

rather complimentary any people or system of opposition of such a day Saints will not that score. But when he was his reason for being called to the "Mormons" paying tithes. They certainly might be allowed to do as they please with their own property. And if they choose to give all of their possessions away instead of on a tithe, it ought not to concern an outsider like Governor Bunn, who has no interest in common with them. Wonder if his mercenary soul is harrowed up over the fact that he cannot get control of the tithes. That is as reasonable an excuse as we can think of for such an unreasonable objection as he urges.

He is a fair sample of the "offensive partisans" indicted upon the Territories in the shape of Government appointees, for whose removal President Cleveland ought to have no difficulty about finding an excuse.

MORE PERSECUTION IN DENMARK.

President A. H. Lund, writing to the *Millennial Star* from Copenhagen, under date of May 31st, gives the following account of further persecution of "Mormon" Elders by the Danish authorities:

"This morning, Brother H. Hansen, whom I alluded to in my last letter as being banished from the country, arrived. He had been allowed two days in Aalborg and two days here before leaving the country. He feels first-rate—not at all dismayed. I appointed him to labor in Christiania Conference, and at 3 o'clock p.m. he left for Norway, in company with Brother H. J. Christianson, who has been appointed to reside there. A couple of brethren accompanied him to the court house to let the police know he had arrived. They were quite astonished when they opened the door and entered the hall, to be face to face with Brother John P. Ipsen, who was being led away to a cell to be kept confined until he can be sent out of the country. Brother Ipsen felt cheerful, and was happy to grasp his friends by the hand and exchange a few words. He has been released to go home, having served two years in the mission. He was on a visit to his friends at Bornholm when he was arrested. He will probably be sent to England by the steamer which leaves for Hull next Thursday evening."

Again, under date of June 4th, President Lund writes:

"I have just returned from the harbor, where I bid Brother John P. Ipsen farewell. He left on the steamer *Alto*, for Hull. He has been confined in a cell in the court house since last Sunday morning. His whole offense is holding a meeting and preaching the first principles of the Gospel. The Danish law allows the free exercise of religion, and yet they arrested him, and gave him two days imprisonment. Then they let him go a few days, and next called him again, and read an order from the department of justice, that he should be banished forthwith. He is banished under the Foreigners' Act. Brothers Hintze, J. Nielsen and Lundsteen have all been summoned before the courts, but have not heard anything more. I hope they may not either, as they have got good hold of the missionary work, and are needed. Brother Hintze reports over twenty baptisms since Conference in April."

A RINGING AND APPROPRIATE SPEECH.

ELSEWHERE we have made editorial allusion to the speech of Hon. Moses Thatcher, delivered at the Ogden celebration of Independence Day. We take pleasure in presenting its full text as given by the *Herald of the Junction* City.

Its lofty and soul-stirring sentiments will find a sympathetic echo in the heart of every lover of liberty who appreciates the situation of the people of Utah. By such it cannot be perused unmoved. The reading of the extracts from the speech of R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, delivered 55 years ago before the National Congress, was appropriate to the situation. But when the sentiments uttered by that sturdy champion of religious liberty so long since are compared with those expressed by Mr. Thatcher, they pale to comparative weakness, the potency of the present occasion causing the later speaker to eloquently rise to meet it. The speech was worthy the theme, and more can scarcely be said. Not only will the noble sentiments which fell from his lips find a ready response in the breasts of scores of thousands, but in their hearts they bless such men as he who stand ready to fearlessly vindicate the principles of freedom and equal rights.

The speech of the honorable gentleman is herewith presented:

Fellow Citizens—I have been deeply edified in listening to the beautiful oration of His Honor, Judge Powers, upon topics that must find a response in the breast of every American citizen. The manner in which he referred to his own sentiment in regard to the exercise of the franchise, by the citizens of the Territory, certainly finds an echo in every patriotic heart here to-day.

The reading of the Declaration of Independence, so beautifully executed, gives us clearly to understand the basis upon which this glorious government has been erected. It was the watch-cry that led patriotic hearts through all the scenes of trouble, sorrow and pain of the Revolution, which resulted in the greatest constitution of human liberty ever given to man. The student of history carefully notes the circumstances and causes which led them to accomplish their glorious work, and while on occasions of this kind I would be the last to cast a shadow upon the heart of a single individual within the walls of this building, an intelligent people cannot fail to comprehend the real situation here. No amount of spasmodic enthusiasm, even on this natal day, can hide the unnatural, ugly facts.

