### (Continued from fourth page.) American people at the present time, We now de-

First. That civil government is ordained of God, and that submission to a lawful government, and to its acts in its proper sphere, is a duty binding on the conscience and required by all the principles of our religion as a part of our allegiance to God. Second. That while there is in certain respects Second. That while there is in certain respects a ground of distinction between a government considered as referring to the constitution of a country, and an administration, considered as referring to the existing agency, through which the principles and provisions of the constitution are administered; yet, the government of a country to which direct allegiance and loyalty are due at any time, is the administration duly placed in power. Such an administration is the government of a nation, having a right to execute the laws and demand the entire, unqualified and prompt obedience of all who are under its authority; and resistance to such a gov-

ernment is rebellion and treason. Third. That the present administration of the United States, duly elected under the Constitution, is the government in the land to which alone under God, all the citizens of this nation owe allegiance; who, as such, are to be honored and obeyed; whose efforts to defend the government against rebellion are to be sustained; and that all attempts to resist or set aside the action of the lawfully constituted authorities of the government in any way by speech or action to oppose or embarrass the measures which it may adopt to assert its lawful authority, except in accordance with the forms prethority, except in accordance with the forms prescribed by the Constitution, are to be regarded as treason against the nation—as giving aid and comfort to its enemies and as rebellion against God.

Fourth. That in the execution of the laws it is the religious duty of all good citizens, promptly and cheerfully to sustain the Government by every means in their power; to stand by it in its peril, and to afford all needful aid in suppressing insurrection and rebellion, and restoring obedience to lawful authority in every part of the land.

Resolved 3, That much as we lament the evils, the sorrows, the sufferings, the desolations, the sad moral influences of war, and its effect on the reli-

moral influences of war, and its effect on the religion and churches of the land much as we suffered in our most tender relations—yet the war, in our view, is to be prosecuted with all the vigor and power of the nation, until peace shall be the result of victory, till rebellion is completely subdued—till the legitimate power and authority of dued—till the legitimate power and authority of the Government is fully re-established over every part of our territorial domain, and till the flag of the nation shall wave as the emblem of its undis-puted sovereignty; and that to the prosecution and attainment of this object, all the resources of the nation in men and wealth should be solemnly

Resolved 4, That the Government of these United States as provided for by the Constitution, is not only founded upon the great doctrine of human rights as vested by God in the individual man, but is also expressly declared to be the supreme civil authority in the land, forever excluding the modern doctrine of secession as a civil or political right; that since the existing rebellion finds no justification in the facts of the case or the Constitution of the United States—in any law human or divine—the Assembly can regard it only as treason against the Nation, and a most offensive sin in the sight of God, justly exposing its authors to the retributive vengeance of earth and heaven; that this Rebellion, in its origin, history and measures, has been distinguished by those qualities which most sadly evince the depravity of our nature, especially in seeking to establish a new na-tionality on this continent, based on the perpetual enslavement and oppression of a weak and long-injured race; that the National forces are, in the view of this Assembly called out, not to wage war against another government, but to suppress insurrection, preserve the supremacy of law and order, and save the country from anarchy and ruin.

Resolved 5, That in such a contest, with such prin cinles and interests at stake, anecular not only the peace, prosperity and happiness of this our beloved country for all future time, but involving the cause of human liberty throughout the world, loyalty un-reserved and unconditional to the constitutionally elected Government of the United States, -not as the transient passion of the hour, but as the intelligent and permanent state of the public conscience, rising above all questions of party politics, rebuking and opposing the foul spirit of treason, whenever and in whatever form exhibited-speaking earnest words of truth and suberness alike through the pulpit-the press, and in all the walks of domestic and social life, making devout supplications to God, and giving the most cordial support to those who are providentially interested with the enactment and execution of the laws, is not only a sacred Christian obligation, but is indispensable if we would save the nation and perpetuate the glorious inheritance we possess to future generations. Resolved 6. That the system of human bondage as

existing in the Slaveholding States, so palpably the root and cause of this whole insurrectionary movement, is not only a violation of the dearest rights of human nature, but essentially hostile to the letter and spirit of the Christian religion; that the evil character and demoralizing tendencies of this system so properly described and justly condemned by the General Assembly of our Church,\* from 1818 to the present time, have been placed in the broad light of day by the history of this existing rebellion; that in the sacrifices and desolations, the cost of treasure and blood ordained thereby, the Assembly recognise the chastening hand of God, applied to the punishment of national sins, especially the sin of slavery; that in the Proclamation of Emancipation issued by the President as a war measure, and submitted by him to the considerate judgment of mankind, the Assembly recognise with devout gratitude that wonder-working providence of God, by which military necessities become the instrument of justice peace that shall be based on the principles of eter-

nal righteousness. Resolved 7, That this General Assembly com mends the President of the United States, and the members of his Cabinet, to the care and guidance of the Great Ruler of nations, praying that they may have that wisdom which is profitable to direct, and also that the patriotism and moral sense of the people may give to them all that support and co-operation which the exigencies of their position and the perils of the nation so urgently demand. Resolved 8, That in the ardor with which so many

members of our church, and of the churches of all forth to the defence of our country, placing themselves upon her altars in this struggle for national life, we see an illustration not only of the principle of patriotism but of the principles of our holy religion; that in the readiness with which such vast numbers have at the call of their country devoted themselves to its service, we see a demonstration which promises

security to our institutions in all times of future danger: that we tender the expression of our admiration and hearty thanks to all the officers of our and those who survive, have secured an imperishable monument in the hearts of their countrymen, and that been contended for in the committee and before this Assembly regard all efforts for the physical comfort or spiritual good of our heroic defenders, as tration." That word as used in the public prints, among the sweetest charities which gratitude can in sermons, in lectures, etc., does not suggest to my impose, or grateful hands can minister.

