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A PLEA FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

A Speech Delivered Against the Callom Bill, by Hon. W. H. Hooper, in the House of Representatives, Washington D. C.

Mr. Speaker: I wish to make a few rematks concerning the extraordinary bill now under consideration. While so doing, I crave the attention of the House, for I am here, not alone as one of the people sought to be cruelly oppressed; not only as the Delegate representing Utab; but as an American citi- servedly punished for his crime. Polymen, to utter my solemn protest against gamy, on the contrary, is the act of the passage of a bili that aims to violate our dearest rights, and is fraught with evil to the Republic itself.

the knowledge and consent of both the I do not propose to occupy the time of the House by dwelling at length upon wives. the vast contributions of the people of Utah to the wealth of the nation. claiming the old Jeffersonian doctrine that that Government is best which There is no member of this House who governs least, I would not have even a does not recollect in his school-boy days the vast region west of the Rocky | minority upon this floor. But when I Mountains, characterized in the geographies as the "Great American Desdemocracy, and seeks to be a govern-"There," said those veracious text-books, "was a vast region wherein ment of the people, for the people, and no man could live. There were springs and streams, upon the banks of which could be seen the bleaching bones of animals and of men, poisoned from parties. To have such a government, the borders of this vast desert, and in we must leave all questions of morals its few habitable parts, roamed the painted savages, only less cruel and nized code of crime to the conscience remorseless than the desert itself.

In the midst of this inhospitable waste to-day dwell an agricultural, pastoral, and self-sustaining people, numbering 120,000 souls. Everywhere can be seen the fruits of energetic and been found strong enough to stand unpersistent industry. The surrounding shaken above the throes of religious mining Territories of Colorado, Idaho, fanaticism when driven to the wall by Montana, Arizona, and Nevada, in their infancy, were fed and fostered from the surplus stores of the Mormon peopls. The development of the resources of these mining Territories was alone rendered possible by the existence at their very doors of an agricultural people, who supplied them with the chief a more justifiable act than would be, in necessities of life at a price scarcely above that demanded in the old and a bill to abolish Catholicism, because of populous States. The early emigrants its alleged immorality; or a law to to California paused on their weary journey in the redeemed wastes of of their animals, and California is to- against sect; let the Bible and the day richer by thousands of lives and millions of treasure, for the existence and the bayonet, and we will find the of this half-way house to Eldorado.

To the people of Utah, therefore, is the darker ages, and our beautiful duction of the vast mineral wealth which has poured into the coffers of the nation from our mining States and Territories. This, however, is but a tithe of our contributions to the nation's wealth. By actual experiment we have demonthese desert wastes. When the Pacific slope and its boundless resources shall have been developed; when beyond the Rocky Mountains 40,000,000 of people shall do homage to our flag, the miltions of dwellers in Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, and Montana, enriched by the products of their redeemed and fertilized deserts, shall point to the valley of Great Salt Lake as their exemplar, and accord to the sturdy toilers a clause that cannot be changed and leave a of that land due honor, in that they inaugurated the system and demonstrated its possible results. These results are the offering of Utah to the nation. When Robert Fulton's first steamboat moved from New York to Albany, so far as concerned the value of the vessel, he had made searce a perceptible addition to our merchant marine; but the principle, the practibility of which he then demonstrated, was priceless, and enriched the nation more than if she had received the gift of the vessel, built from and loaded with solid gold.

the seducer attempts to marry his vic-tim. This is horrid! This is not to be they believe that Joseph Smith was such a prophet; that the time had arrived when endured by man or God, and laws must be promulgated to prevent and punish. While I have this profound regard for the morals and motives of the honorgiven to the world. able member I must say that I do not

Upon this point of continuous revelation, respect, to the same extent, his legal which is really one of the turning points of abilities. Polygamy is not denounced the controversy, we are in accord with by every State and Territory, and the many of the most eminent divines of the gentleman will search in vain for the Christian church, and with the most earstatute or criminal code of either defin- nest and vigorous thinkers of our own day. Upon the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers from Holland for America, the ing its existence and punishment. The gentleman confounds a religious be-lief with a criminal act. He is think-Rev. John Robinson, their beloved pastor, ing of bigamy when he denounces preached a farewell sermon, which showed polygamy, and in the confusion that follows, tlindly strikes out against an who claim to be minded, which showed wonderful in that age, and which many who claim to be ministers of God would do afterward located at Clay, Caldwell, and unknown enemy. Will he permit me well to imitate in this: to call his attention to the distinction?