History has frequently repeated itself, and as we rejoice in the liberties bequeathed to us by our fathers, we look back along the shores of history, and note the beacon lights that have stood there, and in most cases they have been martyrs to the cause of human freedom; we refer to John Huss, to Wyckliff, to the Waldenses, the Huguenots and the Pilgrim fathers. And when we think of the causes which led to the *Mayflower* and *Speedwell* being rocked on the cradle of the deep, we but realize that freedom is drawn up out of the soul, and perhaps it may be well for us to think over a few opinions and sayings of profit to this mighty Republic, in which I can trace back my ancestors to the revolutionary fathers. We may, on occasions like this, note the growth of the Nation. With what pride and pleasure I listened to the remarks of the honorable gentleman to-day indicating once more the glorious doctrines of Democracy as taught by Adams and Jefferson. It gives me a gleam of hope, and we look for the time when we shall elect a President who shall be bold enough to say to the waves of popular prejudice, "Thus far shall thou go and no farther." In referring to this matter I desire to bring briefly before your attention to-day circumstances that transpired 55 years ago and circumstances that transpired in 1832; and here let me, as a citizen of the United States, announce my opposition to the union of Church and State, that ought to be, and in a republican government must be separate; and therefore when religious views are brought to bear upon Congress to force them to pass proscription laws—as was done in 1832—it was an interference on the part of the Church with the State. In this connection I will read brief extracts, which so impressed my mind, that I clipped them from the report and put them in my memorandum book, as to how Congress, 55 years ago, met a pressure of this kind. There were certain men who thought Congress should pass certain laws prohibiting men breaking, as they supposed, the Sabbath day.

On the 5th of March, 1830, Col. R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky (a name famous in the annals of Democracy), Chairman of the House Committee on Post Office and Post Roads, to whom had been referred many of the memorials and remonstrances referred to, made a report from which I will read some extracts:

"If the Almighty has set apart the first day of the week as a time which man is bound to keep holy, and devote exclusively to His worship, would it not be more congenial to the precepts of Christians to appeal exclusively to the great Law-giver of the universe to aid them in making men better—in correcting their practices by purifying their hearts? Government will protect them in their effort. When they have so instructed the public mind and awakened the conscience of individuals as to make them believe that it is a violation of God's law to carry the mail, open post offices, or receive letters on Sunday, the evil which they complain of will cease of itself without any exertion of the strong arm of civil power. When a man undertakes to be God's avenger he becomes a demon. Driven by the frenzy of a religious zeal, he loses every gentle feeling, forgets the most sacred precepts of his creed, and becomes ferocious and unfeeling."

"The State has no more power to enforce the observance of Sunday upon moral or religious grounds than it has to compel the citizen to be baptized or to partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It is claimed that man has no right to labor on Sunday, because in so doing he violates God's law. It is not for the Legislature to determine what is or what is not God's law. In this matter it can go no further than to protect all citizens, of whatever faith, in the peaceful exercise of their rights, leaving each to interpret God's law for himself, or to subscribe to the interpretation thereof laid down by the particular ecclesiastical order to which he adheres, or to whose teachings he finds himself inclined; without being amenable to any authority in the State for either his conduct or his conclusions so long as neither leads him to interfere with his fellow-man in the exercise of like rights. In other words, so far as the State is concerned, the citizen should be left free to spend his days, Sundays included, just as he pleases, so long as he, in doing so, does not interfere with the exercise of like freedom on the part of others. He must not wilfully disturb or interfere with others in the exercise of their religious rights and privileges. He must allow his neighbors, who feel so inclined, to meet together to worship God in peace and such quietude as the situation will admit of, where each

pursues his pleasure in his own way, having a just regard for the rights of all others."

"If the measure recommended should be adopted, it would be difficult for human sagacity to foresee how rapid would be the succession, or how numerous the train of measures which might follow, involving the dearest rights of all—the rights of conscience. It is perhaps fortunate for our country that the proposition should have been made at this early period, while the spirit of the Revolution still exists in full vigor. Religious zeal enlists the strongest prejudices of the human mind, and when misdirected, excites the worst passions of our nature, under the delusive pretext of doing God's service. Nothing so influences the heart to deeds of rapine and blood, nothing is so incessant in its toils, so persevering in its determinations, so appalling in its course, so dangerous in its consequences. The equality of rights, secured by the Constitution may bid defiance to mere political tyrants, but the robe of sanctity too often glitters to deceive. The Constitution regards the conscience of the Jew as sacred as that of the Christian, and gives no more authority to adopt a measure affecting the conscience of a solitary individual than that of a whole community. That representative who would violate this principle would lose his delegated character and forfeit the confidence of his constituents. If Congress shall declare the first day of the week holy, it will not convince the Jew nor the Sabbatarian. It will dissatisfy both, and consequently convert neither. Human power may extort vain sacrifices, but the Deity alone can command the affections of the heart. It must be recollected that in the earliest settlement of this country, the spirit of persecution which drove the Pilgrims from their native home was brought with them to their new habitation, and that some Christians were scourged and others put to death for no other crime than dissenting from the dogmas of their rulers. With these facts before us, it must be a subject of deep regret that a question should be brought before Congress which involves the dearest privileges of the Constitution, and even by those who enjoy its choicest blessings. We should all recollect that Cataline, a professed patriot, was a traitor to Rome. Arnold, a professed Whig, was a traitor to America, and Judas, a professed disciple, was a traitor to his Divine Master."