branch of the Presbyterian Church, and all our counthe nation, exercising lawful authority at the pretrymen, to stand by their country; to pray for it; to sent time and in this crisis—deriving its functions discountenance all forms of complicity with treason, from the Constitution and concentrating the strength to sustain those who are placed in civil or military authority over them, and to adopt every means and at any cost, which an enlightened self-sacrificing patriotism may suggest, as appropriate to the wants of the land. Whether those administering this power be the President, or his constitutional advisers, or the Judiciary in their decisions, or the Legislature, the mind; waiting hopefully on Providence; patient and delays; undaunted by reverses: persistent and unfiring in effort till, by the blessing of God, the not suggest to me (however it may be with other till). glorious motto "One Country. One Constitution, and gentlemen,) the idea merely of the Executive de-One Destiny," shall be enthroned as the sublime fact partment of the government. of the present and the more sublime harbinger of the

the bereaved families of all the heroic men who have What occurred to the majority of the committee fallen in this contest for national life, and especially the families of the officers and members of our churches who have poured out their lives on the altar be lorgotten by us in their bereavement, or by a

be somewhat improved in that portion where the tration is installed but what do we owe to this gov-\* The following amendments were made by the Assembly: "Agency," changed to agencies. Especially, inserted before "from."

\* The following amendments were made by the Assembly: "Agency," changed to agencies. Especially, inserted before "from."

† Add to the 11th Resolution, "and that it be read in the purples of all our churches."

Assembly pledges to the Government support in money and men, by adding "and prayer."

## DEBATE ON THE RESCLUTIONS.

A DELEGATE. And votes. Rev. Dr. Cox. Well, I think if they get men and money, and prayer, they will get votes. Dr. SPEAR moved that the resolutions be consid-

The motion of Dr. Spear was agreed to.

The preamble and first resolution were again read. Rev. W. S. LEAVITT of Columbia Presbytery, New York, said: I am very sorry, Mr. Moderator, to be obliged to say a word in opposition to the adoption of these resolutions. With the most profound respect for every member of the committee who have reported this paper, I must say I feel a little disappointed at the result of their labors. It seems to me that it is not what this Assembly needed at this time to say-that we do not need to repeat and reaffirm a large number of our declarations on the same subject running through a series of years—that we do not need to present an elaborate and philosophical discussion upon the nature and obligations of government and of citizenship—that what we need at this time, is a short, earnest expression of our untiring and unfailing loyalty to the Government of the land in this time of its peril—an expression which would reach the heart of every member of the church, and especially which would be read and known by every member of the church, as it is evident this long document will not be. If it be in order and in accordance with the feelings of the General Assembly, I would move to recommit this entire report for the purpose of condensation and abridgement. Rev. Dr. Cox. I hope not.

The motion of Rev. Mr. Leavitt was not agreed to. The question recurring on the adoption of the preamble and the first resolution, they were adopted

The second resolution was read, and the question being on its adoption. Rev. Dr. Spear, said: Mr. Moderator, as a member of the committee to whom was intrusted the duty of preparing this report, my attention was of course called to this general resolution with its series of specifications; and this is one of the items in which I was compelled to dissent-not at all from the design of the individual who originally drafted this language (for perhaps I may as well say that the report which you have before you is a compilation of two reports) - not at all from the design contemplated by the author of the language, but from the inaccuracy of statement in some respects, the falseness of statement in others and the liability of the language to criticism and misunderstanding on the part of the public. Now, sir, I hope that I shall not launch this Assembly into a prolonged discus-sion; but I could not discharge my duty honestly without bringing this subject to the attention of the Assembly; I at first considered the question of presenting a minority report in respect to that one

point. Sir, the declaration of the resolution is that the Administration is the Government of the country. What is understood by the "Administration?" Why in all ordinary usage it is the Executive department of the Government; it is one of the departments of the Government of the country as created. by the Constitution recognized in fixed usage. Our Government consists of three departments—the legislative, the judicial and the executive-those three departments combined with their proper officers are the Government of the country. To the Government thus defined we owe our allegiance-not to the Administration only-understanding by the Administration the Executive department of the Government. Now, sir, I allow no man to question my loyalty, without insulting me. I go in for supporting this Government through thick and thin. REV. DR. Cox. You mean the administration,

REV. DR. SPEAR. I mean the Government, and mean all the officers of the Government, the legislative, the executive and the judicial. My difficulty with respect to the language of the resolution, arises from its inaccuracy. I do not know that I shall make a motion for amendment, but as covering the ground in a more comprehensive and to myself more acceptable manner, 1 suggest a substitute for the language used in the resolution. I suggest that, after the recital of the preliminary points, the resolution would more properly read thus: "Resolved, That civil government is an ordinance of God, for HIS own glory, and the best interests of mankind, and is therefore divine in its authority and functions; secondly, that the officers composing the civil magistracy, whether legislative, judicial or executive, are the ministers of God, submission to whose authority when acting within their proper sphere, is a duty binding on the conscience and enforced by the express command of God himself." This language, sir, according to my understanding;

more truthfully, more properly, with less liability to misconstruction, expresses the idea which I would have this Assembly adopt. I shall not make a motion for the adoption of this as a substitute; I have read my resolution simply as a matter of suggestion Hon. Mr. Allen. I move the substitution of the

#### resolution read by Dr. Spear. Speech of Rev. Mr. Barnes.

REV. ALBERT BARNES. Mr. Moderator, it may possibly be proper for me as Chairman of the Committee, without going into an argument on the subject, to make a remark or two, in reference to the reason why this form of the subject was introduced

I apprehend, sir, that every member of this Assembly will subscribe heartily and cordially to the substitute proposed; there can be no doubt on that point. It expresses perfectly correct doctrines in regard to Government; and such as we have been accustomed to deliver in this Assembly, such as are in breaking the yoke of appression and causing the oppressed to go free; and further, that the Assembly beseech Almighty God in his own time to remove the last vestige of slavery from this country, and give to the nation preserved, disciplined and purified, a peace that shall be based on the majority of the Committee, was, I may say, in reference to the propriety of giving attraction. say, in reference to the propriety of giving utterance to that stereotyped sentiment, as meeting the state of things at the present time. The Committee, if I understand the view of the majority, supposed that the object was not to make a general statement, such as might be made at any time, but a declaration which would meet the existing state of things in this country at this time, in the great crisis of the nation, amid the great perils through which we are passing. We thought that we were called upon to express not merely allegiance to Government as such, about which no man has any doubt, but to utter our sentiment in regard to our duty to the existing Government in this country-the form in which the Gothe religious denominations of our land have gone vernment is administered in this country, and the efforts which the administration, as such, is making to sustain the Government and the constitution, and to restore order tranquillity and harmony throughout the land. It seemed to us that it was proper to make that point prominent in the utterances which this Assembly is to make before our countrymen and

the world at large.

