

tion? Why, certainly. The little space of time we live upon the earth, important as it is to us, compared with the eternities of our God, is only like one grain of sand out of the immensities of grains that are upon the sea shore. Our God is endless and eternal. His Gospel is endless and eternal, and as long as there is a soul to be saved, He, and Jesus, who died for all, and all associated with them who have the same Priesthood, will labor anxiously until every soul will be brought back who can be brought back, who has not committed the unpardonable sin by sinning against light and knowledge, as Judas did in betraying the Lord of life and glory; every soul other than these will be felt after throughout the eternities of our God. Hell itself will be sought; every crevice of it, every part of it will be penetrated by Jesus and by the Saints of God in search of the souls of the children of men, until from every crevice and from every recess in the regions of the damned they will be brought forth to light and glory if they will obey the glorious Gospel of the Son of God, if they will bow in submission to the sceptre of King Immanuel. That is all they have to do—to repent of their sins, repent of them whether in this life or in the life to come, and put them away far from them. This is the Gospel of glad tidings. It is not a Gospel that consigns the majority of the human family to an endless condition of torment. That is not the Gospel of Christ.

Now, as I have said, the Lord promised that Elijah should come before the great and dreadful day. He has sent him, and the hearts of the Latter-day Saints have been turned to their fathers who have died in ignorance of the Gospel of the Son of God, and we have the warrant of Scripture to believe that the hearts of the fathers in the eternal worlds, those who have lived upon the earth, are turned to their children who now live here, and who can officiate vicariously for them and answer the purpose that God has designed in attending to those ordinances which they themselves have not the power to attend to. Certainly this has been fulfilled. It is not the testimony of Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery alone; but this whole people. These Latter-day Saints throughout all these mountains, can bear testimony that this spirit has rested upon them, and their hearts have been turned to their fathers, and the hearts of their fathers have without doubt been turned to them. And it is a strange fact connected with the Gospel, that contemporaneously with the revelation of the doctrine to Joseph Smith a spirit seemed to take possession of the people in Eastern lands to hunt up their genealogies, and Genealogical Societies have been formed in many places, for what purpose no one can exactly tell unless it be a Latter-day Saint. Genealogies have been hunted up with wonderful industry, saving us a great amount of labor in these matters. It was a strange spirit that took hold of the American people, especially the people of New England, about that time. It was a common thing in the Western States when I was a boy for men not to know the names of their grandfathers; and I have known many intelligent men who could not tell the names of their uncles and aunts, their fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters. This arose from the fact that in moving West, emigrants had left their kindred behind and had not kept up in their children's minds the recollection of their names. But within the last 40 years a different spirit has taken possession of the people, and many are industriously engaged in searching out the names of their ancestors. Many volumes have been published in connection with this subject, and in the Historian's Office are to be found many books containing the genealogies of the families of many whose members are in this Territory. Such books have been invaluable to us in carrying out this work. Thus, these societies and people have unwittingly helped to fulfill the words of the Lord through Malachi, and to strengthen the evidence that Joseph Smith was indeed an inspired Prophet of God. In the persecution that this Church has received; in being driven from their homes; in everything that is now being done by the Congress of the United States against the Latter-day Saints, and in this genealogical work that I have just alluded to, men outside of this Church have contributed to prove that Joseph Smith was indeed an inspired Prophet of God; for there has been no action taken by Congress, nothing has been done to us by mobs, or by any combination, that has not been predicted by Joseph Smith the Prophet, and we have the record of it and know that it is true. We know whereof we speak. Joseph Smith, years and years before the breaking out of the war in South Carolina, predicted that such a war should take place, and he designated the spot where it should commence. And the wicked by their own acts proved to the world, to God, and to angels that Joseph Smith was an inspired Prophet of God, and that He foretold that which should take place.

God bless you, in the name of Jesus. Amen.

#### SENATOR BROWN'S SPEECH.

[CONCLUDED.]

