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PRESIDENT GARFIELD ON UTAH AFFAIRS.

THE paragraph relating to Utah in President Garfield's inaugural address has naturally occasioned some comment in this Territory. Those who are extremely bitter in their feelings towards the Latter-day Saints, try to make it appear that the President's remarks are strongly hostile to our Church, while others see nothing in them having any direct bearing against us, but merely an assertion of the law's supremacy which any statesman might safely enunciate. For our part we regard the principles embodied in his remarks as eminently correct, while we view the implications they contain as very much mistaken as matters of fact. We here reproduce the portion of the address which refers to Utah:

"The Constitution guarantees absolute religious freedom. Congress is prohibited from making any law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. The Territories of the United States are subject to the direct legislative authority of Congress and hence the general government is responsible for any violation of the Constitution in any of them. It is therefore a reproach to the government that in the most populous of the Territories the constitutional guarantee is not enjoyed by the people and the authority of Congress is set at naught. The Mormon Church not only offends the moral sense of mankind by sanctioning polygamy, but it prevents the administration of justice through the ordinary instrumentality of the law. In my judgment it is the duty of Congress, while respecting to the utmost the conscientious convictions and religious scruples of every citizen, to prohibit within its jurisdiction all criminal practices, especially of that class which destroy the marital relations and endanger social order, nor can any ecclesiastical organization be safely permitted to usurp in the smallest degree the functions and powers of the national government."

The opening sentences cannot be disputed. They are in effect, excerpts from the Constitution, an instrument which the "Mormon" Church recognizes as framed by divine inspiration. The power of Congress over the Territories, although, as we think it has been stretched beyond constitutional and republican limits, has been so far recognized as to have become established in the country, and therefore the argument as to the responsibility of Congress for any violation of the Constitution in the Territories must be conceded. And if the "constitutional guarantee" of religious freedom "is not enjoyed by the people" in the "most populous of the Territories"—Utah, that is certainly "a reproach to the Government."

But what are the facts? Wherein is religious freedom denied to any portion of the people of Utah? What sect or denomination of "Christians" or other religious organization is prevented from enjoying the utmost liberty of faith and worship in this Territory? What "establishment of religion" is restricted, or wherein is the "free exercise thereof" here prohibited in any shape or form? There is nothing in the territorial statutes, in municipal regulations, or in the tenets or practices of the Church having the greatest number of members here, which interferes in the remotest degree with the full and perfect freedom of any religious body whatever.

The only direction in which the President's remarks can apply is in the attitude taken against the "Mormons." There is an establishment of our religion against which a law of Congress was specially enacted. We are not permitted by that law to enjoy the free exercise thereof. That

principle had been received and practiced by the members of our Church, as a part of their religion, many years before the law of Congress was framed against it. If the authority of Congress has been in any way set at naught by members of our Church, it has been solely on the ground that the said authority had been stretched beyond constitutional limits so as to infringe upon religious liberty. If that is what the President means we are fully in accord with him on the sentiment, that the non-enjoyment of this constitutional guarantee by the "Mormon" people is indeed a reproach to the government." But if he intends those remarks to apply to any other religious body than the Latter-day Saints, then he is very much mistaken as to the situation, for there is not any spot in the broad domain of the United States, where liberty of religious thought and practice is more extended to the votaries of all creeds and to the dissenters from creeds than in the Territory of Utah. The "Mormons" claim religious liberty for themselves, and it is made part of their Church duty to assist in procuring and maintaining it for others.

