

on General Graham's forces at 1 o'clock this morning. The British forces at once formed to repel a charge, but no attack came. The fire of the rebels continued all night, but the British did not reply. One officer and two men were wounded and one man killed. Fighting began at day break. The infantry and artillery completely routed the enemy from their pits and trenches. The battle had not lasted more than half an hour when the victory of the British was made certain.

London, 13.—A dispatch from Gen. Graham dated, Osman Digma's camp, March 13th, 11:40 a. m., says: The camp of the enemy has been taken after hard fighting since 8 o'clock this morning. Over 70 British were killed and 100 wounded.

A later dispatch says: The bivouac last night was exceedingly unpleasant. The Arabs kept up a persistent fusillade till just before daybreak.

The bright moonlight rendered objects distinctly visible at a long distance, but prevented the enemy attempting a sudden onset. The rebels directed their fire especially toward the hospital wagons, which were conspicuous in the moonlight. The surgeons and Gen. Graham's staff officers had many narrow escapes.

At sunrise a Gardner gun and one nine-pounder were turned against the rebels who were within 1,300 yards of the British position, and afforded a most excellent target. The Arabs were soon compelled to retire to their main position near the Tamai Wells.

Col. Stewart's cavalry arrived at 6.30 and took a position on the British flank as to turn the enemy's right.

London, 13.—General Graham has taken quarters for the present in the camp from which Osman Digma and the rebel hosts were driven. The enemy fought most stubbornly, the battle being much heavier than that of the regiment at Teb. The sailors, the Black Watch regiment and the York and Lancaster regiments suffered the heaviest losses.

Suakim, 13.—The loss of Osman Digma's forces was 2,400.

London, 13.—The death of Baroness Lionel de Rothschild is announced. She was the daughter of Baron Charles de Rothschild, of Naples, and was married to her cousin in 1836.

Paris, 13.—The *Gaulois* publishes a telegram professing to give an account of the fall of Bacninh.

(From the Boston Index.)

"CHURCH AND STATE" AS SEEN THROUGH THE MORMON QUESTION.

AN APPEAL TO THE LIBERALS OF AMERICA.

BY T. W. CURTIS.

It is now in the power of the Liberals of America to strike a blow for freedom, to create a revolution, in fact, in public sentiment on a theme the most vital to the interests of the Republic.—State secularization or the total separation of Church and State—a question that has long gone a-begging, but which, by a providential fate, is being forced on the attention of the American people, compelling them through the acts of their national councils to a confession of its prime importance. To what can I allude but to the action of Congress on Utah affairs! The Mormon problem is the problem of Church and State, nothing more, nothing less. The superstition of the ages is being brought to bay. The hold of the Rocky Mountains, however, is not its last or only refuge; nor is Mormonism its worst type by any means, though it be an attempt toward the realization of that parent dogma—a theocracy. It was born too late, and has too much of the sap of the nineteenth century in it. It knows too well, because of its own experience, the meaning of religious bigotry and intolerance. And yet it has the Bible on its side, though it has the Christian Church against it. What is the history of the Church, but a ceaseless attempt to brain its own offspring, on the plea of heresy, of course? And the heresy this time is not polygamy, but revelation. The Mormon people were driven time and again, before that feature of Hebrew social life was engrafted on their system of faith. But the cry of heathenism is raised by the sects, that their cause may be made to appear the cause of all. In this way, government is made their tool, virtue their catspaw. Does Liberalism join in the crusade? Would I could answer, No. If not an abettor, neither can it be a spectator. Silence gives consent.

The Mormon's adversity is the Liberal's opportunity. The cause I plead is not that of the Mormon, but of the Liberal. A principle is at stake. Its voice is what I hear. My respect for Liberalism is such that I think it would throw the shield of its protection over the weak and oppressed, though it should prove to be a despised Mormon. But you have a demand to make of both Mormon and Christian. To you Liberals, they are one. Liberalism is no respecter of persons. Justice is its sole aim, between man and man.

There is no more connection between Church and State in Utah than in any other State in the Union the difference being that the bulk of the inhabitants of that Territory are of one faith, and consequently of one party. And the minority there feels just as much craving for power and pelf as in any other part of the land. They ask Congress to mend their fate by an exercise of arbitrary power. In this cause, politician and priest are yoke-fellows as never before. They are the servi-

tors at once of a wide-spread prejudice and fanaticism, and of their own interests at the same time. The judge is a missionary, the minister a politician. In their hands already are the officers of governor, secretary, judges, marshals, prosecuting-attorney, land register, recorder, surveyor-general, clerks of court, commissioners, revenue assessors and collectors, postal agencies, army contractors, etc. Utah is more than punished for her misdeeds, whatever they may be, in being kept in a condition of territorial vassalage; while others—mere striplings by her side—are, one after another, upraising the shield of State sovereignty.

