, nails, and kindred branches of the mechanic arts. A hundred and twenty school houses supply her eighteen thousand children with the opportunity for elementary instruction, and a hundred churches furnish the people with the means of congregational worship. Her vineyards and orchards are already providing fruit in abundance and of superior excellence; her fields produce the needful grains and roots, and even indigo and madder for domestic use. Her woolen mills draw their supplies from the flocks which whiten her hill sides, and her cotton mills owe their existence to the fields of cotton whose bursting bolls mimic the snows that glitter on the neighboring hills. The silk-worm is spinning for her people its shining thread. In the cities enterprise and skill have emulated the architectural achievements of older communities; cottages embowered in vines, fine dwellings and offices, spacious warehouses and elegant theatres, attest the intelligence and taste of the people. The foundations of the great temple now being erected in Salt Lake City may well excite surprise and admiration. In the tabernacle, capable of seating ten thousand souls, there is now being constructed by her own artisans, and almost entirely of domestic materials, the largest organ in America. These, sir, are some of the material evidences that go to refute all that has been uttered against Mormon thrift and intelligence.

But, sir, the argument already becomes stale, for it is now patent to the world that the people of Utah are among the most thrifty of those which compose our common country. This crusade is directed against the Mormons as a sect. But what has become

of the boasted tolerance of the age, and especially of the United States, which concedes to each individual and each congregation the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. It is said by some that the Mormons are fanatics, and by others that they are hypocrites. Even the Archangel Michael, when he strove with Satan, durst not bring against him a railing accusation; and the highest Christian authority has said, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." Of the sincerity of the Mormons it would seem that there could be no ground for doubt. Their unparalleled sufferings and surrender on various occasions of their sole possessions and even life itself rather than forsake their faith should close the lips of their slanderers in shame at such a charge. Well do I recollect, long before I cast my lot with the humble members of that church, an incident which deeply impressed me with the sincere faith of the people. My business led me to the levee of Nauvoo at the time of their expulsion; and when they were preparing for their departure they disposed of their clothing and their valuables to complete and decorate and furnish that magnificent temple to the living God which they believed themselves commissioned from on high to erect and consecrate. Not for themselves did they linger in that beleaguered city, nor with any hope of permanent resistance to the destroying mob, but because they were inspired by an enthusiastic sense of duty and a holy zeal more powerful than human impulse to complete the task assigned them by an invisible power, and to crown with order and symmetry the marvelous edifice.

And, sir, dark in contrast with this unselfish devotion to duty rises up before me the picture of the vandal violence that drove them from the sacred walls just as their work was finished, and applied the incendiary torch to destroy the splendid structure. Nor, sir, would it be strange if a people so blessed amid persecution—so often protected from destruction and preserved amid dangers that threatened inevitable ruin—should become so intensified in their faith as to present to the irreligious an appearance of fanaticism. An extract from Gunnison happily illustrates one of these occasions. He says:

"During the following year, every month was so mild that they plowed and sowed in each; but though the winter was auspicious and all things so favorable, they were so reduced in provisions as to eat the hides of the slaughtered animals and eagerly searched them out of the ditches and tore them from the roofs of the houses to boil them for the table, and they dug side by side with the miserable Utes for the wild roots used by them for food. But the most formidable animal they had to contend with, as the crops were nearing maturity, was the army of black, ungainly crickets—a frightful bug," as a Liverpool sojourner called it when he first saw one, which, descending from the mountain sides, destroyed every green herb in their way. In vain did the sorrowful farmers surround their fields with trenches and fill them with water; the black host, leaping in, floated over and with wonderful instinct kept on their course of march, and, mounting up the wheat stalk, would cut it off at the curve, which was bent by the weight of the fruit more precious than golden seeds. Whole families might be seen standing guard with branches and boards in their hands, uttering loud shouts and endeavoring to turn back and beat off the invaders. In some instances they succeeded in changing the direction of the march along the streams, and destroyed many in the waters; but it was only a partial relief on a few points of attack.

