DESERET EVENING NEWS.

TRUTH AND LIBERTY.

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THE NEW EDMUNDS BILL.

SECOND SPEECH OF SENATOR TELLER.

SOME PLAIN FACTS.

In the U. S. Senate, on the 7th inst., Mr. Teller, resenting the unfair assaults upon his speech of the previous day, made the following outspoken and telling remarks, which seemed to greatly irritate Mr. Cullom, of Illinois, but which he could not refute:

Mr. Teller.—Mr. President, I expressed my idea yesterday of perhaps the folly of a man saying anything against this bill; first, because it comes from a committee of so high authority in this body; secondly, because it touches a question that I do not think the mass of the people are capable of coolly, carefully, dispassionately discussing, and no better illustration can be made of that than when a senator on this floor who has read my remarks arises and attributes to me what I never said, either in letter or spirit. On any other subject the senator from Illinois would not have made that blunder. On this subject he, like the great mass of men, thinks from his prejudices, thinks from his anger at an evil that I am as free to condemn and as anxious to extirpate as he is; but I am anxious to do it under the forms and under the color of law. I have been educated, in a school which taught me that whenever a government attempted to repress crime by methods unknown to the law, it was a greater crime than that which it attempted to repress, because it is the greatest of all crimes.

Mr. President, polygamy is a crime: but it is not greater than murder, it is not greater than other crimes known in he catalogue of human vice. It is contrary to our ideas of civilization; it is contrary to our judgment of what is to the best interest of a political organization; it is contrary to our religious convictions, and therefore we do not look at it with calm consideration, and we do not consider when we come to attempt to put our hand upon it how we are to best do it. We want, as a Senator said to me to-day, to put the knife in. So say I, but put the knife in under the color of law; put the knife in by a constitutional movement.

I believe the act of 1862 was sufficient to have eradicated this evil if it had been properly administered. I believe it was a proper law. I have never criticised it; I have never criticised the action of the General Government, but I say its agencies sent there from time to time were of a character that was calculated to defeat the laudable purpose of the law. I joined, as a member of the committee and as a member of the Senate, in the passage of the act of 1882. I believe that act is now capable of carrying out and completing the end which we all are so desirous to attain. I did not intend yesterday in my criticisms to criticise the past transactions under this law, but to criticise the actions under the old law. The honorable Senator says we all know that no effort was made to enforce it. That is what I complain of. For fifteen years the Government made practically no effort at all; it sent men out there who professedly for a time attempted to enforce it in the most odious and most objectionable manner possible, and yet did nothing.

Whether these people have been persecuted or not is a matter of judgment. I do not yield to any man on this floor in knowledge on this question. I know these people as well as anybody here does, and I know their history as well; but I am no believer in their religion. I regard their chief prophet as an arrant knave. I do not believe any revelation was ever made to Joe Smith or to Brigham Young or to anybody else. I regard this as an oligarchy or a religious despotism that ought to be wiped out, but it must be done by law. If you can justify the transgression of fundamental principles of constitutional law in this case, you can do it in a hundred others. If the enormity of the crime that is to be stricken down is a justification for the transgression of law, then you may find it everywhere, and no rights are sacred. It becomes a question of prejudice and of passion and of hate.

I did say that this bill bristled with blood and with vengeance, and I repeat it, and I propose to show it. I propose to show here that there never was such a bill introduced in any legislative body in the world, and no such bill was ever enacted into a law, and that too when, by the report of the commission that we sent out there, it is evident that there is no necessity for this extreme and new legislation.

Yesterday it was said that the wife could be compelled anywhere in the States to testify against the husband. I deny it. I do not know but that there may be some State where the expression has been used that the wife may be compelled to testify against the husband. I doubt it, however. She may testify, but she is not compelled to do so. If she does not testify, what is the result? She is committed for contempt, she goes to jail, she remains there till her scruples are overcome or until the judge relents.

