

EDITORIALS.

THE FLIMSY PLEA FOR GOVERNOR MURRAY.

The press of the United States will not permit the Murray scandal to die out. It cannot be covered up now as it was eight years ago. There is no friendly President's wife to intervene and urge an appointment to another official position as there was in 1880. The documents in the case cannot be kept back, and the press will not keep silent. The Governor has himself to thank for this general publicity. He posed before the country as the great exponent of anti-Mormonism. He put his name to statements prepared by an unscrupulous and sophistical attorney and pleas put forth by an abler but less cunning writer, and loomed up as the champion of "constitutional morality."

In thus drawing attention to himself he did not reckon on too close a scrutiny. He did not imagine that in drawing exaggerated and distorted pictures of "Mormon" life and policy the public mind would turn to gaze on his own career. But the whole country is now waked up and the very instrument on which he counted to use for his personal advancement has been turned to puncture his own inflation. The few papers which raise their voice in his defence, while hurling abuse upon the promoters of the present investigation are compelled to admit that there is a solid foundation to the charges, but claim that it was a deputy and not the marshal Murray himself who was guilty of the fraudulent transaction as the New York Sun would say:

"It was not Deacon Richard Smith, it was his wicked partner." All this will have to be proven, and the responsibility of a principal for the act of his agent or deputy will no doubt figure in the decision that will be made.

But there is one thing that the Governor's apologists want to clothe with such great importance as to over shadow the charges pending against him. And its fallacy and weakness ought to be understood so that it may not be used to divert public attention from the real point at issue. Governor Murray's alleged great work against polygamy is the jugglers trick to draw the public eye from the deeds of which he is accused. And the plea is raised, that in view of what he has accomplished and is likely to perform against polygamy, this other matter ought not to be noticed. The claim is a sham, the reasoning is without the least foundation, while the morality of it is of the lowest and most depraved character. On this point the Chicago Times has the annexed paragraphs:

An officeholders' organ says that the Governor of Utah (Mr. Eli H. Murray) "has done his best to eradicate the curse of polygamy." This is an important statement—if true; because, if true, it warrants one or the other of these two inferences: Either that the curse of polygamy is a curse that the civil power, even when it "does its best," is not able to overcome; or that Governor Murray's "best" is very inferior to the best that a civil executive of Utah could be reasonably expected to do.

What is Governor Murray's "best?" What has he done to "eradicate the curse of polygamy?" Has he executed the law that makes polygamy a crime, and provides for the punishment of any persons who commit that crime? Everybody knows that he has not. Has he made any effort to enforce the law? Nobody has heard that he has made any such effort. He has been Governor of Utah about four years. During all that period he has been advertising in the newspapers that the crime of polygamy has been committed continually in the province under his government. During all that period there has appeared not the least fact to show that he had taken any step to bring the offenders to punishment. During all that period "the best" that the country has heard of his doing has appeared in frequent contributions of some effusive compositions on the subject to the newspapers, magazines and other mediums of advertising political ambition. This has not appeared in effect to be a very good way to eradicate the curse of polygamy; yet it is the best that anybody has heard of Governor Murray's doing. If he has done anything better than that, what is it?"

Yes, what is it? Nothing whatever has been attempted by the Governor, or those whose words he has echoed, to execute the laws or suppress the practice which some people imagine to be so bad. And if the public will stop to think a little, it will be apparent to all that Governor Murray, instead of doing or pretending to do anything for the enforcement of the laws against polygamy, has been endeavoring to show the world that polygamy is not the trouble with Utah, that the real issue is something else entirely; that if polygamy were abolished to-morrow, there would be still the same trouble about Utah. It is not polygamy that the Governor is after at all. What is it then? It is the political existence of Utah. He wants to kill this incipient commonwealth, because it is not in harmony with his schemes. He wants to establish an oligarchy here, with himself at the head, and from that point of vantage he has the vanity to think that his tall proportions and fine

appearance—only effective however at long distance—will draw all eyes to him as the "Mormon problem" solver, and a fit candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States. Yes, it is a fact. He actually imagined that he had a chance for the Republican nomination, and that the position of head of a Commission to reduce the "Mormons" to a condition of complete political slavery, would be a likely eminence from which he could step into the Vice President's chair!

This is the object he has had in view in traveling through the country instead of attending to the business for which he is paid by the Government; for this he has rushed into print; for this he has managed to get interviewed; for this he has secured notices in the Associated Press dispatches; for this he had written his inaccurate and unprincipled report to the Secretary of the Interior; for this he addressed his insulting and untruthful message to the Legislative Assembly. He has tried to effect the political ruin of Utah that he might stand on the pile and reach out for the prize he had in view. But his "vaulting ambition has o'erleaped itself." He is more likely to land in the Kentucky mire, from which he rose to his present post, than to mount into higher places.

