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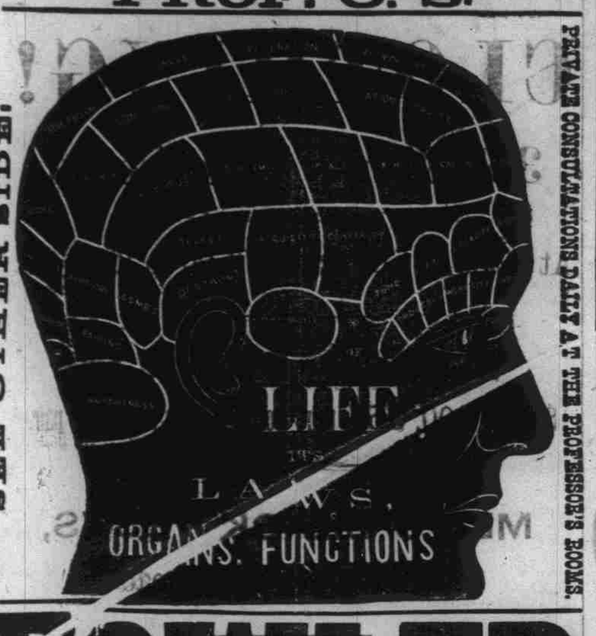

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PHRENOLOGY, ITS PROOFS AND USES.
(TO LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.)

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4th, 8 P. M.
SELF-CULTURE
(TO LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.)

FRIDAY, JUNE 6th, 8 P. M.
LOVE AND MATRIMONY.
(TO LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.)

SATURDAY, JUNE 7th, 2 P. M.
FEMALE HEALTH, BEAUTY AND MATERNITY.
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EVENING NEWS.

Thursday, June 5, 1884.

SENATOR BROWN'S SPEECH.

[CONTINUED.]

Mr. President, I believe that that State or nation which in its legislation conforms most strictly to the moral law laid down by the Creator himself will be most blessed and most prosperous. No member of Congress and no member of the Legislature of a State has a moral right to enact laws in the teeth of the divine law. We may avoid temporal punishment while we live in obedience to laws enacted in violation of a divine law; but the nation as well as the individual which habitually violates that law must sooner or later suffer the penalty.

Now, Mr. President, I propose with the indulgence of the Senate to contrast to a limited extent the social system of Utah with the social system of other parts of the United States, and to inquire whether there is any tangible distinction between polygamy as practiced in Utah and polygamy as practiced in other portions of the Union. Whatever attempt we may make by the enactment of laws to punish the guilty offender in one section of the Union, and leave him free from punishment and protect him in his adultery in another section, we can draw no moral distinction between the same practices in different sections. If it is murder maliciously to destroy the life of a human being in Utah, it is murder likewise to do the same in New England. If it is adultery to have more than one wife in Utah, it is also adultery to have more than one living wife in New England.

Having laid down this rule, which I think is sustained by the highest possible authority, I now proceed to inquire whether other sections of the Union are not more guilty of polygamy than Utah, ant whether the bigamy, prostitution, fœticide practiced in other sections are not more demoralizing and more destructive to society than polygamy as practiced in Utah. If so, why continue your legislation to Utah? Why not give it a broader scope? If our practice of divorce violates the divine law, why not check the immoral practice in all places subject to the jurisdiction of Congress?

Under the Mormon system the husband is married to a purality of wives. He cohabits with them all as his wives, and they are generally prolific of offspring. According to the law of his Church he believes his offspring are legal, and it is his duty to care for and support them all alike. The mother of each is regarded as his legal wife, and each of the children is regarded as his son or daughter. The family is sustained and kept together according to the old patriarchal usage. The people are an industrious, laborous people; they are a thrifty people. No beggars or tramps are found in the streets. Pauperism is but little known in the Territory. Everybody seems to have plenty to do, and each person is at work to accomplish the task before him. What they call adultery or the cohabitation by a Mormon husband with a woman to whom he is not married according to the rites of their Church is regarded as a great crime. And I believe it is generally admitted that prior to the settlement of Gentiles, as they term outside people, among them neither prostitutes nor houses of ill-fame were known to any extent in the Territory.

But all this thrift and order, and labor, and prosperity are, in my opinion, insufficient to justify the practice of polygamy, which is allowed by the Mormon Church. I refer to it only to contrast their system of bigamy and prostitution with our own system. Go to the other parts of the Union, where Mormonism is not known, and you will find it unfortunately true that prostitution is practiced to an alarming extent. In many States of the Union houses for the practice of it are either licensed by the public or permitted without interference by the police. Large numbers of illegitimate children are born without the protection either to the mother or child given to the plural wife and her offspring in Utah. In most instances the mother and child are discarded by the child's father, and they are cast together into the streets to make their living as best they can. I have not the statistics before me to show the exact proportion that the prostitutes bear to the population of any of our States, or to show the percentage of children born in the United States that are illegitimate. Our census reports are defective in this particular, but both classes are large.

Twenty-five years ago it was estimated that there were more than 6,000 prostitutes in the city of New York alone. Since that time the city has more than doubled in population, and I presume we have made fearful strides of increase in this pernicious practice. It is no doubt safe to assume the position that there are 12,000 prostitutes in that great city at the present time. And in the other cities of the Union something like the same number in proportion to population. If this number is regarded as too startling for belief, I beg to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that it is not so large as the statistics of some other countries show in proportion to population. I find it stated as a statistical fact that in the the province of Brandenburg there were 19.9 illegitimate children out of every 100.