This government, this administration, is engaged in a great war, which has been entrusted to the administration; and though I make no particular pretension to precision of language, yet I have not been able to perceive the distinction, which has been contended for in the committee and before mind the idea of the Executive department of our Resolved 9. That this General Assembly exhort country exclusive of everything else. The adminall the churches and ministers connected with this istration, as I conceive, is the embodied power of the hour; having on this subject one heart and one whole power of the nation is exercised through Now, using the term in that popular sense, this

administration is engaged in the great work of de-Resolved 10, That this General Assembly tenders fending the Union, putting down the rebellion, and its affectionate condolence and heartfelt sympathy to establishing the authority of the law of the land. should have departed from our duty, if we had come Resolved 11, That a copy of this action duly authenticated, be transmitted to the President of the Westminster divines could have said in their day. What we want to consider is, what is our duty to-The question then was on the adoption of the this country toward the existing power of the land-Rev. Dr. Cox suggested that the resolutions might der the constitutional forms and another adminisnot what they will do when this power departs unernment now in Washington-this administration-

country—there is a most material distinction taken

or attempted to be taken on this subject, which is working infinite evil in the country, and which is at

# the very basis of organized opposition to the Gov-

ernment and the Administration. It is that very distinction which is taken between allegiance to the Government and allegiance to the Constitution. There are certain persons who proclaim on the housetop and everywhere, that all citizens are bound to render allegiance to the Constitution of the country, but that there is no requisition on them at the present time to render allegiance to the embodiment of the power of the Government in the present form of the administration. There, sir, as I understand, is the very centre and root of the difficulty in this country at the present time; [applause,] and the very foundation of opposition to the Government of this land. You might, I think, obviate difficulties in other forms, if this thing could be rooted out—this feeling that allegiance is due to an abstraction—to the Constitution as an abstraction, and not to those placed in power in accordance with the Constitution n a regular manner, as exercising the authority of

These are the reasons which operated upon my mind as to the importance of proclaiming to our peo-ple these truths, and, if you please, instructing our people in regard to the true nature of allegiance what is due to our country in the present crisis—not lue to an abstraction considered simply as a matter of constitutional government. I may be wrong in the views which I take; but these are my views, and

the views which I take; but these are my views, and I think them exceedingly important.

Rev. Dr. Spees.—I only want to make this remark: I think Mr. Barnes, who drew this paper, must have been following Mr. Vallandigham and hearing some of his speeches.

A Delegate.—Explain yourself.

Rev. Dr. Spees.—I see that I have made a wrong impression. What I meant to say is, that the very line of argument followed by that archtraitor of this country, is the very line referred to by Mr. Barnes in his remarks—the difference between allegiance to a constitution as an abstraction ween allegiance to a constitution as an abstraction

and allegiance to the existing government.

Rev. Mr. Graves.—You sustain Mr. Barnes?

Rev. Dr. Spees.—Certainly; with all my heart.

[The language of Rev. Dr. Spees as just given, was explained by him at a later stage of the pro-Rev. Dr. SKINNER obtained the floor and asked hat the pending resolution be again read. The resolution was read. Rev. Mr. THOMPSON, of Minnesota.-I would

like to hear this substitute read in connection with the resolution, and then I would ask the privilege of reading in contrast with the language of the substitute, a single sentence from Paul. I think the Assembly would then be prepared to vote.

Remarks of Dr. Skinner Rev. Dr. SKINNER.—It appeared to me at first that Brother Spear's proposed substitution was preferable on the ground that it avoided altogether making a distinction between the Government and the administration. It avoids—ignores, if you please, that distinction. A person reading Dr. Spear's paper would probably not think of the dis-Spear's paper would probably not think of the dis-tinction between the Government and the Admin-derstanding and the heart of our people, upon the istration. It appeared to me, therefore, to be a fe-licitous presentation of the subject. There is a difficulty, perhaps, in drawing logically, the line of far as my observation extends, has been issued during iscrimination between the Government and the Administration. I was, therefore, pleased with this proposed substitute when it was first read; but meaning of the terms in the document as used. Whether the distinction is expressed with logical precision or not, the meaning is palpable; and I thought for the sake of the advantage which we shall have in meeting this radical mistake, to which Brother Spear has referred, of which I suppose Vallandigham may be considered as the grand representative—for the purpose of meeting this radical and horribly mischievens hereav we might even tolerate some infall. hievons heresy we might even tolerate some infelicity, and some want of logical accuracy in the expression. This is the reason why on the whole, I prefer Brother Barnes' statement. The difference really is between an abstract idea and a concretion.

Rev. Dr. Spear. I did not offer the resolution; I read it as a suggestion simply. (Dr. Spear here again read the resolution as previously given.)

Rev. Mr. Moderator rabing the definition of the Government, that the Constitution of all these traitors—the fundamental lie of all Valuation. Now, Mr. Moderator, taking the definition of ad-

ministration which Brother Barnes has given-understanding it to be an embodiment of all the powers of government entrusted to the agency thereof, namely, the legislative, the executive and the judicial—taking that interpretation of the term "administration," then I have no difficulty at all with the resolution precisely as it stands. But, sir, that is not the interpretation of the resolution itself. If you examine that resolution carefully, you will see, as I think, that nearly all the references, and I am perhaps correct in saying all of nexion. Now, allow me to make an illustration, them are to the Executive department—speaking of as practical, and pertinent as possible. When Mr. the Administration in the sense in which that term is Lincoln takes action as the sworn executive officer ordinarily employed. If by "administration", you of this government, who is to be the judge as to mean the whole Government, embodied in its proper whether he is acting in his "proper sphere" under mean the whole Government, embodied in its proper agency and officers, I accept that resolution heartily and cordially, only saying that according to my poor perceptions; it is a little too wordy, and some parts of the language inaccurate; and in a deliverance so grave, so important, which is to be reviewed by judges, by lawyers, by critics, by friends, by foes, by the entire church—I felt it desirable that we should make an utterance upon this point, which should be look. If he is only to act at 1 shall permit—if he is make an utterance upon this point, which should be not, I beg leave to say, an abstraction, but a prodigiously important concretion—that we should make

view with entire logical satisfaction.