"Brethren, we are quickly to part frem almost no settlers, and where, within a few one another, and whether I may ever years, their industries had again built up Bigamy means the wrong done a woman by imposing upon her the forms of live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows; but whether large herds of stock. The outrages of Jackmatrimony while another wife lives, rendering such second marriage null the Lord hath appointed that or not, son county were then repeated, the Mor- decision, Phillip, Landgrave of Hess, actu-and void. The reputation and happi- charge you, before God, and His blessed and mons driven from their homes, which were ally married a second wife, his first being ness of a too confiding woman is thus gels, that you follow me no further than you seized by the marauders, and thousands of have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. women and children driven forth homeforever blasted by the fraudulent acts If God reveal anything to you by any other of her supposed husband, and he is deinstrument of His, be as ready to receive it as you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am fully persuaded, I am very confimarrying more than one woman, under dent, that the Lord has more truth yet to a belief that a man has the right, lawbreak forth out of His holy word.

"For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no further than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw. Whatever part of His will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the say that in a system of self-government Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they

Nauvoo.

year; their leaders brutally murdered.

which history no man can deny.

such as own, that looks to the purest were left by that great man of God, who vet saw not all things.

"This is a misery much to be lamented, for though they were burning and shining by the people, we have no room for the lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of Gcd; but were guardian, nor, above all, for the master, I can claim the united support of both they now living, would be as ready to embrace further light as that which they first drinking of the deadly waters." Around to retain such in its purest strength, received. I beseech you to remember that it is an article of your church covenant, and religion that lie outside the recog- that you shall be ready to receive whatever truths shall be made known to you from of the citizen. In an attempt to do the written word of God."

And, says Ralph Waldo Emerson, in one otherwise than this, the world's abiding of his most golden utterances, "I look for places have been washed with human the hour when that supreme beauty which more pitiable and heart-rending than the blood, and its fields made rich with ravished the souls of thoselHebrews, and human bones. No government has through their lips spoke oracles to all time, shall speak in the West also. The Hebrew and Greek Scriptures contain imreligious persecution. Ours, sir, would disappear like the "baseless fabric of a integrity; are fragmentary; are not shown vision" before the first blast of such a in their order to the intellect. I look for Christian communities were ringing out case lawful under the gospel?" the new Teacher that shall follow so far convulsion. Does the gentleman believe, for example, that in aiming this these shining laws that he shall see them churches thronged thousands to hear cruel blow at a handful of earnest fol- come full circle; shall see their rounding, preached the gospel of charity and forgivecomplete grace; shall see the world to be lowers of the Lord, in Utah, he is doing the mirror of the soul."

Conceding, therefore, that new revela the eyes of a majority of our citizens, tions may be at all times expected in the future of our race, as they have been at all times vouchsafed in the past, and the whole controversy ends. A man has arisen annihilate the Jews for that they are Jews, and therefore obnoxious? Let named Joseph Smith; he claims to be a Utah, to recruit their strength and that that evil door once be opened; set sect prophet of God, and a numerous commuschool books give place to the sword claim. It is a religious sect; it has to-day vindicated its right to live by works and sacrifices which are the admiration even of humanity of to-day the humanity of its enemies. It brings forward certain new doctrines; of church government; of bap- again the scattered hosts were gathered tooint is it more pro elation. Upon what savage-haunted continent; for this they to do away with the social evil; to ameliothority of such revelation, they firmly beliefs by the Constitution. Upon the point whether polygamy can properly be considered as a part of our reigious faith and practice, I beg leave humbly to submit, sir, that the decision rests solely on the conscience and belief of the man or woman who proclaims it to be heid by us as a people in reference to the religious belief. As I have said, it is not marriage relation. One eminent disputant, numbered among the crimes of that code recognized by all nations having any form of government under which criminals are restrained or punished, and to make it such, a new code must be framed, My people proclaim polygamy as a part of their religious belief. If they are honest in this, however much they may be in error, they stand on their rights under the Constitution, and to arrest that error you must appeal to reason, and not to force. I am here, not to argue or demonstrate the truthfulness of their faith; I am not called upon to convince this honorable House that it is you that this belief is honorably and sinligious faith, is that marriage is a purely cerely entertained, my object is accomolic church, the most ancient of the Chris- are hypocrites, while their followers are either ignorant, deluded men and women, or people held to their organization by the vilest impulses of lust. To refute these according to the faith of the Catholic church, tians did, point to their sufferings and sacrifices, and I may add, the unanimous testimony of all, that aside from what they consider the objectionable practice of polygamy, my constituents are sober, moral, just, and industrious in the eyes of all impartial witnesses. In this community, removed by long reaches of wastes from the moral influences of civilization, we have can walk unharmed at all hours. Nor is this due to an organized police, but to the kind natures and Christian impulses of a good people. In support of my argument of their entire sincerity, I with confidence appeal to their history. The Mormon church was established at Fayette, New York, in the year 1830. In 1831 the headquarters of the people was removed to Kirtland, Ohio, and considera-

