

CHRISTIAN LEGISLATION
AGAINST THE "MORMONS."

proper Straining of the Law.
SENATOR CALL'S COURAGEOUS SPEECH
IN THE SENATE.

In the debate on the appropriation of \$30,000 for the Industrial Home in this city, which took place in the United States Senate October 2d, 1888, reported in the Congressional Record, Senator Call, of Florida, said:

Mr. Call—I voted for this appropriation, not only as a member of the committee on Education and Labor, but as it was first considered, but also as a member of the Committee on Appropriations and of the Senate. I objected to and would now object to and against the legislation of this body persecuting these people because they had certain religious views or opinions on the subject of religion which were opposed to my own and to those of our people generally. I consider in all that legislation we not only violated the Constitution, but we violated all the principles of civil liberty which our institutions are founded upon. I have never changed that opinion. I think we went back eighteen hundred years in the progress of the world to the days of barbarism, to use the words, the civil power of the State, to compel by force a change in the opinions of men upon the subject of faith and their religion.

If the Constitution says we shall take action whatever, exercise no power in government respecting the establishment of religion, and yet the language of this bill is plain and direct, offering inducements to leave the Mormon Church. We have forgotten that we have no power to legislate upon the subject of a man's belief on the subject of religion, whether it be true or untrue. So in all this legislation in which we have prepared a prejudiced jury, in which we have prepared a prejudiced jury, and selected him for the purpose of trying men of different opinions on the subject of religion from themselves, we have violated not only the principles of the Constitution, but we have violated all the institutions upon which our present civilization is based, and we only need to go a few steps further to introduce the rule of the state to punish in direct a man for being a Methodist or Catholic or a Presbyterian, or for holding some different form of faith than that which the dominant party in the state may profess.

Mr. President, I approve the principle of the legislation in this appropriation. If the Mormons are to be persecuted, or any other set of people, to be in accordance with the religion of Christ, by perverted methods, and not by the exercise of power. The legislation of this body has done more to perpetuate polygamy and establish it by making causes of them than any and all causes and instrumentalities could have been brought to bear. I live in an age in which the principles of Christian tolerance, the teaching of Christ that the sword is not the way to create opinion, to produce action, but it is argument, it is teaching of the divine word, it is missionary, and not the power of sword and the power of the civil law. The law by which these courts established and vested with unlimited powers cannot be distinguished from the exercise of the power of the state in creating the Spanish Inquisition as an arm of the civil power to observe of a particular faith. Two are precisely the same, and no man can distinguish between the action of Congress in respect to the Mormons and the exercise of the power of the state in the shape ofquisition to suppress another religion or faith, either by delegating an ecclesiastical body or exercising directly.

The constructions of law under these people have been tried, punished, if correctly reported, lasting shame and disgrace to country and to the administration of law, and to ourselves for permitting it to continue. I have seen it by persons said to be reputable character and truthful that men and women have been convicted and sentenced for unlawful cohabitation upon a charge that they had contributed to the support of the families, the children and children toward whom had at some former period of time been the polygamous relation, that in other cases women had been sentenced and imprisoned because they thought it proper to refuse to close the name of the man toward whom they had sustained these relations.

This legislation providing a home for people who may be convicted of being pursuing a wrong method of religion and a criminal one, of providing a home for the women and children who may be left destitute in consequence of a change of life, met the approval of my judgment. It was in the line of persuasion, in the line of policy convincing the moral sentiment which the Almighty has provided means of reformation for all everywhere. It can not be that we change opinion, thought, by force, by oppression, by persecution, by sword, by compelling men to believe. This is the method of the

stake, the iron boot, the fearful implements of the cruelty and crime of the Dark Ages, and these we adopted in place of the gentle persuasion of the divine Christ.

Mr. President, if the statements of the Senator from Maine are true, it is the severest arraignment of this body that could possibly be made. Can it be that the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives have sat here and allowed such a condition of things to exist as the instances described by him represent? Is it true that people convinced of the error of their lives and subjected to extreme cruelty have been compelled to remain in that condition for the want of even the ordinary necessities of life? Is it true that children of twelve years of age are compelled to enter into polygamous and unlawful marriages and the Senate and the Senators from Maine and Vermont have quietly remained here providing no legislation but these denunciations of the Mormon people? If these statements be true, the evidence should be obtained and prompt legislation provided by which that evil should not exist a day longer—the evil of a people honestly desiring to conform to the laws and yet unable to do it because the laws have provided no efficient methods for their protection and their subsistence.

