

ACROSS THE CONTINENT:

A SUMMER'S JOURNEY

TO THE

ROCKY MOUNTAINS, THE MORMONS,
AND THE PACIFIC STATES,

WITH SPEAKER COLFAX.



By SAMUEL BOWLES,

EDITOR OF THE SPRINGFIELD (MASS.) REPUBLICAN.

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INTRODUCTORY LETTER

TO THE

HON. SCHUYLER COLFAX,

Speaker of the United States House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. COLFAX:—

It was so pleasant and so profitable to travel with you during the summer,—your amiability and your popularity so readily unlocked all mysteries, and made all paths so straight; even Nature gave kinder welcome to your progress than her wont; that I would fain go along with you still farther, and ensure by your presence summer skies for this story of our observations, this record of our experiences. Besides, the book is more yours than mine. Your friendship gave me the opportunity for the travel; your favoring thought first suggested to me the then strange idea that the Letters should be put together into a volume; and your wide and close observation and your quick insight helped me to much of the material and the statistic. So I may rightly claim the favor of your name, and the charm of your company, in this new and unexpected trip into author-land.

You know how strange it seemed to us that our party were almost the first who had ever traveled Across the Continent simply to see the country, to study its resources, to learn its people and their wants, and to acquit ourselves more intelligently, thereby, each in our duties to the public,—you in the Government, and we as jour-

nalists. How strange, too, the idea was to the people along our route. They could not well believe that we did not come on a selfish mission of some sort; some secret governmental service; to see how they could best be taxed; to locate the Pacific Railroad; to make a bargain with the Mormons; to regulate the politics of the distant States,—at least to speculate in mines, and buy corner lots. When the fact was realized, while the many felt gratified and flattered, and showed such feeling in a hospitality that had no measure, there were some, you remember, who could not repress the genuine American contempt for whatever is not tangible and real and money-making; and I am afraid we passed in not a few minds for what, in mining vernacular, are known as “bummers.”

So I could hardly realize, until I examined the subject, that there was in our literature no connected and complete account of this great Western Half of our Continent. People had visited it in plenty; its whole population, indeed, is drawn from the East; scholars are abundant on the Pacific Coast,—indeed, it is claimed as fact that San Francisco and vicinity hold more college graduates, in proportion to population, than any other city in the country; but they have gone with other objects than to see, to study, and to describe; they are dealing with materialities, and, as a rule, have taken little time to look about them, and observe the fantastic fashions of Nature, to worship the majestic beauty, to comprehend the varied resources of an Empire, that belong to their new Home. Starr King had written home of a few single features in California scenery; Dr. Bellows came back penetrated with wide and deep sense of the marvels he had seen, but the public only got glowing address and magazine article or two from him in detail; Fitzhugh Ludlow created wider interest by his brilliant but few and disconnected papers in the “Atlantic Monthly,” on special themes in the journey; and the pencil of his artist-companion, Bierstadt, has caught the glow and the inspiration and the majesty of some chief natural wonders in these distant regions, and spread them on immortal canvass, to excite a world’s wonder and whet a world’s curiosity. But only enough had

been written, only enough was known of the Nature, of the material resources, of the social and industrial development of these vast Plains and Mountains between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean, to make market for more. So we have open field for our story, and hungry, market for our harvest. So my Letters are rescued from the destined oblivion of daily journalism to figure in covers.

You will see that they bear substantially their original shape. Here and there is an addition; here and there, an irrelevant paragraph is excised; but they serve better to convey true ideas of the country we passed through, in preserving the freshness of the original composition. They are not a Diary of a personal journey; nor a Guide-Book; nor a Hand-Book of statistics; but they aim to give, with compactness and comprehensiveness, the distinctive experiences of the Overland Journey; to describe, as vividly as I may, the various original scenery that the route and the country offer; to portray the social and material developments of the several States and Territories we visited,—their present and their future, their realization and their capacity; and to develop to the people of the East and to the Government their share in the interests and hopes of the West,—what duties they had to perform, what benefits they might hope to reap. It was a large field to cover with the travel and the study of a single summer; to see, collate and digest the materials of half a Continent; but never did travelers find more generous facilities than we; and to opportunity, such as was never granted to others, we certainly brought intelligent interest and enthusiasm, and the trained eyes and ears and the educated instincts of journalism. We certainly brought, too, independence and integrity to our observation; and in all essential affairs, our conclusions were singularly coincident.

So we have assumed the responsibility and earned the duty of Truth-speaking. And on those great, pressing public themes of the Pacific Railroad, the Mormons, and the Mines, I would have you bespeak for my revelations and discussions the attentive ear of the

eastern public. Neither Government nor people seem half alive to the pressing importance of either. The Railroad is, indeed, the great work of the day; the great want, the great revealer, the great creator of this Empire of ours west of the Mississippi. It is cheering to find that, since we went over the Plains, labor upon the eastern end of this Road has had a new impetus; to learn that new elements of capital and enterprise have become engaged; and that on both the two main branches, from Kansas City and from Omaha, the Road is worked for sixty miles west of the Missouri, and by spring will be opened for one hundred. But I find no proper conception in the East of the progress which should and may be attained in the work. A hundred miles a season seems to be regarded as great achievement; whereas the company, that takes more than two years to cross the Plains and reach the Rocky Mountains, is unworthy its charter, recreant to its generous trusts. There is no vanity in demanding the completion of the entire line in five years; what is being done on the Sierra Nevadas proves this; there is only wanton waste of wealth, only stubborn disregard and neglect of great national responsibilities in being longer about it.

With regard to the Mormons, too, we all saw that the time had come for a new departure, for a new policy by the Government. The conflict of sects and civilization, growing up there in Utah, will soon solve the polygamous problem,—rightly and without bloodshed,—if the Government will make itself felt in it with a wise guardianship, a tender nursing, a firm principle. You will see I give a supplementary chapter to this subject, to let the Mormon leaders strip off for themselves the thin disguise of loyalty and disposition to succumb, which they wore during our visit.

I rely on you, also, to enforce my cautions on the subject of Mining. That great interest is in danger of real injury from feverish speculation, and false and unwise investments. Of the wealth of the regions we visited, in gold and silver ore, no adequate conception can be formed or expressed; the mind stands amazed before its revelations; but it does not lie around loose on the sur-

face of the ground, and is not to be exploited in brokers' offices in Wall street and "The City." Patient and intelligent labor, in fields well-chosen for their nearness to markets and to supplies, with capital and skill and integrity, are the inevitable laws of great success in mining. The first need of our mining regions is the Pacific Railroad, to equalize prices and enforce morals and system in the business; the second is improved processes for working the ore. These gained, and no interest is likely to make more valuable returns for well-invested capital and labor. A Mining Bureau in connection with the Government is a desideratum, always provided its head shall be a man of special intelligence and divine integrity. A charlatan and a rascal, or one prone to become the victim of such, would make such an institution a curse to both country and Government.

New and valuable mineral discoveries are rapidly being made in all our Pacific States; the season has been one of industrious and successful prospecting; and we are apparently on the eve of a new mining excitement which shall, this time, take in not only the Pacific but the Atlantic as well, and sweep over the seas to Europe. Rightly directed and restrained, this will prove great impetus to our growth, great source to our wealth; but it is a whirlwind, after all, that leaves many a wreck in its passing. And woe be to those of us, who know the perils of the storm, who have seen the fields of its predecessors, if we unworthily fan its power!

I especially commend, on this subject, the exhaustive paper of Mr. ASHBURNER, the Mineralogist of the California Geological Survey, which he has kindly added to my volume. You know we found him the best accredited authority as to mining on the Pacific Coast, and his exposition of Gold Mining in California and Silver Mining in Nevada, will prove applicable to the whole subject; while his detailed scientific examination of the condition of the great Comstock Silver Vein will give encouragement to the many eastern investors in its mines.

In Natural Wonders and Beauties, as in rare gifts of wealth, the country of our Summer Journey stands out prominent and pre-

eminent. Neither the Atlantic States nor Europe offer so much of the marvelous and the beautiful in Nature; offer such strange and rare effects,—such combinations of novelty, beauty and majesty,—as were spread before us in our ride Across the Continent, through the mountains, and up and down the valleys. No known river scenery elsewhere can rival that of the Columbia, as it breaks through the Continental mountains; no inland seas charm so keenly as Puget's Sound; no mountain effects are stranger and more impressive than those the Rocky and the Sierras offer; no atmosphere so fine and exhilarating, so strange and so compensating as California's; no forests so stately and so inexhaustible as those of Washington; no trees so majestic and so beautiful as the Sequoia Gigantea;—aye, and no Vision of Apocalypse so grand, so full of awe, so full of elevation, as the Yosemite Valley! Does not that vision,—that week under the shadows of those wonderful rocks,—by the trickle and the roll of those marvelous water-falls,—stand out before all other sights, all other memories of this summer, crowded as it is with various novelty and beauty? The world may well be challenged to match, in single sweep of eye, such impressive natural scenery as this. Professor WHITNEY tells us that higher domes of rock and deeper chasms are scattered along the Sierras, farther down the range; but he also testifies that, in combination and in detail, in variety and majesty and beauty of rock formations, and in accompanying water-falls, there is no rival to, no second Yosemite. You will be interested in Professor WHITNEY's more detailed account of the Valley, and his suggestions as to its creation, which are appended to my Letters. They are from his just issued second volume of the Reports of the Geological Survey of California, which, if suffered to be completed as begun, will present a complete scientific account, in aggregate and in detail, of that wonderful State, and be the guide to all her future development. The Yosemite Valley ought to be more known in the East, also, through the marvelous photographs of Mr. WATKINS of San Francisco; he has made a specialty of these views, and, besides producing the finest photographs of scenery

that I know of anywhere, he gives to those who see them very impressive ideas of the distinctive features of this really wonderful valley.

Other Special Papers accompany the Volume and help to give it completeness on certain points. You will pardon me for taking some extracts from your Speeches on the journey; and I must make my peace with the public for not giving more. There is a valuable Letter by a friend, describing the stage ride through Idaho and its various Mines, which we were forced so reluctantly to omit. A Map, too, is improvised, by which the reader can follow our travels, and see the general "lay of the land" beyond the Mississippi. The Map is corrected according to the latest surveys, and defines the present limits of the Territories, and the locations of the principal Mining Centers.

There will be many to come after us in this Summer's Journey, partly inspired by the pleasure of our experience, chiefly incited by the increased smoothness of the ways. The projecting arms of the Continental Railway will rapidly shorten the distance at both ends. Rival and improved stage lines, new and pleasanter stage routes, surer and better accommodations at the stations, more frequent opportunities for rest, all will speedily come, with protection from the Indians, which Government cannot longer neglect; and even another season, I anticipate such facilities for the Overland Passage, as will invite hundreds where one has heretofore gone, and make the journey as comfortable and convenient for ladies even, as it will be safe and instructive for all. Great as the triumphs of staging which our experience has witnessed this summer, they are but the taste and the forerunner of what will be organized and perfected for the Overland Travel within two years.

But will any of our successors share such welcome, receive such hospitality, as was ours? It can hardly be. The thought of it all, its extent and its unexpectedness, produces a sense of unsatisfying gratitude. I have done what I could, in these Letters, to repay this wide-spread kindness, by making the country, its people and its in-

terests better known to the East. They need nothing but the Truth,—none of them asked us to tell other than the Truth. And yet it were impossible adequately to represent all the strange features, all the rare capacities of this new half of our Nation. So, with a margin still against me, let this book go through you to our friends and benefactors of the Mountains and the Pacific Coast; from bluff Ben Holladay and his gallant knight, Otis, under whose banners we ventured out among the Indians from the Missouri River, on through Saint and Sinner, Gentile and Mormon, Miner and Farmer, gallant men and ladies fair, who gave us everywhere welcome to store of knowledge, to every material comfort, to every divine humanity of head and heart,—on to our tender friends, who dried their wet handkerchiefs in the morning breeze before the fading eyes of my wifeless companions, as we swept out the Golden Gate, on that cool September day; farther on, indeed, to the gallant sailors, who bore us on summer seas down the Continent's side, and back its mate, to Home!

And for you and me, my friend,—

“When you next do ride abroad,
May I be there to see!”

I am, yours, very faithfully,

SAMUEL BOWLES.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.,
December 25, 1865.

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LETTER VIII.

THE WAY INTO UTAH: RECEPTION BY THE MORMONS.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, Utah, June 14.

LEAVING Fort Bridger for our last day's ride hither, we leave the first Pacific slopes and tablelands of the Rocky Mountains, drained to the south for the Colorado River and to the north for the Columbia, and go over the rim of the basin of the Great Salt Lake, and enter that Continent within a Continent, with its own miniature salt sea, and its independent chain of mountains, and distinct river courses; marked wonderfully by nature, and marked now as wonderfully in the history of civilization by its people, their social and religious organization, and their material development. This is Utah—these the Mormons. I do not marvel that they think they are a chosen people; that they have been blessed of God not only in the selection of their home, which consists of the richest region, in all the elements of a State, between the Mississippi valley and the Pacific shore, but in the great success that has attended their labors, and developed here the most independent and self-sustaining industry

that the western half of our Continent witnesses. Surely great worldly wisdom has presided over their settlement and organization; there have been tact and statesmanship in the leaders; there have been industry, frugality and integrity in the people; or one could not witness such progress, such wealth, such varied triumphs of industry and ingenuity and endurance, as here present themselves.

We enter Utah over and among a new series of hills, the belongings of the Wasatch Mountains, the first of the subsidiary ranges of the Rocky Mountains, and the eastern guard and parent of the Salt Lake valley. We have our finest day's ride yet along the crests of hills eight thousand feet high, and through valleys and gorges guarded by perpendicular walls of rock, all rich with a spring verdure that is fresh and grateful to our eyes. We play at snow ball from the large white drifts that lie along our road; and we pick abundant flowers at the same time. These spring up quickly with the grass, watered by melting snow, and inspired by the sun's hot heat; for twice hot it is compared with our eastern sun, in these high western regions. Some are new to mine eyes; many wear familiar faces, though greatly modified by change of soil and climate; and above all other colors, the yellow predominates. Did you ever think this the favorite color of nature? What other clothes your meadows and these hills with buttercups and dandelions till green is out-borne by yellow? What other has more varieties of plants in its list—more shades in its blossoming? Here I find new ones; among others

little sun flowers, a foot high, three or four blossoms to a plant, and plants as thick as plantains by the pasture path. Let us treat yellow, then, with more respect, since it is nature's chosen; and learn, as we may, what variety and range of beauty there is in its shades.