to be attributed no inconsiderable part Government a mournful dream of the tism, even for their dead; of the marriage gether, and set out on a pilgrimage, that bidden by the gospel. A simple and exsince that of the children of Israel has been bable that light would be given to our race, without parallel in the history of the human than upon the marriage relation? The race. They had no stores; they were begsocial problem is the question of the age. gared in the world's goods, yet with earnest The minds of many of the foremost men religious enthusiasm they toiled on through That they might worship God in accord-ance with the dictates of conscience, the study of the proper position and relations thin ranges, and across plains haunted by fathers fled from their homes in Europe to of the sexes. The wisest differ-differ honsavages, only less cruel than the white strated the practicability of redeeming the wilds of America. For this they bore estly and unavoidably. Endless is the dis- Christians who had driven them forth in Mark has it, or causes her to commit the fatigues or perished in the wilds of a pute and clamor of those honestly striving search of that promised land, where at last savage-haunted continent; for this they poured out their blood in wars, until every stone in the huge edifice that shelters us as a nation is commented by the blood of the And while this is so; while thousafids of martyr. Upon this, however, I need not the good and pure of all creeds and parties Ragged, foot-sore, starving and wretched spend my time or yours; a mere statement are invoking the Divine guidance in their ef- they wandered ! on. Delicately nurtured of the proposition is a conclusive argument forts for the good of our fallen humanity, is women and their little children dug roots, from which the people, in their honest in-stincts, will permit no appeal. In our Con-stitution, perfect and fresh as ever, we have a clause that cannot be changed and leave a Mormon people believe that God has the store of the valley of their promised land-the store of the righteous be answered? The mormon people believe that God has the store of the valley of their promised land-the store of the valley of their promised land-store of the valley of the store of the valley of the val spoken, that through Joseph Smith he has indicated the true solution of the social does not repose the body of some weary questions of our day; and while they per-secute or question no man for differing honestly with them, as to the Divine auone, whom famine, or sickness, or the merciless savage, caused to perish by the way. It was while on this pilgrimage that an order came from the Government for five free people, and subsequently we find it insist that in their following of what they hundred men to serve as soldiers in the believe to be the will of God, they are Mexican war. The order was promptly entitled to the same immunity from perobeyed. These devoted men, who had resecution at the hands of the Government, and to the same liberty of thought and speech, wisely secured to other religious the field of batter, dedicated their poor, helpless wives to God, and themselves to their country. Leaving their families to struggle on as best they could, these brave, potriotic men followed our flag into New Mexico and California, and were at last disbanded at San Diego, with high praise from their officers, but with scanty means to return to those they loved, and whom numbered among the crimes of that code they had left to suffer, and perhaps to perish on the way. Thus, Mr. Speaker, three times did this persecuted people, before their location in Utah, build up for themselves pleasant and prosperous homes, and by their industry surround themselves with all the comforts and appliances of wealth; and three times were they, by an unprincipled and out-rageous mob, driven from their possessions, and reduced to abjectest poverty. And bear it in mind, that in every instance the leaders of these organized mobs, offered to all who would abandon and deny their either true or false; but if I can convince faith, toleration and the possession of their homes and wealth. But they refused the tempting snare. They rejoiced that they were thought worthy to suffer for the Master, and, rather than to deny their faith. civil contract, and therefore outside the province of religious doctrine. No sect of Christians can, however, be found who will carry their beliefs to this extent. The Caththey welcomed privation; they sacrificed all that earth could offer; they died the saintly martyr's death. Mr. Speaker, is this shining record that of a community of hypocrites? What other Christian denomination of our country can show higher evidences of earnestness, of devoted self-sacrifice for the preservation of their religious faith? In further presentation of my argument, Mr. Speaker, that the doctrine of polygamy is an essential feature in our religious faith, and that in our adherence thereto we are advocating no new or unsupported theory of marriage, I crave the indulgence of the House while I cite some few from the a quiet, orderly, and Christian community. Our towns are without gambling hells, d rinking saloons, or brothels, while from end to end of our Territory the inflocent numerous writers of weight and authority in the Christian church, who have illustrated or supported the doctrine. Now, sir, far be it from me to undertake to teach this learned House, and above all, the Hon. Chairman of the Committee on Territories, great theological truths. If His own law. If he did not intend to there be any subject with which this hon-erable body is especially conversant, it is theology. I have heard more Scripture commandment, or by some other law, how nuoted here, and more morality taught, is it possible that He should make laws for