The "Mormon" Church may offend the "moral sense" of some portion of mankind, "by sanctioning polygamy," because that "moral sense," as we consider, has been very much perverted by the false notions and wicked practices that have prevailed for a long period. And a great many things that, if not expressly sanctioned, are at least winked at and permitted by the ruling powers of the States and the general Government, greatly offend the moral sense of the "Mormons." And we think that if it is the duty of Congress and the Administration to correct public morals, there is a field for their labors, in other directions, so wide and so important that the little "Mormon" morality question dwarfs into microscopical proportions. The gross evils that abound in social life, with their disgusting, brutalizing and destructive tendencies, against which no presidential anathema is hurled and no congressional statute is enacted, to the sight of the statesman who casts a broad glance over national affairs, instead of peering through a tube held and pointed by the enemies of a minute portion of the body politic, presents a scene so vast and shocking and momentous that the alleged irregularities of a mere handful of people form but a tiny speck in the prospect.

It cannot be disputed that it is the duty of Congress "to prohibit within its jurisdiction all criminal practices." Why then does Congress not prohibit within the District of Columbia—undoubtedly under its exclusive jurisdiction—the criminal practices which have made that ten miles square notorious? And why is it that Congress has singled out a practice, sanctioned by religious faith and governed by religious rules, for the exercise of its morality—regulating functions, and left the gross immoralities and criminalities known to abound in Territories over which its legislative power is extended, without notice and to run riot unchecked by law and unrebuked by the voice of authority?

It is not asserted, but only implied in the President's cautious and diplomatic remarks, that there are practices here which "destroy the marital relations and endanger social order." If there are any such, they are not among the "Mormons," but have been brought here from outside society, where infanticide and feticide and that consecutive polygamy which is encouraged by divorce, destroy the marital relations, the maternal affections and the foundations of social order. "Mormon" celestial marriage establishes, maintains and extends the marital relations. For it makes the bond eternal in its nature, lasting for eternity as well as time, and making the relations of husband and wife and parents and children perpetual, involving the happiness of the future as of the present. And in its plural feature it extends these relations, to the farthest possible limits, with all their eternal obligations and consequences. It is also conservative of social order, making it permanent, and connecting the community by kindred ties so that all its members are related and thus blending their interests together. There is less social disorder among the "Mormons" than in any part of the Union with the same number of people, and there is less need of any regulation from an outside source, congressional or otherwise.

We endorse President Garfield's statement that no ecclesiastical or-

ganization can be safely permitted to "usurp the functions and powers of the national government." We consider that the Government should be as independent in its sphere as the Church in its domain. The "Mormon" Church has its own mission in the world and claims nothing whatever from the national Government, nor to exercise any power over that Government. It denies the right of any secular power to interfere with its ecclesiastical affairs, but pretends to no right to usurp the functions of the Government in national affairs. The principles, constitution and objects of our Church are persistently misrepresented, and we are not at all surprised that public men, who have not made the subject a study from its own standpoint, are misled as to the facts and mistaken as to their conclusions. But we are surprised—or would be, were it not that we recognize in it a part of the divine economy to keep this system before the world—that supposed sayings and doings of a small body of religionists in a remote part of the Union, arouse so much interest and are made the object of Executive reference and Congressional concern, while interests and communities which would naturally seem of so much vaster moment, are passed by without mention.

We do not regard the allusions of the President to "Mormon" affairs as bitter or hostile, or indicative of any desire to attack the people here, and beyond the points on which we have made some strictures, we see nothing in it to provoke any special comment. The rest of the address we consider sound and statesman-like, and there are some points in it so good that at another time we shall probably have something to offer in relation to them.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

PRESIDENT GARFIELD on Saturday 5th, set at rest a matter which has agitated the political and journalistic mind for some weeks past, by naming the members of his Cabinet. A still more effectual quietus was given to the subject when the Senate, in special executive session, promptly confirmed the nominations. In another portion of this paper will be found press opinions as to the fitness of the President's choice. It is impossible to please everybody, but it will be noticed that the majority of the newspapers quoted from, are favorably impressed with the selections made by His Excellency.