Now my trouble is with some of the phraseology f the resolution. Will the Moderator accommodate ne by reading the clause where it declares that the

REV. DR. SKINNER. I hope the whole sentence will be read, because one word explains the other. The Moderator read the portion of the resolution REV. DR. SPEAR. Now I ask what is the present administration. Taking the definition which my brother Barnes has given, I have no difficulty; but that is not the definition sanctioned by usage; that is not the definition that will go out and be made the basis of criticism.

The new of the same has all the elements of treason the legislative and the judition which the single exception that he has not the executive, but also to the legislative and the juditiciary.

[Applause.]

Now, sir, if the proposition of Dr. Spear should the basis of criticism.

The new of the definition that will go out and be made be adopted by this General Assembly, we might not operate circumstances, but to circumstances that the proposition of Dr. Spear should be adopted by this General Assembly, we might not operate circumstances, but to circumstances that

The present administration, the resolution asserts efering as I understand, to Mr. Lincoln and the Cabinet, is the Government of the United States. I say that they are a portion, and a very important portion, in this hour of trial, a pre-eminently impor-tant portion of the Government of the United States; but they are not the Government exclusively. Then having intimated the meaning of the term adminisration, it declares that to it alone allegiance is due. he judiciary and the legislative department are not t all to the drift or design of the language, but to he form of its construction. I, with Brother Barnes, ympathize to the very depths of my heart with the

Spear to read a portion of his proposition, which the latter read as follows:—"That the officers composing the civil magistracy whether legislative, judicial or executive are the ministers of God, submission to whose authority, when acting within the language of the resolution might be made more definite, more popularly intelligible, and less liable to whose authority, when acting within the language of the resolution might be made more used. That the term "administration" as there definite, more popularly intelligible, and less liable to used. The repeat, that if we be called upon to your for that report in its present form, I shall give it an emphatic aye; but it shall be with the understand the language of the resolution might be made more definite, more popularly intelligible, and less liable to used. The language in the called upon to the report in its present form, I shall be with the understand the language of the resolution might be made more standing that the term "administration" as there were a standing that the term "administration" as the suggestion has been made, I think that it an emphatic aye; but it shall be with the understand the language of the resolution might be made more standing that the term "administration" as there were a standing that the term "administration" as the suggestion has been made, I think that it an emphatic aye; but it shall be with the understand the language of the resolution might be made more standing that the term "administration" as the suggestion has been made, I think that it an emphatic aye; but it shall be with the understand the language of the resolution might be made more standing the language. whose authority, when acting within their proper sphere, is a duty binding on the conscience, and en-forced by the express command of God himself." forced by the express command of God himself."

Rev. Dr. Thompson.—Now, sir, in connection with that, I turn to the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans and read this language: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher power." Who are the higher powers? Who were the higher powers then? Nero, and his cabinet. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers;" not when they do right—not when they administer the laws. they do right-not when they administer the laws exactly according to what we may deem right, for who is to judge whether their administration be right? This doctrine of obeying the higher powers only when we believe them to be right, is sow-On motion the report of the committee was accepted.

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States. [Applause.] Who is to judge? Am I to
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States. [Applause.] who is to judge? Am I to
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### Speech of Hon. Mr. Olds.

would offer any suggestion, to this Assembly, with great diffidence, this being the first time that I have allowed myself to present my views upon this floor; but allusion has been made, and very properly, to the fact that this action of ours is to be reviewed by the judicial and legal minds of the nation, as well as the people at large; and it should be addressed to the popular sense of the country. It has seemed to me very proper that, upon this point, the lay voice should be heard for a moment, as the lay members have, perhaps, been more accustomed to come in contact with the popular mind in its action upon subjects of political discussion. In my judgment, we ought to bear in mind, the object now in view in a solemn deliverance of this General Assembly, and this deliverance should not be the announcement of a mere abstraction. With any thing bearing merely upon political faith this General Assembly, as a high judicatory of the church of Jesus Christ, has nothing to do. But the practical object of a deliverance of this sort is its bearing upon our constituency, the body of the church, and its bearing upon our fellow citizens in the northern states not of our church, but who are looking to the body for some expressions to bear upon the public sentiment of our land. In this view our deliverance to-day, ought in my judgment to be different from the deliverance made last year.

I know that there is an extreme sensitiveness in some minds lest in these deliverances in our ecclesiastical bodies we shall in some form either directly or indirectly ally ourselves with parties as they exist in this country. It think that this sensitiveness tends to an extreme many are disposed to carry to an excess this feat lest in some of our deliverances we shall, by using the term administration identify ourselves in some shape with a political

party.
I desire to suggest that this General Assembly, in its deliverances upon this question in this great crisis of our land, should remember the solemn fact that in this struggle of the government for its existence, there are and there can be but two parties in the land—one the party of the patriot, and the other the party of the traitor. (Loud applause.)

The great question of the salvation of the country is infinitely higher than any Democratic organiza-tion—infinitely higher than any Republican organiration. I scorn my mere political party allegiance in this trying hour of my dear country. [Applause.] There is just one question for us to look at—are we on the side of the Government, or are we against it? And I insist that in our solemn deliverances, we should distinctly present this question, so that there can be no misapprehension on the point. Now, sir, there is, in my judgment, an eminent fitness in the language employed in the report of the committee; and there is (I say it with great deference to the author of this substitute,) an eminent unfitness in employing the language which he proposes

in our deliverances at the present moment. It has been my duty, to some extent, in my own State, to act upon a State organization, designed to distribute the last year, is a document which has been sown broadcast all over these Northern States-a docu-

the ordinance of God and the officers of the Government are to be respected as the ministers of God. Then what is the qualifying phrase? "When actimen endeavor to draw between the Government and ing in their proper sphere!"