speak to the people, and to manifest to ment land were purchased, fine farms and ation in the present discussion, we will them His will and requirements. And thriving settlements were established, and take up, as briefly as possible, the Divine take up, as briefly as possible, the Divine authorities, and the commentaries and them His will and requirements. And they believe that Joseph Smith was such a prophet; that the time had arrived when there was a necessity for further revela-tion, and through Joseph Smith it was gives to the world. parents, all that can be said of their martheir battle-field, attacked, plundered, and riage is, that it was exhaustive. Adam murdered our settlers, and finally drove them from their delightful homes, which they appropriated to themselves. The title married all the women in the world, and if they appropriated to themselves. The title to much of the land in Jackson and other counties is to-day in Mormons, who were then driven from their homes. During the troubles incident to the average of God, whose laws were of Divine origin, and whose conduct received sanctroubles incident to the expulsion of the tion or punishment at His hands, Mormons, hundreds of men, women, and children were murdered, or died from dis-

At the period of the Reformation in Germany, during the early part of the 16th eases caused by exposure to the inclemencentury, those great reformers, Luther, Melancthon, Zwingle and Bucer held a Davis counties, Missouri, where there were solemn consultation at Wittenburg on the question, "Whether it is contrary to the Divine law for a man to have two wives at thriving settlements and accumulated once?" and decided unanimously that it was not; and upon the authority of this still alive. This fact is recorded in D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, and less, and the prey for the border-ruffians by other authors of that period.

whose cupidity had been excited by the Dr. Hugo Grotius, a celebrated Dutch wealth of the industrious exiles. Hundreds jurist and statesman, and most eminent law writer of the seventeenth century, perished from cold, exposure, and starvation. But their leaders, sustained by an states that "the Jewishlaw allows a plural-undying faith, again called together their ity of wives to one man."

Hon. John Selden, a distinguished Engscattered and impoverished followers, and removing to Illinois, founded the city of lish author and statesman, a member of Parliament for Lancaster in 1624, and who represented the University of Oxford in For several years they were comparatively undisturbed; they built up one of the Long Parliament of 1640, in his work the most thriving and beautiful cities of the entitted, "Uxor Hebraica," the Hebrew Wife, says that "polygamy was allowed, not only among the Hebrews, but in most other State. Far as the eye could reach from the eminence of their temple, the well-tilled farms and gardens, the comfortable farmnations throughout the world; and that monogamy is a modern and a European houses, the mills and factories, and wellfilled schools, attested the industry, the custom, almost unknown to the ancient world. thrift, and the wealth of the once persecu-

Dr. Samuel Puffendorf, professor of law ted people. But again their wealth created envy in the lawless border-men of the new in the University of Heidelberg, in Germany, and afterwards of Lund, in Sweden, State. Without what even their enemies who wrote during the latter part of the 17th claim was justifiable cause, and in a manner which Gov. Ford characterized as a century, in his great work on the law of permanent disgrace to the people of the nature and of nations, says that "the Mosaic law was so far from forbidding this State, they were attacked, pillaged, and custom (polygamy) that it seems in several driven across the river, their houses burned; their women and children driven forth unplaces to suppose it; and in another place he says, in reference to the rightfulness thereof, "the polygamy of the fathers, under sheltered in the inclement season of the swerable.'