So we rolled rapidly through summer and winter scenes, with sky of blue and air of amber purity, and when the round moon came up out from the snowy peaks, giving indescribable richness and softness to their whiteness, we kept on and on, now up mountain sides, now along the edge of precipices several hundred feet high, down which the stumble of a horse or the error of a wheel would have plunged us; now crossing swollen streams, the water up to the coach doors, now stammering through morass and mire, plunging down and bounding up so that we passengers, instead of sleeping, were bruising heads and tangling legs and arms in enacting the tragedy of pop-corn over a hot fire and in a closed dish; and now from up among the clouds and snow, we tore down a narrow canyon at a break-neck rate, escaping a hundred over-turns and toppling on the river's brink until the head swam with dizzy apprehensions. Most picturesque of all the scenes of this day and night ride was the passage through Echo Canyon, a very miniature Rhine valley in all but vines and storied ruin. The only ruins in it were those of feeble fortifications which the Mormons set up when President Buchanan marched his army against them, but halted and went away without attack, leaving stores of pro-

visions, wagons and ammunition, and a contempt for the government, neither of which the Mormons have quite exhausted yet. Early "sun-up" brought us to the last station, kept by a Mormon bishop with four wives, who gave us bitters and breakfast, the latter with green peas and strawberries, and then, leaving wife number one at his home, went on with us into the city for parochial visits to the other three, who are located at convenient distances around the Territory.

Finally we came out upon the plateau or "bench," as they call it here, that overlooks the valley of the Jordan, the valley alike of Utah Lake and the Great Salt Lake, and the valley of the intermediate Great Salt Lake City. It is a scene of rare natural beauty. To the right, upon the plateau, lay Camp Douglas, the home of the soldiers and a village in itself, holding guard over the town, and within easy cannon range of tabernacle and tithing-house; right beneath, in an angle of the plain, which stretched south to Utah Lake and west to the Salt Lake—"and Jordan rolled between,"—was the city, regularly and handsomely laid out, with many fine buildings, and filled with thick gardens of trees and flowers, that gave it a fairy-land aspect; beyond and across, the plain spread out five to ten miles in width, with scattered farm-houses and herds of cattle; below, it was lost in dim distance; above, it gave way, twenty miles off, to the line of light that marked the beginning of Salt Lake—the whole flat as a floor and sparkling with river and irrigating canals, and overlooked on both sides by hills that

mounted to the snow line, and out from which flowed the fatness of water and soil that makes this once desert valley blossom under the hand of industry with every variety of verdure, every product of almost every clime.

No internal city of the Continent lies in such a field of beauty, unites such rich and rare elements of nature's formations, holds such guarantees of greatness, material and social, in the good time coming of our Pacific development. I met all along the Plains and over the mountains, the feeling that Salt Lake was to be the great central city of this West; I found the map, with Montana, Idaho, and Oregon on the north, Dacotah and Colorado on the east, Nevada and California on the west, Arizona on the south, and a near connection with the sea by the Colorado River in the latter direction, suggested the same: I recognized it in the Sabbath morning picture of its location and possessions; I am convinced of it as I see more and more of its opportunities, its developed industries, and its unimproved possessions.

Mr. Colfax's reception in Utah was excessive if not oppressive. There was an element of rivalry between Mormon and Gentile in it, adding earnestness and energy to enthusiasm and hospitality. First "a troop cometh," with band of music, and marched us slowly and dustily through their Camp Douglas. Then, escaping these, our coach was waylaid as it went down the hill by the Mormon authorities of the city. They ordered us to dismount; we were individually introduced to each of twenty

of them; we received a long speech; we made a long one—standing in the hot sand with a sun of forty thousand lens-power concentrated upon us, tired and dirty with a week's coach-ride: was it wonder that the mildest of tempers rebelled?—transferred to other carriages, our hosts drove us through the city to the hotel; and then—bless their Mormon hearts—they took us at once to a hot sulphur bath, that nature liberally offers just on the confines of the city, and there we washed out all remembrance of the morning suffering and all the accumulated grime and fatigue of the journey, and came out baptized in freshness and self-respect. Clean clothes, dinner, the Mormon tabernacle in the afternoon, and a Congregational (“Gentile”) meeting and sermon in the evening, were the other proceedings of our first day in Utah.

Since, and still continuing, Mr. Colfax and his friends have been the recipients of a generous and thoughtful hospitality. They are the guests of the city; but the military authorities and citizens vie together as well to please their visitors and make them pleased with Utah and its people. The Mormons are eager to prove their loyalty to the government, their sympathy with its bereavement, their joy in its final triumph—which their silence or their slants and sneers heretofore had certainly put in some doubt—and they leave nothing unsaid or undone now, towards Mr. Colfax as the representative of that government, or towards the public, to give assurance of their rightmindedness. Also they wish us to know that they are not monsters and

murderers, but men of intelligence, virtue, good manners and fine tastes. They put their polygamy on high moral and religious grounds; and for the rest, anyhow, are not willing to be thought otherwise than our peers. And certainly we do find here a great deal of true and good human nature and social culture; a great deal of business intelligence and activity; a great deal of generous hospitality—besides most excellent strawberries and green peas, and the most promising orchards of apricots, peaches, plums and apples that these eyes ever beheld anywhere. They have given us a serenade; and Mr. Colfax has addressed them at length with his usual tact and happy effect, telling them what they have a right to expect from the government, and reminding them that the government has the right to demand from them, in turn, loyalty to the Constitution and obedience to the laws, and complimenting them on all the beauty of their homes and the thrift of their industry. Governor Bross and Mr. Richardson also made happy addresses, and the crowd of the evening, and the "distinguished guests" gave every sign of being mutually pleased with each other.

We have been taken on an excursion to the Great Salt Lake, bathed in its wonderful waters, on which you float like a cork, sailed on its surface, and picnicked by its shore,—if picnic can be without women for sentiment and to spread table-cloth, and to be helped up and over rocks. Can you New Englanders fancy a "stag" picnic? We have been turned loose in the big strawberry patch of one of

the saints—very worldly strawberries and more worldly appetites met and mingled; and we have had a peep into a moderate Mormon harem, but being introduced to two different women of the same name, one after another, was more than I could stand without blushing.

In Mormon etiquette, President Brigham Young is called upon; by Washington fashion, the Speaker is also called upon, and does not call—there was a question whether the distinguished resident and the distinguished visitor would meet; Mr. Colfax, as was meet under the situation of affairs here, made a point upon it, and gave notice he should not call; whereupon President Brigham yielded the question, and graciously came to-day with a crowd of high dignitaries of the church, and made, not one of Emerson's prescribed ten minute calls, but a generous, pleasant, gossiping sitting of two hours long. He is a very hale and hearty looking man, young for sixty-four, with a light gray eye, cold and uncertain, a mouth and chin betraying a great and determined will—handsome perhaps as to presence and features, but repellent in atmosphere and without magnetism. In conversation, he is cool and quiet in manner, but suggestive in expression; has strong and original ideas, but uses bad grammar. He was rather formal, but courteous, and at the last affected frankness and freedom, if he felt it not. To his followers, I observed he was master of that profound art of eastern politicians, which consists in putting the arm affectionately around them, and tenderly inquiring for health of selves and families;

and when his eye did sparkle and his lips soften, it was with most cheering, though not warming, effect—it was pleasant but did not melt you.

Of his companions, Heber C. Kimball is perhaps the most notorious from his vulgar and coarse speech. He ranks high among the “prophets” here, and is as unctuous in his manner as Macassar hair oil, and as pious in phrase as good old Thomas a Kempis. He has a very keen, sharp eye, and looks like a Westfield man I always meet at the agricultural fairs in Springfield. Dr. Bernhisel has an air of culture and refinement peculiar among his associates; he is an old, small man, venerable, and suggestive of John Quincy Adams, or Dr. Gannett of Boston, in his style. Two or three others of the company have fine faces—such as you would meet in intellectual or business society in Boston or New York,—but the strength of most of the party seems to lie in narrowness, bigotry, obstinacy. They look as if they had lived on the same farms as their fathers and grandfathers, and made no improvements; gone to the same church, and sat in the same pew, without cushions; borrowed the same weekly newspaper for forty years; drove all their children to the West or the cities; and if they went to agricultural fairs, insisted on having their premiums in pure coin.

But the hospitality of Utah is not confined to the Mormons. The “Gentiles” or non-Mormons are becoming numerous and influential here, and, citizens and soldiers, comprise many families of culture and influence. They are made up of offi-

cers of the federal government, resident representatives of telegraph and stage lines, members of eastern or California business firms having branches here, and a very fair proportion, too, of the merchants of the city. Some of the more intelligent of the disgusted and repentant Mormons swell the circle. They have organized a literary association, established a large and growing Sunday school, largely made up of children of Mormon parents, have weekly religious services led by the chaplain at Camp Douglas, conduct an able and prosperous daily paper (the Union Vedette,) and in every way are developing an organized and effective opposition to the dominant power here. These people, united, earnest and enthusiastic as minorities always are, claim a share in entertaining Mr. Colfax and his friends, and gave them a large and most brilliant social party last night. They are not reluctant to show us their ladies, as the Mormons generally seem to be, and their ladies are such, in beauty and culture, as no circle need be ashamed of. The enjoyment of this social entertainment of music, conversation, dancing and refreshments, was sadly and only broken by the announcement during the evening of the sudden death of the territorial governor, Judge Doty, formerly of Michigan and Wisconsin.

LETTER IX.

MORMON MATERIALITIES.

SALT LAKE CITY, June 16.

THE Necessity of all Agriculture, on the Plains, among the Mountains, on the Pacific shore, nearly all the western half of our Continent, is Irrigation. The long, dry summers, frequently months without rain, the hot sun and dry winds, the clayey character of the soil, all ensure utter defeat to the farmer's business, except he helps his crops to water by artificial means. But in Utah, agriculture is the chief business; its population of one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, live by it, prosper by it, have built up a State upon it. Irrigation is, therefore, universal and extensive; the streams that pour down from the mountains are tapped at various elevations, the water carried away by canals, big and little, to the gardens and meadows cultivated, and thence, by numerous little courses, one in three or four feet, spread over the whole extent, over the grain, between the rows of corn, of trees, of vegetables. Individuals, villages, companies perform this work, as a less or greater scale of it is required. The water is apportioned among the takers according to

their land or their payments. Each one gets his share; and when the supply is scant, as is often the case, each one suffers in like degree.

Salt Lake City is thus irrigated, mainly from one mountain stream; bright, sparkling brooks course freely and constantly down its paved gutters, keeping the shade trees alive and growing, supplying drink for animals and water for household purposes, and delightfully cooling the summer air; besides being drawn off in right proportion for the use of each garden. Once a week is the rule for thus watering each crop; to-day a man takes enough for one portion of his garden; to-morrow for another; and so through his entire possessions and the week. Under this regular stimulus, with a strong soil made up of the wash of the mountains, the finest of crops are obtained; the vegetable bottom lands of your own Connecticut and of the western prairies cannot vie with the products of the best gardens and farms of these Pacific valleys, under this system of irrigation. There needs to be rain enough in the spring or winter moisture remaining to start the seeds, and there generally is; after that, the regular supply of water keeps the plants in a steady and rapid growth, that may well be supposed to produce far finer results, than the struggling, uneven progress of vegetation under dependence upon the skies—a week or a month of rain, and then a like prolongation of sunshine. The gardens in the cities and villages are tropical in their rich greenness and luxuriance. I do not believe the same space of ground anywhere else in the country holds so much

and so fine fruit and vegetables as the city of Salt Lake to-day.

The soil of these valleys is especially favorable to the small grains. Fifty and sixty bushels is a very common crop of wheat, oats and barley; and over ninety have been raised. President Young once raised ninety-three and a half bushels of wheat on a single acre. I should say the same soil located in the East, and taking its chances without irrigation, would not produce half what it does here with irrigation. Laborious and expensive as the process must be, the large crops and high prices obtained for them make it to pay. Over all this country, that is forced to have an irrigated farming, there is no business that now pays so well, not even mining, and nowhere else in the whole Nation is agriculture so profitable. But the mountain snows do not provide half the water the valleys need. Many a broad and beautiful valley goes unredeemed from a dry, half-barren vegetation, for the lack of water to be put upon it. Salt Lake City has exhausted its present supply, and now contemplates a grand canal from Utah Lake, thirty miles off, to provide water for its extending gardens and the wide valley below and beyond the city,—the most of which is now only a poor and growing poorer pasture, but which with irrigation will become as productive farming land as lies under the shadow of the Republic.

The country drained by the Great Salt Lake is about one hundred and fifty miles east and west, and two hundred and fifty north and south. Four or five large streams of fresh water pour into it; but it

has not a single visible outlet, and its water is one-fourth solid salt—two mysteries that mock science and make imagination ridiculous. Other salt is found in the country; there is a mountain of rock salt a few miles away; and below in Arizona is a similar mountain whose salt is as pure as finest glass. President Young showed us a brick of it to-day, that excited our surprise and delight as much as any novelty we have seen on our journey. The Territory of Utah covers the region drained by the Salt Lake, and perhaps one hundred miles more both in breadth and length. But the Mormon settlements extend one hundred miles farther into Idaho on the north, and perhaps two hundred miles into Arizona on the south, clinging close, through their entire length of six hundred to seven hundred miles, to a narrow belt of country hardly more than fifty miles wide; for on the east of this are the mountains; and to the west, the great Central American Desert, that forms part of the great internal basin of this section of the Continent, and leads the traveler on to the Sierra Nevada mountains of the Pacific States.

These settlements are mostly small, counting inhabitants by hundreds, gathered about the course of a mountain stream; but there are several places of considerable importance, as Provo at the South and Ogden City at the North. Their extension south into the valley of the Colorado, paves the way to the successful working of a favorite commercial idea of the leading business men here, which is the use of the Gulf of California and the Colorado River, which empties into it, for the great avenue of trade;

for bringing in the supplies of goods needed here, and for sending out such surplus products, agricultural and mineral, as these interior valleys are offering. The Colorado is found to be navigable for steamboats for four hundred miles, or to within six hundred miles of this city, and the substitution of this reduced distance of land carriage, open all the year, through their own Territory, and up valley roads, for seven hundred miles to San Francisco or over one thousand miles to the Missouri River, through deserts and over mountains, and often interrupted by rivers, is a manifest improvement and advantage for the commerce of this country, that can hardly be overestimated. There are already steamers on the Colorado, and some of the merchants are having goods come over the route by way of experiment. If it succeeds, as seems quite certain, then the heavy trade of Utah and its dependencies will come and go from New York by way of the Isthmus of Panama and around Cape Horn, and merchants here, instead of having to buy a year's supply of goods at once, can market several times a year, and do business with much less capital and at much greater advantage otherwise.