But let me more clearly intimate something of the spirit of the government's dealings with Utah, a fair sample of its pluck and wisdom. In the bill before Congress, it is proposed to disfranchise the Mormon women, to transfer the trusteeship of the Church into foreign hands, and to abolish the Emigration Fund Company,—a proceeding which, in view of the leniency displayed toward other Christian churches, is a triple act of tyranny, without a parallel in any government of modern times. Must woman be disfranchised, because she does not use her vote in a manner to please Congress? If such a principle were made universal, what would become of our liberties? The amount of church property in the Territories allowed a single corporation is \$50,000. In Massachusetts, it is twice that amount. The Catholic diocese of New York is supposed to be worth \$50,000,000, and upward. Why, the mortgage on the Church of the Messiah (Unitarian), New York City, was over a hundred thousand dollars. The saints conform to the law after the same manner as the other denominations, by distributing their funds or accumulations among bishops. Have they not the same right? The immense properties owned by the various denominations throughout the country is well known. And then, what is the warrant for stopping immigration to Utah? Has the Mormon no right to assist his needy friend or relative across the waters? Is this a crime? The condition of the Mormon emigrant I assert, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, to be, instead of the worst, above the average, as I also must affirm, and challenge all disproof, that the morality of the Mormon people is, at least, as high as the average of any State or section of the Union.

But, though all that rumor may say of the Mormons be true, I maintain that the wisest course—in which the only true remedy is to be found, in fact—would be such as I shall try to sketch in this appeal, and which I believe to be what you Liberals have been working for these numbers of years. Nay, I put on record here the prediction that, if, by your neglect or in spite of your protest, these new methods are tried in Utah, they will fail. The Mormon women will be truer to their religion and their husbands. The funds, the resources of the Church will be augmented. Mormon immigration will grow larger instead of less. The lukewarm will feel the contagion of the increase of zeal among the faithful, and the rising generation will be stirred into a more chivalrous attachment to the cause for which its parents have already suffered so much. Mormonism will gain and not lose, while the government will but be heaping disgrace on itself. And it is right it should be so. The Mormon thinks it a proof of the divinity of his religion. It is a proof of the hellishness that will sometimes creep into the action even of a government like this. It illustrates the principle of compensation. Do unto others as you would be done by. The best policy to be pursued toward Utah is to bring its people into still closer relations with us, to invoke no other agency for the correction of its errors than that which is in force throughout the Union, to trust much to the influences of that civilization of which we boast so much. If it is impotent to combat this small sect without resort to acts of special legislation, it is already doomed; and the sooner it recites "notice to quit," the better. "If a sect rises," says Thomas Jefferson, "whose tenets would subvert morals, good sense has fair play, and reasons and laughs it out of doors without suffering the State to be troubled with it."

Utah offers the constitution of her new State of Deseret, which is free from any taint of theocracy—more so than most of the constitutions of the other States—and is even more liberal than many, being specially favorable to the workingmen, and containing provisions for a minority representation. But there are certain conditions to which the new State should subscribe in good faith. But these conditions are to be required of all the component parts of the Union. A refusal to accept them should be visited by the same penalty on all. And to-day, in point of fact, there are States participating in the full benefits of the Union that are no more entitled to them than Utah at this moment.

As regards polygamy, the question is not so much as to whether it is right or wrong morally as to whether marriage is a thing to be regulated by law, and whether its control belongs to the State or nation. The answer has been given by the practice of the country. It is a subject-matter of legislation, and falls within the separate jurisdiction of the States. How various and conflicting are the marriage laws of the Union! The laws in some States are worse than none at all, and their general tendency is to confuse and unsettle all ideas on the subject of the relation

of the sexes. Our marriage laws are the foe alike of morality and wedlock. And the chief reasons for this state of things are: (1) The double bases on which those laws rest, civil and ecclesiastical; (2) The assumption by the several States of full legislative power in the premises. Monogamy exists in this or that State, because the statute decrees it; and this or that form of marriage solemnization is observed, and also of divorce, because the statute so decrees. The statute of Pennsylvania, for instance, begins, "All marriages, not contrary to the teachings of the revealed Word of God," etc. And this strikes the key-note of the legislation hitherto throughout the Union. It is implied when not expressed.