Rev. Gilbert Burnett, Bishop of Salis-bury, the particular friend of William III., scenes which followed this last expulsion. Aged men and women, the sick and feeble. who was eminent among both historians children of tender years, and the wounded, were driven into the flats of the river, yet and theologians, wrote a tract upon this mortal sentences that have been the bread in sight of their once happy homes, to subject, near the beginning of the 18th of life to millions. But they have no epical perish from exposure and starvation. While century. The tract was written on the over our broad land the church bells of question, "Is a plurality of wives in any

"Neither is it (a plurality of wives) any peace and good-will to men; while to the where marked among the blemishes of the patriarchs. David's wives, and store of them he had, are termed by the prophet, God's ness; these poor, heart-sick followers of the same Redeemer, were driven in violence gift to him; yea, a plurality of wives was from their houses to perish like wild beasts made in some cases a duty by Moses' law; in the swamps and wilderness. The gen- when any died without issue, his brother, tlemen charge us with hypocrisy and deor nearest kinsman, was to marry his wife, praved lusts for motives, with such a for raising up seed to him; and all were record as this to mock their charges! The obliged to obey this, under the hazard of infamy, if they refused it; neither is there world has many hypocrites, and is well filled with wicked men, but they keep any exceptions made for such as were nity see fit to admit the justice of such about them the recompense of sin, and have married. From whence I may faithfully other histories than this I give you, and conclude that what God made necessary in some cases to any degree can in no case be sinful in itself; since God is holy in all His Werd went out to the world that Mormonism had finally been annihilated. But ways.

"But it is now to be examined if it is forress discharge of a plurality of wives is

and her duty of marriage, he shall not diminish. Here God positively forbids a neglect, much more the divorcing or putting away of the first wife, but charges no sin in taking the second.

Secondly. When Jacob married Rachel she was barren, and so continued for many years; but God did not leave this as a punishment upon her for marrying a man who had another wife. It is said, (Genesis xxx, 22,) that God remembered Rachel; and God hearkened unto her and opened her womb, and she conceived and bare a son, and said, 'God hath taken away my reproach.' Surely this passage of Scripture ought to afford a complete answer to those who bring the words of the marriage bond as cited by Christ, (Matthew xix, 5:) 'They twain shall be one flesh,' to prove polygamy sinful, and should lead us to construe them as, by this instance and many others, the Lawgiver himself appears to have done; that is to say, where a woman, not betrothed to another man. unites herself in personal knowledge with the man of her choice, let that man's situation be what it may, they twain shall be one flesh. How, otherwise, do we find such a woman as Rachel united to Jacob,

who had a wife then living, praying to God for a blessing on her intercourse with Jacob, and God, hearkening to her, opening her womb, removing her barrenness, and thus by miracle taking away her reproach? We also find the offspring legitimate, and inheritors of the land of Canaan -a plain proof that Joseph and Benjamin were no bastards, or born out of lawful marriage.

"See a like palpable instance of God's miraculous blessing on polygamy in the case of Hannah. (Samuel, i and ii.) These instances serve also to prove that, in God's account, the second marriage is just as valid as the first and as obligatory; and that our making it less so is contradictory to the Divine wisdom.

"Thirdly. God blessed and owned the issue. How eminently this was the case with regard to Joseph, see Genesis lxix, 22-26; to Samuel, see 1 Samuel, iii, 15. It was expressly commanded that a bastard, or son of a woman that was with child by whoredom should not enter into the congregation of the Lord, even to his tenth generation (Duteronomy xiii, 2.) But we ind Samuel, the ottspring of polygamy, ministering to the Lord in the Tabernacle The annals of religious persecution, so the old covenant, is an argument which at Shiloh, even in his very childhood, fruitful of cruel abuse, can give nothing morable." priest. See this whole history, 1 Samuel. 1 and ii. Who, then, can doubt of Samuel's legitimacy, and consequently of God's allowance of and blessing on polygamy? If such second marriage was, in God's account, null and void as a sin against the original law of marriage, or the seventh commandment, or any other law of God, no mark of legitimacy could have been found on the issue; for a null and void marriage is tantamount to no marriage it all; and if no marriage, no legitimacy of the issue can possibly be. Instead of such a blessing as Hannah obtained, we should have found her and her husband Elkanah, charged with adultery, dragged forth and stoned to death; for so was adultery to be punished. All this farnishes us with a conclusive proof that the having more than one wife with which a man cohabited was not adultery in the sight of God; or in other words, that it never was reckoned by Him any sin against the seventh commandment, or the original marriage institution, or any other law whatever.