The policy of the Mormon leaders has been to confine their people to agriculture; to develop a self-sustaining, rural population, quiet, frugal, industrious, scattered in small villages, and so manageable by the church organization. So far, this policy has been admirably successful; and it has created an industry and a production here, in the center of the western half of our Continent, of immense im-

portance and value to the future growth of the region. A few of the simpler manufactures have been introduced of late, but these are not in conflict with the general policy. There are three cotton mills, confined to cotton yarns, however, almost exclusively, and one woolen mill. Probably there are a hundred flouring mills in the Territory also. Flour, the grains, butter, bacon, dried peaches, home-made socks and yarn, these are the chief articles produced in excess and sold to emigrants and for the mining regions in the North. Probably two hundred thousand pounds of dried peaches were sold for Idaho and Montana last year. Hides are plenty; there is a good tannery here; and also a manufactory of boots and shoes. Cotton grows abundantly in the southern settlements; and experiments with flax, the mulberry tree and the silk worm are all successful.

As to mining, the influence of the church has been against it. There have been no placer or surface diggings discovered to offer temptations to the mass of the people; and the leaders affect to believe that the ores so far found are not valuable enough to pay for working. They have a reason for discouraging mining, of course, in the sure conviction that it would introduce a population and influences antagonistic to the order and power of the church. Iron, they admit, exists in large quantities, especially in the southern mountains, and they have made some attempts to develop it, but without great success, for the reason, as they say, that they had not the proper workmen and materials

to do it with. But as to gold and silver, they are incredulous ; and not only that, but President Young argues that the world has many times more of both than it needs for financial purposes ; that the country is poorer to-day for all the mining of gold and silver in the last twenty years ; and that for every dollar gained by it, four dollars have been expended.

But these views are not likely to gain wide acquiescence. There is no reason to doubt that the mountains of Utah are rich in the precious metals—perhaps not so much so as other States and Territories, but still enough so to tempt miners and capitalists to invest in the business of developing them in rivalry with Nevada and Colorado. So far, the discoveries have been chiefly of silver, in connection with large deposits of lead and copper. Our party have spent two interesting days this week in an excursion about forty miles into an adjoining beautiful valley, where some valuable developments have been made in this line. Most of the discoveries have been made by soldiers in General Connor's command—volunteers from the mining regions of California and Nevada—who have been stationed in this vicinity for the last two years ; and most of those whose terms have expired have gone to work to improve and develop them. We found among the various canyons or ravines of the Rush Valley a hundred or two of mines freshly discovered and worked out to various depths of ten to one hundred feet. Colonel George, who, in the absence of General Connor to fight the Indians, is in command of the camp here, accompanied us, and saw the lodes

for the first time. He is an old Nevada miner, and he says these promise much better—fifty per cent. better—than the famous silver mines of that young State. There, fifty to one hundred dollars of silver from a ton of ore is considered highly profitable and satisfactory; here, the surface ore assays from one hundred to five hundred dollars a ton, and in several cases lodes have been opened that assay from one thousand to four thousand dollars to the ton. The last figure is obtained from one just opened and named the New York lead. The farther the mines are worked, the richer grows the ore. The Mormons say they will soon work out; but the miners have faith, and are working away with all the capital and labor they can command. At present, the ore is easily worked, and does not demand expensive machinery like stamp mills and steam or water power. Smelting furnaces are the chief necessity to reduce the ore to its elements, and separate the metal from the dross. As the mines are further worked, the ore will probably grow harder, and require more elaborate processes.

General Connor, who is an old Californian, has large faith in these prospectings, has taken much interest in their development, and has located and is building up a town, called Stockton, near them, in the Rush Valley. Here we found a population of perhaps two hundred, all "Gentiles," many of them old soldiers, and all full of faith and zeal in their new enterprise. Major Gallagher, formerly of General Connor's California regiment, is living here as the general's agent, and as farmer and miner on

his own responsibility. We spent the night at the "government reserves," two miles beyond Stockton, by the shore of Rush Lake; these reserves being valuable lands selected some years ago by Colonel Steptoe, as likely to be needed for government uses, and now thus appropriated for supplies of wood for the camp in town and to pasture surplus horses. Here we met a rough but generous hospitality, a midnight supper, a roaring open fire, and beds on the floor and in the stable-yards; but we slept soundly, ate heartily, and gathered sweetest of flowers amid a snow-storm on the hill-sides the next day, as we wandered about in search of the silver lodes.

In the more remote parts of the Territory, other silver mines have been discovered, and are being worked with success. Their distance from markets, the necessity of more or less machinery for their profitable operation, and the lack of capital among those who have discovered the lodes, are obstacles to their rapid development; but judging from all I can see and learn, there is no good reason to doubt their great value, and sufficient cause to regard them as offering one of the best fields for wisely investing capital and labor in all the mining regions, and to predict ere long such an interest and excitement in regard to them, as will give Utah a new population and rapid growth, and place her among the first of the mining States. The antecedent, achieved development of her agricultural capacities, her settled population and her gathered and organized civilization will then prove of a great advantage, and be properly appreciated.

LETTER X.

SALT LAKE CITY AND LIFE THERE.

SALT LAKE CITY, Saturday, June 17.

IN the "great and glorious future" of our Fourth of July orations, when polygamy is extinct, the Pacific Railroad built, and the mines developed, Salt Lake City will be not only the chief commercial city of the mountains, the equal of St. Louis and Chicago, but one of the most beautiful residence cities and most attractive watering-places on the Continent. Its admirable location and early development secure the one; its agreeable climate for eight months in the year, at least, and the surpassing beauty of its location, with its ample supply of water, its fruits and vegetables, will add the second; and joining to all these circumstances, its snow-capped mountains, its hot sulphur springs, and its Great Salt Lake, and we have the elements of the third fact. There are two principal sulphur springs, one hot enough (one hundred and twenty degrees) to boil an egg, which is four miles from the center of the city, and the other just the right temperature for a hot bath, (ninety degrees,) which is close to the city, and is already brought into a large enclos-

ure for free bathing purposes. Both these streams are large enough for illimitable bathing; the water is as highly sulphurized and as clear as that of the celebrated Sharon Springs; and its use, either for drinking or for baths, most effective in purifying the blood and toning up the system. Other and smaller springs of the same character have been found in the neighborhood.

Then the Lake opens another field of attractions; it is a miniature ocean, about fifteen miles from the city, fifty miles wide by one hundred long,—the briniest sheet of water known on the Continent,—so salt that no fish can live in it, and that three quarts of it will boil down to one quart of fine, pure salt,—but most delicious and refreshing for bathing, floating the body as a cork on the surface,—only the brine must be kept from mouth and eyes under the penalty of a severe smarting;—with its high rocky islands and crestfull waves and its superb sunsets, picturesque and enchanting to look upon; while its broad expanse offers wide space for sailing, and every chance for sea-sickness. Count up all these features for a watering-place; and where will you find a Newport, a Saratoga or a Sharon that has the half of them? So, ye votaries of fashion, ye rheumatic cripples, ye victims of scrofula and ennui, prepare to pack your trunks at the sound of the first whistle of the train for the Rocky Mountains, for a season at Salt Lake City.

The city is regularly laid out into squares of ten acres each, and these into lots of one acre and a quarter, only farther subdivided in the business or

more thickly populated streets. The building material is mostly sun-dried bricks, (called adobe,) covered with plaster, and the houses are generally of one story, covering much space and with as many front doors as the owner has wives. A few of the newer stores are built of stone, and are elegant and capacious within and without. Brigham Young's establishment occupies a full square, and embraces several dwellings, a school house for his forty or fifty children, extensive stables, a grist mill, a carpenter's shop, and the "tithing" office. An opposite square is devoted to church purposes; and here is the old Tabernacle, a new and larger one partly done, and the foundations of the great Temple, which, if ever completed, according to the design, will be the finest church edifice in America. Nothing is doing upon it now. Within the same enclosure is the "Bowery," an immense thatch of green boughs, covering space for an audience of several thousands. Here the general Sunday services are held during the warm weather. Both these squares, President Young's and the church grounds, are enclosed by solid walls of mud and stones, twelve feet high, and walls of a like character are even used for fences about many of the residences.

There are very large mercantile interests here. Several firms do a business of a million dollars or more each, a year, and keep on hand stocks of goods of the value of a quarter of a million. They frequently have subsidiary stores in other parts of the Territory to the number of four or six. Their

freights are enormous, and sometimes their goods are a year on the way hither. One firm has just received a stock of goods, costing one hundred thousand dollars, that was bought in New York last June. It got caught on the Plains by early snow, last fall, and had to winter on the way. Another leading merchant paid one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for freights last year. One lot of goods, groceries, hardware, dry goods, everything, was found to have cost, on reaching here, just one dollar a pound, adding to original purchase the cost of freighting, which from New York to this point averages from twenty-five to thirty cents a pound. It of course requires large capital and courage to enter upon the mercantile business here under such circumstances. Prices, too, must rule high; and when the supply is short, as it was last year, and the demand large, great profits are realized; and again, with an overstocked market and a small sale, there is danger of heavy losses. One concern made seventy-five per cent. profit last year, but this season promises poorly; and the stocks on hand cannot, in many cases, be sold for their cost. I give the ruling rates for some of the leading articles, both of native production and imported: beef twelve to twenty cents, mutton twenty to twenty-five cents, pork fifty cents, bacon seventy-five cents, hams one dollar, wood eighteen dollars per cord, lumber one hundred dollars per thousand, butter fifty cents, sugar seventy-five to eighty-five cents, coffee one dollar to one dollar and ten cents, green tea (almost universal on the Plains and in the moun-

tains) three and a half to five dollars, tobacco two to two dollars and a half, axes four dollars and a half, heavy brown sheetings eighty-five to ninety cents, fine seventy-five to ninety cents, prints twenty-five to forty cents, dried apples sixty cents, dried peaches fifty cents, molasses three to three dollars and a half, gunpowder two dollars, day labor three dollars, mechanics three to five dollars, clerks twelve hundred to three thousand dollars a year. The only coal mines yet developed in the Territory lie forty miles over the mountains east, on our road hither, and it costs twenty-five to thirty dollars a ton to transport it to the city, so that the price for it is thirty-five to forty dollars. It is a bituminous coal, and of very fair quality.

Your readers would mistake if they supposed that these prices enforced any poverty in living among these people. There are not many absolutely poor; and the general scale of living is generous. In the early years of the Territory, there was terrible suffering for the want of food; many were reduced to the roots of the field for sustenance; but now there appears to be an abundance of the substantial necessities of life, and as most of the population are cultivators of the soil, all or nearly all have plenty of food. And certainly, I have never seen more generously laden tables than have been spread before us at our hotel or at private houses. A dinner to our party this evening by a leading Mormon merchant, at which President Young and the principal members of his council were present, had as rich a variety of fish, meats, vegetables,

pastry and fruit, as I ever saw on any private table in the East; and the quality and the cooking and the serving were unimpeachable. All the food, too, was native in Utah. The wives of our host waited on us most amicably, and the entertainment was, in every way, the best illustration of the practical benefits of plurality, that has yet been presented to us.

Later in the evening we were introduced to another, and perhaps the most wonderful, illustration of the reach of social and artificial life in this far off city of the Rocky Mountains. This was the Theater, in which a special performance was improvised in honor of Speaker Colfax. The building is itself a rare triumph of art and enterprise. No eastern city of one hundred thousand inhabitants,—remember Salt Lake City has less than twenty thousand,—possesses so fine a theatrical structure. It ranks, alike in capacity and elegance of structure and finish, along with the opera-houses and academies of music of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Cincinnati. In costumes and scenery, it is furnished with equal richness and variety, and the performances themselves, though by amateurs, by merchants and mechanics, by wives and daughters of citizens, would have done full credit to a first-class professional company. There was first a fine and elaborate drama, and then a spectacular farce, in both which were introduced some exquisite dancing, and in one some good singing also. I have rarely seen a theatrical entertainment more pleasing and satisfactory in all its details and appointments.

Yet the two principal male characters were by a day-laborer and a carpenter; one of the leading lady parts was by a married daughter of Brigham Young, herself the mother of several children; and several other of his daughters took part in the ballet, which was most enchantingly rendered, and with great scenic effect. The house was full in all its parts, and the audience embraced all classes of society, from the wives and daughters of President Young,—a goodly array,—and the families of the rich merchants, to the families of the mechanics and farmers of the city and valley, and the soldiers from the camp. President Young built and owns the theater, and conducts it on his private account, or on that of the church, as he does many other of the valuable and profitable institutions of the Territory, such as cotton, saw and flour mills, the best farms, etc.; and, as he is at no expense for actors or actresses, and gets good prices for admission, he undoubtedly makes a “good thing” out of it. During the winter season, performances are given twice a week; and the theater proves a most useful and popular social center and entertainment for the whole people. Its creation was a wise and beneficent thought.

LETTER XI.

THE POLYGAMY QUESTION.

SALT LAKE CITY, June 18.

OUR visit here closes in the morning. It has been very interesting, instructive and gratifying to us. We have had unusual opportunities for learning the opinions of the Mormons, for studying their institutions, for measuring their culture and capacity, for observing their social, material and religious development, and for informing ourselves as to the conflict fast growing up between them and the non-Mormons who are rapidly accumulating in the community. The leaders in the church and in society have been generous and constant in their hospitality, and frank in their conversation, partly, I will not doubt, from a hearty, human good feeling, and partly, no doubt, also, from anxiety as to the future policy of the government towards them and their institutions, and eagerness to propitiate political and public opinion in their favor. We have attended the services at the Mormon Tabernacle on two successive Sabbaths, on one of which Brigham Young himself preached in exposition and defense of the doctrines of his church. Mr. Colfax and his friends

have also had two long interviews with Brigham Young and the other leaders of the church, in one of which the peculiar institution of the people was freely and frankly but most earnestly discussed by all. The testimony and opinions of the "Gentiles," and of intelligent citizens, men and women, who, once Mormons, have now left the church, have been freely offered to us, and gladly heard. Valuable facts and opinions have also been gathered from old and intelligent citizens, who have held a sort of independent and neutral position, who are neither polygamists in theory or practice, nor members of the church, but who, either from motives of policy or qualities of temperament, have taken no part with the pronounced and denouncing "Gentiles." Nor have the opinions and feelings of women in polygamy been wholly denied to us; though we have not been offered their society by their husbands with any particular generosity;—this, indeed, being the only feature of their hospitality that has been measured and chary.