"With the exception of the United States, the whole human race, consisting, it is supposed, of 800,000,000 of rational beings, is in religious bondage; and in reviewing the scenes of persecution which history everywhere presents, unless the committee could believe that the cries of the burning victim and the flames by which he is consumed bear to heaven a grateful incense, the conclusion is inevitable that the line cannot be too strongly drawn between Church and State. If a solemn act of legislation shall in one point define the law of God or point out to the citizen one religious duty, it may, with equal propriety, proceed to define every part of divine revelation, and enforce every religious obligation, even to the forms and ceremonies of worship, the endowment of the Church and the support of the clergy."

"It was with a kiss that Judas betrayed his Divine Master; and we should all be admonished—no matter what our faith may be—that the rights of conscience cannot be so successfully assailed as under the pretext of holiness."

"The Christian religion made its way in the world in opposition to all human governments. Banishments, tortures and death were inflicted in vain to stop its progress. The framers of the Constitution recognized the eternal principle that man's relation with his God is above human legislation, and his rights of conscience inalienable. Reasoning was not necessary to establish this truth; we are conscious of it in our own bosoms. It is this consciousness, which, in defense of human laws, has sustained so many martyrs in tortures and flames. They felt that their duty to God was superior to human enactments, and that man could exercise no authority over their consciences. It is inborn principle which nothing can eradicate."

"The bigot in his pride of authority may lose sight of it, but strip him of his power, proscribe a faith to him which his conscience rejects, threaten him in turn with the dunce and the faggot, and the spirit which God has implanted in him rises up in rebellion and defies you. Did the primitive Christians ask that government should recognize their institution? All they asked was toleration; all they complained of was persecution. What did the Protestants of Germany, or the Huguenots of France ask of their Catholic superiors? Toleration. What do the persecuted Catholics of Ireland ask of their oppressors? Toleration."

"It is the duty of this Government to afford to all—to Jew or Gentile, Pagan or Christian—the protection and advantages of our benignant institutions."

After reading last evening these noble and sound principles held sacred fifty years ago, and contrasting them with those entertained and advocated by many now, I was led to pencil the following thoughts:

Our colonists, after long suffering the oppression, whips and scorns of the parent Government, at last arrogant and exacting, were finally baptized in blood.

When the shot and shell of British tyrants tore up the sacred soil of Lex-

ington and Bunker Hill, patriots planted the Tree of Liberty there and moistened with their blood. The fierce blasts that followed, sweeping the planes of Valley Forge and Brandywine, chilled to the marrow the half-starved, half-naked Revolutionary soldiers, but in the midst of the desolations of war, the Tree of Liberty, striking its roots deeply into Mother Earth, grew strong, bloomed and bore delicious and glorious fruit. If, while in careless hands, the cooling moth has since marred its beauty and impaired its excellent quality, so that only wind-falls come to us in Utah with a worm in each core, the fault is neither in the tree nor in the manner of its planting, but rather with sleepy watchmen on the walls of freedom, who have permitted an enemy to tamper with the roots, foliage and flower."

Our Revolutionary sires dugged deeply and laid solidly the foundation of the greatest government on earth, making religious toleration the chief corner stone. But some of their sons are fast drifting from the old moorings, while expedients and popular clamor override Constitutional principles. These few, in Utah, are able to accurately calculate how long they may be able to maintain even a remnant of those sacred rights of conscience and freedom of action for which our fathers sacrificed property and blood, and to maintain which they pledged all they had. What blessing, privilege or right, extended by human hands, can the suffering majority in Utah rejoice over on this, our Nation's anniversary? Can they rejoice in contemplating the remaining fragments of local government left them, which are less numerous than the crumbs that fell to Lazarus from the rich man's table?

Can a hungry man's heart glow with gladness in listening to a recital of the bounteous feasts daily enjoyed by his rich, and dominant brother?

How can our bosoms swell with patriotic enthusiasm, under that system of perverted Republican rule, that differs in no sense—save in name—from the colonial bondage under which the British tyrant made our ancestors suffer?

In what respect is the administration of political and judicial affairs in Utah a rule by and with the consent of the governed? Having no voice in the election of the President who appoints nor in the Senate that confirms those sent to rule over and judge us, where consists, to us the sweets of Democracy?

