

## UTAH.

THE following well written article, under the above caption, we clip from *The Evolution*, a new weekly journal, published in New York City, and devoted to politics, religion, science, literature and art. The article is signed Henry Edger, and is evidently intended to do justice to a subject and a people which are continually the objects of injustice—

"*Fiat justitia ruat cælum.*" It is easy enough to quote wise saws when it is one's own interest that they seem to subserve, or one's own safety of which they promise to become theegis. It would be of much more use if we could learn to lay well to heart these same wise sayings just when we ourselves are in danger of being led into wrongdoing. If it be more blessed to give than to receive, it is certainly better to suffer a wrong than to commit one; although it would indeed be a waste of labor to try to persuade the hardened sinner into any such belief.

It must surely be expressing only the convictions of very many American citizens, both intellectually and morally above the average, to say that our Federal Government is doing at this moment a great injustice to the two hundred thousand Mormons of the Territory of Utah. In doing this injustice, moreover, it is exposing to unnecessary dangers some of the most fundamental principles of republican government. In the first place, this population is sufficient in number, indeed, much more than sufficient, to form an independent State in the Union; more than double the population with which some States have already been received. Such a State must, of course, come in with a republican constitution; but beyond this we have no right to demand—we can not wisely demand—any conditions of Mormons in Utah more than Presbyterians or Methodists in Colorado. Surely it can not be wise for the United States, having firmly engrafted into its Federal Constitution, at least in appearance and as far as a set form of words could do it, the principle of the separation of church and state, to begin now, toward the very end of this nineteenth century, to impose religious tests upon new States as a condition precedent to their admission into our Union.

True, it will be pretended that polygamy is not a question of religion merely, but a question also of practical morals. Supposing this distinction to be ever so legitimate, does that make it wise for the Federal Government to attempt to interfere with this Mormon polygamy? Are not marriage laws, and especially divorce laws, also questions of practical morals? Is it among the functions of Federal legislation to decide questions of morals? If so, where can the line be drawn? Will any American statesman undertake to draw this line—to decide what questions of legislation are questions of morals, and which are not? Once to create any such distinction as a ground for Federal intervention, and one of the principal advantages of the American Constitution and of the Union of the States would be, if not lost altogether, exposed to constant danger. Much safer, and far better on every ground, to stand by the principle of complete legislative independence of the States.

Besides, by interfering with this question of polygamy in Utah, the government of the United States makes itself responsible for the actual state of affairs there, or at least for the state of affairs as it will be presently, which, certainly, no one can guarantee to be any real improvement. In the State of Deseret, on the contrary, left to its own internal legislation, the Federal Government would be as free from responsibility as it is for the certainly discreditable state of affairs in this city of New York. For intelligent observers all the world over, the Federal Union would be only the more complete and glorious a success for its capacity to extend an impartial protection over States with the widest diversity in legislation, in social habits and institutions, as well as in religious faith. But the Federal Government engaged in a crusade of extermination, whatever might be its ultimate issue, against a people with such a record as the Mormons have to show, or, indeed, against

any people whomsoever, is a spectacle of which one imbued with the spirit of this age, especially one in sympathy with its best and noblest tendencies, can hardly be proud.

The pretense that polygamy is a question of practical morals, and therefore not a question of religious faith, can certainly not absolve the Federal Government from the charge of being at this moment engaged in a religious persecution. As an actual fact, it is using all the resources at the disposal of the temporal power to crush out certain essential elements in the religious faith of these two hundred thousand Mormons. That the pretense could ever have been seriously made, moreover, argues ill for the reality of our own religion. What can a religion be worth of which questions of practical morals do not form an integral and essentially inseparable part? If the religion actually subsisting among us nowadays is so attenuated an influence, morally as well as mentally, that its most earnest adepts can feel that they have all the religious freedom they want, when told, in express terms, like those used by the late President, in this very matter, that they may worship God as they please, but may obey him only so far as they first get permission from the police courts, the "conflict between science and religion" cannot be worth all the talk it makes. So feeble and insubstantial a religion can not be worth the powder and shot even of the paltriest conflict. It is plainly high time for the advent among us of a religion somewhat more stalwart in character.