I am not ready to believe these statements. I do not believe that polygamy, however wrongful it is of necessity and in itself, destroys the natural love and affection which the Divine Being has implanted in the human heart, that charity can not exist where it prevails. We derive our religion from a polygamous people. I have been taught to reverence the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as a divine revelation and the characters they present as the highest types of humanity. And while we believe with the confidence of knowledge that our Christianity is the true and higher civilization and the only true religion, it is not necessary that we should halt and denounce those who differ from us in faith and practice. I do not believe that either amongst the Mormons or any other people surrounded by the influence of modern civilization such cruelties would be permitted.

There are two sides to these statements; the Mormons deny them, their representative denies them in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives. Travelers and men of high standing both in our own and foreign countries profess to have examined carefully into this subject and describe these people as a mild and truthful, industrious and virtuous people, comparing very favorably in many respects with the people of other countries, save only in the permission for polygamous life and representing that to be limited in practice. I do not know anything as to the truth of these statements either on one side or the other, but I am not willing to bear false witness against any one or to condemn without full and fair evidence on both sides.

I have never seen a Mormon except those who have been here before the two Houses of Congress, and it is only just to say that these had the appearance and manner of intelligent, educated and kindly men. I have never known but one of their faith, and his family life in this community was in all respects like our own, and his charities and personal characteristics such as gave him respectful consideration and regard of excellent persons of our own Christian faith who are themselves of unblemished life and reputation. I am not willing, therefore, that my vote for this appropriation shall be placed upon the ground that these people are destitute of all the moral virtues and all the kindly sympathies of humanity.

I do not believe it. I vote for this appropriation because I wish to provide every possible agency to give full and free influence to the persuasive power of the divine teachings of Christ and furnish the opportunity to all who wish to leave the polygamous life to do so, basing the law to be enforced against the practice of polygamy amongst them as amongst other people in the spirit of fairness and justice, in gentleness and in mercy, and not with the cruelty and violence of either the religious or the political bigot. I have more faith in the persuasive power of the gospel of Christ and the Christian ministry than in all the terms of the law, even when enforced with the thumb-screw and the stake, the dagger of St. Bartholomew's massacre and Coligny's assassin, or all the thousand cruelties which stain the pages of history, and which we are beginning to repeat.

Mr. President, we had better enact some legislation in this direction. We had better ascertain the facts. I am in favor of an appropriation, however large it may be, to provide a home and subsistence and employment for any of these people who may be convinced that their methods of life are improper and unlawful. Opposed as I am to persecution and disgraceful persecution, if I had the power I would remove the judges and the civil officers who have been guilty of crime themselves, if the statements I have read be true, of a distortion of the law by the severity of the punishment of these people. I read an instance in the memorial presented in aid of this very bill of a woman and a child, a woman of eighteen years of age, I think, with an infant of three months, confined in the jail, and that infant dying of measles, because she would not reveal the name of the man with whom she had been led into this improper relation, suffering and dying, the memorial states and there was no charity, no kindness from the judge or

the marshal or any one towards this poor young mother confined there like a common felon, a disgrace to civilization and a disgrace to humanity and to those who have the power to correct it.

But, Mr. President, the question here is whether the public money shall be placed in private hands with no responsibility except by a bond for carrying out these purposes. In the English law it was found necessary to provide a system of visitation even of private foundations of charity. It was found that the abuses which followed these institutions in private hands were so great as to pervert and defeat the purposes of the founder until a power of visitation was exercised by the courts and prescribed by the statutes.

Why, then, should we depart from that course and vest the power of disbursement of this money in the hands of these individuals without any authority on the part of the Treasury officials to supervise or direct it? It seems to me that the answer is clear to those who sincerely desire the conversion of these people, who desire to furnish protection to those who wish to leave, who recognize the power of the Christian religion (which the legislation upon this subject denies) to convert and persuade those people who believe in Christ and Christ's religion and not in the persecutions which this body and the other House have established against these people. Those who believe as I do in Christ's commission "Go ye into all nations and preach the Gospel," and who desire the success of this charity and to protect these people when the power of the Christian faith may convert them, as it will convert them would have the government retain in its control over the expenditure of this money.