The result of the whole experience has been to increase my appreciation of the value of their material progress and development to the nation; to evoke congratulations to them and to the country for the wealth they have created and the order, frugality, morality and industry that have been organized in this remote spot in our Continent; to excite wonder at the perfection and power of their church system, the extent of its ramifications, the sweep of its influence; and to enlarge my respect for the personal sincerity and character of many of the

leaders in the organization ;—also, and on the other hand, to deepen my disgust at their polygamy, and strengthen my convictions of its barbaric and degrading influences. They have tried it and practised it under the most favorable circumstances, perhaps under the mildest form possible ; but, now as before, here as elsewhere, it tends to and means only the degradation of woman. By it and under it, she becomes simply the servant and serf, not the companion and equal of man ; and the inevitable influence of this upon all society need not be depicted.

But I find that Mormonism is not necessarily polygamy ; that the one began and existed for many years without the other ; that not all the Mormons accept the doctrine, and not one-fourth, perhaps not one-eighth practise it ; and that the Nation and its government may oppose it and punish it, without at all interfering with the existence of the Mormon church, or justly being held as interfering with the religious liberty that is the basis of all our institutions. This distinction has not been sufficiently understood heretofore, and it has not been consistently acted upon by either the government or the public of the East. Here, by the people, who are coming in to enjoy the opportunities of the country for trade and mining, and there, by our rulers at Washington and by the great public, this single issue of polygamy should be pressed home upon the Mormon church,—discreetly and with tact, with law and with argument and appeal, but with firmness and power.

Ultimately, of course, before the influences of emigration, civilization and our democratic habits, an organization so aristocratic and autocratic as the Mormon church now is must modify its rule; it must compete with other sects, and take its chance with them. And its most aristocratic and uncivilized incident or feature of plurality of wives must fall first and completely before contact with the rest of the world,—marshalled with mails, daily papers, railroads and telegraphs,—ciphering out the fact that the men and women of the world are about equally divided, and applying to the Mormon patriarchs the democratic principle of equal and exact justice. Nothing can save this feature of Mormonism but new flight and a more complete isolation. A kingdom in the sea, entirely its own, could only perpetuate it; and thither even, commerce and democracy would ultimately follow it. The click of the telegraph and the roll of the overland stages are its death-rattle now; the first whistle of the locomotive will sound its requiem; and the pick-axe of the miner will dig its grave. Squatter sovereignty will speedily settle the question, even if the government continues to coquette with it and humor it, as it has done.

But the government should no longer hold a doubtful or divided position toward this great crime of the Mormon church. Declaring clearly both its want of power and disinclination to interfere at all with the church organization as such, or with the latter's influence over its followers, assuring and guaranteeing to it all the liberty and freedom that other

religious sects hold and enjoy, the government should still, as clearly and distinctly, declare, by all its action and all its representatives here, that this feature of polygamy, not properly or necessarily a part of the religion of the Mormons, is a crime by the common law of all civilization and by the statute law of the Nation, and that any cases of its extension will be prosecuted and punished as such. Now half or two-thirds the federal officers in the Territory are polygamists; and others bear no testimony against it. These should give way to men who, otherwise equally Mormons it may be, still are neither polygamists nor believers in the practice of polygamy. No employes or contractors of the government should be polygamists in theory or practice.

Here the government should take its stand, calmly, quietly, but firmly, giving its moral support and countenance, and its physical support, if necessary for fair play, to the large class of Mormons who are not polygamists, to missionaries and preachers of all other sects, who choose to come here, and erect their standards and invite followers; and to that growing public opinion, here and elsewhere, which is accumulating its inexorable force against an institution which has not inaptly been termed a twin barbarism with slavery. There is no need and no danger of physical conflict growing up; only a hot and unwise zeal and impatience on the part of the government representatives, and in the command of the troops stationed here, could precipitate that. The probability is, that, upon such

a demonstration by the government, as I have suggested, the leaders of the church would receive new light on the subject themselves,—perhaps have a fresh revelation, and abandon the objectionable feature in their polity. No matter if they did not,—it would soon, under the influences now rapidly aggregating, and thus reinforced by the government, abandon them.

In this way, all violent conflict would, I believe, be successfully avoided; and all this valuable population and its industries and wealth may be retained in place and to the Nation, without waste. Let them continue to be Mormons, if they choose, so long as they are not polygamists. They may be ignorant and fanatical, and imposed upon and swindled even, by their church leaders; but they are industrious, thriving, and more comfortable than, on an average, they have ever been before in the homes from which they came hither; and there is no law against fanaticism and bigotry and religious charlatanry. All these evils of religious benightedness are not original in Utah, and they will work out their own cure here, as they have done elsewhere in our land. We must have patience with the present, and possibly forgiveness for supposed crimes in the past by the leaders, because we have heretofore failed to meet the issues promptly and clearly, and have shared by our consent and protection to their authors in the alleged wrongs.

The conversation I have alluded to with Brigham Young and some of his elders, on this subject of polygamy, was introduced by his inquiring of Mr.

Colfax what the government and people of the East proposed to do with it and them, now that they had got rid of the slavery question. The Speaker replied that he had no authority to speak for the government; but for himself, if he might be permitted to make the suggestion, he had hoped the prophets of the church would have a new revelation on the subject, which should put a stop to the practice. He added further that, as the people of Missouri and Maryland, without waiting for the action of the general government against slavery, themselves believing it to be wrong and an impediment to their prosperity, had taken measures to abolish it, so he hoped the people of the Mormon church would see that polygamy was a hindrance and not a help, and move for its abandonment. Mr. Young responded quickly and frankly that he should readily welcome such a revelation; that polygamy was not in the original book of the Mormons: that it was not an essential practice in the church, but only a privilege and a duty, under special command of God; that he knew it had been abused; that people had entered into polygamy who ought not to have done so, and against his protestation and advice. At the same time, he defended the practice as having biblical authority, and as having, within proper limits, a sound, moral and philosophical reason and propriety.

The discussion, thus opened, grew general and sharp, though ever good-natured. Mr. Young was asked how he got over the fact that the two sexes were about equally divided all over the world, and that, if some men had two, five, or twenty wives,

others would have to go without altogether. His reply was that there was always a considerable proportion of the men who would never marry, who were old bachelors from choice. But, retorted one, are there any more of such than of women who choose to be old maids? Oh yes, said he, most ungallantly; there is not one woman in a million who will not marry if she gets a chance! One of the saints, who was pressing the biblical usage and authority for many wives as above all laws and constitutions, was asked as to the effect of the same usage and authority for human sacrifice,—would you, he was asked, if commanded by God, offer up your son or your enemy as a sacrifice, killing them? Yes, he promptly replied. Then the civil law would lay its hands upon you and stop you, and would be justified in doing so, was the apparently effective answer.

In the course of the discussion, Mr. Young asked, suppose polygamy is given up, will not your government then demand more,—will it not war upon the Book of the Mormons, and attack our church organization? The reply was emphatically No, that it had no right, and could have no justification to do so, and that we had no idea there would be any disposition in that direction.

The talk, which was said to be the freest and frankest ever known on that subject in that presence, ended pleasantly, but with the full expression, on the part of Mr. Colfax and his friends, of their hope that the polygamy question might be removed from existence, and thus all objection to the admis-

sion of Utah as a State be taken away; but that, until it was, no such admission was possible, and that the government could not continue to look indifferently upon the enlargement of so offensive a practice. And not only what Mr. Young said, but his whole manner left with us the impression that, if public opinion and the government united vigorously, but at the same time discreetly, to press the question, there would be found some way to acquiesce in the demand, and change the practice of the present fathers of the church.

The conversation was continued on the subjects of punishing the leading rebels, and of slavery in the abstract. Mr. Young favored slavery *per se* as established by Divine authority, but denounced the chattel system of the South; and he opposed the hanging of any of the rebel chiefs as an unwise and aggravating policy. Now that peace is established, let all be pardoned, he said; but early in or during the war, he would have disposed of the rebel chiefs that fell into the hands of the government without mercy or hesitation. Had he been President when Mason and Slidell were captured, he would have speedily put them "where they never would peep," and negotiated with England afterwards. He uttered this sentiment with such a wicked working of the lower jaw and lip, and such an almost demon-like spirit in his whole face, that, quite disposed to be incredulous on those matters, I could not help thinking of the Mountain Meadow massacre of recusant Mormons, of Danites and Avenging Angels, and their reported achievements.

LETTER XII.

THE MORMON WIVES: OUR LAST DAY IN SALT LAKE CITY.

SALT LAKE CITY, June 18.

How do the Mormon women like and bear polygamy? is the question most people ask as to the institution. The universal testimony of all but their husbands is, that it is a grievous sorrow and burden; only cheerfully submitted to and embraced under a religious fanaticism and self-abnegation rare to behold, and possible only to women. They are taught to believe, and many of them really do believe, that through and by it they secure a higher and more glorious reward in the future world. "Lord Jesus has laid a heavy trial upon me," said one poor, sweet woman, "but I mean to bear it for His sake, and for the glory He will grant me in His kingdom." This is the common wail, the common solace. Such are the teachings of the church; and I have no doubt both husbands and wives alike often honestly accept this view of the odious practice, and seek and submit to polygamy as really God's holy service, calculated to make saints of themselves and all associated with them in the future world.

Still a good deal of human nature is visible, both among the men in embracing polygamy, and in their wives in submitting to it. Mr. Young's testimony on this point is significant. Other signs are not wanting in the looks and character of the men most often anointed in the holy bonds of matrimony, and in the well-known disagreement of the wives in many families. In some cases they live harmoniously and lovingly together; oftener, it would seem, they have separate parts of the same house, or even separate houses. The first wife is generally the recognized one of society, and frequently assumes contempt for the others, regarding them as concubines, and not wives. But it is a dreadful state of society to any one of fine feelings and true instincts; it robs married life of all its sweet sentiment and companionship; and while it degrades woman, it brutalizes man, teaching him to despise and domineer over his wives, over all women. It breeds jealousy, distrust, and tempts to infidelity; but the police system of the church and the community is so strict and constant that it is claimed and believed the latter vice is very rare.

The effect upon the children cannot help being debasing, however well they may be guarded and educated. But it is a chief failing, even a scandal to the Mormons, that, plentifully as they are providing children, who swarm everywhere as did the locusts in Egypt, they have organized no free school system. Schools are held in every ward of the city, and probably in every considerable village, in buildings provided for evening religious meet-

ings under the direction of the local bishops, but a tuition fee is exacted for all who attend, and the poor are practically shut out. The anti-polygamists should agitate at once and earnestly to reform this evil,—it is a strong point against the dominant party, and a weak point in the welfare of the Territory. It is a good and encouraging sign to learn from intelligent sources that, as the young girls, daughters of Mormons, grow up to womanhood, they are indisposed to polygamy, and seek husbands among the “Gentiles” rather than among their own faith.

The soldiers at Camp Douglas, near this city, are illustrating one of the ways in which polygamy will fade away before the popular principle. Two companies, who went home to California last fall, took about twenty-five wives with them, recruited from the Mormon flocks. There are now some fifty or more women in the camp, who have fled thither from town for protection, or been seduced away from unhappy homes and fractional husbands; and all or nearly all find new husbands among the soldiers. Only to-day a man with three daughters, living in the city, applied to Colonel George for leave to move up to the camp for a residence, in order, as he said, to save his children from polygamy, into which the bishops and elders of the church were urging them. The camp authorities tell many like stories; also of sadder applications, if possible, for relief from actual poverty and from persecution in town. The Mormons have no poor-house, and say they have no poor, permitting none

by relieving all through work or gifts. But the last winter was so long and so severe, with wood at thirty and forty dollars a cord, that there was much real suffering, and the soldiers yielded to extensive demands upon their charity, that the church authorities had neglected to fulfill, or absolutely denied.

Your readers are aware, I suppose, that a large proportion, perhaps the majority, of the people of Utah are foreigners,—recruits by missionaries sent out over the whole world. The larger proportion are English, from the factory towns of Great Britain. But Germans, Swedes, Finns, Scotch, Icelanders, and even East Indians, are here. Mr. Young boasts that fifty different nationalities are represented among his people. The bulk of them all are of the peasantry, the lower classes of working people at home; and so the congregations of the Mormons do not exhibit the marks of high acuteness and intelligence. The audiences at the Tabernacle to-day and last Sunday, and at the theater last night, were what would be called common-looking people. The handsome girls were few; the fine-looking women even fewer; intelligent, strong-headed men were more numerous; but the great mass, both in size, looks and dress, was below the poorest, hardest-working and most ignorant classes of our eastern large towns.

The gatherings and the services, both in speaking and singing, reminded me of the Methodist camp-meetings of fifteen or twenty years ago. The singing, as on the latter occasions, was the best part of the exercises, simple, sweet, and fervent.

"Daughters of Zion," as sung by the large choir last Sunday, was prayer, sermon, song and all. The preaching last Sabbath was by Mr. Samuel W. Richards, who was of Massachusetts origin, but a Mormon leader and missionary for many years. Beyond setting forth the superiority of the Mormon church system, through its presidents, councils, bishops, elders and seventies, for the work made incumbent upon Christians, and claiming that its preachers were inspired like those of old, his discourse was a rambling, unimpressive exhortation, such as you may hear from a tonguey deacon in any country Baptist or Methodist meeting-house. The Bible, both old and new testament, is used with the same authority as by all Protestants; the Mormon scriptures are simply new and added books, confirming and supplementing the teachings of the original Scriptures. The rite of the sacrament is administered every Sunday, water being used instead of wine, and the distribution proceeding among the whole congregation, men, women and children, and numbering from three to five thousand, while the singing and the preaching are in progress. The prayers are few and simple, undistinguishable, except in these characteristics, from those heard in all Protestant churches, and the congregation all join in the Amen.