Beginning with the President himself, the statement meets with no opposition that Garfield is an immense improvement upon the retiring Ohioan, in that he is a statesman of long experience in Congress, intelligent regarding all points of controversy between the two parties in this country as well as in connection with foreign affairs, and stalwart and vigorous in his party leadership and direction. The country may expect no more vacillating, puny administration of the civil service, no capture of the Executive by plausible, smooth-tongued politicians; no surrendering of executive authority to please the whim of some influential Congressman; and no laxity in the assertion and maintenance of the nation's honor and credit at home or abroad. His administration, in fine, promises to be the most healthy and successful in the country's history.

His cabinet, in some respects inferior, in others superior to that of his predecessor. The new Premier, Senator Blaine, is a crafty politician, a stamper, unwavering, unyielding Republican, scrupling at nothing to bring success to his party. His position on certain great questions meets with no approval from the western part of the country, while his stand on the Chinese question, far as it may be from correct, brings him great popularity from the Pacific Coast. The interests of the Republican party will lose nothing from his administration, and to preserve those interests will be, we consider his chief aim. Blaine cannot be viewed as an improvement upon Evarts—the astute lawyer of interminable sentences, who has with such eminent ability conducted the foreign affairs of the Union during the last four years.

Next in point of general importance comes Windom, a favorite son of Minnesota, whose successful career in the United States Senate, and whose utterances on financial questions, have made him

of sufficient importance to warrant his selection for the Treasury portfolio. The retiring Secretary, Senator Sherman, has accomplished very great results during his term of office and leaves the department on a solid, firm, metallic basis. The business men of the country, we believe, would prefer to have seen Sherman remain in the position he so well filled, but leaving him out of the question, a fitter selection would be difficult to imagine than the one now made.

Robert Lincoln, the new Secretary of War brings to the position nothing at all noted except the name which he bears. His selection may be ascribed to the fact that he is the son of his great father, and also that Illinois was entitled to a place in the cabinet which Lincoln could better occupy than Logan.

Senator Kirkwood, Schurz' successor in the Interior Department, is a representative man from that Republican stronghold—Iowa, and it is to be hoped will be more successful in dealing with the Indian question than his German-American predecessor.

W. H. Hunt, of Louisiana, is a southern man, of greater fame as a judicial than as an executive officer. He succeeds a southern man, Richard Goff, as Secretary of the Navy, who has not been in office long enough to show himself. The next two appointments, Wayne McVeagh of Pennsylvania, as Attorney-General, and Thomas L. James, of New York, as Postmaster General, are undoubted improvements upon the retiring officers. Devens has held the Attorney-Generalship for four years, with no credit to himself nor the Administration. He is shallow, prejudiced and ill-natured, and even went so far as to imitate his chief, the ex-President himself, in telling, without hesitation, positive untruths. His word was latterly looked upon as of no value whatever, something to be broken whenever convenient.

Under D. M. Key, Hayes' Post Office chief, have grown and developed the most gigantic frauds in the mail service. He has been a mere figure head, having not enough sagacity to discover and root out abuses which existed right under his very nose. Judge McVeagh is considered by those who know him well, as a gentleman of high legal attainments, a thorough independent in all questions which will come under his attention. His appointment is doubtless made at the instance of the Camerons of Pennsylvania, to whom he is closely related, though it is rumored that there is bad blood between the clan and the appointee because of his refusal to assist them in their machine politics. Mr. James has for years been at the head of the New York Post office and has gained an experience which will be of advantage to him in his new position. His selection, besides being eminently judicious, is a recognition of Senator Conkling's power, whose vanity will be flattered by the compliment.

With a President of such commanding attainments and a cabinet who will assist him in his executive duties, the prospects for the next four years are indeed bright. During that time, however, mighty changes will take place in this nation and the world, which is hastening towards its great crisis.

THE ASSASSINATION OF THE CZAR.

At length the Nihilists have succeeded in their designs against the ruler of all the Russias. Alexander the Second, as will be seen from our dispatches, was assassinated on Sunday and has gone to meet his ancestors, while his son, the Czar-witch has already succeeded to the throne under the title of Alexander III.