But this is not the whole of the indictment, by any means. The ways in which the old alliance between Church and State is maintained are these: recognition of God or Christianity in State constitutions; religious test-oaths, Sabbatarian laws, chaplaincies in legislatures, army, and navy; reading of the Bible, and requirement of other religious exercises in the public schools; Fast and Thanksgiving proclamations; exemption of Church property from taxation; appropriations of public money for sectarian purposes; holding marriage as both a sacrament and civil contract.

Here is something from the constitution of the State of Massachusetts (where *The Index* is published), and whence hails the Senator who has reported the bill for destroying the last vestige of liberty in Utah:—

"We, therefore, the people of Massachusetts, acknowledging with grateful hearts the goodness of the great Legislator of the Universe in affording us in the course of his providences," etc.

And, in the statute book, we read as follows—"Whoever wilfully blasphemes the holy name of God by denying, cursing, or contemptuously reproaching God, his creation, judgment, or final judging of the world, or by cursing or contemptuously reproaching Jesus Christ or the Holy Ghost, or by cursing or contemptuously reproaching the Holy Word of God contained in the Holy Scriptures, or exposing them to contempt and ridicule, shall be" imprisoned, fined, etc.

"The school committee shall require the daily reading in the public schools of some portion of the Bible, without written note or oral comment," etc. The oath of office in this same State once read, "I do declare that I believe in the Christian religion with a firm persuasion of its truth," etc., which has recently been changed to "So help me God."

Much more might be quoted to the same general effect. Here are some of the hymns sung by the children in our public schools:

"We praise thee, God for the Gospel light."

"Hail, thou glorious Three in One,

Worthy thou to reign alone."

"And the light of hope revealing,

Made the blood-stained cross appear."

Liberals of America, what have you to say to this? Will you not now, while this Mormon difficulty is before the public, bestir yourselves to have unsealed the eyes and understanding of the community on this great question? For, in the current discussion, its essential features are entirely lost sight of. It is your duty to reveal its true nature and mark its full import. Though the Democratic party criticizes what the Republican party does, it is no more disposed than the latter to take the initiative in this great reform. Liberals must do it. Public opinion there is none, or it is impotent just now. Of sentiment and chicanery there is no lack. Legal clap-trap and literary flunkysim abound, laboring to supply the missing links in the charge of the ecclesiastical, holding up his hands in holy horror at sight of so great a sin as polygamy, when David, a "man after God's own heart," had as many wives as all the polygamists in Utah put together, and as many concubines as they have wives; and when our Christian communities, too, have a pretty fair sprinkling of men, after David's own heart; and when, too, other evils are by no means scarce, compared with which polygamy is as pure as the blush of morn!

But it is not my purpose now to speak of that putrescent social vice that dogs the steps of our civilization, offering its own comment on our dealings with Utah, but of those irregularities rather in the republican household, which we may call the concubinage of Church and State. This alone requires that you should act. Will you not speak out? Shall not that liberal sentiment, which years of agitation has created, be utilized? Shall Liberalism be browbeaten in this way, after the exertions it has made in this direction? I maintain that the motive and the theory of the action pursued by government toward Utah are wrong—a transparent shame and humbug, to put it mildly. I maintain that they conflict with the spirit that created our government, and has supplied Liberalism with its maxims and appointed it its mission in our time.

If this be true, what forms can your action take? I propose that a petition be sent to Congress—a mammoth petition—declaring the liberal view and sentiment. The Church has busied itself in this way, having already emptied a cartload of petitions on the steps of the Capitol. Yet truth's whispered accents shall outweigh them all. But you will do more than utter a sentiment. You will make a demand. Your appeal will be to principle, to reason, to the Constitution of the United

States. Your petition will be based on two principles, one of which is the amendment to the Constitution—Congress shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them from invasion." The other principle is that of wise statesmanship, which deals with effects through their causes, and finds in a general law that criterion of action which renders all legislation at once impartial, intelligible and effective, securing to the individual the largest liberty, while demanding his respect and obedience.

Arbitrary power, in whatever disguise, must be overthrown; and reason must do it. The twin-relic of barbarism I affirm to be the connection between Church and State, and the absolute control which Congress assumes over the great West, under that archaic clause in the Constitution, which says, "Congress shall make all needful rules and regulations for the Territories and other property of the United States," which places human beings in the category of land and chattels.