The fallacy of this distinction is

s embraced in the report.

Mr. Olds. It is in one place, but not in the con-If he is only to act as I shall permit—if he is only to act when Mr. Vallandigham says that he is actbility upon the Executive to judge as to the consti-

only occupy that vacated mansion,—we might o loupy it with Mr. Vallandingham as our bost, because
the professes to be loyal to the government so far as
the Executive acts within his proper sphere!

The professes to be loyal to the government so far as
the Executive acts within his proper sphere!

The professes in the future. Suppose I were a Republican at all—but suppose that I were a Republican, and I call upon my Democratic
friend to submit to the powers that be. I say to the Executive acts within his proper sphere!

All over the land, and especially in our Western

fried to submit to the powers that be. I say to him, "submit to the President;" he says to me, "sub-States, political parties are being organized, (and good men are in danger of being drawn away by them,) on this particular idea of distinguishing between the government as an abstract idea, and the administration of the government. In our delivering this report to my mind, administration of the government. In our delivering this report to my mind, administration of the government. In our delivering this report to my mind, administration of the government. In our delivering the report of the government as a partie of the matter of the government of the government. referred to or implied any where. "Alone" in the ance on this subject, we ought to make this matter anguage, as if there were no State Government to so clear that everybody may understand it. In this tive but does not call upon us to submit to the judiwhold allegiance may also be due. My objection is not great crisis of our land, God in his providence has clary, and to the legislative department. imposed upon the Administration of this government, the solemn burden of saving the country, as it must be saved, within the life of the present Administration, if it be saved at all. The utterance of this our Democratic friends may apply to us this very sympathize to the very depths of my neart with the principle of supporting the present executive—heartily, heartily, heartily, heartily, heartily, heartily, heartily, and I would say that a thousand times, any where and every where.

I have presented the difficulty which I have experienced in my own mind. If it be not worth the consideration of this Assembly, so be it. I have been conscientious in bringing it to the attention of Rev. Dr. Cox said: I have been very much been conscientious in bringing it to the attention of the damment presented by the Com-

pleased with the document presented by the Comdefinite, more popularly intelligible, and less liable to used, means, not simply the Executive, but also the criticism, by a slight modification. I move therefore judicial and the legislative departments of the adto amend the substitute so as to read thus: "An ministration of the government. Administration considered as referring to the varions existing agencies through which the principles and the provisions of the Constitution are adminis-

Hon. Mr. ALLEN accepted the amendment of Rev. Dr. Cox, as a modification of his amendment. Rev. Mr. Clark, of Illinois. Mr. Moderator, it may savor of immodesty in me to attempt to lift my humble taper amid the bright lights of this church, upon a question of this nature; yet my responsibilities press on me a conviction of duty. Dr. Cox has struck the thought which I have been trying for some time to get an opportunity to throw out. I am entirely satisfied, and exceedingly gratified with the entirely satisfied and exceedingly gratified with the entirely satisfied, and exceedingly gratified with the entirely satisfied and exceedingly gratified with the entirely e Rev. Mr. CLARK, of Illinois. Mr. Moderator, it think any modification advisable or necessary, except vate citizen at liberty to judge whether Abraham Lincoln, and his "minions," as some choose to call them, administrate the laws rightfully or wrongfully? "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God." It is of God, sir, that Mr. Lincoln is in the Presidential chair at this time; I believe it from the bottom of my soul. ["Amen" and Applause.] "The powers that be are ordained of God. Whoever, the powers that be are ordained of God. Whoever, the powers that be are ordained of God. Whoever, the power, resisteth the ordinance of God."

It is Vallandigham to judge? Is any prison the citizen at liberty to judge whether Abraham Lincoln, and his "minions," as some choose to call the purpose of conciliating the feelings or the for the purpose of conciliating the feelings or the views of Dr. Spear, and those who think with him. As a means of satisfying those gentlemen, without in the least detracting from the force of the resolutions, I would suggest that the substitute be withdrawn, (for another proposition cannot be offered while that is pending,) and the views of the constitution are administered." Instead of those words, I propose that the resolution should read thus: "the administration considered as referring to the existing agency through which the principles and the constitution are administered." I would suggest that the substitute be withdrawn, (for another proposition cannot be offered while that is pending, and that the resolution, through which the principles and the existing agency through which the constitution are administered." In the least detracting from the force of the resolution, as referring to all the existing and various agencies in combination, through which the principles and the visions of the constitution considered as referring to the existing agency through which the principles and the constitution considered as referring to the existing agency through which the principles and the constitution consid

tion, and therefore impair its beauty; but it would, I think, relieve the difficulty experienced by Dr. Spear and those who think with him. Hon. C. N. Olds, of Ohio.-Mr. Moderator, ]

> Speech of Hon. Mr. Foote. Hon. JOHN A. FOOTE, of Ohio. I came from Ohio -the State of Mr. Vallandigham; and I would say that if the question were put, Mr. Vallandigham would vote for the amendment as first offered, and

Rev. Dr. Cox. I hope not.
Mr. Foots. My friend (Mr. Olds.) has struck preisely the difficulty in this case; and allow me at this point to relate an incident which, however, homely it may be, will, I think, better express my views than anything else which I could say. I once heard of a man who built a barn, without window or door, and when he put the roof on it there was not a crevice in the edifice; it was hermetically sealed. One day he was discovered with a large auger boring into that barn. A neighbor said to him, "What are you doing?" "Why," said he, "I am going to let the dark out of this barn." Now, sir, there is darkness in the public mind with reference to loyalty, and the resolution reported by the Committee is the big auger to "let the dark out." If this Assembly will march right up and put this resolution through, it will do a vast amount of good in "letting out the dark upon this subject."