What has he done against polygamy? Nothing. What has he attempted to do? Nothing. What has he done for the good of Utah in any way? Nothing. He is a conspicuous failure in every sense. Even the fraud which his associates claim as the finest thing he ever attempted against the "Mormons,"—the matter of the false certificate, did not put into Congress the friend who was not elected, but to whose election he certified. There is nothing of him except his frame and the notoriety which he imagines is fame. And the plea that what he has done against polygamy entitles him to exemption from scrutiny is as flimsy and flabby as the desire to screen him from investigation on that account is dirty and dishonest. He is nothing but a big bubble. Let it be pricked by an official pin and then see what will be left.

THE SALT LAKE STAKE CONFERENCE.

The Conference of the Salt Lake Stake of Zion which closed its three days' session on Sunday night was one of the best ever held in this city. It was well attended from the beginning. Three meetings were held each day, making nine in all, and the interest increased till the close. Hundreds could not obtain admission on Sunday afternoon and crowds inside the building had to stand.

The reports rendered by the Bishops and others were very encouraging, as they indicated a marked improvement in the spiritual condition of the Saints. It is evident that they are alive to the fact that personal righteousness is the great object of our faith, and that mere belief in true principles will not of itself save and exalt, nor prepare anyone for the glory of the celestial Kingdom. The disposition of the Bishops and Presidents of Quorums to bring forward and develop the talents of the youth of Israel was made apparent in their reports, and the number of flourishing Sunday Schools, Primary Associations, Mutual Improvement Societies and other organizations for the culture and guardianship of the young, shows that the need of training the children in the way of life is appreciated by those who are placed in local authority.

The instructions imparted were of a practical character, and calculated to stimulate the Saints to good works and avoidance of evil. The exhortations of President Angus M. Cannon, especially, were powerful and timely, and it is to be hoped that his remarks regarding the errors and shortcomings of some of the people will be effectual in awakening them to repentance and improvement.

The effect of outside pressure has always been beneficial upon the Latter-day Saints. Its influence now is marked. Union, faith, lively interest in the things of the kingdom, and desire for individual rectitude and perfection are exhibited in a pleasing degree, and we trust that this progress will continue when the present storm shall have subsided. As Apostle Carrington showed, prosperity has been the most dangerous condition for the people of God in every age. In adversity or when troubles threaten, they cling close to the Lord, but wealth, ease and the absence of hostility seem to render them comparatively careless.

We are glad to know that the improvement exhibited in the condition of the Salt Lake Stake is to be seen also in the other Stakes of Zion, and that the prospects are bright for Israel. When the Lord is with us, what matters who may be against us? And He will be near to His people when they draw near to Him by faith and purity of heart and life. He will fight our battles, and no weapon that is formed against us can prosper.

THE SILLY PLEA FOR GOVERNOR MURRAY.

The San Francisco Chronicle echoes the silly cry, started here by the clique which puts Governor Murray forward as its tool and mouth-piece, that the

Congressional investigation into his alleged crookedness, while Marshal of Kentucky has been instigated by the "Mormons," and puts it in this way:

"Governor Murray is the real author of the plan for governing Utah and suppressing polygamists by an appointed legislative council in the place of an elected legislature, which the Mormon vote always elects and the polygamists always control. For this they hate him with an intensity which is only bred of superstition and religious bigotry."

This is news. Or rather it would be if it was true. Governor Murray is not the real author of the legislative commission scheme. He is not the "real author" of anything that we know of, nor of anything we have heard of except the doings in Kentucky which are now being investigated by a committee of the United States House of Representatives. The legislative commission plan was invented and advocated and debated long before Eli H. Murray was thought of for Governor of Utah. The dislike of the "Mormons" to his administration is not simply because of his advocacy of that anti-republican and unstatesman like measure, calculated to do nothing towards the suppression of polygamy but simply to work into the hands of certain played-out politicians, but on account of his disregard of truth and justice both in word and act as the Executive of this Territory.

And the "Mormons" care very little about the Governorship, anyway. It amounts to but a trifle. The office is a mere sinecure except for a few weeks every two years. And it affects the "Mormons" not at all except during that brief period. If the Governor but performs his duty under the law, the "Mormons" have no quarrel with him, whoever he may be. The present incumbent is as innocent of originating anything under the sun, "Mormon" or anti-Mormon, as any official who ever lived simply to draw a salary. What he has said has been as an echo, what he has done has been as a tool.

But supposing the "Mormons" have instigated the present congressional inquiry into the doings of a government officer—which is absurd on its face—why should that be offered in extenuation of the alleged crimes, and as an argument against the investigation? Is not this childish plea a potent argument against itself? The New York World says:

"The general impression of good Republican organs is that though Governor Murray, of Utah, may have been guilty of malfeasance while filling the office of United States Marshal in Kentucky, he has condoned it all by the beautiful manner in which he has persecuted the Mormon Saints."