If you choose to give this building or the use of it to this charitable organization, I shall have no objection, and should support a provision of that kind, provided they exercise that charity in the spirit of love and not of denunciation, not of hatred and bitter reproach; provided they remember that the evil of which they complain is not now for the first time known to the civilization of the world, that the Christian religion has been fighting it successfully for eighteen hundred years, not with the sword and the stake, but with the teachings of Christ, and that the religion of Christ alone has reclaimed hundreds of millions of people from the practice of the greater part of the world who have lived in polygamy and with whom it has been an institution—England and those who derive their civilization from her.

Mr. President, there has been too much of political persecution in this matter and too little of Christian faith and Christian practice. Let the government appropriate its money, let it build this house, let it make ample provision for all who shall be convinced that the Christian system is the true one, and make it ample for the industrial education and subsistence of these people for a reasonable time, that this experiment may be promptly tried, but let it be done by the government and under the supervision of bonded officers of the government, and then, if we choose, give the management of this charity to these people whose purposes, I have no reason to doubt, are correct, and those of philanthropy and of good to mankind; but let it be required to be done in the spirit and according to the precepts of the religion of Christ.

As far as I am concerned I have no particular objection to the provision passing in the shape in which the Senator from Maine desires it, but I wish to state that I did not say there was no precedent for such an appropriation of money. It is not a custom of the government, I say it is not a good, wise public policy. It has been done in the District of Columbia, which is under the immediate supervision of Congress. There is some difference between this district and a remote Territory, which has a Territorial government and an autonomy of its own, even though it be subject to the supervising authority of Congress. But be it a precedent or not, except in the case of an established charity it is a had precedent to appropriate a sum of money and put it in the hands of private individuals for the construction of buildings for a charity. The plan should be prescribed by the government.

Mr. Salisbury. In whom is the title? Mr. Call. The title, I understand, is in this corporation; but it is proposed to place the title in the government if so desired. Be that as it may, it is surely not a wise public policy, without limitations and conditions, to put a large sum of money in the hands of any number of persons or any corporation, however meritorious they may be.

The point in this matter is that the advancement of this work, this charity, the rescuing and protection of these people, the continuance of the charitable purposes of this corporation in its highest possible efficiency, granting all that is said for it, has nothing whatever to do with the disbursement of the money. The mere hands through which this money shall pass are immaterial to the purposes of the charity. If the building is constructed, and constructed with proper speed and diligence, and in a proper style and with proper conveniences, that is what the charity demands. It is not required that the money shall be disbursed by A or B or any one else. The singular part of it is that it is insisted, not for the efficiency of the charity, but for the disbursement of

the money by particular individuals, and the proposition manifestly has no connection whatever with the purposes of the charity. I myself am in favor of the charity, and I have no great objection to the provision passing in this shape.

Logan Jottings.

On Monday night Miss Jorgensen, young lady of this city, on going down a cellar stairway, fell and dislocated her shoulder joint.

On Tuesday, a boy 12 or 13 years of age, son of Mr. Hawks of this city was kicked by a horse, breaking his lower rib and otherwise injuring him.

Dr. W. B. Parkinson returned home on Thursday, and hearing that there were complaints against him on the charge of unlawful cohabitation in the commissioner's court, appeared before Commissioner Goodwin and gave \$200 bonds for his appearance on the 15th inst.

On Wednesday the examination of Bishop Skidmore, on a charge of unlawful cohabitation, was completed. Mrs. Webb, a niece of the defendant, was subpoenaed as a witness in the case. W. W. Maughan appeared for the defence. The examination resulted in the Bishop being bound over to await the action of the grand jury.

On Wednesday afternoon William Birdneau, who is employed at Garfield factory, had the misfortune to run his right arm against a circular saw in motion. A gash about five inches long was torn clear to the bone, making a very dangerous wound, as several arteries were severed. Dr. Snow attended to the injuries, but it will be some time before Mr. Birdneau will have the use of his arm.—Logan Journal, Oct. 6.

Releases and Appointments.

The following Elders are released to return home to Utah:

Elder Wm. G. Phillips from being President of the Manchester Conference.

Elder Henry Walsh from being President of the Sheffield Conference.

Elder H. M. Reid from being Traveling Elder in the Irish Mission.

Elder Sylvester Bradford from being President of the Newcastle Conference.

Elder Morgan Evans from being Traveling Elder in the Welsh Mission.

Elder Heber J. Giles from being Traveling Elder in the Manchester Conference.

Elder David H. Morris from being President of the Irish Mission.

Elder R. H. Ford from being Traveling Elder in the London Conference, to return home through indisposition.

Elder Samuel T. Whitaker is appointed President of the Scottish Mission.

Elder Harry M. Payne is appointed President of the Irish Mission.