Mr. President, however good may be the judges, however good may be the marshal, however good may be the governor of this Territory—and I have not a word to say against one of them they are sitting there amidst the greatest possible excitement, with the greatest possible prejudice surrounding them, and that which might be tolerable and might be endured in some communities may be used as a grievously oppressive measure to those people and compel the woman to testify whether she will or no. Why, Mr. President, you will not do so in murder. Is this a greater crime than murder? You would not do it in rape; you would not do it in any of the great crimes known to the statutes. Why should you do it in this?

There are many other things in this bill that I say are inconsistent with good legislation, and it will not be any answer to me if the senator from Vermont should discover that some State had enacted even a law like unto it. I upon this question must act upon my own judgment and not upon the precedent of somebody else. I do not believe he can find such a precedent, but if he can it would not be sufficient to induce me to vote for that kind of a law.

Now another point. I called attention to it yesterday. Section 2 of this bill provides:

That in any prosecution for bigamy, polygamy, or unlawful cohabitation, under any statute of the United States, whether before a United States commissioner, justice, judge, a grand jury, or any court, an attachment for any witness, may be issued by the court, judge or commissioner, without a previous subpœna, compelling the immediate attendance of such witness, when it shall appear to the commissioner, justice, judge, or court, as the case may be, that there is reasonable ground to believe that such witness will unlawfully fail to obey a subpœna issued and served in the usual course in such cases; and in such case the usual witness-fees shall be paid to such witness attached: *Provided*, That no person shall be held in custody under any attachment issued as provided by this section for a longer period than ten days.

That is to say, under this section if the court should conclude that the witness may not appear, he may be arrested and held for ten days and no longer. This does not interfere with the other question that I presented that the woman who should decline to answer might be guilty of contempt, and might be indefinitely imprisoned. I know there is a similar statute in the States with reference to the holding of witnesses to bail, but I know that it is a dangerous power to put in the hands of anybody at any time, much less in such states of excitement as will and must necessarily exist in the execution of these laws.

Mr. President, I called attention yesterday to the marshalship. I called attention to the fact that the marshal and all his deputies, with unlimited power to make them by the hundred or the thousand, was made the committing magistrate for every offense known to the law. The Senator from Vermont said in reply to the Senator from Alabama that it would be a discrimination if this corporation should be annulled, and yet I find that yesterday, with his sanction and support, the Senate almost unanimously voted that the provision for repealing the act conferring suffrage upon women should be abolished in Utah while it was left to exist in Washington and Wyoming Territories.

There are many harsh methods employed here. The superintendent of schools, who I find by the report of the commission can be appointed by the governor of the Territory, who is not a Mormon, is to be appointed by whom? By the court. I deny, in the first place, the power of this Congress to constitute a judicial tribunal the appointing power in that Territory; but if they had the power, is it wise and proper to exercise it when it is known by everybody that the great hatred of the whole community is focused upon this court? I do not say rightfully, I do not say the court deserve it, but nevertheless that is a fact which no man will deny. Why select a tribunal that is the most odious of all to these people and say this tribunal may make this appointment. Why not confer it upon the governor? Why not confer it upon the President? I do not say that intentionally, but I do say that, unfortunately, throughout this bill there is a spirit as if it were as much for vengeance as for anything else.

I said yesterday, with the little poetic license that a man speaking will sometimes use, that the Government should put its strong hand upon these people with a velvety touch. The honorable Senator from Vermont took me up and said in substance that it would not do to have a velvety touch. I meant by that that all punishment should be for reformation; that punishment should not be for vengeance, but for reform. I believe it to be the truest principle ever enunciated that all legislation looking to the punishment of crime should be with reference to the reformation of the criminal and not to punish him in the strictest sense of the term, not for vengeance but for reform; and so I say that all those people living in that Territory have their prejudices, and we, step by step, are undoing what the commission has been so valiantly and, I believe, so effectively doing. This commission reported that in the year 1884 four hundred and some odd plural marriages were solemnized in the Territory, and that last year practically none were. This commission has undoubtedly done an effective work. They have met with much opposition, with much hostility, not only from Mormons, but, I am sorry to say, from people who differed with them as to the means of executing the law and the ability of this commission under the law to eradicate the evil. We are all seeking the same purpose, and this is bidding fair for Territory of the evil of polygamy. It is not a part of the Mormon religion; it is an excrescence that has been put upon it by its false prophets and leaders.