Brigham Young's preaching to-day was a very unsatisfactory, disappointing performance. There was every incentive to him to do his best; he had an immense audience spread out under the "bowery" to the number of five or six thousand; before

him was Mr. Colfax, who had asked him to preach upon the distinctive Mormon doctrines; around him were all his elders and bishops, in unusual numbers; and he was fresh from the exciting discussion of yesterday on the subject of polygamy. But his address lacked logic, lacked effect, lacked wholly magnetism or impressiveness. It was a curious medley of scriptural exposition and exhortation, bold and bare statement, coarse denunciation and vulgar allusion, cheap rant and poor cant. So far as his statement of Mormon belief went, it amounted to this: that God was a human, material person, with like flesh and blood and passions to ourselves, only perfect in all things; that he begot his son Jesus in the same way that children are begotten now; that Jesus and the father looked alike and were alike, distinguishable only by the former being older; that our resurrection would be material, and we should live in heaven with the same bodies and the same passions as on earth; that Mormonism was the most perfect and true religion; that those Christians who were not Mormons would not necessarily go to hell and be burned by living fire and tortured by ugly devils, but that they would not occupy so high places in heaven as the Latter Day Saints; that polygamy was the habit of all the children of God in the earlier ages, and was first abolished by the Goths and Vandals who conquered and constructed Rome; that Martin Luther approved of it in a single case at least; that a clergyman of the church of England once married a man to a second wife while his first wife was living; and

that in England now, if a man wanted to change his wife, he had only to offer her at auction and knock her off for a pot of beer or a shilling, and marry another. (This last statement called out a voice of dissent from an English working-face in the audience.) A good deal of boasting of the success of the Mormons, their temperance, frugality and honesty, and a sharp denunciation of the "few stinking lawyers who lived down in whiskey street, and for five dollars would attempt to make a lie into a truth," were the only other noticeable features of this discourse of the president of the church of the Latter Day Saints. It was a very material interpretation of the statements and truths of scripture, very illogically and roughly rendered; and calculated only to influence a cheap and vulgar audience. Brigham Young may be a shrewd business man, an able organizer of labor, a bold, brave person in dealing with the practicalities of life,—he must, indeed, be all of these, for we see the evidences all around this city and country; but he is in no sense an impressive or effective preacher, judged by any standards that I have been accustomed to.

His audience, swollen one or two thousand more, could not have helped drawing a sharp contrast,—dull in comprehension and fanatically devoted to him as most of them probably are,—between his speech and his style, and those of Mr. Colfax, who, at a later hour this evening, delivered in the same place, by invitation of the church and city authorities, his Chicago Eulogy on the Life and Principles of President Lincoln. He spoke it without notes,

and with much freedom and fervor to an audience unused to so effective and eloquent a style, and more unused, we fear, to such sentiments; and he received rapt attention and apparently delighted approval throughout the whole. Mr. Colfax's other, and informal speeches here, and his whole intercourse with the authorities and people of all parties, considerate always, but frank and ever consistent with his principles, had won him the respect of all and the affection of many; but the pronouncing of this eulogy has increased the feeling in his favor to a high enthusiasm.

The election for territorial delegate to Congress from Utah occurs in August. Judge Kinney, who was sent here as judge by President Buchanan, and becoming agreeable to the Mormon leaders, was sent to Congress by them when superseded in his judgeship by Mr. Lincoln, has recently come back from Washington, and seeks re-election. But it is doubtful if Mr. Young decides to have him go again. He has indicated a purpose of returning Captain Hooper, an old and prosperous merchant here, who served the term before Judge Kinney, and who has lately sold out his business here, in order to go on a mission for the church to England.* He was popular and useful in Congress before, is an intelligent, able man, and though a Mormon of many years' standing, has the principle and good sense to be content with one most excellent wife. These and other selections for office are of course nominally made by the people voting as in other States and

* Mr. Hooper has since been chosen to Congress.

Territories; but the real choice is made beforehand by the church authorities, and the vote is usually quite small. Only one case is known of the bishop's ticket ever having been defeated. This was at a small country village in the choice for mayor; but the fact was not suffered to go abroad,—it was too dangerous an example.

But adieu to Salt Lake and many-wife-and-much-children-dom; to its strawberries and roses; its rare hospitality; its white crowned peaks, its wide-spread valley, its river of scriptural name, its lake of briniest taste. I have met much to admire, many to respect, worshiped deep before its Nature,—found only one thing to condemn. I shall want to come again when the railroad can bring me, and that blot is gone.

LETTER XIII.

SOCIAL LIFE AMONG THE MORMONS.

AUSTIN, Nevada, June 22.

I go back to the Mormons, to add some facts and gossip, because their civilization is so remarkable, and because they and their institutions are about to come into new and final conflict with the people and the government of the country. Polygamy introduces many curious cross-relationships, and intertwinies the branches of the genealogical tree in a manner greatly to puzzle a mathematician, as well as to disgust the decent-minded. The marrying of two or more sisters is very common; one young Mormon merchant in Salt Lake City has three sisters for his three wives. There are several cases of men marrying both mother (widow) and her daughter or daughters; taking the "old woman" for the sake of getting the young ones; but having children by all. Please to cipher out for yourselves how this mixes things. More disgusting associations are known,—even to the marrying of a half-sister by one Mormon. Consider, too, how these children of one father and many mothers,—the latter often blood relations,—are likely to become crossed

again in new marriages, in the second or third, if not the first, generations, under the operation of this polygamous practice; and it is safe to predict that a few generations of such social practices will breed a physical, moral and mental debasement of the people most frightful to contemplate. Already, indeed, are such indications apparent, foreshadowing the sure and terrible realization.

Brigham Young's wives are numberless; at least no one seems to know how many he has; and he has himself confessed to forgetfulness in the matter. The probability is he has from sixteen to twenty genuine or complete wives, and about as many more women "sealed" to him for heavenly association and glory. The latter are mostly pious old ladies, eager for high seats in the Mormon heaven, and knowing no surer way to get there than to be joined on to Brigham's angelic procession. Some of these sealed wives of his are the earthly wives of other men; but, lacking faith in their husbands' heavenly glory, seek to make a sure thing of it for the future by the grace of gracious Brigham. Down East, you know, many a husband calculates on stealing into heaven under the pious petticoats of his better wife; here the thing is reversed, and women go to heaven because their husbands take them along. The Mormon religion is an excellent institution for maintaining masculine authority in the family; and the greatness of a true Mormon is measured, indeed, by the number of wives he can keep in sweet and loving and especially obedient subjugation. Such a man can have

as many wives as he wants. But President Young objects to multiplying wives for men who have not this rare domestic gift. So there is no chance for you and me, my dear Jones, becoming successful Mormons!

In many cases, the Mormon wives not only support themselves and their children, but help support their husbands. Thus a clerk or other man, with similar limited income, who has yielded to the fascinations and desires of three or four women, and married them all, makes his home with number one, perhaps, and the rest live apart, each by herself, taking in sewing or washing, or engaging in other employment, to keep up her establishment and be no charge to her husband. He comes around, once in a while, to make her a visit, and then she sets out an extra table and spends all her accumulated earnings to make him as comfortable and herself as charming as possible, so that her fraction of the dear sainted man may be multiplied as much as possible. Thus the fellow, if he is lazy and has turned his piety to the good account of getting smart wives, may really board around continually, and live in clover, at no personal expense but his own clothing. Is not this a divine institution, indeed!

When President Young goes on a journey through the Territory, on private or public business, he takes a considerable retinue with him, and always a wife and a barber. The former is more his servant than his companion in such cases, however. His household is said to be admirably managed. A son-in-

law acts as commissary ; the wives have nothing to do with the table or its supply ; and whenever they want new clothes or pocket money, they must go to this chief of staff or head of the family bureau. Considering his opportunities, the head of the Church of Latter Day Saints has made a rather sorry selection of women on the score of beauty. The oldest or first is a matronly-looking old lady, serene and sober ; the youngest and present pet, who was obtained, they say, after much seeking, is comely but common-looking, despite the extra millinery in which she alone of the entire family indulges. The second president and favorite prophet of the church, Heber Kimball, who in church and theater keeps the cold from his bare head and the divine afflatus in by throwing a red bandanna handkerchief over it, is even less fortunate in the beauty of his wives ; it is rather an imposition upon the word beauty, indeed, to suggest it in their presence.

Handsome women and girls, in fact, are scarce among the Mormons of Salt Lake,—the fewer "Gentiles" can show many more of them. Why is this ? Is beauty more esthetic and ascetic ? Or, good-looking women being supposed to have more chances for matrimony than their plainer sisters, do they all insist upon having the whole of one man, and leave the Mormon husbands to those whose choice is like Hobson's ? The only polygamist, into whose family circle we were freely admitted, had, however, found two very pretty women to divide him between them ; and I must confess they appeared to take their share of him quite resignedly,

if not amicably. They were English, and of nearly equal years; appeared together in the parlor and in public with their husband, and dressed alike; but they had the same quiet, subdued, half-sad air that characterized all the Mormon women, young and old, that I saw in public or private. There is certainly none of that "loudness" about the Mormon ladies, that an eastern man cannot help observing in the manners of our western women generally. And I hardly think the difference is to be attributed to the superior refinement and culture of the sisters of the Salt Lake Basin; it rather and really is the sign and mark of their servitude, their debasement.

Brigham Young's younger children, as seen in his school, to which we were admitted, look sprightly and bright and handsome; and some of his grown up daughters are comely and clever; but his older sons give no marked sign of their father's smartness. The oldest, Brigham Jr., is mainly distinguished for his size and strength,—he weighs two to three hundred pounds, and is muscular in proportion. He has now taken one of his wives and gone to England with her, on business for the church. The next son, John, is a poor, puny looking fellow, with several wives and an inordinate love for whiskey. Brigham's dynasty will die with himself.

There is no more love lost between the soldiers and the Mormons than between the soldiers and the Indians. The "boys in blue" regard both as their natural enemies, and the enemies of order and the government; and the feeling is cordially recip-

roated. General Connor, the commander of the military force in Utah, has never even seen Brigham Young; and the latter, it is quite certain, has no desire ever to see him. There is a provost guard of soldiers in Salt Lake City, but the rent of the building which it occupies is about expiring, and, according to a Mormon way of getting rid of an uncomfortable presence, none other is now to be had in its place. Every building singularly happens to be occupied or engaged just now; and the Mormons have evidently hoped to thus drive all these standing menaces, and seducers of their women, as they add the soldiers all are, out of town and into the camp, two miles distant. But when Mr. Colfax suggested to two or three of the elders that such a result could only be interpreted at Washington as a compact and contrivance to embarrass the soldiers and defy the government, they seemed to be incited to a new and original line of thought; and the probability is that the provost guard will be able to find some unoccupied building, that had not been before thought of.

One of the characters of Mormondom is Porter Rockwell, the accredited leader of the Danites or "Avenging Angels" of the church. We were presented to him, and were invited to eat strawberries and cream at his "ranch," but our engagements did not permit our accepting and partaking. Though given to heavy whiskey drinking of late years, he is as mild a mannered man as ever scuttled ship or murdered crews; and I really do not think that any anxiety for our lives entered into our declination of

his hospitality, inexplicable as it may seem that for any less reason we should have omitted any opportunity at strawberries. There is a difference of opinion, even among the "Gentiles," as to his real share in the mysterious and terrible takings-off of parties in bad odor with the saints of the church; though unlettered, he is strong-minded and strong-hearted, and, unless under the influence of a shocking fanaticism, I can hardly believe, from his appearance and manners, he could be guilty of such crimes as are laid at his door by the more implacable and suspicious of the "Gentile" residents. I should not be willing, however, to see Mr. Fitzhugh Ludlow fall in his way again; there might not be murder, but the author of the largely imaginative articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* on this western journey would certainly feel the sharp vengeance of the injured and irate "Avenger." Mr. Ludlow tells the worst stories about Rockwell, such as that he had committed about fifty murders for the church and as many more on private account, as if accepted, proved facts; at the same time that he acknowledges being his guest, and availing himself of his courtesies to see the country. Porter shuts his teeth hard when the subject is now mentioned, and mutters that he supposes "it is all wheat," this being Utah idiom for all right. Which means, of course, that he don't suppose any such thing.

There is little or no immigration to the Mormons this season, at least not yet. They have been sending out fresh relays of missionaries and recruiting

agents to England and the Continent of Europe, and expect great returns next year. On the Sandwich Islands they seem to have established a permanent colony, also, to which has just been contributed a new company of about fifty, men, women and children from Utah. Some of the "Gentiles" believe this Sandwich Island movement is towards a new and contingent base; and that if hard pressed here by the progress of civilization and the hand of authority, the Mormon leaders will gather up all their available forces and wealth, and retreat thither. It is certain that they must make a change of base of one sort or another before long, either in the matter of polygamy, or else in the location of their earthly tabernacles and kingdom. Even without the interference of government, they must soon give way here, in their peculiar sway and their revolting institution, before the progress of population and the diversification of civilized industry that comes along with it. Our bachelor stage-driver out of Salt Lake, who said he expected to have a revelation soon to take one of the extra wives of a Mormon saint, is a representative of the Coming Man. Let the Mormons look out for him.

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS.

I.

THE MORMONS.

THEIR PRESENT ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT.

SINCE our visit to Utah in June, the leaders among the Mormons have repudiated their professions of loyalty to the government, denied any disposition to yield the issue of Polygamy, and begun to preach anew, and more vigorously than ever, disrespect and defiance to the authority of the national government. They seem to be disappointed and irate that their personal attentions and assurances to Mr. Colfax and his friends did not win from them more tolerance of their peculiar institution, and something like espousal of their desire for admission as a State of the Union. New means are taken to organize and drill the militia of the Territory, and to provide them with arms, under the auspices and authority of the Mormon church; and an open conflict with the representatives of the government is apparently braved, even threatened. I make these illustrative quotations from speeches and sermons by prominent church leaders during August and September:—

From Heber Kimball, first Vice-President of the Church.

The next army that comes here, I want you women to meet,—all armed with brooms and pop-squirts and hot water, to squirt hot water all over 'em. We had a good time with the last army that came here, and I guess we'll have it with the next one! Greet them, sisters, with a shower of suds; with even the half of a scissors about eighteen inches long. And you, brethren, grease your old firelocks. And you, sisters, grease your old firelocks, too. Arm

even with cornstalks, everybody. In the "States" they do it between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. Out hyere, I suppose we might do so between the ages of ten and one hundred and eighty. Broomsticks and mop-handles, brethren, and pails of hot water, my dear sisters, if you can't do any more. If a dozen of our women were in the South, the time of that war, with pails of hot water, they could have licked the northern army.