The following, then, are the principles which you may justly demand shall be made a part of the fundamental law of the land, through amendments to the United States Constitution:—

1. Total separation of Church and State.

2. National protection for national citizens in their equal civil, political, and religious rights.

3. Universal education the basis of universal suffrage.

4. A specific and exact definition of the relation of the government to her Territories.

5. Marriage declared to be a civil contract, and made uniform throughout the Union.

When these amendments are made to the Constitution of the United States, then government will have clean hands, then the path of duty will be clear, then doubts will be solved and perplexities removed, then it will not be necessary to violate the spirit of the Constitution to enforce the Constitution, then the law will not be compromised and debased by apology and makeshift, and the citizen will not, by quibble and evasion, become a conspirator against his own rights. Then demagoguery will no longer be at a premium, and treason no longer be made a necessity and a virtue.

The general government cannot shift the responsibility upon the States for that alien and treasonable species of legislation which seeks to perpetuate the connection between Church and State; for it is implicated by acts of its own, by sins of omission and commission. It has done those things it ought not to have done, and left undone those things it ought to have done. Its delinquency arises mainly from the fact that the first amendment to the Constitution—"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"—has received from it a loose construction, and been most irresolutely followed and obeyed. This lax behavior has been construed by the Christians in every State into a special license and a divine command, to place the stamp of his faith on the laws of his sovereign State. Yet this theological bias was a direct importation from the colonial period, which was chartered by royal and ecclesiastical favor. It was a prenatal growth, thought to belong to the new birth. But it did not. It now reveals itself as an abnormality, an excrescence, that feeds on the vitals of the nation, while drawing an increase of strength from the kindred elements which our foreign immigration brings with it.

The attention of the American people is to be called, not to the danger that menaces the future of our country from the remarkable increase of the Roman Catholic element or the rapid rise of Mormonism, but to the grip which old theology has on the institutions of this commonwealth. The evil houses itself in all the creeds of Christendom, which are to it like the roots of the upas tree, in whose poisonous shade no living thing can thrive.

CORRESPONDENCE.

IDAHO LETTER.

News in general from a Cassia Creek Correspondent.

CASSIA CREEK, Cassia Co., Idaho, March 4th, 1884.

A MILD WINTER.

Editor Deseret News:

March in all its radiance and splendor is fairly upon us, and what little snow there is left on the high grounds is disappearing at a very rapid rate. Already in places the bountiful green grass is beginning to show its color, and "old boss" smiles as she waddles off to graze after a winter's seige on sage brush and grease wood.

Taking everything into consideration the average Cassia Creeker has little to complain of: the weather during the winter just past has not been so severe but stock, especially horses, could winter out with comparative ease, and horses that have been running out all winter are in very fair condition this spring.

THE OUTLOOK.

The outlook for this season's crop is far more favorable than last year, although the yield last year was remark-

ably good, but the indications are now that there will be a great deal more ground cultivated this year than formerly, as there is already considerable activity in the way of clearing off new land, preparatory to cultivation. Stock raising here is the leading industry, though tilling of the soil is quite industriously engaged in.

The people of these parts are anxiously expecting the D. & R. G. R. R. to extend their branch through this section, and in case they do, they want to be supplied with an abundance of grain and truck. This section is sadly in need of a grain market, and a railroad making through the Raft River Valley would supply their needs.

There are about 6,000 acres of land under cultivation in Cassia, which will yield in grain, on an average of thirty bushels per acre, and a crop failure is something entirely unknown in these parts. The season here is rather short for corn, and for that reason there is very little of it planted, the principal products being wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, hay and garden truck.

GOLD DISCOVERIES.

Some little anxiety has been occasioned here by reported discoveries of gold along the bed of the creek, but it seems nobody feels anxious enough about it to go down to bed rock and ascertain its true gold merits. There is no doubt but what gold exists in some of the quartz veins on the hills, but whether in paying quantities or not is a question. There are certainly good indications of gold throughout this entire section of country.

SOCIAL GATHERINGS.

The winter just past has been one long to be remembered by the young folks hereabouts, as the many pleasurable entertainments, sociable gatherings and select balls have resulted in bringing about at least two happy unions, and a whole host of engagements.

SCHOOLS AND CHURCH MATTERS.

This district can boast of a tolerable good school house and a well organized school of about thirty pupils, also a branch of the Church of Latter-day Saints, presided over by that prince of good fellows, Brother James Cole, formerly of American Fork, Utah, whose zeal, sincerity of speech, benevolent disposition, gentle, kind and good behavior invariably awaken a deep interest in all his meetings.

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