Mr. Moderator, permit me to say that it was with much grief that I heard the Rev. Dr. Spear, (for whom I have the highest regard, and who, I know.

has the same feeling of loyalty that I have.) make the

amendment or even suggest it.

Rev. Dr. Spear. I hope my position will be correctly understood. I did not offer the resolution; but I felt conscientiously bound to read it as a suggestion. The motion for its adoption is not my motion. Hon. Mr. Foors. I understand that; and I know that the gentleman, in the course he has taken, has only acted conscientiously; but as Mr. Olds has suggested, the language of the substitute implies that langerous doctrine that you must only submit to the officer of the law, when in your opinion he is acting within his powers. I think that there was strong common sense in the view taken by the gentleman on the other side (Rev. Mr. Thompson.) who read to us the language of Paul. The view which he expressed s the correct view; and it is that to which the Northern States are coming—the view to which they must come before this rebellion can be put down. We want no nicely drawn distinctions when the question is, whether our Union and our glorious Government shall be trampled upon. [Applause.] I am perfectly astounded that men like Erastus Corning -men who have hewn their way up to eminence by their own exertions-I am perfectly astonished that he and another respectable gentleman, Gov. Seymour, should express their sympathy with Mr. Vallandigham, and declare that in his recent arrest and trial, he has been dealt with in disregard of the law. I particularly admire these resolutions, because they are so full, comprehensive and complete. There is nothing which I would alter, nothing which I would add, except that I would feel inclined to insert a declaration of what is my own belief-that Abraham Lincoln is just the man for the crisis—that he has come to the kingdom for such a time as this." [Applause.] I rejoice that his name is Abraham. When I regard his course, I am impressed with the convic-tion that he is acting not only as our ruler, but as the minister of God. When he left Springfield before this proposed substitute when it was first read; but after hearing the remarks of Brother Barnes made in Committee (substantially the same as he has made here) as to the importance of presenting this distinction at the present time for the reasons which he has assigned, I changed my views and preferred Mr. Barnes paper because it exhibited this dis-Mr. Barnes' paper because it exhibited this distinction in a way which was absolutely unmistakable. such treason as that, that we ought to make this must be ours, unless at the North this idea should be Men may have what views they choose as to the solemn deliverance, so that the great body of our allowed to spread through the land, that every man logical precision of the distinction as drawn between | constituency may understand what is the grave and | may decide when the officer of the law comes to him, the Government and the Administration; but they cannot mistake here, because as soon as Mr. Barnes mentions the term "government" he defines it— the ordinance of God, we find it wholly impossible unfortunate thing, if this Assembly should adopt language which would imply the slightest toleration of he mentions the term "administration" he defines those executive officers of the government who, in that doctrine. I hope that the honorable gentleman that, and there is no possibility of mistake as to the

> not take exception to the religious idea of it [Laughter] | ecclesiastical body, to be as sparing as possible, in to accept it as a part of his political platform. The resolution suggests the very distinction, which that Rev. Dr. Spres.—It has been suggested to me, sir, arch traitor has made. There has been this declared that a remark which I made awhile ago may have

> landigham's speeches, and of all the traitorous might be saved! [Laughter.] landigham's speeches, and of all the traitorous Now, sir, the language of this substitute, as I recollect it, is in substance this—that Government is I feel as every loyal man in the North feels, that the thing to be done at this hour is to annihilate that de-lusive distinction which mischievous and treasonable A DELEGATE. Substantially the same language is embraced in the report.
>
> Mr. Olds. It is in one place, but not in the condorse the views expressed by the distinguished gentle-

#### man from Ohio, the Attorney General of that State. Remarks of Drs. Spees, Fowler and Cox.

in the report in regard to the distinction between the Government and the administration of the Government-a distinction which can be drawn in theory, an utterance upon this point, which we ourselves in our cool, calm deliberation at our homes could retical one. We cannot, at this time, actually distin-guish between the Government and its administration; tutionality of his acts; God lays the responsibility in the present juncture of affairs the two are vitally upon us as loyal subjects of His government and and to all intents and purposes identical. We can faithful citizens of this free land, to submit to that sustain the Government only by sustaining the adexecutive action so long as he is our Chief Mahas been stated here this morning, that the adminis-Why, sir, our good brother, Dr. Spees, in inviting the Assembly the other day to hold its next session departments—the executive, the judiciary, and the departments-the executive, the judiciary, and the in Dayton, said something about the members being | legislative; and whilst I believe that as Christians and permitted to occupy the vacated mansion of this rebel—this man who has all the elements of treason be, I believe we are bound to submit, not merely to

These are the views which have impressed my The question being taken on the substitute, it was not adopted. Rev. Dr. Cox. I shall have no difficulty in

voting for the resolution as it stands, and I hope

that the Assembly will have none; but if there is any point in which the resolution is vulnerable and in regard to which rather more than less of expla-

popular parlance ignored; but if it be defined at all, we ought to show that everything which makes government felt or feared belongs practically to what we mean by the Administration. I believe that the military power on land and sea is an essential the military power on land and sea is an essential part of the government: and I only wish that at the present time, that power were greater. With

> fort to the enemy; and if anything could render the thou, that thou didst not receive?" we very rarely do) this treasonable spirit exhibited in the person of an ordained minister of Christ.
>
> Hon. J. A. Foote, of Ohio, said that his objection to the substitute of Rev. Dr. Spear as well as to the amendment suggested by Rev. Dr. Cox was that they tended, though undesignedly, to give countenance to the mischievous doctrine that a legislative act was not worthy of respect until it had been passed upon by the judiciary. In the position taken by Dr. Spear that the Executive was not the government, Vallandingham would fully concur. The effort of that traitor has been to paralyze the government by paralyzing the Executive arm.
>
> He (Mr. Foote) was no partisan. At a Republican meeting in Cleveland, he opposed the organization of the Republicans as a distinctive political

the government by paralyzing the Executive arm.