But then it will be urged that the Mormon religion is false and a degrading superstition. Granted. How strange, still, that any one possessed merely of the most ordinary common-sense can not see that this has nothing at all to do with the question. When did a persecutor ever attack a religion which, he being judge, was true and morally elevating? Men were put upon the rack, thrown to wild beasts, crucified, and burned in Smithfield, for spreading what were popularly believed, and sincerely, sometimes even profoundly believed, to be false, disruptive, immoral, and corrupting heresies—aye, and even degrading superstitions—much as now we think we revere them. If toleration means anything, it means precisely this: the perfectly equal freedom of just the falsest and most wicked doctrines and the truest and noblest. It is an absurdity to talk of tolerating true doctrines and good doctrines; they need no toleration. The principle on which toleration really rests shuts out all distinctions whatsoever between doctrines, seeing that this principle is summed up in the question, "Who is to judge?" The rational answer to which question is, in fact, "Never, in any case, the temporal power." But it should be added, and by still stronger reason, "Never, in any case, the power of mere numbers." Of all the degrading despotisms that could by any possibility ever be invented, the most degrading would be the power of the majority to impose its opinions, and especially its morality, upon the minority. No such power can by any possibility ever exist; but if it could, it would mean simply the eternal supremacy of ignorance over knowledge, the eternal subjection of all the noblest aspirations of which man is capable to the meanest and narrowest selfishness.

The modern tendencies toward toleration spring, unfortunately too often, from mere indifference or a positive though half-concealed dislike to religion, at least as a really controlling social force. The sympathies of the mere mob are always on the side of persecution, as is so well illustrated in the early history of these same Mormons. A genuine toleration has for its sincere and consistent partisans only the intelligent and the profoundly virtuous. Its sociological form is found in the principle of the separation of spiritual power from temporal power, which shuts out questions both of faith and of morals from the sphere of the civil government; and while recognizing the necessity for the social organization of their systematic culture, limits that organization to means and instrumentalities purely spiritual in their character. A genuine human virtue means something more than a course of conduct externally right. It means right conduct pursued from the love of it. The partisan of a real toleration will be found in the man whose personal experience leads him to believe in

the possibility of a deliberate preference of good over evil for its own sake. Such a one will adequately appreciate the social importance of those functions of instruction, persuasion and counsel, properly belonging to the social organs of religion and morality, and upon the enlightened exercise of which the real moralization of the people does in fact depend. Such a one will comprehend the shallowness and insufficiency of any such moralization, necessarily external only, as could be accomplished by the instrumentalities at the command of the temporal government; for if even universally right conduct could be instituted among a people by mere coercion and brute force, they would remain at bottom and interiorly brutal and wicked still. Besides which, the temporal government, in all our modern societies especially, constitutes a part, and even a principal part, of the social elements needing moralization.

Unfortunately, moreover, we need not go out into the bosom of the Rocky Mountains to find debasing superstitions and immoral practices sheltering themselves under the cloak of religion. Nor, if we look at the reality of things, and refuse to be deceived by mere names, do we need to go to Utah Territory to find polygamy openly and shamelessly practised. A polygamy which sacrifices utterly and dooms to a fate most horrible all the wives but one, deceiving and betraying her also, is surely not so very much morally superior, to say the least, to a polygamy that, for the first time in any modern society anywhere, completely shuts out that horrible social institution—prostitution! Yet, nevertheless, polygamy, alike in New York and in Salt Lake City, is still a social degradation. But all intelligent men know perfectly well that the civil government is utterly powerless for its suppression. That it will finally be suppressed completely we may well hope; but if it be so, it can certainly be only by means of a higher morality based upon a truer and more real religion than now perpetuates a sort of perfunctory existence among us. Legislative interference in matters of sexual morality will tend only to postpone or render impossible such a consummation. That the Government of the United States can virtually introduce the brothel, the gambling house, and various other charming New York institutions into Salt Lake City, and that, moreover, under color of abolishing Mormon polygamy, is unhappily only too plainly evident. It is an ugly verdict, indeed, which future history is already, with singular clearness and distinctness, writing up before our eyes over our doings in Utah!