We believe what Christ taught,—the commandments he gave. He said: "Thou shalt not interfere with thy neighbor's wife, nor his daughter, his house, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant." Christ said this; but our enemies don't believe it. That was the trouble between the North and the South. The abolitionists of the North stole the niggers and caused it all. The nigger was well off and happy. How do you know this, Brother Heber? Why, God bless your soul, I used to live in the South, and I know! Now they have set the nigger free; and a beautiful thing they have done for him, haven't they? I am what you might call a son of the veterans. My father bled in the revolution for our liberties. I, his son, have been five times robbed and driven out by Gentile persecutors,—I and my brothers Charles and Samuel. They threaten to come here and destroy us. Let them come. I am the boy that will resist them.

From George A. Smith, another Vice-President.

He said the Lincoln administration did not want peace with the South, but wanted to destroy and devastate all the good southern people, and, that in order to do so, the party in power had laid aside the Constitution entirely, and were the main ones who rebelled, and the South was right. He said the northern army burned and destroyed everything in the South, and abused, by force, all their women, and said they would be here some day to treat the *fair women* of Utah in like manner, and that all, both old and young, should have plenty of arms, and when they approached, God would fight the battles and the Saints would be victorious! He said our government was not at peace; and he damned it and hoped to see the day when it would sink to hell; that nothing in the shape of a free government could ever stand on North American soil that was opposed to Mormonism and polygamy!

From Brigham Young, himself.

He said if they undertook to try him in a Gentile court, he would see the government in hell first, and was ready to fight the government the rub. That he had his soldiers and rifles and pistols and ammunition and plenty of it, and cannon too, and would use them. He was on it! The governor of this Territory was useless and could do nothing. He (Brigham) was the real governor of this people, and by powers of the Most High he would be governor of this Territory forever and ever, and if the Gentiles did not like this, they could leave and go to hell! He said that nine-tenths of the people of the Territory were southern sympathizers; that the North was wrong, and this people sympathized with the South.

Much of this demonstration is probably mere bravado; means to arouse the ignorant people, excite them against the government, make them still more the fanatical followers of the church leaders, and also to intimidate the public authorities, and induce them to continue the same let-alone and indulgent policy that has been the rule at Washington for so long. The government always seems to have demonstrated just enough against the Mormons to irritate them and keep them compact and prepared to resist it, but never enough to make them really afraid, or to force them into any submissive steps. The bristling attitude of the saints has ever had the apparent effect to qualify the government purpose, and make it stop short in its proceeding to enforce the laws and national authority. It is no wonder, therefore, that they repeat their frantic and fanatic appeals to their people, and their defiance to the government, and grow more and more bold in them. They find that it works better than professions of loyalty and half-way offers of submission, one bad effect of which, for their own cause, is of course to demoralize their followers, and weaken their own authority over them.

There is no evidence yet of any change in the policy of the executive authorities at Washington. While the new federal Governor of the Territory, Mr. Durkee from Wisconsin, the federal judges, and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs are both anti-Mormons and anti-polygamists, all or nearly all the other federal officers in the Territory are both leading Mormons and practical polygamists,—the postmasters, collectors of internal revenue, etc. The postmaster of Salt Lake City is one of Brigham Young's creatures, and editor of the Mormon daily paper there. The returns of internal revenue in the Territory are found to be, proportionately to similar populations and wealth, quite small; and there are reasons to believe that the taxes are not faithfully assessed and collected. General Connor, who has been returned to his old place, as military commander of the district of Utah alone, is assigned a force of only one thousand soldiers; though he asked for and expected to have five thousand. The lesser number, remote from all possible reinforcement, is entirely inadequate to support the Governor and judges in any exercise of authority that they may dare to undertake, and that the Mormons may chose to resist. One thousand soldiers could very readily be "wiped out,"—which is a favorite phrase of the saints towards their enemies,—by a sudden uprising of the fanatical followers of Brigham Young and his apostles.

Excuse for such uprising is in much danger of being developed from the growing strength and impatience of the anti-Mormon elements in society at Salt Lake City, and the reckless, desperate character of some of those elements. Miners from Idaho and Montana have come into that city to winter, to spend their profits, if successful, or to pick up a precarious living, if unlucky. Many discharged soldiers also remain there or in the neighboring districts. The growing travel and commerce across the Continent floats in other persons, "good, bad and indifferent" as to habits and self-control. Other accessions to the "Gentile" strength and agitation are constantly being made. The merchants of that class are increasing and becoming prosperous; those who have been silent and submissive under the Mormon hierarchy, dare now to demonstrate their real feelings, under the protection of sympathy and soldiers; the "Daily Union Vedette" continues to be published as organ of the soldiers and other "Gentiles," and is bold and unsparing and constant in its denunciations of the Mormon church and its influences; Rev. Norman MacLeod, chaplain of the soldiers, and pastor of the Congregational society in Salt Lake City, has returned from a summer's trip to Nevada and California, with funds for building a meeting-house, and increased zeal against the Mormons; a "Gentile" theater has been established; various social organizations, in the same interest, are increasing, and growing influential over the young people; General Connor himself, his fellow-officers and soldiers are all bitter in their hatred of the Mormons, and eager for opportunities to subdue them to the governmental authority; Governor Durkee seems less disposed to be tolerant of the Mormon control and the Mormon disrespect to federal authority, than his predecessors generally have been; and the judges, goaded, like all the rest of the "Gentiles," by Mormon insults and Mormon defiance, and their own incapacity, under government neglect, to perform their duties, more than share the common feeling of antagonism to the church leaders.

Thus the two parties are growing more and more antagonistic, more and more into a spirit of conflict. Thus, too, while are rapidly aggregating and operating the means by which the Mormon problem is ere long to be solved, even without the special help or interference of the government, are also coming into life the elements and the danger of a more serious and personal collision, in which the Mormons, from their numerical superiority, would most probably be successful, and, quite likely, wreak terrible ven-

geance on their enemies. Of course, such a result would evoke full retribution on their own heads; for then people and government would arouse, and enforce speedy and complete subjugation.

But these threatened and dreaded results ought to be and can be avoided. The government has now the opportunity to guide and control the operation of natural causes to the overthrow of polygamy and the submission of the Mormon aristocracy, without the shedding of blood, without the loss of a valuable population and their industries. The steps to this are, first, a sufficient military force in the Territory "to keep the peace;" to protect freedom of speech, of the press, and of religious proselytism; to forbid any personal outrages on the rights of the Mormons; and to prevent any revenges by them upon the "Gentiles." And next, the supplanting of all polygamists in federal offices by men not connected with that distinctive sin and offense of the church. These steps, wisely taken, firmly administered, would rapidly give the growing anti-polygamous elements such moral power, as would ensure speedy and bloodless revolution. It may not be wise or necessary, at least at present, in view of past indulgence, to undertake to enforce the federal law against polygamy; that may be held in abeyance until the effect of such proceedings as have been indicated is fully developed. In short, I would change the government policy from the "do-nothing" to the "make-haste-slowly" character; I would have its influence decidedly and continuously felt in the Territory against the crime of polygamy.

Neglecting to do this, there is danger of anarchy and deadly conflict springing up on that arena; there is also sure prospect that the people of the country at large will, in their impatience and disgust, force upon Congress such radical measures against the Mormons, as are, in regard to our past neglect and the present opportunity of peaceful revolution, to be almost as deeply deprecated. In either event, the responsibility will rest heavily and sharply upon the President and his Cabinet, who are permitting the affairs of the Territory to drift on in the present loose and dangerous way, either ignorant of, or indifferent to, the rapidly developing social conflict there.

DEFENSE OF POLYGAMY.

My readers may be interested to know the reply of the Mormons to my letters on the subject of Polygamy. The *Déseret News*, the

official organ of the church, had such a reply in August, from which I quote :—

“As a people we view every revelation from the Lord as sacred. Polygamy was none of our seeking. It came to us from Heaven, and we recognized in it, and still do, the voice of Him whose right it is not only to teach us but to dictate and teach all men, for in His hand is the breath of the nostrils, the life and existence of the proudest, most exalted, most learned or puissant of the children of men. It is extremely difficult, nay utterly impossible, for those who have not been blessed with the gift of the Holy Ghost, to enter into our feelings, thoughts and faith in these matters. They talk of revelation given, and of receiving counter revelation to forbid what has been commanded, as if man was the sole author, originator and designer of them. Granted that they do not believe the revelations we have received come from God. Granted that they do not believe in God at all, if they so desire it. Do they wish to brand a whole people with the foul stigma of hypocrisy, who, from their leaders to the last converts that have made the dreary journey to these mountain wilds for their faith, have proved their honesty of purpose and deep sincerity of faith by the most sublime sacrifices? Either that is the issue of their reasoning, or they imagine that we serve and worship the most accommodating Deity ever dreamed of in the wildest vagaries of the most savage polytheist. Either they imagine that we believe man concocts and devises the revelations which we receive, or that we serve a God who will oblige us at any time by giving us revelations to suit our changing fancies, or the dictation of men who have declared the canon of revelation full, sealed up the heavens as brass, and utterly repudiate the interference of the Almighty in the affairs of men. By the first of these suppositions we would be gross hypocrites; by the other grosser idiots.

“Know, gentlemen of the press and all whom it may concern, that though a repugnance to this doctrine may be expressed by one in a thousand of the people whom you call ‘Mormons,’ he is not one, nor recognized as such by that religious community of which he may be called a member. If one revelation is untrue, all are untrue; if one was revealed by God, all have their origin in the same Divine source.”

The News goes on to declaim that greater purity, better morals accompany Polygamy than Monogamy, and adds :—

“As well might it be said that the affection of the parent must be confined to one child, and that the affection of a united family could not reciprocate that of the parent, or jealousy would creep in, bitterness of thought be engendered and the finer feelings and susceptibilities be blunted, as that one man cannot entertain for and extend affection to more than one woman, or that his affection could not be reciprocated by more than one without the same results being called into existence.

“The presumed misery consequent upon polygamy is advanced

as one of the strongest arguments against it. Upon what is it based? Some person met and conversed with some other person who did not enjoy that amount of happiness in polygamy, which they desired to realize. Who does in any condition of life? How many monogamic wives curse the hour they ever entered the bonds of wedlock? There is no argument in it, nor can an argument be logically based upon it. It is a statement, and can be met by a counter statement which the experience of this united people can indorse, they having had a practical acquaintance with, and an experience in, the workings of both forms of marriage. Take fifty polygamic families indiscriminately from this community, and the same number in the same manner from any other community in the world, and there will be found more conjugal unhappiness in the latter than exists in the former."

The Mormons point lustily to the incontinence and license that exist in society, where one man to one wife is the rule, as practical argument in favor of their system. It is their final and favorite appeal, and always very satisfactory—to themselves. They hold that there is more real purity and order, in the intercourse of the sexes, in society based upon Polygamy, than in that where Monogamy is the law, and license the practice.

A SPECIMEN OF MORMON PREACHING.

This extract from a late Sunday discourse in the Salt Lake City Tabernacle by Heber C. Kimball, the first Vice-President and chief prophet of the church, is a fair specimen of a good deal of the preaching of the Mormon bishops. I have reports of other sermons by Brigham Young himself and others, so absolutely filthy in language, that they cannot be reproduced in print anywhere:—

"Ladies and gentlemen, good morning. I am going to talk to you by revelation. I never study my sermons, and when I get up to speak, I never know what I am going to say only as it is revealed to me from on high; then all I say is true; could it help but be so, when God communicates to you through me? The Gentiles are our enemies; they are damned forever; they are thieves and murderers, and if they don't like what I say they can go to hell, damn them! They want to come here in large numbers and decoy our women. I have introduced some Gentiles to my wives, but I will not do it again, because, if I do, I will have to take them to my houses and introduce them to Mrs. Kimball at one house, and to Mrs. Kimball at another house, and so on; and they will say Mrs. Kimball such, and Mrs. Kimball such, and so on, are w——. They are taking some of our fairest daughters from us now in Salt Lake City, damn them. If I catch any of them running after my wives

I will send them to hell! and ladies you must not keep their company, you sin if you do, and you will be damned and go to hell. What do you think of such people? They hunt after our fairest and prettiest women, and it is a lamentable fact that they would rather go with them damned scoundrels than stay with us. If Brother Brigham comes to me, and says he wants one of my daughters, he has a right to take her, and I have the exclusive right to give her to who I please, and she has no right to refuse; if she does, she will be damned forever and ever, because she belongs to me. She is part of my flesh, and no one has a right to take her unless I say so, any more than he has a right to take one of my horses or cows.

"All the federal Governor has to do is to pay the legislature and administer justice. Are the Governors our masters? No, sir; not for me; they are our servants. We have our apostolic government. Brigham Young is our leader, our President, our Governor. I am Lieutenant-Governor. Aint I a terrible feller? Why, it has taken the hair all off my head. At least it would, if I hadn't lost it before. I lost it in my hardships, while going out to preach the kingdom of God, without purse or scrip.

"[To the Gentiles.] Oh, don't be scart at me! Come up to my house and see me. I will give you some peaches, and make you happy. I have two sons abroad preaching the kingdom of God. Brother Byrd says they are good boys. It makes me proud to hear it. I want the time to come when I can send out fifty sons to preach, all at one lick. Come up and see me. I will give you some peaches. I will give you some apples. I would give you some meat if I had it, but I am about out."

THE EMIGRATION OF 1865.

The Mormons boast of one thousand emigrants from Europe this season, proselyted and shipped by their missionaries abroad. Most of them are English and Norwegians, simple, ignorant people, beyond any class known in American society, and so easy victims to the shrewd and sharp and fanatical Yankee leaders in the Mormon church. Education, common schools are among the first of reformatory means needed in Utah.

III.

MR. COLFAX'S SPEECHES.

THIS record of the remarkable Summer's Journey Across the Continent would be incomplete, without some portion, at least, of the many and valuable public speeches on the route, by MR. COLFAX, whose high public position and wide personal popularity made the trip so conspicuous, and gave all its participants such rare advantages. These speeches are but generally described in the Letters; and the extracts that follow,—only too limited by the confines of the volume,—relate almost solely to special themes connected with the development and civilization of the Mountain and Pacific States:—

MR. LINCOLN'S MESSAGE TO THE MINERS.

From MR. COLFAX'S Speech at Central City, Colorado, May 27.