The honorable Senator from Illinois says these people have never been persecuted. I do not say that there is any legislation on the statute-book now that I would not have voted for had I been a member of this body. I do not say that the Government in its governmental capacity has ever made a movement against these people that was unfair or unjust; but I say just what he said. He said he thought the Government had been careless in the selection of its agents. I say the Government has been unwise in the selection in former times of its agents, and persons have been sent there to hold high official positions who have done nothing toward enforcing your law and, in my judgment, did not want to enforce it, because if they did their stock in trade would be gone.

Mr. Cullom—What does the Senator think of the present chief justice of that Territory?

Mr. Teller—I do not know who the chief justice is. I have not made an accusation against any judge or any member of that court, and I did not refer to them yesterday at all in any terms but those of approval. I do not now. I think that perhaps they are all right. I do not know anything about it. I have heard no complaint about that court at all.

Mr. Cullom. Is it not true that the laws have been, to some extent at least, executed there within the last year?

Mr. Teller. I understand to-day under the law now in existence that by the aid of the court and the commission twenty-three prominent officials of the Mormon Church have been convicted, and I do not know how many subordinates; that to-day the principal leaders of that church are either in the penitentiary or hiding. That is what I approve of, and that is what I say is legislation in the right direction, and that is what will ultimately accomplish the destruction of the objectionable system.

The honorable Senator from Illinois seems to think that I am an especial advocate of the Mormon people, and the honorable Senator from Vermont yesterday referred to me as being tender-hearted. Why, Mr. President, I believe that my ear has always listened to the cry of the oppressed and distressed. I believe that I may have a weakness, when people complain of oppression, no matter from whence it comes, and a desire to look into it. I ought to have. I come of a race that has had it, and I glory in it. It is not that I propose to wink at the infraction of law; it is not that I want these men to go unpunished if they continue to violate the statutes of the United States, but I want it done in such a manner that the enemies, the neighbors of the men in Mormondom who are anxious to submit themselves to the law, can not say, "Why, this is not a proper execution of the law; this is oppression, this is persecution, and you must resist it." This is what I meant when I complained yesterday that we were driving this minority, that a few years ago could be heard everywhere denouncing polygamy, into silence and death.

Mr. Cullom. Will the Senator allow me a word?

Mr. Teller. Certainly.

Mr. Cullom. I believe the Senator has announced that he was not in favor of the bill now before the Senate.

Mr. Teller. I have, most emphatically.

Mr. Cullom. I will inquire whether he would favor a substitute providing for a legislative commission to take the place of the Territorial Legislature?

Mr. Teller. When that question comes before the Senate I will examine it. I will state what I favor. I favor taking away from the Mormons the entire legislative authority and vesting it in Congress. That is what I think ought to have been done years ago. I think we ought to take the initiatory, and when any legislation is wanted for that Territory give it to them. That is my judgment about it. It will depend on how the commission is formed whether I will favor a commission. I am in favor, as the Senator is, of taking from those people the right of legislation, because it is an unquestioned right of Congress to legislate for them if it sees fit, and it is no denial of the right of citizenship and freedom to do that in the Territories, as has been repeatedly held both by this body and by the other.

I believe, Mr. President, that I have had some, perhaps a little more, opportunity to know personally some of these people than any other member of this body. I do not believe that all these Mormons are simply knaves. I believe the great mass of the Mormon Church are fanatics, steeped in fanaticism, believing in that religion of theirs as the true religion. I can not account for it; I can not understand it; but yet I know that more than two hundred millions of people are believers in Mohammedanism. I know that an obscure individual put upon the world a religion that has dominated a third of the surface of the earth; and I know that history records the fact that the Mahommedans have gone to the stake, they have gone to battle and died in defense of their religion. They have been aggressive fanatics. Who says they did not believe it?