"But better defenders soon came to their aid. These were the most beautiful birds of the valley, the glossy white gulls, with bright red beaks and feet, dove-like in form and motion, with plumage of downy texture and softness. After the first molting of the crickets they came in flocks to feast on the banquet which was so bountifully spread for their reception. In early dawn they rise from the nesting islands of the great lake, and gliding through the air, gracefully alight on the smooth and gentle slopes at the last of the terraces at the mountain's base and feast the live long day."

The same year to which I have before alluded, and soon after the expulsion of the Mormons from Nauvoo, while they were prosecuting their slow journey across the wilderness of Iowa, there occurred vast flights of quails in the same direction, lasting many weeks. These pilgrims have informed me that large quantities of these quails were slain, and furnished the famishing pilgrims with ample supplies of food, reminding them vividly of the provision made for the Israelites in the desert, and impressing them deeply with a conviction of miraculous protection. It would not be strange, sir, I repeat, if a people possessing such remarkable traditions and

experiencing such unexampled preservation shall have become filled with a conscientious zeal, akin to the divine fervor of the early disciples of Christianity.\*

\*"I have spoken to you of a people whose industry had made them rich and gathered around them all the comforts and not a few of the luxuries of refined life; expelled by lawless force into the wilderness, seeking an untried home far away from the scenes which their previous life had endeared to them; moving onward, destitute, hunger-sickened, and sinking with disease; bearing along with them their wives and children, the aged and the poor and the decrepit; renewing daily on their march the offices of devotion, the ties of family and friendship, and charity; sharing necessities and braving dangers together, cheerful in the midst of want and trial, and persevering until they triumphed. I have told or tried to tell you of men who, when menaced by famine and in the midst of pestilence, with every energy taxed by the urgency of the hour, were building roads and bridges, laying out villages, and planting corn fields for the stranger who might come after them, their kinsman only by a common humanity, and peradventure, a common suffering—of men who have renewed their prosperity in the homes they have found in the desert, and who in their new-built city, walled round by mountains like a fortress, are extending pious hospitalities to the destitute emigrant from our frontier lines—of men who, far removed from the restraints of law, obeyed it from choice, or found in the recesses of their religion something not inconsistent with human laws, but far more controlling; and who are now soliciting from the Government of the United States, not indemnity, for the appeal would be hopeless, and they know it; not protection, for they have no need of it; but that identity of political institutions and that community of laws with the rest of us, which was confessedly their birthright when they you were driven beyond our border.

"I said I would give the opinion I formed of the Mormons; you may deduce it for yourselves from these facts. But I will add that I have not yet heard the single charge against them as a community, against their habitual purity of life, their integrity of dealing, their toleration of religious differences in opinion, their regard for the laws, or their devotion to the constitutional Government under which we live, that I do not, from my own observation or the testimony of others, know to be unfounded."—*Extract from Col. Kane's Address.*

But, sir, the charge of fanaticism is as groundless as any of the others which have been hurled recklessly against the Mormons. If they are firm in their own religious faith, it is because they believe it to be inspired of God; and if not so inspired, they desire to be convinced of the error of their doctrine. They invite contact with general society, and a practical comparison of institutions. If mistaken in their creed they desire the opportunity of conversion. It is not the Mormons, sir, who evade the test, if it can only be made without the hardships of persecution. They have welcomed every advance that reunites them to society; and the construction of the great railroad that brings them face to face with the other civilizations and religions of the Old and New Worlds has been looked forward to with intense longing, and its completion hailed with undisguised joy. And it is at this very moment, when the test of contact is on the very eve of application, that the advocates of this bill, assuming themselves to be the champions of Christianity and Republicanism, shrink like timid children from the encounter and seek to intrench themselves behind the flimsy ramparts of political boundaries which they hope to erect for their defence.