The early history of these Mormons was sufficiently disgraceful to us as a people to make it doubly incumbent on us now to take special pains to make what at best can be only a too tardy reparation. Driven by a disgraceful mob-violence from one State to another, despoiled of their legitimate possessions—fruits of honest toil—this despised and grossly wronged people found their way at last across the trackless desert, and by an almost unexampled perseverance and industry created an oasis in the desert itself. The country they now possess is, to a very great degree—perhaps quite as much as is the case with the Dutch in Holland—the very creation of their own hands. In the court of morals, by the light of a genuine and honest morality their title to it is certainly higher than that of our government to a large proportion of its possessions. It is too bad, at this time of day, to subject citizens of the United States who still retain some conscience and self-respect to the indelible shame of having the power of the Federal Government prostituted in the face of the whole civilized world, to the spoliation of these hardy and industrious people, ignorant fanatics though they be, under no matter what pretences, moreover, in the interests merely of a horde of mining-claim speculators and would-be land robbers!

The special mode of persecution, however, just now being adopted, is peculiarly flagitious. It smacks altogether too much of the falsehood and corruption to which we are so fatally allowing ourselves to be everywhere accustomed. If we must needs, in order to overcome these people, stain our hands with the blood of their leader, let us do it openly, squarely and without grimace. Let us march him out, without much ado, in front of a

platoon of soldiers and at the given word of command let him be ridden with shot; but for the sake of all that is honest and decent, let us have no hypocritical disguises, so thin and bare that the very asses will have to laugh at us! Let us not pretend, with a stupidity equaled only by its baseness, to cover up this political assassination by linking it with any real or pretended act done, if done at all in the capacity of *de facto* ruler of this so shamefully wronged people; and quite as much a political act as was the massacre by the Thiers government of the 30,000 or 40,000 Parisian communards. If the Mountain Meadows massacre ever so certainly took place, quite as certainly also did the Fort Pillow. If the one ought to be legally avenged, the other ought at least equally. The Fort Pillow massacre had not, as the other had, if it really were the act of the Mormon rulers at all, the excuse of self-defense; the Fort Pillow massacre on the contrary, was purely and simply a piece of barbarian fury. But to slay any living man to-day on account of either one or the other, would be only to bring law and legal justice into contempt with every sound head and honest heart, by making of them obviously a mere pretense for the accomplishment of some unavoidable purpose.

It would, indeed, be a happy thing for this country if its intelligence and higher moral sense, which must needs be in sympathy with the views here expressed, all unpopular as they may be, could be led to speak out decisively upon this matter, ere it be for ever too late. To go on in our present course, as, unhappily, we most likely shall do, will not only be a lasting disgrace, but a permanent source of moral debasement, which, certainly, amidst all our actual corruptions, is only too much superfluous. To have the hands of our federal government imbrued any farther in the blood of this remarkable people, at the bidding of an ignorant fanaticism among ourselves, lulling itself only too readily with that spirit of shameless greed which is everywhere despoiling the red man of his inheritance, to the infinite injury among us at once of religion, morals, and real civilization, will be a deplorable, although only too natural, pendant to our Credit Mobiliers and our Freedman's Bank swindle, our Rochester rappings and popular preacher perjuries, and the rest of the thousand and one kindred social phenomena that are doing all that can well be done towards making the American name the symbol all the world over for not merely shameless, but even boastful fraud!

## Grant Interviewed on England and English Men and Customs.

"So, dining out every night has not killed you yet, General?"

"No, although it is rather severe work. But then I am much interested, and everybody treats me with a kindness for which I am quite unprepared. And I sleep well in this country. Altogether, I have nothing to complain of."