That is the idea. It is a highly moral one, is it not? The Governor is quite an admirer—in sounding sentences—of what he calls "constitutional morality." Is this a specimen of the article as offered for "Mormon" imitation by Republican regenerators? The Chicago Herald has a pretty clear understanding of the situation and thus presents it in a recent editorial.

"Mr. Murray, of Utah, is now posing as 'a victim of Mormon hate.' But it is difficult to see what the Mormons have to do with Mr. Murray's unpleasant predicament. The foundation of that was laid long before Mr. Murray made the acquaintance of the sinful saints. The facts simply are that, when Murray was United States Marshal of Kentucky, John D. White, Representative in Congress from Kentucky, made charges against Murray's administration. He was accused of exacting fraudulent fees, of making false vouchers, of drawing unearned mileage of witnesses, and of causing needless arrests for the purpose of charging extortionate fees. The Department of Justice sent George K. Chase, special agent, to investigate the charges, who reported that they were fully substantiated, and on the strength of that report Murray was compelled to resign. That report is now before Springer's committee, and all the writhing of Murray and all his plaints that the Mormons are trying to 'crush him,' cannot destroy its force. Coincident with this comes another story, which may or may not be true. It will be remembered that Murray's attitude as a moralist prevented his issuing a certificate to Cannon, the Utah Delegate to Congress, who had received all the votes. He issued it instead to Campbell, who had been run by a few Gentiles, and had but a dozen or so of votes. It is now directly charged that it was not altogether a moral sentiment that inspired this action, but that Campbell obtained the certificate as a reward for having bought largely of the stock of the mining company in which Murray was interested. Take it all in all, Mr. Murray had better let the Mormons alone and attend to gathering up the dragged shreds of his damaged reputation. Charges that he is the victim of Mormon hate, and that political enemies of his in Kentucky have conspired with the Saints to crush him, will have but little weight against that report and evidence on file in the Department of Justice. It will be remembered that White of Kentucky said the other day in the House that if Murray had his dues he would be wearing striped clothes in the penitentiary. That is pretty harsh language to use of such an active reformer as Murray, but it shows that Mr. White is thoroughly in earnest, and at least thinks he knows what he is talking about. Governor

Murray avers that he can refute the charges. Pending the presentation of his evidence and the final report of the committee, he is entitled to a suspension of judgment. His present mistake lies in attributing his uncomfortable position to the machinations of the Mormons.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

ANOTHER strong American character has gone from the platform of mortality. The wires inform us that Wendell Phillips breathed his last at six o'clock on Saturday evening. He was a man of great personal courage and persistency. He was an orator of the first rank, and many a time and oft has moved the multitudes by his fervent eloquence while dwelling on the theme upon which he brought all his remarkable powers to bear—the abolition of slavery.

His literary ability was also used for the furtherance of his pet object—the liberation of the colored men of the South. So strong was his advocacy of the subject and so unremitting his efforts, that he probably did more than any other single man toward precipitating the war of the Rebellion.

He was born at Boston, Massachusetts, Nov. 29, 1811, graduated from Harvard College in 1831, from Cambridge law school in 1833, and was admitted to the Suffolk County bar in the following year. He identified himself with the small band of abolitionists in Boston in 1837, and not only took a forward part in agitating anti-slavery, but also woman's rights reforms, temperance, and the amelioration of the criminal law.

Among Mr. Phillips' published productions are: "The Constitution a Pro-Slavery Compact," 1844; "Can Abolitionists vote or take office under the United States Constitution?" 1845; "Reviews of Spooners Constitutionalism of Slavery," Daniel Webster's Fifth of March Speech and of "Kossuth's Curse" 1847-51; Speeches, 1852; "Defense of the Anti-Slavery Movement," 1853, republished in London, besides quite a number of later productions.

With the advance of years and its consequent decay of physical and mental powers, Mr. Phillips became somewhat querulous, capacious and sour, these peculiarities tending somewhat to impair his influence, as the public is not generally very considerate or charitable even to the most gifted and naturally philanthropic of the sons of men.

But few men have made a stronger or higher mark upon the pages of American history than Wendell Phillips. He ranks among the great spirits who have figured in our Republic.

A MEASURE THAT IS AMUSING AND AMAZING.

We have received the full text of the bill, reported by Senator Hoar, January 28th 1884, from the Committee on the Judiciary, a synopsis of which with comments we gave to our readers a few days ago. There is nothing more in the bill than what appeared in the synopsis except words that add no further meaning, unless it be in Section 15: which not only annuls all laws of the Utah Legislature "creating, organizing, amending or continuing" the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, but provides that, "it shall not be lawful for the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah to create, organize, or in any manner recognize any corporation or association for the purpose of or operating to accomplish the bringing of persons into the said Territory for any purpose whatever."