Abandoning all appeal to the cowardly, who are seldom generous, I turn to the courageous, who are strong in the conviction of their own moral power, and tell them that if Mormonism is a fatal heresy they owe it to its own deluded disciples to neglect none of the legitimate means of argument and practice for their conversion. If Mormonism is an error there is no community on the face of the globe and no class of people so vitally interested in its reputation as the majority of the people of Utah, who are its victims. Rather than curtail the proportions of the Territory and cut off its settlements from contact with the railroad you should seek to enlarge its area, encourage its population by all classes of good citizens, giving the amplest protection of law by substituting for its present organization a more ample, complete, and sovereign form of government, leaving the issue with God and the inevitable forces of nature. We expect the hostility of all the non-producing classes who seek to subsist on vices which we do not practice. It is natural that those who stand agape for Government plunder should foment trouble and seek to embroil us with the

Parent Government for the sake of the money they may make from contracts; but with a calm and just and intelligent spirit on the part of the people and their representatives we are content to take all the risks of any contest in which we shall receive a guarantee of fair play.

But, sir, the confessed object of this bill is to entirely destroy the Territory of Utah and place its people, so far as possible, in the power of the hostile class that I believe are inspiring this action. It is admitted that if this bill shall pass the next movement will be to utterly abolish the Territorial government. Once before has the State of Nevada—the foundation of which was laid at the base of the Sierra Nevadas by Mormon immigrants—taken a degree of Territory from Utah with its people; now she seeks another, bringing her boundaries to the very threshold of its capital and within sight of its inhabitants; and the next step, as openly avowed, is to be final and absorb all the remainder. Thus the original object of the Territorial organization, which was to give self-government to a homogeneous people and afford them the fullest guarantees of law, will be utterly destroyed. This, too, at a time when the good feeling prevailing among the people of Utah toward the rest of the country is so manifest to all eyes and so pleasing to all patriots and lovers of peace. Much of this good feeling, I am deeply gratified to state, is due to the recent impartial legislation and the kindness and courtesy which has uniformly been extended by this House to the Delegate to whom they have confided their interests on this floor. Is it possible that this policy is to be deliberately reversed and this budding confidence to be blasted by such an act of official injustice before it has an opportunity to blossom and bear fruit? Never will I credit an anomaly so foreign to the character of the American people, so hostile to the spirit of the age, so monstrous in its design, and so mischievous in its consequences, till I hear the vote counted and the result announced.

But, sir, let us for a moment contemplate the other alternative, and inquire what would eventuate from the success of this measure, supposing such a success within the limits of possibility. Let us admit for a moment that this bill can become a law and the accumulated strength of its advocates be so increased as to enable them to complete their plans and sacrifice the small remnant left of the present territorial government. Let us imagine the people of Utah divided among States and Territories whose seats of government are remote and whose populations are measurably controlled by the adventurers who seek aggrandisement in rapid enterprises rather than by the slow and laborious process of productive labor. Let us follow the machinations of these men till they have succeeded in securing so much of official control as will enable them to exasperate the temper of the Mormons by technical abuses so easy to practice, and till they have inspired the distant State authorities, already deeply imbued with prejudices, with a belief that these people are disloyal in spirit and criminal in act. Let us suppose the collisions which a temper like that which urges this bill will be sure to invite to actually take place, and the citizens to have been exasperated beyond the limits of forbearance, affording a pretext for such measures of force, both official and private, as shall render their peaceful residence in Utah impossible; imagine, if you will, the valleys of Utah again depopulated, and tell me where you are to find the immigrants, who uninspired by a peculiar religious faith and not bound together and controlled by a potential motive, will abandon the fertile prairies of the Missouri valley to cultivate those remote alkali lands, which can be made productive only by a costly and elaborate system of irrigation, and forsake the sunny climate of more favored regions for a land where the seasons are in fierce and perpetual conflict and the constant care and labor of man is needful to give the summer a hard-won triumph.

The Mormons, unlike the inhabitants of all the neighboring Territories and States are an agricultural and manufacturing people; and it is for this reason that they have been able to subsist in Utah. Drive them away, sir, and a temporary succession of mining adventurers may occupy their place for a short time and in small numbers until starved into abandonment; but the region, with small exceptions, will again lapse into sterility and become the undisputed domain of wild animals and birds. Already the tide of general