

Catholic religion, the Protestant religion, the Episcopal, Methodist, or Baptist, but, as is intended, its purpose and effect is upon the Mormon religion. You say that to the man who believes the Mormon faith, that polygamy is true, that polygamy is a divine institution, and the effect of this act is to prevent him from voting; but it is a test, and a religious test—and is both intended to have and does have this effect, namely, to exclude Mormons from the suffrage and from holding office.

Has anybody ever heard of such an oath as a test for holding office? Are Senators required to come here as the Pharisee and swear, "I thank thee, Lord, I am not like other men, nor like this publican and sinner, but I am pure and holy?" Is it the test for office or the suffrage that a man has not violated the law? When the Constitution of the United States requires an oath to support and defend the Constitution and its principles, does it mean that a man shall swear that he has never violated the law, or that he never will violate the law in any respect, nor aid, abet, or encourage any one who does?

Mr. President, that is not the oath prescribed for the Constitution of the United States. It requires no oath of personal holiness; it requires no oath that a man has never sinned; it does not command that he shall say, "I am the Pharisee who is better than other men, and you the publican and sinner who confess your sins with humility, are the bad men who can exercise no public privileges." Who ever heard of that? What place is there in this oath for repentance and faith—for the rehabilitation of the fallen man and woman? No, sir; it is an attack upon the religion of Christ, a fanatical attack upon it; and every preacher and every Christian in this country should frown upon it with indignation.

The oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States is an oath to defend against any violation of its organic principles—to defend against "laws respecting an establishment of religion;" against laws discriminating against the equality of political right; against the deprivation of political right except under conviction for crime; to defend against partial trials by prejudiced juries and judges; against cruel and unusual punishments; against disqualifications from holding office except under conviction for crime. The test oath required of the Mormon under the bill before he can either vote or hold office is that he will not defend against these things; that he will support and maintain and obey laws respecting an establishment of religion, and taking property without compensation, and depriving of personal liberty without proof or trial, and requiring an oath of future personal purity as we understand it, and relations with only one woman as the qualifications for suffrage; an oath of obedience to a law, the purpose, spirit, and effect of which is the subversion of the Mormon religion, which he believes, professes and practices. And yet we are told that these oaths are the same.

Establish this bill as the law, and the principles of this legislation and the religion of Christ is no longer the controlling and dominating influence of the country and the pervading spirit of its laws. The iron rule of persecution and fanaticism will have been substituted instead of the benign influence of the preachers of Christ and the principles of the Christian religion.

Sir, I would not give the beneficial effects of a single Baptist, or Methodist minister, or Protestant, or Catholic Priest, one single good man of any denomination, and his example and his preaching for a thousand years of such legislation as this bill contains. You can not subvert the religion of Jesus Christ by such legislation as this, much as you may seek to do it, much as you may attack it in the artful and indirect methods of this bill.

You talk about a test oath. Who does not know that, when you are required to swear to support and defend the Constitution, it is its principles of civil liberty, its form of government, its popular principles as the basis of the government; it does not mean that the man shall swear he has never committed sin, or that he will never violate the law; that he is personally pure, or that he will continue to be so.

MR. GEORGE. Will the Senator allow me to correct him there?

MR. CALL. Certainly.

MR. GEORGE. There is nothing in the oath which relates to past conduct, the oath is wholly promissory, relating to the future conduct of the parties, and there is nothing of expurgation in the oath as supposed by the Senator. The man does not swear he has not done so and so, and he swears that he will not do so and so.

MR. CALL. I believe the Senator is correct on that point, but how does that help him? A man comes up and swears, "I will always be good; I will never violate the law; I am a holy man; I am not subject to temptations as other men are. Behold me, the good and pure man." I do not know anywhere in the religion of Christ where any such person as that is presented. I understand that men are creatures subject to temptation, and that the divine power of the gospel is to rehabilitate them, and that does not require of any man to take an oath that he never will sin, that he never will violate the law. If he does it is a piece of arrant hypocrisy. He can not do it.

It is the divine power that will prevent him from doing it and not his own

self-will in declaring that he will not. He may say he will try not to do it, but you make him swear that he will not. What is that done for? It is to catch him; it is to hound him with some corrupt, barbarous, vile creature of the law, who for the purpose of money-making will blackmail the man and catch him in his oath. It is to disqualify him for the suffrage or for holding office. Why? Not because of any hostility to this particular man, but to affect the Mormon establishment of religion.

Can anyone doubt or deny this? Is not the conclusion a clear and a necessary one?

But then we go on a little further. We find here a provision that no woman shall vote in the Territory of Utah. Twenty Senators voted here the other day, who will vote for this bill, to submit an amendment of the Constitution to the people of the United States as to whether there should be discrimination against women in reference to their right to vote. Many of these Senators have already delivered speeches on this floor in favor of granting the right of suffrage to women. Why deny it to women in Utah? What is the object of that provision in the bill?