In the province of Schleswig Holstein there were 9.6 out of every 100; in Berlin there was 11% out of every 100; in Magdeburg there were 9.6 out of 100; in Hanover 8.9. The same author gives the proportion which the prostitutes bear to the inhabitants of certain European cities as follows: In Hamburg 1 to 48 inhabitants; in Berlin, 1 to 62; in London, 1 to 91; in Vienna, 1to 159; in Munich, 1 to 221; in Dresden, 1 to 236; in Paris, 1 to 247; in Brussels, 1 to 275; in Strousbourg, 1 to 302. Unfortunately we have no reliable statistics in this country, as they have in Europe, by which we can give the correct proportion of population who are either illegitimate or prostitutes. But I fear it may safely be assumed that in proportion to population we are but little behind European countries in laxity of morals in this regard.

Now, let it be borne in mind that the Utah commissioners, who have applied the test oath to both men and women, who are alike voters in Utah, have found but 12,000 in the Territory of Utah who could not take the oath, that they were not bigamists or polygamists, or that they had never at any time practiced bigamy and polygamy. Then the prostitution, counting all the polygamy of Utah as prostitution, is not great as it is in the city of New York. And it should be borne in mind that of the 12,000 who refused to take the oath, probably nearly 6,000 are males, and it would leave the polygamists, women, who are termed prostitutes by the opponents of Mormonism, at the rate of 7,000 in the Territory. For I believe it will not be charged truly against the Mormons that they practice prostitution to any considerable extent outside of their plural wife system. Then the Mormon women who are engaged in illegal sexual practices are about the same in Utah that the number in the city of New York was twenty-five years ago. (See Sanger, on Prostitution, page 406, edition of 1858.) Another point, the number of females who practice illicit intercourse with the male inhabitants of New York is greater to-day, by almost double the number, according to the best statistics and statistical information we can get, than the whole number who practice it in the Territory of Utah; but if it bears a much less proportion we are still guilty of great wrong. And if we may believe the reports which we see as to the chastity of Boston and Chicago and other cities, as compared with New York, the city of New York will compare not unfavorably with them. It is probably safe to assume, then, that in either of the four or five largest cities in the Union prostitution is practised to as great an extent as polygamy in Utah.

These are hard, unpleasant facts, but we can not shut our eyes to their existence. Thus far I have not referred to legalized bigamy in the States and Territories of the Union, but only to prostitution. And making allowance for the frailty of human nature in everybody but the Mormons, our commissioners have kindly made such modification in the oath of the voter in Utah to permit the Gentile who has a wife and half a dozen prostitutes in Salt Lake City to claim to cohabit with the prostitutes in the "marriage relation," in the language of the oath, "I solemnly swear (or affirm) that I am not a polygamist; that I have not violated the laws of the United States prohibiting bigamy or polygamy; that I do not live or cohabit with more than one woman in the marriage relation, or openly violate any of the laws of the United States and Territories relating to the crime of polygamy, which have been duly published to me, and that my vote shall be cast as I shall then and there direct, so help me God." Thus carefully worded document: "I do not cohabit with more than one woman in the marriage relation, SO HELP ME GOD."

Doubtless there may be some who are called very respectable Gentiles there, each of whom has one wife and one or more mistresses not in the marriage relation. And as the votes of such were needed, the commissioners were careful to reserve to them the right to vote notwithstanding the plurality of women with whom they may cohabit. But the Mormon who has the same number of women, and claims that he lives in the marriage relation with all of them, though he is guilty of precisely the same practice as the Gentile, is carefully excluded from the right to vote or hold office. And I suppose if the Mormons would drop what is called the marriage relation, as recognized by their church, and cohabit with the same number of women they now keep as they are kept in other parts of the Union, we might find fewer public men and public journals denouncing them and crying "Crucify them!" I certainly do not justify their illegal practices, but I have no stronger words of condemnation for the Mormon who cohabits with more than one woman, calling each his wife, than I have for the Gentile in the States or Territories who cohabits with a like number, calling but one of them his wife. It is simply the same crime under a different name, the Mormon having the advantage of position in that that he claims and holds himself bound to support all his children, while the man with one wife and one or more mistresses denies his obligation to support the children of the latter. So much for polygamy as contrasted with prostitution.

Now, Mr. President, I desire for a time to contrast polygamy in Utah with polygamy in the States; and as most of the States have been inattentive to this great evil and have kept no statistical information that is reliable, and as our brethren in New England have dealt more fairly in this regard and have kept statistics of their polygamy, I shall be compelled from want of information from other States to draw the contrast between New England and Utah.

I have already referred to the law of Christ in reference to the marriage relation, which establishes monogamy, and also to His positive law in reference to the dissolution of the marriage tie. I have shown from the highest of all authority that every man who puts away his wife by divorce except for the cause of fornication and marries another commits adultery; in other words, when they marry again they become adulterer and adulteress. And as the law of the State recognizes the legality of the marriage relation with the second wife, and as the law of God lays down the rule most distinctly that the marriage with the first wife is not legally and rightfully dissolved, he who has one or more divorced wives and is again married is as much a polygamist as he is in Utah who marries more than one woman. I see no just escape from this position unless we deny the authority of the law of Christ; and if so, we at once overturn the whole doctrine of monogamy, for it rests on His authority.

Now, Mr. President, how does polygamy in New England stand? On that subject I prefer to read from New England authors. Not with a view to assail New England, but for the purpose, as she is in the lead in the crusade against the Mormons and as she has kept statistics of her crimes, of drawing the contrast between her and Utah as to the practice of polygamy.

I shall make no apology to the Senate for reading from an article which appeared in the July number of the *Princeton Review* for 1852, from the pen of that very pungent and fearless writer, Rev. Dr. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, of Connecticut. The article is entitled "Polygamy in New England." I shall send it to the desk and ask the Secretary to read the parts of it which I have marked.

[To be Continued.]

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