As I have already stated, the commissioners appointed under the Edmunds act to take charge of the affairs of Utah prescribed a severe test-oath, permitting none to vote or hold office or to occupy a place of public trust

who will not swear that he, or she, is not a bigamist or polygamist, and that he has not cohabited with more than one woman in the marriage relation. And this oath is administered to each man or woman who offers himself or herself as a voter, and it covers the whole period of the life of each Mormon. Now the fact is worthy of notice that the commissioners only report 12,000 men and women who refused to take the test-oath. As it requires the affiant to swear that he is not a bigamist or polygamist, many who believe in polygamy but have not practiced it may have refused to take the oath.

Admit, however, that the 12,000 persons reported by the commissioners who refused to take the oath have at some period of their lives practiced bigamy or polygamy, then there are in the Territory of Utah 12,000 men and women; and we will here suppose there are 6,000 of each who have within the period of their lives, say the last twenty-five years, engaged in this unlawful practice.

In comparing the polygamy of Utah with the polygamy of New England how does the account stand? The statistics given by the Rev. Dr. Allen and the other able authors referred to show that within the last eighteen years, estimating for the number in Maine and Vermont, and putting it lower than the proportion in the other States, there were over 27,000 divorces granted in New England, making 54,000 persons who have been divorced there within that period.

Now, let us suppose that one-third of that number were divorced for the cause of fornication, and therefore legally divorced (though the statistics show a much smaller proportion), and when they married again were not adulterers under the divine law, and it leaves 36,000 who were unlawfully divorced according to the divine law, and who as each marries presents the case of more than one living wife or more than one living husband, and are therefore bigamists; and New England presents to the world 36,000 bigamists while Utah presents but 12,000, placing New England in the lead in the practice of bigamy by 3 to 1 as compared with Utah. I speak of the two sections, and not their relative population. If it be said that part of the 36,000 do not marry again, the reply is that the statistics show that less than one-third of the divorces granted are for adultery, and it is doubtless true that of the 12,000 in Utah who refused to take the oath that they were not bigamists or polygamists, a very considerable number had never practiced polygamy. Therefore I think it is safe to say that the proportion is 3 in New England to 1 in Utah.

And let it be remembered that the percentage for divorce for the last twenty years has increased so rapidly that all the different writers above referred to agree that there are now over 2,000 divorces granted each year in New England.

The official statistics of Massachusetts show that the increase in divorce in that State for the twenty years from 1863 to 1882 inclusive was 147.6 per cent.

The number now being over 2,000 divorces per annum granted in New England, if the increase should go on at the fearful rate of the last twenty years, and if Massachusetts is a fair sample of the other New England States, the whole number of persons divorced for the next twenty years would greatly exceed the number for the last twenty years.

At the present rate of 2,000 per annum, in twenty years would show, without any increase in the per cent. 40,000 divorces, turning loose 80,000 persons to marry again. If we add to this 147 per cent., which was the increase in the last twenty years, it will make 98,000 divorces, turning loose 196,000 persons in the next twenty years to marry again. This is a fearful destruction of families. It is a lamentable state of things to contemplate.

Let us earnestly hope that some benign influence will be brought to bear to check this alarming evil, not only in New England, but in all the States of the Union, and let us use all the power possessed by Congress to check and control it in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States where Congress has jurisdiction.

Now I presume it is a fact that will be admitted by all that prostitution outside of the marriage relation is committed to an immensely greater extent in New England than in Utah; and that in the practice of feticide and the prevention of conception Utah does not begin to compare in numbers with New England. And while I have not the statistics to enable me to make a perfectly accurate calculation, I think it very safe to say that, if we count the polygamy in New England from illegal divorces, the prostitution of New England, the practice of feticide, and the prevention of conception, the social evil is five times as great in New England as it is in Utah.

Mr. President, this is a horrible record; and it behooves the Christian and the patriot to ponder well the consequences that must follow from such a state of society. The marriage of one man to one woman, by which they twain become one flesh, is the foundation of the family, and the family is the foundation of the state, and the preservation of its purity one of the fondest hopes of the church. Strike down the family or destroy its sanctity by a loose law on the subject of divorce, and all the other social evils referred to, and decadence and decline

must be the inevitable result. The patriot must look down upon this picture with the most intense anxiety; and the ministry of all the churches of this land and all the Christian people of this country should unite in one solemn protest against this great and degrading evil. It must be admitted that while Protestants cannot agree with the Catholic Church that marriage is a sacrament, that that church has set a noble example on the question of the sanctity of the marriage relation and the indissolubility of the marriage tie. Is it not time that the other churches should imitate her example on the question of preserving the family tie, and that the ministry of all the other churches should cry aloud, and spare not until all good people awake from their slumbers and unite one grand effort to save the country, and New England especially, from the demoralization and prostitution which is growing and spreading with such frightful rapidity.