He (Mr. Foote) was no partisan. At a Republican meeting in Cleveland, he opposed the organization of the Republicans as a distinctive political party, and in spite of much opposition, finally carried his point. He thought that at this time we should all stand up singly for the country. He believed that Dr. Spear's substitute, when touched by the Ithuriel—spear of truth, would be seen to embody the infernal spirit of secession. He hoped that the substitute would be rejected by an emphatic that the substitute would be rejected by an emphatic

vote which should discourage disloyalty and encouage loyalty throughout the land. Rev. Dr. Cox said that he liked very well indeed the resolutions as reported, but he had supposed hat they might be made more explicit and comprehensive. He was, however, ready to waive every objection of that kind, and he withdrew his amend-

Rev. Dr. SPEAR. I sincerely hope, Mr. Moderator, that the inference will not be drawn by any member of this Assembly or of any of the different denominations that any portion of this Assembly is disloyal. The man who implies that in respect to

Rev. Dr. Spear. I do not intend to assert that that has been implied. I stand on high and dry loyal ground, and in proof of that fact, I appeal before God and man to my antecedents for the last six months. I have driven seven copperhead Democrats out of my congregation by my loyalty. (Applause;) and I am ready to drive out more. My utterance on this subject is not ambiguous at all. A gentleman asks me what I think of Vallandingham. I will say, that judging him by his pub-lic course, without any knowledge of his private character, I think him a scoundrel. That is my inswer to that question:

President, in the Legislature, and in the Judiciary—ing service being made the exception and not the all three of them. When the President or any officer comes to execute the law, I submit, whatever instruction in the lamily, as contemplated by the may be my private judgment on the question whether he is right or wrong. I am bound to yield obedience to the officer of the government; that is obtained and moved that the subject of the nurrore of the properties of the nurror of the properties of the prope my doctrine. That doctrine has just two exceptions. If I am commanded to steal, or to swear, or to break the Sabbath, I will refuse to do it; and if the government send me to prison, I will do just as the martyrs did—I will go there quietly. I will had been appointed at the last General Assembly. suffer; but I will not resist the government. In the second place, when a government becomes so | merly appointed) stated that the committee had never oppressive that in the estimate of the mass of the been called together. people subject thereto, it has failed to answer the ends of government, then I hold with our Revolutionary fathers (and I trust we shall not forget that detailed the subject contemplated detailed the subject contemplated detailed to answer the or specific said that the Committee on Bills and Overtures would, within a day or two present a report bringing up the whole subject contemplated doctrine) that it is the right of the people to depose the President, the Judiciary, the King, all—ruling powers (they baving forfeited the right to rule)—and to supply their place with others who will more properly discharge the functions of the government. I have made these remarks, lest in our earnest ness (and I am as earnest as my brother Foote) we may involve ourselves in error in the opposite di-

overnment, had to resist just that kind of unqualiied doctrine which has been propounded in our hearing to-day.

I believe that this rebellion is wicked, causeless, thout any justification before God and man, and that the people cught to support the President—all the officers of the government—all the generals.

ection. Our fathers in the Revolution, in array-

ng themselves against the tyranny of the British

you are the first man that I would shoot." Rev. Dr. Darling. There is a very slight verbal alteration, which the chairman of the committee de-sires should be made, and which he supposes will obviate the difficulty which has been felt by many brethren; that is simply to change the word "agenoy" from the singular to the plural, and say "agencies." Thus we shall include the various departments of the Administration, and not confine it to the Executive, as it would seem to be confined by the original paper. I therefore move that amendment, so that the resolution will read: "Administration considered as referring to the existing agento to the General Assembly the power to "correspond" cies through which the principles and provisions of the Constitution are administered."

The amendment proposed by Rev. Dr. Darling, The second resolution, as amended was adopted unanimously.
The 3d resolution was read.

politicians. There have been repeated references in the course of this discussion to a certain characted to maintain sound doctrine, prevent conditions telephone, which he does not deserve. He should be nameless by the judicatories of either denomination, and to proand I hope there will be no further reference to that

subject of slavery before that time. I move to amend word, the naked term "correspondence," in your by inserting the word "especially," which will simly make the language of the resolution conform to the facts of the case.

The amendment was adopted.

Rev. Dr. Spear. I want to suggest another amendment to the resolution; and this pertains to the only remaining point of discussion in the Comthe only remaining point of discussion in the committee. I move to amend by substituting the following language: "That the Proclamation of Emancipation, having been issued by the President, as in that preparation of minds and of methods which the proposition to open a correspondence with last General Assembly was brought before the last General Synod after something less than that preparation of minds and of methods which the cipation, having been issued by the President, as in his judgment a war measure necessary to the conquest of the rebellion, and having by him been submitted to the considerate judgment of mankind, the Assembly earnestly exhort all the people to support this and all other measures adopted by the Government, that may be needful to preserve the Union on moral grounds, contemplating then I would continue the language of the resolution—

that preparation of minds and of methods which the importance of the subject might fairly have suggested. A member of the Synod, who has the high estemplate that preparation of minds and of methods which the importance of the subject might fairly have suggested. A member of the Synod, who has the high estemplate that preparation of one importance of the subject might fairly have suggested. A member of the Synod, who has the high estemplate the proposed by the considerate judgment of mankind, the Assembly earnestly exhort all the people to support this and all other measures adopted by the Union on moral grounds, contemplating the proposed by the supplies of a large number of its members, a moral grounds of the resolution—

Would continue the language of the resolution—

The first mention of that word corrected the subject might fairly have suggested. A member of the Synod, who has the high estemplate the proposed by the tenth of the proposed by the proposed by the supplies of the subject might fairly have suggested. A member of the Synod, who has the high estemplate the proposed by the importance of the subject might fairly have suggested. A member of the Synod, who has the high estemplate the proposed by the importance of the subject might fairly have suggested. A member of the Synod, who has the high estemplate the proposed by the importance of the subject might fairly have suggested. A member of the Synod, who has the high estemplate the proposed by the importance of the subject might fairly have suggested. A member of the Synod, who has the high estemplant fairly have suggested.

signedly ignores altogether this measure so far forth as the expression of any opinion touching it may be concerned, so far forth as any good word of enc ou far forth as exhorting the people to sustain the Government may be concerned, so was not practicable.