The women of Utah are Mormons; the women of Utah believe that the divine economy of the Old Testament is still in force. They have been deluded; they have been brought from a life of poverty, shame and horrible beastly suffering by these deluded people into this new world, and have been furnished homes and subsistence and education; and while they are far below the moral and religious standard of our Christian belief and our Christian churches, they believe that this is better than a life of shame and beastly suffering in the Old World. They believe that the Divine Providence has permitted this; and that is to be the reason why Mormons, worshipping God falsely as Mohammedans do, the bill says they shall not vote. It does not say it in words, and the Senator from Massachusetts asks the question, which is a subterfuge, what part of the bill attacks opinion?

Every line and every word in it attack the right to free opinion, the right of belief, by accumulating penalties upon penalties for practices which are made violations of the law, and which are peculiar to those people and the outgrowth of their religious system. It is a bill to suppress a form of religious belief, a bill to make a law respecting an establishment of religion, and to destroy that establishment of religion by pains and penalties and disfranchisements and confiscation of property. Every word, sentence and line in it proclaim this to be the truth.

Mr. President, I know very well that we have commenced the era of religious persecution. This bill will bear its fruits. Violence between the professors of different creeds will be the result of this intolerant legislation. The persecutions of the Old World were commenced precisely in this way. It has been the great and powerful effort of wise men in all ages to prescribe a rule of religious tolerance, the religious tolerance which the Divine Master, Christ himself, taught to let freedom of opinion and discussion prevail, and punish only the offenses against the law, not cruelly to prescribe laws, but to make laws regulating the practice of men and of women equally applicable to all religions, and to all people of all sects and all places, based on some universal ideas of right and wrong, and not accumulating penalties in particular localities as against particular religiousists for the faults which they may be supposed to be guilty of.

Mr. President, I shall vote against agreeing to the conference report.

I have no sympathy with the social relations, the polygamous features of the Mormon Church. The freedom and independence and adaptation to the arts and professions of life which our monogamous system gives to women, their emancipation from the barbarous restraints and inequality which the customs and laws of former times imposed upon them constitute the joy and brightness of our civilization; but much as I regret the polygamous principle and teaching of the Mormon religion, I dislike fanaticism and hypocrisy and cruelty more.

I can see that the order of nature and Providence which has permitted this form of belief and practice to exist is not unaccompanied by some good results. I can recognize the fact that a great industrial community has arisen in Utah; that they have made a garden where once there was a sterile desert; that hundreds of thousands of human beings are there earning a comfortable subsistence; that railroads and all the inventions of modern comfort and improvement are to be found there; that some of the worst vices of our social system have been eradicated or avoided; that the social evil has been successfully prevented, if all accounts are true.

I can recognize the fact that the States can easily prevent the spread of Mormonism and the proselyting of our people by them. I can see that if the Government will station an armed force through the Mormon territory and afford protection to all women and children who desire to abandon the Mormon practices and the polygamous life, if the Government will furnish them subsistence and will uphold the hands of the Christian women, ministers, and priests who are seeking to establish industrial homes to receive, support and educate these women and children, and with these measures leave them to the ordinary laws which are made for the public generally, the

principles of our religion and our civilization will find a way to assert their power over them and withdraw them from the hurtful belief and practices of their strange religion.

There have been so many companies engaged for a series of years in manufacturing sewing machines, and so many ingenious inventions have been devised for improvement of the mechanism, that the statement that an important and radical innovation in this line has recently been introduced by an Edinburgh inventor, seems almost incredible. If we may credit an exchange, the simplicity and ease of motion introduced will undoubtedly work a revolution in the mechanism of that valuable domestic adjunct. It is on the rotary shuttle principle, the novel of it lying in a circular saucer-shaped shuttle, which is set up on edge and laid with the flat side against the left-hand edge of the lower shaft, which is held in position by a revolving cup. The axis of the shaft, the shuttle and the cup, being in line and revolving together, the result is an easy motion far exceeding the old reciprocating shuttle. The machine may be said to be constructed on the rotary system, for, as described, nearly every part rotates, which, it is said, renders the motions easy and light, and makes it capable of much higher speed than any lock-stitch machine hitherto in use.

LEGAL NOTICE.

In the Probate Court, in and for Iron County, Utah Territory.

EMMA S. BESS, Plaintiff,

vs.

WILLIAM H. BESS, Defendant.

The people of the Territory of Utah, send greeting to William H. Bess, defendant.

YOU ARE HEREBY REQUIRED TO appear in an action brought against you by the above named plaintiff, in the Probate Court, of the County of Iron, Utah Territory, to answer the complaint filed therein, within ten days (exclusive of the day of service) after the service on you of summons, if served within this county, or if served out of this county, but in this second Judicial District, within twenty days, otherwise within forty days.

The said action is brought to obtain a decree from this court, dissolving the marriage contract existing between said plaintiff and you, on the ground of willful desertion of plaintiff, and willful neglect to provide for herself and three children for several years past. That said defendant is an habitual drunkard, and at times very abusive; and plaintiff prays for the care and custody of the minor children; also for general relief as will more fully appear in the petition on file, to which special reference is hereby made.

And you are hereby notified that if you fail to appear, and answer the said petition or complaint as above required, the said plaintiff will apply to this court for the relief prayed for.

Witness the Hon. William C. McGregor, Judge, and the seal of the Probate Court, of Iron County, Territory of Utah, this twenty-fourth day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven.

WILLIAM DAVENPORT,

Clerk of the Probate Court, of said county.

[SEAL.]

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