Mr. President, in drawing this dark and gloomy picture of New England society on the social question from the statistics and statements of distinguished New England authors and divines, I beg to assure the Senate that I do it in sorrow rather than in anger, and that I am prompted only by a sense of duty in making the comparison between New England and Utah which is so unfavorable to New England. I have a great admiration for the activity, energy, enterprise, education, and growing wealth and prosperity of that important section of the Union, and I have selected her, as already stated, for a comparison because the statistics showing the unfortunate state of things there are at hand, and because her representatives take the lead in the prosecution of Utah.

Much as the Southern States have been condemned and denounced for their practices, and however much they may be at fault in some respects, it must be admitted by all who know anything of the state of society there, at least among the white people, the practices referred to do not prevail to anything like the extent to which they are practiced in New England.

Prior to the war a divorce was not to be obtained in South Carolina for any cause. After the war, while the government was in the hands of the carpet-baggers, a liberal divorce law was passed, but when the white people of South Carolina resumed their sway and obtained control of their own affairs they promptly repealed that statute, and, as I am informed by their representatives, the old rule of no divorce is again applied. And I hazard nothing in saying that there is no State in the Union where there is more conjugal felicity or the families of the State live more happily together than they do in the State of South Carolina. I regret to say that in my own State the law of divorce is entirely too liberal, but I am glad to be able to say that in practice divorces very seldom occur, and I trust all good people in every Southern State, as well as in every New England State and in every Western State, will unite for the suppression of this great, growing, and alarming evil.

The Christian churches denounce polygamy and demand its suppression by every constitutional and legal means in our power, and the churches are right. But how can they demand this and justify their inactivity and neglect of duty while winking at divorce and illegal and adulterous marriages, to say nothing of their feeble denunciation of prostitution and feticide near their home.

How can the churches professing to worship Christ as the divine law-giver with His word in their hands, which on this point is neither ambiguous nor doubtful, justify divorce, which He forbids, and the marriage of persons divorced in violation of His law, which He denounces as adulterous. And how can the churches sustain and recognize as ministers of Christ professed preachers of the gospel who will for a small fee join together in what they call holy wedlock persons whose union Christ, the head of the Church, denounces as adulterous, and the parties to the union adulterers and adulteresses? It is a gross violation of divine law, a crime in the minister who professes to bless the adulterous union, and a shame on the church which sustains him.

It is no reply to say that the union is sustained by the law of the land. No law of the land compels any minister to officiate at such an adulterous union. If the law of the State authorized the practice of polygamy, would the Christian ministers be authorized to celebrate the marriage of the husband to his second or third wife while his first wife was still living? No minister could plead the law of the State as his justification for celebrating such polygamous marriage. Then how can he plead the law of the State as his justification for celebrating an adulterous marriage in violation of the express command of the Savior himself?

If all the ministers of all the churches would do their duty and decline to officiate when the union is adulterous the power and the influence of the churches brought to bear would soon correct popular sentiment, and sweep from the statute books such wicked and immoral legislation as is now found in the laws of the States and the United States on the subject of divorce.

I claim no right to lecture either the Christian churches or Christian ministry, but, as a Senator and as a citizen, I feel it my duty and my right here and elsewhere to express freely my opinions on this vital question. As it

seems to me this departure by the States and General Government from the divine law is fast undermining the sanctity of the family and threatening the safety of society and the very existence of the state itself.

But how to suppress polygamy is one of the greatest social problems of the day. As I have been quoting almost exclusively from New England authority as to the prevalence of this evil, I will now quote from another distinguished son of New England as to the remedy in Utah.