"Fourthly. But there is a passage (Duteronomy xxi, 15) which is express to the point, and amounts to a demonstration f God's allowance of plurality of wives. If a man have two wives, one beloved and another hated, and they have borne him children, both the beloved and the hated and if the first-born be hers that was hated then it shall be, when he maketh his sons to inherit that which he hath, that he may not make the son of the beloved first-born before the son of the hated, which is, indeed, the first-born, by giving him a double portion of all that he hath; for he is the beginning of his strength, and the right of the first-born is his. On the footing of this law, the marriage of both women is equally lawful. God calls them both wives, and he cannot be mistaken; if He the second wife bore the first son, that son was to inherit before a son born afterwards of the first wife. Here the issue is expressly deemed legitimate, and inheritable to the double portion of the first-born; which could not be, if the second marriage

I will not, Mr. Speaker, trespass upon the time of the House by more than thus briefly adverting to the claims of Utah to the gratitude and fostering care of the American people.

For the first time in the history of the United States, by the introduction of the bill under consideration, a welldefined and positive effort is made to turn the great law-making power of the nation into a moral chaunel, and to legislate for the consciences of the peo-

Here, for the first time, is a proposition to punish a citizen for his religious fied and approved. The only ground upon belief or unbelief. We have before us a which any argument can be maintained statute-book designating crimes. To that our views of the marriage relation are restrain criminal acts, and to punish not to be considered as a portion of our rethe offender, has heretofore been the province of the law, and in it we have the support of the accused himself. No man comes to the bar for trial with the plea that the charge upon which he is arraigned constitutes no offence. His tian churches, and among the most powerplea is, "not guilty." He cannot pass ful in numbers of the religious denomina-beyond and behind the established con-tions of our country, upon this point is in clusions of humanity. But this bill accord with the Mormoughurch. Marriage reaches beyond that code into the questionable world of morals-the debatable land of religious beliefs; and, first creating the offence, seeks with the malignant fury of partisan prejudice and sectarian hate to measure out the puni-hment.

The bill before us declares that that system which Moses taught, that God allowed, and from which Christ, our Savior, sprung, is a crime, and that any wives turned out to starve, and his pro-

This is not only philosophically true, but, air, it is historically a fact. In making the appeal, I stand upon the very foundation stone of our constitutional Government. vestige of a free government. In the original instrument we find this language: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." But this was not considered sufficiently comprehensive for a declared, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or

fully and religiously, so to do, and with

I suppose, Mr Speaker, that in pro-

prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Upon the very threshold of my argument, however, I am met by the advocates of this extraordinary bill with the assumption that polygamy is not entitled to be considered as a portion of our religious faith; that under theConstitution we are to be protected and respected in the enjoyment of our religious faith, but that we are not entitled to consider as a portion thereof the views as an argument, supposes a case where a religious sect might claim to believe in the rightfulness of murder, and to be protected in that right. This is not in any sense a parallel case. Murder, by all law, human and divine, is a crime; polygamy is not. In a subsequent porton of my 'remarks, I shall show, that not only by the authority of the Old Testament writers, but by numerous leading writers of the Christian church, the doctrine of polygamy is justi-

hurch. Marriage, is one of its sacraments; is not in any sense a civil contract, but a religious ordinance, and the validity of a divorce granted by a civil court is denied. And not in any Christian church is the marriage placed on a par with other civil contracts-with a

swap of horses or a partnership in trade. It is a civil contract, in that a court of equity, for certain specified causes, may dissolve it; but not otherwise. Upon the marriage contract is invoked the most solemn sancman believing in it and practicing it—I beg pardon, the bill, as I shall present-iy show, asserts that belief alone is sufficient—that any one so offending shall not be tried, but shall be convict-ed, his "children declared bastards, his wives turned out to starre and bis result. perty be confiscated, in fact, for the benefit of the moral reformers, who, as I believe, are the real instigators in this matter.

wives turned out to stars, and another the stars, and the pression of the moral stars

nowhere to be found.

"It is true our Lord discharges divorces, except in the case of adultery, adding that whoseever puts away his wife upon any other account, commits adultery; so St. Luke and St. Matthew in one place have it, or commits adultery against her; so St. adultery; so St. Matthew in another place. "But, says an objector, if it be adultery

then to take another woman after an unjust divorce, it will follow that the wife has that ight over the husband's body that he must ouch no other.