The Mormons have been had men, says the Senator, and they got up strife in Kirtland, they got it up in Nauvoo. Who has written their records? Who makes the statement? Their enemies. False religion ought to and must necessarily beget false conduct in its devotees. It is only pure religion that makes men better. When I have admitted that their religion was false, the premises are established and the conclusion must be drawn that they can not be the best of men under it. I do not defend them; but I do say to the Senator that he can go back to the history of Kirtland, or he can take their history in Missouri, or he can take their history in Illinois, and there are many phases of it that neither he nor I ought to read without blushing for our own people. I will not take their testimony; but let some man read from the work before me the testimony of Governor Ford, of Illinois. The Senator knows him, or knows of him at least. He is dead now. The Senator knows that he made probably a truthful statement, surrounded as he was by an excited populace who hated the Mormons and who hunted them to the death; and what does he say? He lays the blame of what occurred at Nauvoo upon his own constituents and not upon the Mormons. Fifteen thousand people, with all the arts and sciences, with commerce and trade, were attacked in open daylight and driven to the death across the river and into a foreign land, taking their household goods and their families and going into the wilderness; and do you tell me that they went that they might practice polygamy? They went for a sentiment, false it may have been. They went as they supposed that they might worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience and as they believed they ought to do. They went up to what is now the city of Council Bluffs. There was nobody there except the red man to welcome them. There was no one for them to come in contact with. They sat down there and they waited. They gave to the Government that had failed to protect them in Nauvoo, that had failed to protect them in Missouri, five hundred of their stalwart men to go out and battle for the flag, and then they began their weary march for 1,300 miles across the desert. Do you believe they went there to practice polygamy? They could have practiced it in any of the great cities of this country with as little fear as men now practice another vice, which is the same thing save and except that in the one instance the man gives to the woman the character of wife.

They went out there and they came in July, 1847, into the valley of the Salt Lake. They endured hunger and thirst and were in danger of savage hordes.

No man can read that history without feeling for them some little sympathy, not that he need necessarily approve of their false ideas, but he can at least recognize the fact that they were men, and he can recognize the fact that they possess the noblest of human aspirations, the determination to exercise free and uncontrolled their religious belief. It is a virtue of the Anglo-Saxon race. It is a virtue we ought all to be proud of, though sometimes it may be debased in a wicked cause. They built up that country as I said. I hold in my hand a letter writen by Mr. Bowles, whom you all recollect as the able editor of the Springfield *Republican*, who visited Salt Lake City in 1875. He says: "My visit has increased my admiration for these people, and it has also increased my detestation of the barbarous system of polygamy." My observation there has had the same effect on me. Coming in contact with them you find them possessed of many virtues, not that all their virtues should overcome this one vice, but they have some virtues.

Mr. President, I know it has been said to me here to-day "you ought not to have defended those people; you ought not to put yourself in the position of being an advocate for a people of this character." Why, Mr. President, I will bear testimony to their virtues and I will condemn their vice. I am not to be deterred because somebody says "you must be a Jack Mormon." I will not vote contrary to my conscience and judgment for anything although it may accomplish, even if I believe it would accomplish the purpose for which it was intended, if it was contrary to law. I hold that my allegiance to the law, to the fundamental principle that pervades all civilized governments now, that there shall be no interference with men's religious belief. The honorable Senator from Alabama says he does not call it religion. It is immaterial whether it is religion or not; we can reach the evil, the excrescence attached to it, without violating any of the fundamental principles which I have mentioned; we can disestablish this church, we can wipe out this organization. That I am in favor of, whether the Mormons like it or whether they do not. I am in favor of abolishing it because I find that to do so is consistent with law. I believe myself we have a right to dissolve every corporation within the jurisdiction of the National Government if in our judgment it is not subservient to the good of the people.