The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher has lately visited the Mormons in their homes, and closely scanned their modes of life and their system of ecclesiastical government. In extracts from his speech, which I shall now read, he refers to their life and practices, and then to the only remedy which in his opinion can suppress Mormonism. He says:

No matter what the past was, no matter who started it, no matter on what false ground the question is, there stands the phenomenon of the nineteenth century. What is its power? Wherein does it consist? What is it doing? It is a spiritual despotism, absolute. It is founded on fanaticism and ignorance, absolute. It is founded on a literal acceptance of the Old Testament. I do not see how a man who believes in verbal inspiration can throw stones at the Mormons. Are they polygamists? So is the Old Testament saint. What sort of a fellow was Solomon? In all his glory he was not arrayed like one of these. Mormonism in its religious philosophy is simply the attempt to introduce into modern economy the institution and beliefs of the Mosaic period of the Old Testament.

Of the orderly character of the Mormon people and of their morality He says:

Aside from the spiritual question, my impression is that no more orderly city exists on this continent than Salt Lake City. I suggested to an anti-Mormon that the way to reach them was to have Christian families of refinement and spiritual force introduced among them, whose example would be a perpetual testimony to the Mormons. I received a buffet, however, when I was told that the average Gentile was not so high up morally as the Mormons themselves were, and that in industry, frugality, truth-speaking, temperance, and chastity the contrast was in favor of the Mormon people.

Discussing the remedy, he adds the following:

Now, the question comes, is there any remedy? I think there are two. One is to let them alone, and the other is to put them to the sword. Let us look at both of them. And, first, the Edmunds bill was not only no disadvantage to the Mormon Church, but a great advantage. It has driven in all the wanderers and consolidated them. It has made them feel again and again that they were a persecuted people. They have felt this always. They have said, "We are kept outside of the United States. The laws that are made for us are perfectly different from the laws of any other State or Territory in the Union."

They harp upon this, and a superstition run to fanaticism and intensified by the sense of persecution is a power which is not easily dealt with. Now a commission appointed with absolute authority, despotism—a drum-head commission—with the Army at its back, settled down in Utah, with the command of the people of this continent to eradicate polygamy at all hazards, I do not know but that could succeed. This I know, that such a measure as that is foreign to our history, unknown to our laws, not according to the genius of our institutions, nor our people. I think the poorest people on the face of the earth to play at despotism is the great intelligent American people, and to send forth a body of men armed to the teeth to exterminate polygamy, not bound by the laws of evidence, forming their own judgment as to the guilt or innocence, laying the hand of power on whomever they think it necessary to lay it, that would be an extraordinary state of things. And yet I do not think any legislation short of that is going to accomplish anything.

Having thus disposed of the bloody remedy as indefensible, Mr. Beecher enlarges as follows upon the peaceful one:

Well, what is the other remedy? Let them alone; receive them into the Union; withdraw your soldiers; let them have their church; let them be open to all the influences that are affecting the public sentiment of every State in the Union; send there your intelligent teachers; establish schools among them as you do among the heathen; send in there those who can preach a better gospel. Do you believe that while we may convert the people of Asia and Africa there is nothing in the Gospel that can touch Utah? Take persecution off of them. Go back absolutely to moral influences. Take away from them the feeling that they are singled out from all the people on this continent, and held in and denied their civil rights, and are abused on account of their religion. Take away all that substitute kindness and patient teaching and preaching of the Gospel with more piety and fervor than it is now preached to them, and wait for time. It is not likely that they are going to take possession of the United States.

If there be any such thing as superiority of intelligence over ignorance, if there be any such thing as the triumph of divine power or pure faith over an abject superstitious faith; if there be any truth in the claim that liberty emancipates men; if it be true, that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is adequate to all the emergencies of depravity and wickedness, in high places and in low, it would seem to me that the way of the future is the way of religion in all the days that have gone by. It is an odious thing to have such a stinkpot right in the midst of the nation, we loathe the mere thought of polygamy and yet I do not see any other way to eradicate it. So far as I can see at present there are but two courses, one by the sword of the Government and the other by the word of the Lord, and of the two it seems to me, I would rather trust to the sword of the Lord than to the sword of Gideon. So the New Testament against the Old Testament. If the New Testament can not whip out Moses and the prophets, then it is not what it pretends to be.