Popular opinion is a tyrant and coercion is his twin brother. We may kiss the hand of each, while praying for those who despotically use us; but how shall we forget, while doing so, that American liberty is thus made to us but a farce? By the memory of Kirtland, Far West and Nauvoo; by the thought of the bespattered walls and floors of Carthage jail, bathed in the heart's blood of patriots and prophets; by the weary sighings and desolate moanings of helpless widows and orphans; by the want, misery and death that marked every foot of the way into this howling, sun-baked, but now redeemed wilderness; by the daily dragging of our brethren into the shambles of the courts, thence behind bolts and bars; by the exile of our beloved, venerated and white haired President, whose life the cruel leaden messengers of death sought in Carthage jail forty years ago, while under pledge "for safety" of the Governor of a sovereign State of our Great American Union. John Huss, the reformer, perished in the burning fagots while under a similar pledge given by a German Prince; but that was in the "dark ages" of bigotry and superstition. President John Taylor, 77 years of age, shot four times by a murderous mob, yet everywhere and always loyal to the Government to which he in his youth gave voluntary allegiance, and no one of whose laws' just or unjust, constitutional or unconstitutional, has he ever violated, must, it seems by reason of the peculiar, extra and elsewhere unheard-of judicial rulings of the federal courts of this Territory, to be exile from his people, or a possible prisoner. And yet, everybody who cares to know, does know that he, understanding the disposition of certain men as to himself, from the moment of the passage of the Edmunds law, put himself within by obeying it that he might remain, according to the wish of every honest heart, free to mingle with and advise the people whom he loves better than life, and who reverence him as only they know how to reverence and love a faithful, conscientious leader and devoted servant of the Most High God. These people, knowing as they do that accusation and arrest of their friends has recently, under the specious and special ruling of mission judges almost invariably meant conviction. And that, too, on common rumor, or evidence showing only friendly associations with the mothers of their children. For these reasons all devoted, honest "Mormons" breathe a prayer for the safety of their beloved President, and would urge him if they could, to remain beyond the reach of those who would delight to humiliate and harm him, notwithstanding his advanced age and his past sufferings. These facts and the knowledge that Utah is fast becoming the field of inquisitorial plots, penalties and pains unparalleled since the dark days of the Holy Inquisition, during the reign of which it is said, the rack, wheel, fagot and other fiendish instruments of torture bathed in the sweat of death 60,000,000 Lapsless human beings.

By the memory of these things that stagger and blight the heart like a

fearful nightmare, let us rejoice and grow enthusiastic over the deeds of fathers who made it, for a time at least, impossible in this glorious free land, to re-enact such scenes of cruelty. But in no sense can we do so over the acts of their degenerate sons, who, with specious pretenses, override the Constitution, and thus use the weapons which George Washington declared "were the weapons with which traitors destroy free governments."

In the midst of oppression, patiently borne, it has been hoped that President Cleveland, having been elected on the pledge of a return to Jeffersonian doctrines, might afford citizens of Utah some relief, and that a Democratic Administration would reaffirm the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, under the inspiration of which the Nation carved its way to glory, and led to the adoption of the grandest charter of human liberty this world has ever known. It has been hoped, I say, that a Democratic Administration would again announce that citizens of this Nation, and all others within its jurisdiction, shall be governed by principle and not prejudice, and judged with equity and justice. If President Cleveland and those sent to rule and judge us, have the moral courage to announce these principles, saying to the waves of popular clamor and religious prejudice, "thus far but no further can ye come"—all men being equal before the law—our children for generations to come will make garlands with which to decorate their tombs and keep their memory fresh and green in the heart."

But if they choose not to do these things we will still trust in God while kissing the chastening rod, until the sons of Utah, faithful, true and loyal, shall stand on the backbone of this American Continent, and beneath the Stars and Stripes, save and maintain inviolate for all, the divinely inspired Constitution of this glorious land."

Gen. De Courcey telegraphs from Hue: "We are absolute masters here now. The enemies troops are dispersing. The citadel is on fire. The royal palace is intact, owing to the exemplary discipline of the Zouave battalion, who captured and now guard it. The palace contains great wealth, 5,000,000 francs in bar silver, which sum will be largely increased if the gold bars can be found. The artistic riches are of inestimable value. I await instructions."

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, in one of its later afternoon editions, bids defiance to the authorities, in their work of attempting to suppress the sale of the past three days' issue of the paper. It claims the honor for leading in the cause of exposing the vices of the rich and declares that the best men of England support it in its crusade. The *Gazette* challenges the courts of London to prosecute it, for the work it is engaged in, and says that it might subpoena half of the legislature of England to prove the accuracy of its revelations.

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