Elder John Thomas is appointed President of the Manchester Conference.

Elder James L. Patterson is appointed President of the Sheffield Conference.

Elder James Pixton is released from traveling in the Liverpool, and appointed to labor in the London Conference.

Elder Lorenzo H. Thomas is released from traveling in the Welsh Mission, and appointed to labor in the Manchester Conference.—Millennial Star.

Park City Items.

A young man named Caldwell is under arrest at Heber City on a charge of grand larceny.

The explosion of a coal oil lamp in the draughtsman's room under the Mersac mill office, this afternoon, caused the alarm to be sounded. Fortunately no damage was done and the services of the fire department were not required.

Yesterday, on the Heber City road, the team which was drawing W. I. Snyder and Sam Aschlem became frightened and plunged down an embankment. The gentlemen jumped to save themselves, but Mr. Snyder got a severely sprained leg as a consequence.

On Thursday Peter Magley, who is driving the Typo tunnel on the west hill above town, came nearly ending his existence on earth. A blast hung fire and as he was going back to the face of the tunnel the explosion occurred. His foot was bruised and hand cut by pieces of flying rock.

A few days ago a dispute arose between August Allen, the contractor, and his wood choppers over near the Glencoe mine. The trouble grew out of the non-payment of money due the wood choppers and after an exchange of hot words knives and pistols were drawn. Fortunately for the belligerents the fuss subsided without any blood being shed.

A few weeks ago Sheriff Weber received word from Colorado Springs to be on the lookout for a couple of valuable mares which had been stolen from there. Recently the Sheriff found one of the mares in W. H. Dodge's possession and the other in John Hicken's safe keeping. Each had a bill of sale for the animals from the fellow who is now supposed to be the thief. No clue is now obtainable of the thief's whereabouts, he having remained here but a day or two. It is not yet known what course the owner or the Colorado officers will adopt in order to recover the stolen horses.—Park City Record, Oct. 6th.

STAKE CONFERENCES.

Appointments for Quarterly Conferences Until April, 1889.

Weber, Juab and Cassia Stakes—Sunday and Monday, October 21st and 22d, 1888; and Sunday and Monday, January 20th and 21st, 1889.

Box Elder, Tooele and Oneida Stakes—Sunday and Monday, October 28th and 29th, 1888; and Sunday and Monday, January 27th and 28th, 1889.

Cache and Wasatch Stakes—Sunday and Monday, November 4th and 5th, 1888; and Sunday and Monday, February 3d and 4th, 1889.

Bear Lake, Emery, Summit and Uintah Stakes—Sunday and Monday, November 11th and 12th, 1888; and Sunday and Monday, February 10th and 11th, 1889.

Sanpete, San Luis, Morgan and Bannock Stakes—Sunday and Monday, November 18th and 19th, 1888; and Sunday and Monday, February 17th and 18th, 1889.

Millard, San Juan and Sevier Stakes—Sunday and Monday, November 25th and 26th, 1888; and Sunday and Monday, February 24th and 25th, 1889.

Utah, Panguitch and Snowflake Stakes—Sunday and Monday, December 2nd and 3rd, 1888; and Sunday and Monday, March 3rd and 4th, 1889.

Davis, Kanab and St. John Stakes—Sunday and Monday, December 9th and 10th, 1888; and Sunday and Monday, March 10th and 11th, 1889.

St. George, Malad and St. Joseph Stakes—Sunday and Monday, December 16th and 17th, 1888; and Sunday and Monday, March 17th and 18th, 1889.

Parowan, Beaver and Maricopa Stakes—Sunday and Monday, December 23rd and 24th, 1888; and Sunday and Monday, March 24th and 25th, 1889.

Those Stakes which have held their conferences on Sundays and Mondays have realized a much more numerous attendance than when held on Saturdays and Sundays. This method has therefore been adopted in the accompanying list by direction of the Council of Apostles.

F. D. RICHARDS,
JOS. F. SMITH.

Conference in Arizona.

St. Johns, A. T.,
September 28, 1888.

Editor Deseret News:

The quarterly conference of the St. Johns Stake of Zion was held at Springville, Apache County, Arizona, on September 8th and 9th. One of the Apostles and several visiting brethren were present, including President Jesse N. Smith, of Snowflake Stake. Much good instruction was given and a good spirit prevailed. The Saints were counseled to remain faithful to their missions.

Adjourned to meet at St. Johns three months hence.
S. D. MOORE, Stake Clerk.

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