Mr. President, polygamy can not be increased in Utah, but must steadily decline. We have a stringent penal statute against it, dooming its perpetrators to penitentiary imprisonment. We appoint the judges and other offi-

cers of the courts, and popular sentiment requires a faithful execution of the penal law.

The law of the Mormon Church, as I understand it, makes polygamy permissive and not compulsory. The young men of the Mormon Church will not consent to engage in polygamy at the risk of penitentiary imprisonment and the addition when convicted of disqualification to vote or hold office. The priesthood will not continue to urge it in the face of these penalties, and immigration into the Territory from other States and Territories will constantly increase the non-Mormon element of the Territory of Utah.

The rule among Mormon husbands, being that they must treat all their wives alike in dress and other indulgences, will in this age prevent many from engaging in it on account of the cost. If in addition to these impediments to polygamy the Christian churches of the Union will wake up to their responsibility in connection with this question, and send faithful, earnest, energetic missionaries into Utah, we may expect that a large proportion of the followers of the Mormon priesthood may be converted to what we consider the purer faith.

The Mormon Church will not be suppressed. They are earnest in the belief that they are right, and they are ready to make great sacrifices for their belief. The church may grow and still avow its belief in the lawfulness of polygamy, but in view of all its surroundings, of the odium heaped upon it, of the penalties annexed, and of the influence of better teaching, polygamy must steadily decline. And the causes enumerated will of themselves at no distant date eradicate it.

Now, Mr. President, I would be glad to hear a better remedy suggested, if there be one. Neither the imposition of illegal test-oaths nor the destruction of their Territorial government nor placing them under arbitrary commissions will suppress the evil. If the Government should send the Army to slaughter all the men, women and children who belong to the Mormon Church, that would suppress it, but the Government of the United States could neither justify the act before its own people, before the civilized world, nor at the bar of the Almighty God of the Universe.

If the different Christian churches of this broad land would do their duty thousands of the present deluded followers of the Mormon priesthood would throw off their present church government and renounce polygamy and the illegal practices of the Mormon sect.

But as long as the government of the United States tyrannizes over the people of Utah and makes them feel that the hand of fifty millions of people is against them and that they are singled out for vengeance for the commission of crimes which are neither centured nor punished when committed by others, our unconstitutional legislation will, as Mr. Beecher says, only drive in the stragglers and consolidate Mormonism.

And if we treat the Mormons as a persecuted class, by that sympathy which is ever kindled in generous breasts in favor of the persecuted we shall add to their numbers and increase their strength. But it has been said on this floor that the Mormons are in rebellion against the government of the United States, and that this authorizes the Government to tear down and destroy the republican form of government under which they live in the Territories and put them under an absolute tyranny.

Now, I deny the truth of this proposition. The Mormons are not in rebellion against the government of the United States in any legal acceptance of that term.

They are a quiet, peaceable, orderly people, who have comfortable homes, work hard, and make an honest living, and who worship according to the dictates of their own conscience, and, as a mass, believe they are right. There are one hundred and ten to one hundred and thirty thousand Mormons in the Territory. Not more than 12,000 of this whole number, as has been ascertained by the Utah Commission, practice polygamy. The other one hundred and odd thousand believe it is right, but do not practice it. We have a penal law making the practice of polygamy in the Territory a crime punishable by penitentiary imprisonment. We have passed laws disfranchising those who practice polygamy, and we deny them the right to vote or hold office. It is true they may not have ceased the practice since the passage of these laws, but they stay at home quietly; there is no difficulty in serving process upon them. As a class they hold themselves subject to arrest at any time when an officer of the law has a legal warrant against them; they appear in court and defend themselves as best they may; and they offer no armed resistance and no forcible resistance to the execution of any law of the United States.

What constitutional lawyer or publicist can say that this is rebellion against the Government of the United States? The law forbids polygamy. Notwithstanding that law they have practiced polygamy, just as the law forbids murder, and some persons in every community not in rebellion commit murder. The officers of law have free access to them; they do not obstruct the courts by forcible resistance, but submit themselves to their jurisdiction and obey their process as other citizens do. They offer no armed resistance or other forcible resistance to any act which any law requires any officer to do in the Territory. And still it is proposed to treat them as a people in re-