He had come in part to bring a message from our late President,—that noble man, so pure, so patriotic, so forgiving, the most lovable of all men, whose tender heart bore no ill-will, who never answered railing with railing; on the very night he was seeking to soften the fate of the fallen enemies of the country, struck down by the assassin. The crime towered in its infamy, but its purpose was not accomplished. It was intended to weaken the Nation, but it made the Nation stronger. It had placed Abraham Lincoln on the very pinnacle of fame. He did not die because he was Abraham Lincoln, but because he represented the Nation's contest with and victory over treason. We might engrave his name on marble,—it would crumble; we might inscribe it on Mt. Blanc, where that living wall four thousand feet in height overlaid a portion of the mountain eleven thousand feet high,—that granite spire would moulder in fragments round the base of its pedestal before the name and memory of Abraham Lincoln would be forgotten.

Said Mr. Lincoln to me, when I called the day before his death, to say good-bye:—"Mr. Colfax, I want you to take a message from me to the miners whom you visit. I have (said he) very large ideas of the mineral wealth of our Nation. I believe it practically inexhaustible. It abounds all over the western country, from the Rocky

Mountains the Pacific, and its development has scarcely commenced. During the war, when we were adding a couple of millions of dollars every day to our national debt, I did not care about encouraging the increase in the volume of our precious metals. We had the country to save first. But now that the rebellion is overthrown and we know pretty nearly the amount of our national debt, the more gold and silver we mine, makes the payment of that debt so much the easier. Now, (said he, speaking with much emphasis,) I am going to encourage that in every possible way. We shall have hundreds of thousands of disbanded soldiers, and many have feared that their return home in such great numbers might paralyze industry by furnishing suddenly a greater supply of labor than there will be demand for. I am going to try to attract them to the hidden wealth of our mountain ranges, where there is room enough for all. Immigration, which even the war has not stopped, will land upon our shores hundreds of thousands more per year from overcrowded Europe. I intend to point them to the gold and silver that waits for them in the West. Tell the miners from me, that I shall promote their interests to the utmost of my ability; because their prosperity is the prosperity of the Nation, and (said he, his eye kindling with enthusiasm,) we shall prove in a very few years, that we are indeed the *treasury of the world*."

That evening he (Mr. Colfax) had called again and was with the President half an hour just before he started for the theater, to which he had been invited to accompany him. But he expected to leave Washington the next morning, and having other engagements for the evening, he could not go. The President was still in the highest spirits in the evening. As he was departing for the theater, accompanied to the door by Mr. Ashmun of Massachusetts,—the last walk to the door of the Executive Mansion he was ever to take,—as they were shaking hands, a thought seemed to strike the President, who repeated in a condensed form what he had just delivered to us, thus showing how important he held it, and said to him, "Don't forget, Colfax, to tell those miners that that is my speech to them,—a pleasant journey to you. I will telegraph you at San Francisco,—good-bye,"—the last good-bye of his life. These words he brought were the last words of the President on public subjects before the bullet of the assassin crashed through his brain. It showed that amid the exultation consequent on the grandest consummation of the dearest wishes of the President and the Nation, the interests of the great West, particularly of the miners, were uppermost in his thoughts. These words were true, prophetic.

THE RESPECTIVE DUTIES OF GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE—SUGGESTIONS TO THE MORMONS.

From MR. COLFAX'S Speech at Great Salt Lake City, June 12.

I have had a theory for years past that it is the duty of men who are in public life, charged with a participation in the government

of a great country like ours, to know as much as possible of the interests, development, and resources of the country whose destiny, comparatively, has been committed to their hands. And I said to my friends, if they would accompany me, we would travel over the New World till we could look from the shores of the Pacific towards the Continent of Asia, the cradle of the human race. And, therefore, we are here, traveling night and day over your mountains and valleys, your deserts and plains, to see this region between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, where, as I believe, the seat of Empire in this Republic ultimately is to be.

Now, you who are pioneers far out here in the distant West, have many things that you have a right to ask of your government. I can scarcely realize with this large assembly around me, that there is an almost boundless desert of twelve hundred miles between myself and the valley of the Mississippi. There are many things that you have a right to demand; you have created, however, many things here for yourselves. No one could traverse your city without recognizing that you are a people of industry. It happened to be my fortune in Congress to do a little towards increasing the postal facilities in the West, not as much as I desired, but as much as I could obtain from Congress. And when it was proposed, to the astonishment of my fellow-members, that there should be a daily mail run across these pathless plains and mighty mountains, through the wilderness of the West to the Pacific, with the pathway lined with our enemies the savages of the forest, and where the luxuries and even the necessities of life in some parts of the route are unknown, the project was not considered possible; and then, when in my position as Chairman of the Post-Office Committee, I proposed that we should vote a million of dollars a year to put that mail across the Continent, members came to me and said "You will ruin yourself." They thought it was monstrous, an unjust and extravagant expenditure. I said to them, though I knew little of the West then compared to what I have learned in the few weeks of this trip, I said, "The people along the line of that route have a right to demand it at your hands, and in their behalf I demand it." Finally the bill was coaxed through, and you have a daily mail running through here, or it would run with almost the regularity of clockwork, were it not for the incursions of these savages. And here let me say, by way of parenthesis, that if I ever had any particular love for "the noble red man," it is pretty much evaporated during this trip. I do not think as much of him as I did. They were looking down from the hills at us, as we have since learned; and had it not been that Mr. Otis and I had our hair cut so short at Atchison, that it would not have paid expenses to be taken even by an Indian, they might have scalped us.

You had a right to this daily mail, and you have it. You had a right, also, to demand, as the eastern portion of this Republic had, telegraphic communication speeding the messages of life and death, of pleasure and of traffic; that the same way should be opened up by that frail wire, the conductor of Jove's thunderbolts, tamed down and harnessed for the use of man. And it fell to my fortune to ask it for you; to ask a subsidy from the government in its aid. It was but hardly obtained; yet, now the grand result is achieved, who re-

grets it,—who would part with this bond of union and civilization? There was another great interest you had a right to demand. Instead of the slow, toilsome and expensive manner in which you freight your goods and hardware to this distant Territory, you should have a speedy transit between the Missouri valley and this intramontane basin in which you live. Instead of paying two or three prices,—sometimes overrunning the cost of the article,—you should have a railroad communication, and California demanded this. I said, as did many others in Congress, "This is a great national enterprise; we must bind the Atlantic and Pacific States together by bands of iron; we must send the iron horse through all these valleys and mountains of the interior, and when thus interlaced together, we shall be a more compact and homogeneous Republic." And the Pacific Railroad bill passed. This great work of uniting three thousand miles, from shore to shore, is to be consummated, and we hail the day of peace, because with peace we can do many things as a Nation that we cannot do in war. This railroad is to be built, this company is to build it; if they do not, the government will. It shall be put through soon; not toilsomely, slowly, as a far distant event, but as an event of the decade in which we live. * * *

And now, *What has the government a right to demand of you?* It is not that which Napoleon exacts from his officers in France,—which is allegiance to the Constitution and fidelity to the Emperor. Thank God, we have no Emperor nor despot in this country, throned or unthroned. Here, every man has the right, himself, to exercise his elective suffrage as he sees fit, none molesting him or making him afraid. And the duty of every American citizen is condensed in a single sentence, as I said to your committee yesterday,—not in allegiance to an Emperor, but *allegiance to the Constitution, obedience to the laws, and devotion to the Union.* [Cheers.] When you live to that standard, you have the right to demand protection; and were you three times three thousand miles from the national capital, wherever the starry banner of the Republic waves and a man stands under it, if his rights of life, liberty and property are assailed, and he has rendered *this* allegiance to his country, it is the duty of the government to reach out its arm, if it take a score of regiments, protect and uphold him in his rights. [Cheers.]

THE MINES AND THEIR TAXATION.

From MR. COLFAX'S Speech at Virginia City, Nevada, June 26.

I know that in all these mining regions, there is some distrust and alarm, in regard to the taxation of the mines; and I came here this evening to this balcony, that I might tell you frankly what I believe myself, about this interesting subject, whether it agrees with your views, or does not agree with them,—for I can only speak to you those words that I sincerely believe. I take it for granted, in the first place, that everybody in this broad land has, directly or indirectly, to aid in the payment of our national debt; that debt which has been accumulated for the salvation of our country; a debt which,

great as it is, is small in comparison with the value of the great interests which were saved by its incurring. For though it has cost much to save this country, it will prove in the end that it has cost less to save than it would have cost to lose the country. The question is, how shall this burden be adjusted? For it is the duty of the statesman to adjust that burden with equity to all the interests in the land. I came from my home on this long journey, not for pleasure and relaxation alone, but for instruction; that I might see with my own eyes the improvement in the West, the interests and resources of the country on this side of the Continent, its wants and what it had a right to demand of legislation. Having been in the past,—and I do not speak of it boastfully, for I believe you all know what I have done for western interests in the past,—having been in that past a sincere and earnest friend of western interests, I thought that a personal visit to this interesting region of the Republic, now being developed rapidly, and to be developed with tenfold rapidity in the years which are to come, now that peace has returned to our land, might make me a more intelligent and useful friend and advocate of western interests than ever before.

In the first place, I believe in a fable that I read in my younger years, the moral of which was that you should never kill the goose which laid the golden egg. On the contrary, you should encourage the goose to lay more eggs of that kind. [Applause.]

I think that is a principle you will all agree in. We are having an immense immigration from Europe. It was scarcely checked by the war, even with all the threatening of a draft hanging over the immigrant,—a threat which the potentates and powers of Europe published throughout their lands, and had described with exaggerated terrors. The subjects in Europe were told that our country was racked with civil strife, was going down into anarchy and ruin; that the great institutions of American liberty were overthrown, and that we were to be consigned to constant intestine war hereafter. In spite of all these prophecies of evil, immigrants poured in upon us, even during the war, by thousands and tens of thousands. They will come by hundreds of thousands hereafter. They have to go somewhere in this broad land. When they arrive on our shores from overcrowded Europe, they should be pointed to this western realm of country, filled with the precious metals, open for all men to come and prospect and gather for themselves. I want no fetters of restriction placed upon the mining prospector who is willing to pursue his hazardous vocation. On the contrary, I would encourage him, and I would encourage others to come hither and follow his example, by extending every reasonable inducement. And I think we have a precedent in our legislation, which justifies us in throwing open all these lands to whomsoever may choose to come here to dig for silver and for gold. If you will look at the policy of our country, which, after years of stormy contest in Congress, was finally settled in regard to our agricultural lands,—a policy that will never be repealed,—you will find a policy which is the truest and wisest that a great country could adopt in order to have its people tilling the soil, becoming producers of national wealth, adding to our agricultural resources, calling our people away from the crowded cities to make

them tillers of the soil of the Republic. That policy is to give them an estate at a nominal price, throwing open our public lands to them, that they may become owners of the soil they till and have a stake in the prosperity of the Nation. That is the great object sought to be obtained, and which is obtained, by the provisions of the homestead law. If that is the just policy in regard to the agricultural lands, it is equally just in regard to the mineral lands. Because the man who goes, enjoying the benefits of the homestead law, to till the soil, is assured of success. He knows, judging by all ordinary calculations, that when he turns over the greensward with his plow and puts in the seed, it will return him ten, twenty or fifty fold. But the miner, on the contrary, knows that his vocation is a hazardous one; and if there should be a priority of benefits to either, I would hold out rather more inducements to the miner upon the mineral lands, than I would to the tiller upon the acres of agricultural lands. [Applause.] But I believe in assimilating the policy. If it is right in the one case it is right in the other, and upon that rock of right I plant myself in that policy. [Applause.]

But the homestead law says that this land shall only be given to the farmer upon condition that he will occupy and improve the land himself. If he abandon the land, he loses it. If he attempts to hold it as a non-resident, he loses it. He must go on and add to the national wealth by his industry; and upon that condition he receives the land at a mere nominal fee for the patent granted to him, after five years occupancy, by the government. That seems to be the correct policy, and that should be the policy in regard to the mineral lands. While the right of discovery and occupancy should be protected by the government, when mineral discoveries, or what are supposed to be such, are abandoned, they should not be held to the exclusion of those who might be willing to work the abandoned claims. That is a doctrine which is based upon the principles of justice, I think.

Now, my friends, in regard to taxation, I have precedents which will be familiar to you when I quote them. And I speak of these things because I would, as far as possible, impress on your minds those precedents, as I believe them to be right, and that your senators, and that your representatives may place your claims and your demands in the Capital at Washington, not upon the basis of a bonus to the miner, but upon the basis of justice as compared with other interests in the land. Let us examine the principles of the tax bill which we have framed. I know that it is a heavy and onerous tax bill. Nothing in the shape of a tax bill is calculated to be popular. Government can never get that class of bills exactly correct; and I would not claim that this one is exactly correct, although I believe it is as nearly equal in its burdens as possible. In that tax bill you will see illustrated the policy of Congress, which has been to put the tax as far away as possible from the first production of the soil. Let us take, for instance, the article of wood. There is nothing in the tax bill levying a tax on wood growing in the forest or cut down by the forester; but when the wood is manufactured into a buggy, into a wagon, into cabinet-ware, or into any other kind of work made of wood, then the tax accrues for the first time upon

the manufactured article, whatever it may be, and not until then. It is so with wool. There is no tax in the national tax law on the wool upon the sheep's back; there is no tax upon it after it is clipped from the sheep's back and packed up in bales in the store of the wool merchant or sheep raiser. But when the wool is manufactured into woolen goods, then it is taxed,—not until then. The same principle applies to tobacco, which I presume you know is very heavily taxed. Now, I don't suppose that any of you drink whiskey. [Laughter and cries of "No, no!" "never!"] But if you do drink whiskey,—which I don't,—you will realize that every glass of whiskey which you drink and pay for, contributes a portion to the revenues of the general government, whether you like it or not. Now I take all my vice out,—(I think every man is guilty of at least one vice,—I don't believe there are any perfect men,—I believe the ladies are about all perfect, Heaven's last best gift to man, but I believe that all men are addicted to one vice or another)—I take my vice out in tobacco, in smoking. I take my cigar, and have the satisfaction of thinking that by every one I smoke I am aiding somewhat in the support of the general government. If any of you take patent medicines, you are entitled to feel the same interest and satisfaction in the operation. [Laughter.] You will see on the outside label a stamp of from two to four cents. So much is contributed to the general government from that particular source. But, to resume seriously: There is no tax upon tobacco in the leaf, nor is there any tax upon the corn out of which the whiskey is made. When the corn is manufactured into whiskey, then the government puts the tax on the whiskey. When the tobacco is manufactured into cigars or plug, then the tax is put on. This is the policy of the general government in this respect. There is only one exception to it. That is cotton. Cotton is taxed when it is produced in the field. There is a reason for that. Cotton used to be king. We concluded that we would see if we could not in this Republic dare to tax the king. That is the only exception in the tax law. In every other case the tax is put away from the produce until the article is manufactured or ready for consumption.