I hope nobody will understand me as finding fault either with the act of 1862 or the act of 1882, twenty years later. I hope nobody will understand me and suppose because I have stood here and said these people had some virtues, that I am ignorant of the fact that they have a system which is destructive of the marriage relation, and I believe is the outgrowth of barbarism and not of civilization. I trust that I shall have accorded to me in this body at least the idea that I am honest when I say I do not believe in polygamy. I think that at least I may have the credit of speaking in defense of a people who are without friends, and I think I ought to have at least the credit of being considered sincere when I take up so forlorn a hope as this with the absolute certainty that the great power of the Senator from Vermont with his great committee will put through this bill substantially as it now is before the Senate.

SUNDAY SERVICES.

The services in the Tabernacle yesterday afternoon were presided over by High Councilor Wm. Eddington.

The choir sang:

The time is nigh, that happy time,
That great, expected, blessed day.

Prayer was offered by Elder Thomas F. Howells.

The choir sang:

How sweet communion is on earth
With those who've realized the birth
Of water—who the Spirit's powers
Receive, in genial, quickening showers.

The Bishopric of the Sixth Ward officiated in the administration of the Sacrament.

President Abram H. Cannon was the first speaker. He was pleased at having the blessed privilege of meeting with the Saints to worship God, and listen to the instructions of His servants. It was the duty of the Saints to carry out those instructions. The Latter-day Saints were a peculiar people; peculiar in having a religion which differed from that of the rest of the world at the present time; peculiar in believing in the same Gospel which was taught by Christ and His Apostles, and the Prophets of God in all ages. They believed in the necessity of living faith; in repentance; in baptism, and in the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, as was taught in the scriptures; after these principles there were other progressive steps necessary to gain salvation. This Gospel of Christ had been revealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith, who learned the will of God through humble prayer and faithfulness. Joseph was then but an unlettered youth, but God sustained him. He did not go out to preach the Gospel until commissioned from heaven to do so. Scarcely had he received the message of truth when persecution began, and he realized with Paul that those who live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution. He was never permitted to rest in peace, although a man of amiable disposition. He was opposed for the same reason that Jesus and His Apostles were anciently, and finally sealed his testimony with his blood. The history of the Saints had been one of persecution; they had been driven from village to village, State to State, until they found an asylum in the wilderness, having been forced to leave their homes in midwinter, to seek shelter in a barren waste. When they came to Utah there were no homes to greet them—all was desolation, but when they reached here, God revealed to them through His Prophet, that this was their resting place. They struggled to gain a subsistence, and were required to pass through great trials, but God had brought them through safely. They were now in the midst of another severe trial; there were some in their midst who were hypocritical and ungodly; these must be purged out, and the Almighty was using His power to purify His people. The parable of the ten virgins was applicable at the present time, and many would no doubt slumber and fall away. But it made no difference who shrank, God would bring His Church off triumphant. There was a great conflict at hand between the powers of truth and eror, and error would be overcome. The Prophet Joseph had been hated for the Gospel's sake, but succeeding generations would do him justice; the same was true of all faithful Saints. The Saints should learn to live faithful to God, and be firm in their devotion to His cause in all things.