The slain monarch was born April 29, 1818, and was therefore nearly 63 years of age. He was the son of Nicholas I, whom he succeeded as Emperor, March 2, 1855. His reign has lasted 26 years, and has been marked by several important events which we have not space to-day to recount. The most important change wrought in the Empire under his regime was the emancipation of the Russian serfs, by which over 23,000,000 human beings were declared free from bondage under certain stipulations, two years being given for settlement in relation to land, labor, etc. This ukase was proclaimed March 3, 1861, and in February, 1864, the Polish serfs were also declared free. In 1865 the

first meeting of Assemblies took place, composed of representatives elected in the provinces, a great step towards that limited form of monarchy existing in more advanced nations.

The Czar has always sternly maintained his position as head of the Church and opposed the spread of Catholicism and other adverse religions in the Empire. His life has been several times attempted. As early as 1866 he was fired at while entering his carriage—April 16—by a would-be assassin, but the pistol was turned aside by a by-stander. On the 6th of June, 1867, Berezowski, a Pole, fired a pistol at him while in his carriage, and attempted to fire a second shot, but the pistol burst. The recent attempts on his life, the wreck of his train, the blowing up of the Winter Palace, etc., are familiar to the public. Alexander seemed to have a charmed life, but at last the Nihilists have prevailed.

The Emperor was married April 28, 1841, to Maria Alexandrovna Princess of Hesse. The new Czar was his second son, the eldest having died at Nice in 1885. The recent death of the Empress and the Czar's union with hismorganatic wife are fresh in the public memory.

The secret societies of Europe have an immense influence among all the nations of that continent, and the "secret combinations" of the latter days, foretold in the Book of Mormon, will yet do more bloody work and perform an important and direful part in the great overturning to take place in many lands. No matter what may be the motives that led to the assassination of the Czar and that will yet lead to further deeds of darkness, murder is the only word that expresses the unjustifiable act, and perdition will be the reward of those who wilfully and unlawfully imbrue their hands in human blood.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

AN exchange has this brief paragraph on the liquor question:

"The more respectable saloon men of Chicago are making strenuous efforts to raise the price of licenses there from \$75 to \$250. They claim that a high license will shut up most of the disreputable doggeries."

We believe that the most respectable dealers in alcoholic drinks in this city would prefer a high license fee, to one low enough to come within the reach of persons who would keep open the lowest kind of drinking dens. The ruling of Judge Hunter throws down the bar which the municipal authorities have raised and maintained for some time against the spread of the liquor traffic. It is no less strange than deplorable that the authority and power ostensibly established in Utah to "regenerate" the "Mormons," and bring them into harmony with the "civilization of the age," have been so often used in favor of the most demoralizing customs of the times. Drunkenness and prostitution, the former often leading to the latter, have been fostered by Federal influence and sustained by anti-"Mormon" agencies, and the efforts of the local authorities to check these evils have been rendered abortive by the very people and authority which declaim against alleged "Mormon" immorality. The apologist for the prostitute is always an enemy of plural marriage, and so is the advocate of unrestricted liquor traffic. We are glad of it. We should be very sorry indeed if the vile supporters of the worst vices under the sun were friendly in the least degree to the sacred institution of celestial marriage, or to those who practice it. Their animosity is far preferable to their friendship.

The liquor question is one of the most important of the period. The best men and women of the day have considered it from their various standpoints, and all have deplored the spread of the traffic and the increase of drunkenness, and have desired to curtail or suppress the one as a check in some degree to the other. But the wisest and most experienced in dealing with human nature have conceded the point, that prohibition is not practicable. How best to restrain and regulate the liquor traffic rather than attempt its suppression has been the subject of their solicitude.

A high rate of license, coupled with regulations as to order and limited hours of sale, has been deemed by many wise heads the best method of dealing with the