"This is indeed plausible, and it is all that can be brought from the New Testament which seems convincing; yet it will not be found of weight.

"For it is to be considered that if our Lord had been to antiquate the plurality of wives, it being so deeply rooted in the men of that age, confirmed by such fashions and unquestioned precedents, and riveted by so long a practice, he must have done it plainly and authoritatively, and not in such an involved manner as to be sought out of his words by the search of logic.

"Neither are these dark words made more clear by any of the apostles in their writings; words are to be carried no further than the design upon which they were written will lead them to; so that of our Lord being, in that place, to strike out divorce so explicitly, we must not by a consequence condemn a plurality of wives, since it seems not to have fallen within the scope of what our Lord does there disapprove.

"Therefore, to conclude this short answer, wherein many things are hinted, which might have been enlarged into a volume, I see nothing so strong against a plt rality of wives as to balance the great and visible imminent hazards that hang over so many thousands, if it be not allowed."

Rev. Martin Madan, a relative of the poet Cowper, and an accomplished scholar, was chaplain of the Lock Hospital in London during the latter part of the 18th century. By his exertions the first chapel for the use of the unfertunate inmates of that hospital was built, and then, perhaps for the first time in the history of England, the gospel was preached for the special benefit of fallen women. The sympathies of their benevolent chaplain were so deeply enlisted in their behalf that he published a book upon the subject in 1780, entitled "Thelyph-Causes, Effects, Consequences, Prevention and Remedy," which remedy he discovers to be pelygamy, and which he discusses in a very thorough manner in three octavo

volumes. I submit copious extracts from this learned work, which, in addition to being directly in point in the discussion before us, illustrate the earnestness and sincerity of the author in his efforts to benefit the condition of fallen women and to prevent the ruin of others.

"The best and fairest, and, indeed, the only way to get at the truth on this, as on every occasion where religion is concerned, is to lay aside prejudice, from whatever quarter it may be derived, and let the Bible speak for itself. Then we shall see that more than one wife, notwithstanding the seventh commandment, was allowed by God himself, who, however others might take it, must infallibly know His own mind, be perfectly acquainted with His own will, and thoroughly understand

were not deemed as lawful and valid as the first. "Fifthly. To say that a plurality of wives is sinful is to make God the author of sin; for, not to forbid that which is evil, but even to countenance and promote it, is being so far the author of it, and accessory to it in the highest degree. And shall we dare to say, or even think, that this is charge-

able upon Him who is of purer eyes than to behold evil, and who cannot look on ini-quity? (Habbahuk i, 13.) God forbid. "When God is upbraiding David, by the prophet Nathan, for his ingratitude to his Almighty benefactor, (2 Samuel, xii,) he does it in the following terms, verse 8; 'I gave thee thy master's house, and thy master's wives unto thy bosom; and I gave thee the house of Israel and Judah, and if

that had been too little, I would, moreover, have given thes such and such things.' "Can we suppose God giving more wives than one into David's bosom, who already had more than one, if it was sin in David to take them? Can we imagine that God would thus transgress (as it were) His own commandment in one instance and so everely reprove and chastise David for breaking it in another? Is it not rather plain, from the whole transaction, that David committed mortal sin in taking another living man's wife, but not in taking the widows of the deceased Saul? And thus, therefore, though the law of God condemnthora; or, a Treatise on Female Ruin, in its ed the first yet did not condemn the second.

> "Sixth y. When David took the wife of Uriah he was severely reprimanded by the prophet Nathan, but after Uriah's death he takes the same woman, though he had other wives before, and no fault is found with him; nor is he charged with the least flaw or insincerity in his repentance on that account. The child which was the fruit of his intercourse with Bathsheba, during her husband Uriah's life, God struck to death with His own hand. (2 Samuel xii, 15.) Solomon, born of the same woman. begotten by the same man, in the state of plurality of wives, is acknowledged by God himself as David's lawial issue, (1 Kings, v, 5,) and as such set upon his throne. The law which positively excluded bastards, or those born out of lawful wedlock, from the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation, (Deu-teronomy, xxiii, 2,) is wholly inconsistent with Solomon being employed to build God's temple, being the mouth of the people to God in prayer, and offering sacrifices in the temple at its dedication, unless David's marriage with Bathsheba was a lawful marriage; Selomon, the lawful issue of that