Elder H. W. Naisbitt then addressed the congregation. He said that when the Saints were assembled to worship God, they were entitled to His Spirit if they exercised faith, and should receive those instructions which were most needed. They had suffered many trials for the Gospel's sake, and those engaged in the work of the ministery in the various denominations of Christendom were most active in the work of the persecution. These men had been the educators of the people in their opposition to "Mormonism." These same ministers looked upon the Bible as the word of God, and exercised a great influence over the people, sometimes for good, but far too often for the aggrandizement of themselves, and the strengthening of their organization, rather than the obtaining of a knowledge of the truths of the Gospel of Christ. In the character of Joseph Smith naturally, there was nothing to attract the notice of the people in the section where he lived; he was of humble origin, and carried with him no prestige of wealth or social standing. The hatred engendered toward him and the Latter-day Saints was not from any prominence in worldly affairs, but because they called in question the teachers of the people, in that the doctrines they taught were a reflection on the intelligence of the religious world. Their testimony of the truth of "Mormonism" was a heavy blow against the self-righteousness of a false system of Christianity. When the Elders of Israel proclaimed that Christendom was asleep; that the masses were being misled; that the order laid down in the Bible was overthrown; they called in question the intelligence and practice of ages. This aroused the spirit of opposition which had met the Church of Christ. The Elders had not intentionally awakened this antagonism, but it was in the providence of God to use these honest, humble men to fulfil His purposes. The so-called religions of ages were called in question, and their fallibility shown; and when the storm of opposition arose, it was firmly met and withstood, by the plain and simple truths of the Gospel. It was considered blasphemy to tell the Christian world that they were following false systems of religion, but the Elders had done this fearlessly, under the direction of the Lord, and had proclaimed to the world the Gospel of the true and living God. This blow at the citadel of Satan was what had raised the storm. In witness of their message the Elders had pointed to the book regarded by Christians as containing the Word of truth, the Bible, for evidence of the truthfulness of their statements. They continued their efforts to promulgate the principles of truth, and the ministers rebelled against their work, many of the people following. When the Elders cited the facts of history, and were themselves standing rebuke to so-called ministers, in offering the Gospel without money and without price, it caused great offense, and those who divined for money and preached for hire became the most bitter enemies and implacable foes of the humble followers of Christ. Nor was this to be wondered at, when it was considered that the only way these ministers could cover up their pretensions and false teachings was to retaliate with abuse and falsehood; to do this they united in traducing the Elders to shield themselves from exposure. When the Elders not only showed the imbecility of spurious Christianity, but preached the more advanced doctrines of the Gospel, the ministers of Christendom were at sea, and their opposition became more radical, dangerous and extensive. Statesmen, politicians and judges were influenced by the same general spirit of hatred to the truth, which had originated in the apostate churches of Christendom, under the inspiration of the powers of evil. These evil influences had found a congenial place in the human heart, and directed and controlled them in antagonism to the powers of heaven. Because of the influences of the evil one, the mantle of charity should be thrown over those who opposed "Mormonism," and the Elders should continue their labor of love for the salvation of mankind. The battle was not yet won; the stronghold of Satan must be overthrown before the establishment of truth, and it would require all the powers possessed by the Saints to accomplish the duty assigned them under the guidance of the heavenly powers.

The choir sang:

"The Seer, the Seer, Joseph the Seer."

Benediction by Elder Robert Patrick.

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And Headache
After using one box of Ayer's Pills I was quite well." C. F. Hopkins, Nevada City, Mo., writes: "I have used Ayer's Pills, and think they are the best in the world. They have cured me of Sick Headache and Neuralgia." W. L. Page, Richmond, Va., writes: "I have been a severe sufferer from Headache. Ayer's Pills afford me speedy relief." A. J. Forster, Dauphin st., Mobile, Ala., writes: "For a number of years I have been troubled with Constipation and Headaches. After trying a number of so-called Liver Invigorators, without benefit, I was at last

Cured by Using
Ayer's Pills." Rev. Francis B. Harlowe, Atlanta, Ga., writes: "For years I was subject to Constipation, from which I suffered increasing inconvenience, in spite of the use of medicines of various kinds. Some months ago, I began taking Ayer's Pills. They have entirely corrected the costive habit, and have vastly improved my general health." Hermann Bringhoff, jewelry engraver, Newark, N. J., writes: "Costiveness, induced by my sedentary habits of life, at one time became chronic and exceedingly troublesome. Ayer's Pills afforded me speedy relief, and their occasional use has since kept me all right." Ed. O. Easterly, Rockford, Ill., writes that he has been cured of chronic Constipation by the use of

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