This is very funny. The encouragement of immigration in sparsely settled regions has been part of the policy of the United States from the beginning, and organizations to promote and assist in filling up the empty spaces with working people, have received legislative sanction and encouragement in all the new States and Territories. There is room enough yet in Utah for thousands of families, who if brought here in not too great numbers at once, could make homes and achieve independence in a very few years. But it appears that a committee of grave and sober Senators have decided that people shall not be brought into this Territory for any purpose whatever, under an organization or company receiving recognition from the law. What they expect to accomplish by this is not very clear, but we suppose they imagine it will cripple the work of the gathering by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. And this makes us smile, while we marvel at the stupidity of the originators and supporters of so absurd a measure.

It will be observed that this provision runs directly counter to the official recommendation of his Excellency Eli H. Murray, formerly of Kentucky and now Governor of Utah. He wants a "Bureau of Immigration entirely free from ecclesiastical control, and under the supervision of an officer or board of the territorial government." Of course there could be no objection to this, or to the organization of any number of societies to encourage immigration. But they ought not to interfere with the rights and properties

of a company already organized and incorporated, any more than it should interfere with them Senator Hoar and Governor Murray do not seem to see alike on this question.

The proposition to take the property and assets of a private company, and invest it in the Secretary of the Interior to be disposed of by the President of the United States, no matter for what purpose, is amazing when it is considered that it emanates from a body of experienced legislators. It has more the appearance of a piece of legislation from a lunatic asylum. We have a number of corporations organized under the laws of the Territory for mining, manufacturing, banking, railroad, educational, charitable and other purposes. Congress has just as much right to pass a law to dissolve either or all of them, settle up their accounts and invest the assets when the debts are paid, in some government officer, as it has to do this with the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, organized, as stated in the act of incorporation, "to promote, facilitate and accomplish the emigration of the poor."

Just as imbecile is the attempt, in section 12, to place the property, business affairs and operations of the corporation known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in the hands of fourteen trustees appointed by the President and Senate of the United States. It would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer to show what right or power the Government has to take possession or control of the property of any Church in the country. Most of the papers which have commented on this part of the bill have acknowledged its unconstitutionality, showing that it is a law respecting an establishment of religion; but the Boston Herald says:

"It purposes to make the powerful oligarchy known to the law as the corporation of the Mormon Church, subordinate to its creator and master, the government of the United States."

This is the first time that we have heard of a sane person or journal claiming that the Government of the United States is the "creator and master" of a church. We were under the impression that this was something that the Government had nothing to do with. Also that Congress was expressly forbidden by the Constitution to interfere in any way with religion or its free exercise. Perhaps the Boston Herald can enlighten us as to the time and the manner in which the Government "created" the "Mormon" Church. As for us, we acknowledge no creator of our Church but the Almighty, through his servant Joseph Smith and the people composing its membership. Jesus Christ revealed how and when it should be organized, and His people obeyed the Divine directions. Its creation was from above. Its earthly regulation and management are and have been within itself, independent of any secular government or authority. As a Church it acknowledges no "master" but the Lord. Its individual members in their capacity of citizens, owe allegiance to the local and general governments in any country where they reside; but as a Church organization they are governed by Church rules and recognize no secular right to regulate their creed, control their worship or interfere with their funds.

In this matter they occupy similar ground to that of any other religious body. The State has nothing to do with purely ecclesiastical affairs. Property, whether personal or real, vested in a religious organization, belongs to it just the same as if it were an individual. Congress has no more right to touch it or appoint trustees to manage it, than to seize and control the property of a banking institution, a railroad corporation or a private person. As members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints we have the right to manage our own ecclesiastical affairs, and we are of the opinion that any one who is not a member of that Church will find considerable difficulty in attempting interference with our Church property.

We have no fear that so absurd a measure will become a law, but we refer to it in amazement as well as amusement, feeling astonished that any man occupying the exalted position of a Senator of the United States could seriously recommend such rubbish to be made into law. But we suppose that we should be prepared for anything when the "Mormon" question is handled by its opponents, for it seems to paralyze their sense and judgment. And we ought to bear in mind the prediction of Isaiah concerning the effect on the world of this "marvelous work and a wonder" that God has commenced to perform: "The wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid."

A LAME ARGUMENT FOR "RADICAL MEASURES."

In order to justify the extreme measures proposed in the new Senate bill against the "Mormons," the Boston Herald attempts to explain the situation in Utah. In doing so it confounds two different things and attacks them as identical. It assails "Mormon" plural marriage as bigamy, arguing that, "There is no more reason why plural marriage should be tolerated in Utah than there is why bigamy should be