You understand already what I am going to say to you. That is just my theory in regard to the taxation of the precious metals. Don't embarrass the men who are taking the precious metals out of the mines; but when these metals are assayed, when they enter as bullion or coin into the monetary wealth of the country, then they will be taxed, and then they should be taxed, and then, whether you like it or not, they must be taxed. [Great applause.] I think that is the true basis to put this whole question upon in Congress, and, presented in that way, I believe that you can command success and that regard for your interests which you need and justly require.

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

From MR. COLFAX'S Speech at Virginia City, Nevada, June 26.

A VOICE.—“How about the Pacific Railroad?”

—In regard to the Pacific Railroad, I can only turn to my record on

that subject. I believe the Pacific Railroad to be a national and political and military necessity. I believe that there should be a railroad binding this great Continent together with its iron bands. It is riveted and banded together now by mountain and river and plain, upon which are written: "What God has joined together let no man put asunder." And when the tide of immigration poured across these Plains and made these States of the Pacific Coast, looking out over the slope of the Sierras across the Pacific Ocean to the birthplace of mankind, the Continent of Asia, I believed it was our duty, the duty of those of us living in the older States, to make the means of transit between the Pacific and Atlantic States not a slow and toilsome journey by ox or horse or mule team, but by the iron horse that we have in all other portions of the land. Years and years ago, before there was a Pacific Railroad bill passed in Congress, I was its earnest advocate. When men talked about the amount of money that would have to be paid by the general government in the building of a line of road, I said that was not an iota in the balance in comparison with its national benefits. 'Since that time the necessity for it has been enhanced. It is needed for the development of this mineral wealth. Go with me to Austin, where I saw their seams of silver with my own eyes. There are mines there which would be sources of wealth on either side of the Sierra Nevadas. Many of them, besides those now being worked, could be developed, but cannot be now. Why? Because of their distance from their base of supplies; because of the great cost of freight,—of machinery. But when we have a Pacific Railroad opening to this vast interior region, with all its enormous resources, then the mining pioneers of our country will be able to work with great profit the mineral lands which cannot now be worked at all. It will pay back to our national treasury far more than the bonus which may be given to aid in the construction of such a railroad or railroads; it will add to our national wealth; besides being a bond of union, firm as the eternal hills, over which the tracks will run. And I believe that it is about to come, and come rapidly, if continued peace enables us to devote the energies of the country to it.

THE REPUBLIC AND PEACE—THE MEXICAN QUESTION.

From MR. COLFAX'S Speech at San Francisco, July 8.

So much for the past and present of our country. Now, what of its future? Providence hides destiny from individuals.

"Heaven from all creatures hides the book of Fate;
All but the page prescribed,—the present state."

But Nations can predict their destiny for themselves. It is beyond the limit of mortal conception to compass the grandeur of the future of our Nation, if prudence guides its course. Napoleon has said in

his day, after a bloody war, that his empire was peace; we can more truly say that this Republic is peace. Peace is the mission of Freedom, and Freedom is the primal principle of the American Republic. It is not by the glory and triumphs of aggressive war that its destiny is to be realized, but by peace.

I am here among you people of California apparently a welcome guest. You have placed full confidence in my honesty of purpose, and I would not appear before you to speak only those words which you would applaud, when I really differed from you. I know how you feel on the Monroe Doctrine and driving out Maximilian. [Tremendous applause.] I do not agree with you on these subjects; I will be frank with you. I am opposed to war for any purpose, or for any cause, except for the vindication of the national honor, or the salvation of the Union. [Applause.] I am for such a war, if it should occupy four, ten or forty years; but to war in any other cause, that can be honorably avoided, I am opposed. You people of California have not seen the horrors and desolations of war around your own doors; you have not seen the hundreds and thousands of friends, neighbors and countrymen torn, mangled, dead and dying on the cold earth moistened by their blood; you have not seen the long string of ambulances carrying the mangled, groaning, suffering thousands as they have been carried to the hospitals to die, or to suffer mutilation even worse than death, that cause vigorous, industrious men to become burdens on society for life; you have not seen and could not have heard of half the horrors of war. Oh, it is a fearful thing to rush into war, except for the preservation of one's country. Such a war is as sacred as the war against the Saracens to save the sepulchre of the Savior from the pollution of the Infidel. I am for no war with any Nation, if that war can by any honorable statesmanship be avoided, even if by saying so I shall be driven into private life. I am a believer in the justice and patriotism and republicanism of the Monroe Doctrine. [Tremendous applause.] But I am not for war with France and England on that question now, with its renewed destruction of our commerce; its rivers of blood, and its millions of added debt. I want the Pacific Railroad built, instead of the laurels of victory on fields of carnage and of death. I want the progress and blessings of peace, instead of more hecatombs of piled up dead, and hundreds of millions more of debt. I want the prosperity and developments of peace. I do not object to the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. I admire the courage and patriotism of Juarez and his patriot bands in defence of their native land. I do not think Maximilian is the rightful ruler of Mexico. [Enthusiastic applause.] But I object to rushing into a foreign war ere we have scarcely ended our domestic one, to drive him out. I believe that diplomacy can effect the purpose better. Time may settle it for us, if we are but patient and firm. When you have a President in the chair, who is such a believer in the Monroe Doctrine as Mr. Johnson, whose sentiments expressed in the Senate of the Nation on this question, leave us in no doubt where he stands. Trust him, then, to effect this object. His patriotism no one can doubt. Faithful among the faithless, he stood by his country when every other southern senator faltered or deserted.

Remember that his chief adviser is W. H. Seward, whom God has spared from the bloody harvest of the assassins who thought to gather the lives of six of the truest in the land, but reaped with their murderous sickle but one. Trust him! His diplomacy has more than once saved the country from a foreign war, and will solve this question successfully without war. We are strong enough as a Nation to gain our own ends without wars. Let us stand by and trust in the government, in Johnson, in Seward, in Stanton and their faithful associates, and all will be well. [Applause.]

CALIFORNIA'S PAST AND FUTURE.

From MR. COLFAX'S Speech at San Francisco, July 8.

You, as a people, are most deeply interested in the future progress and prosperity of our common country. Less than twenty years ago,—and what a little time it appears,—this great city of San Francisco was not; its site was scarcely known. But gold was discovered, and hither came adventurous pioneers with their caravans, laden, not with the spices and perfume of Asia, nor like the caravans of the Indies, with their wealth, but with their wives, children, and household goods, wending their way over the sandy deserts, or scaling craggy passes through the mighty mountain ranges that separate you from your sister States on the Atlantic side of the Continent. These were men of energy and of iron will; and it needs both to travel two thousand miles over such a country, and to brave the blood-thirsty savages on the way. They were men of faith, tried in the ordeal of adversity, and profited by its lessons. It was such men who founded your State, it was such men that saved it from the grasp of slavery, which its advocates had already fastened upon it. It was by their means that she entered the glorious sisterhood of States, clothed in the golden robes of Freedom. If with such a foundation, with the example of such men before you, you are but true to yourselves, it is beyond the power of language to picture the glory of your future. Your city is destined to become the New York of the Pacific, commanding much of the trade of China, Japan, India, Australia, Mexico, South and Central America, while your store of mineral wealth, and the richness and variety of your grain and fruit, and the energy and enterprise of your people, must make your future great and glorious. Then the interest taken in the departures of your semi-monthly steamers, will be lost in the continued daily departures of many to all parts of the globe. And now, as I say to you good-night, let us all rejoice together, that, from Orient to Occident; from sea to sea; from the Atlantic seaboard, where the masts of our commerce are like the trees of the forest, across valley and river, over the vast mountains that lift their mighty forms as sentinel watch-towers of our inheritance; to the Golden Gate; from the frozen North to the sunny South, we have now, and shall have in all the coming centuries, but one Nation, one Constitution, one Flag, and one glorious Destiny!

AMERICA AND BRITAIN.

From MR. COLFAX'S Speech at Victoria, Vancouver's Island, July 27.

You have given me a welcome that is truly gratifying. I see around me not only American citizens, but the officials, civil and military, and the subjects of that great and good woman, Queen Victoria. Although I am a republican in every sinew and fiber, I never think of her without my heart flowing with gratitude. When our country was in imminent peril, and when Great Britain and America, the representatives of a common lineage, a common language, and, if such it can be called, a common religion, were almost embroiled in mortal conflict on the Trent difficulty, Queen Victoria stepped in and demanded of her ministers that the character of their missives should be conciliatory; that it should not be repulsive to the United States, but should enable the American people to comply with the request without any sacrifice of honor. On that occasion she proved her wisdom, her sagacity, and her kindness. * * * * *

I know there are difficulties between the United States and Nations on the other side of the Atlantic, but these can be safely confided to the sagacity and wisdom of the respective governments. We Americans should never forget, so long as we speak the same tongue, how much we owe to the people of the British Isles,—in science and art; in history and literature; in poesy and song. We claim an equal share in the fame of Shakespeare and Milton, Cowper and Pope, Gibbon and Macaulay, Newton and Rosse. * * * *

The people of Great Britain respect the memory of Wilberforce. I think it was Macaulay who said of that great man, when he ascended to the judgment-seat of God, that he held in his hands the shackles of a hundred thousand of his fellow-beings. We had another name hallowed in all our memories, and never to be forgotten in connection with the emancipation of the slaves,—the name of a great and good and kind-hearted man,—Abraham Lincoln,—who, taking the helm of State, never despaired of our great Republic, proving himself the faithful and indomitable pilot, steering through good and ill the Ship of State. While he stood at the helm, he was the greatest and purest and best in the land; and when he went above, he took with him the fetters of a down-trodden and oppressed race, which no power on God's footstool could ever again place on their enfranchised limbs. The whole civilized world now sees that when ingrates and rebels lit the torch of civil war, they also lit the funeral pyre of the institution of slavery. Let me not be misunderstood; I believe that this war will open a new era for the genial and fertile land of the South. The honorable gentleman here sketched in glowing language the peculiar advantages of the South, saying that it held three great keys of the country,—Hampton Roads, the keys of Florida and New Orleans; and that, with free and paid labor to replace that enforced system of labor which had been a blight to mankind,—for with Lamartine he believed that God never allowed a chain to be bound round the limbs of the slaves, without forging the other end round the neck of the oppressor,—the fortunes of the country would again be in the ascendant. If our people were only

faithful to themselves, to their institutions, to the country, they would merit and attain to the grandest destiny that lay in the womb of time for any Nation on the globe. Instead of thirty-six stars, a whole galaxy of blazing orbs would spangle that glorious field of blue. The star of Washington Territory,—that only Territory that has been named after the great and immortal statesman,—would shine there; the stars of Idaho, of Montana, of Colorado, of all the Territories, would shine on that glorious flag, and all these noble States would revolve round the central government as one central sun — distinct as the billows, but one as the sea!

FAREWELL SPEECH,

At the Parting Banquet in San Francisco, September 1.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—The brevity that an occasion like this commands, impels me to omit much that rises before my mind as I stand before you. But the kind and generous hospitalities of which we have been the recipients, culminating in this brilliant testimonial, which is at once a reception and a farewell, and the very cordial and complimentary address to which I have just listened, forbid that I should remain entirely silent.

Just two months ago, after journeying over thousands of miles of mountains and valleys and deserts and plains, your honored Mayor, and a Committee of your Supervisors met us in the cabin of the steamer "Chrysopolis," and gave us an official welcome to this seven-hilled city. Since then, in all our travels upon this Coast, we have been accustomed to speak of San Francisco as a home. And now, though I came here a stranger and a traveler, I feel like one who is indeed about to leave his home and hearthstone. [Applause.]

When on Saturday morning, I sail out through the Golden Gate upon the broad ocean, and see headland and cliff recede from view, I shall feel, as now, the inward struggle between the joy with which I think of the home and the many friends of many years, and the regret with which I leave the home I hope I have in the hearts of new friends here.

Our party came hither to learn, by actual observation, more of this Pacific portion of the Republic, its resources and its wants; and you can testify that the grass has not grown under our feet. We have seen your varieties of mining,—placer, hydraulic and quartz. We have seen many of your rich agricultural valleys,—the Sacramento, San Joaquin, San Jose, Petaluma, Russian River. Napa, Sonoma, Alameda, and others. We have traveled on nearly every mile of your two hundred to three hundred miles of railroads, closing with the delightful excursion to-day on the Alameda Railroad, for which we were indebted to its president, Mr. Cohen. We have visited, or passed through, over half of your cities and towns. We have enjoyed visits to your great national curiosities. the world-renowned Yosemite Valley, to be visited by thousands hereafter. Instead of scores, if California, by wise legislation, appreciates the

gift of it from the general government,—the Big Trees, the Geysers, and your neighbors, the Sea Lions.

We have examined, with interest, many of your manufactures, and reared as I was, in the school of Henry Clay, to believe in American manufactures, I am prouder of the suit in which I am clothed to-night, of California cloth, from wool on the back of California sheep, woven by the Mission Woolen Mills, and made here, than of the finest suit of French broadcloth I ever owned. [Applause.] I would urge you, in these last words, to foster manufactures, which are the backbone of national or State prosperity and independence. Even if they should not be profitable as a pecuniary investment, every triumph of mechanical or manufacturing industry here, is another spoke in the wheel of your progress. Develop and foster commerce on your great Pacific sea; for Raleigh spoke truly when he said, "Those who command the sea, command the trade of the world; those who command the trade of the world, command the riches of the world, and thus command the world itself." [Applause.]

But the moments sweep by, and I must not detain you longer. There have been weary hours in all this incessant journeying, but they have been happy and golden hours, too; happy, because full-freighted with hospitality and feasts to the eye and the mind; golden, because filled with recollections that will never die; friendships never to be forgotten till this heart ceases to beat; affectionate regards more priceless than the wealth of Ormuz and the Ind; and memories enshrined in the soul forever. [Applause.]

Hoping I have a happy God speed from you all on the long journey before me, I must now say farewell,—no, not farewell, for that seems for life, and

"Farewell, farewell, is a lonely sound
That always brings a sigh;
But give me rather, when true friends part,
That good old word, good-bye."

And thus, to friends of other years, whom I have met here so happily again, and to the newer friends I have found in your midst, I bid you, one and all, not a life-long but a regretful Good-Bye.