"And now that you have seen a good deal of England and Englishmen, pray how does it all strike you?"

"Well, it would take a long time to tell all that one thinks about England," said Gen. Grant. "In the first place, the country is so beautiful everywhere that one never ceases to admire it. I have been to Bath and Southampton, and driven a good deal in the neighborhood of London—to Richmond and other cities, and everywhere it is the same. All the land is cultivated; one sees comparatively little wood, and it is difficult to imagine anything more beautiful than it all is. Yet of course, one cannot but reflect how over-populated the country is. Here you can no longer produce enough for your own people. In our country we could raise the means of support for five hundred million, and to-day we have only about two millions more than England. We might not be able to buy anything whatever outside, and be cut off from all the rest of the world, but yet we could get enough out of the ground to live upon. What could England do if any disaster happened to cut her off from the rest of the world in a similar manner?"

"Mr. Disraeli said that in such a case the United States could begin 'all over again'—England could not."

"I have met him," said the General, "and find him a very clever man in your English sense. He seems to be thoroughly posted about our country. We were talking about Mexico, last night, and he expressed a wish that we had kept Mexico after the close of our war with her. I said that there was a party in our country which had always opposed the annexation for Mexico; but that the Mexican people would welcome annexation, for it would more than double the value of their property, and give them a quiet and secure government."

"The old question is reviving again, I see."

"Yes; and it will always be coming up till it is settled. A clever man, I should think, is Lord Beaconsfield, though I should say a sufferer physically. He seems to me a man who could put up with any amount of insult or unpopularity if he were pursuing an end, and would patiently wait for the result."

"He has been unpopular enough in his day."

"Perhaps so; but your public men here get fair play. It is different with us. A man has only to be put into a public position to be a mark for every calumniator; the object on almost all sides is to destroy him. There has got to be a great change in that in our country some day."

"As for the cities and large towns, I have never seen any so well managed. All that I have been to are governed on sensible principles. Here in London, for instance, you have a lord mayor, who is chosen from the board of aldermen in his turn, and the aldermen are men who take an interest in the welfare of their city." (Here Gen. Grant went over the framework of the city government with great accuracy.) "What a contrast all this presents to the state of affairs in New York! There money raised by taxation has been stolen by wholesale, and now property will not sell for the value of the mortgages that are on it, and I declare I do not know what is to become of the city. The debt is enormous. See how well the paving and lighting are looked after here, and how carefully the traffic is managed. The police, too, seem to be excellent."—*London World*, June 27.

## Correspondence.

Accidents—Fruit—Industry.

BRIGHAM CITY,

July 13, 1877.

Editor Deseret News:

On the day before yesterday, Sever Jepsen was brought from Box Elder Cañon, to his home at Mantua, insensible. All the account he can give of what occurred was that a log which he had been chopping down had fallen on him. Both of his legs are badly hurt, but it is thought no bones are broken.

Yesterday, Hans Rasmussen, of the same place, was badly kicked by a horse while he was sleeping under his wagon in the hay field. A horse was tied on each side of the wagon, and they were attacked by flies until one of them became half mad and kicked furiously, hitting Rasmussen on the head.

The locusts have left our neighborhood, and we expect to reap a fair crop. The orchards situated on the old town site were not disturbed by the hoppers, and every kind of fruit in them will be abundant with the exception of the apple crop, which is, as has been the case of late years, invaded by the codling moth. The trees on the outer lots, mostly young, have been stripped of their leaves and bark, causing some of them to die, while the most are reviving since the hoppers have departed.

The manufacture of ornamental wax flowers has been incorporated in our home industries. Mrs. Zula Y. Williams, while staying here lately, kept a school in which she taught a number of young ladies this branch.

Hot Weather—Capture of those murderers—Conference, etc.

ST GEORGE, July 13, 1877.

Editor Deseret News:

Warm is a poor name for the state of the weather here of late, 110 degrees in the shade, and iced lemonade, soda water, or ice cream, and if we had those luxuries