There was a third party, indeed, which did not

the people to support this and every prominent mea-sure of the Government. Rev. Dr. Cox. I second the motion with all my

the present time, that power were greater. Without such power, the government would be effete and valueless. By "Administration," I mean Noah, as truly as you are sir, and for whom as reand valueless. By "Administration," I mean everything that can make the idea of government felt.

I think that traitors ought to be hanged; and in view of the definition of treason in our Constitution, I wonder that some among us are so lenient ton, I wonder that some among us are so lenient tond kind toward these who we death a color was if he had a cutaneous right to be higher as if he had a cutaneous right to be higher uon, I wonder that some among us are so lement and kind toward those who, under the false assumption that they are "loyal to the government" are doing all in their power to thwart the patriotic efforts of the Administration and to give aid and comforts of the Administration and to give aid and comforts of the enemy, and if anything could render the thou didst not receive?"

Sir, I would not call a colored man a "nigger" monstrosity more tremendous, it is when we see (as we very rarely do) this treasonable spirit exhibited any more than I would blaspheme his Maker; and some of us have taught our children thus to name

sometimes, and I would ask, "who are those la-dies?" "Oh, they are mere colored women." Not much color!

#### "O ye, mulattoes! white men's dark disgrace, "Ye show your father's virtues in your face."

Now, Sir, I thank God that the President, in issuing his Emancipation Proclamation, has done an act which the wisest statesmanship approves as perfectly constitutional. He was the Christian Cæsar of our realm, and he did a noble act, and posterity will honor him for it. I for one do not wish that any one of my posterity should ever be ashamed of their father, as they would be if I should oppose this action of the President.

I do not wish to censure the Committee for the form of language which they have adopted on this subject; but I do think the language proposed by Dr. Spear is just what it ought to be. We ought not to be a shamed or afraid to face the music and to march forward to vic-

## The Assembly at this point adjourned till 4 P. M.

Proceedings of Wednesday Afternoon, May 27. The Assembly met at 4 o'clock, and was opened

with prayer. REVISION OF DIRECTORY FOR WORSHIP. The Assembly proceeded to the consideration of the Report of the Committee on the Polity of the Church, upon the overture relative to a revision of the Directory for Worship. [The report with the overture will be found in Tuesday's proceedings.]

The pending question was upon the adoption of the report.

Rev. A. Barnes made some remarks, favoring the Now, sir. I desire to state my doctrine on one point and to record my utter protest against some in believe, sir, in "the powers that be"—in the church, to have service on Sabbath afternoon, even—the course of the subject to a special committee to report to the next General Assembly. He thought it desirable to return to the former custom of the church, to have service on Sabbath afternoon, even—the course, it is the course, to have service on Sabbath afternoon, even—the course, it is the course, to have service on Sabbath afternoon, even—the course of the subject to a special committee to report to the next General Assembly. He thought it desirable to return to the course of the subject to a special committee to report to the next General Assembly. He thought it desirable to return to the course of the subject to a special committee to report to the next General Assembly. He thought it desirable to return to the course of the subject to a special committee to report to the next General Assembly. He thought it desirable to return to the course of the subject to a special committee to report to the next General Assembly. instruction in the lamily, as contemplated by the framers of the Directory for Worship.

Rey. Dr. Cox concurred in the views of Rev. Mr.

Dr. McLANE (a member

Rev. Dr. Cox withdrew his motion. The report of the committee was adopted.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE REFORMED DUTCH The Moderator announced that, agreeably to revious order, the Rev. Mr. Ganse, a delegate from the Reformed Dutch Church, would now address the Assembly on the subject of a proposed correspondence between that church and the Assembly.

Address of Rev. Dr. Ganse. Rev. Dr. Ganse was then introduced to the As-

sembly, and said: Mr. Moderator. The General Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, at its last session, all the officers of the government—an the generals. My doctrine has been this: the man, whom the President appoints as general is my man. I pray for him; I co-operate with him; I do all I can to support the officers of the government in putting down the rebellion.

Proposed Amendment by Dr. Spear.

But when we are making a declaration of principles, I desire that we should be accurate in our language. It is not because my lovalty is more or ples, I desire that we should be accurate in our language. It is not because my loyalty is more or less than that of Brother Barnes, more or less than that of Brother Barnes, more or less than that of my friend on the right, (Mr. Foote,) more or less than that of any brother in this house, that I have been compelled, as a matter of conscience, to suggest the difficulty I have experienced. I have done so honestly. I am as earnest and determined in reference to eaforcing the authority of the Government, as any man can be. I will tell you a remark which was made by an elder of my church, and I sould footing. But it happens that these kind except is proposed a correspondence "by letter." In regard to that point, let me at once refer you to another resolution passed by the Synod at the same time, in which it directed its delegate to the Old School General Assembly, the only body with which it now maintains a correspondence, to request that Assembly to consider "the propriety of having all correspondence between that Church and this carried on by letter." In this particular, at least, then, the Synod has aimed to put the two Assemblies upon an equal footing. But it happens that these kind exwhich was made by an elder of my church, and I equal footing. But it happens that these kind exwhich was made by an elder of my church, and I endorse it. He was talking to a Democrat about the Conscription Law. The Democrat said, "You cannot execute the law in the State of New York."
"Why?" asked the elder, "The people will resist it?" "Why," said the law in the people will resist it?" "Why," said the Democrat, "I will resist it for one." "Then," said Democrat, "I will resist it for one." "Then," said the other, "I for one will shoulder my musket, and courtesy to this body had seemed to me to lie within or behind the action of my Synod, I would not

have been its agent to report that action here to-day.

I have come in the spirit of Christian love, to make advances which it becomes the honor and kindness and honor of this body to accept. You will hear me with candor, I am sure, while I attempt to make In order to form a just estimate of the action of

the Synod, you will need to look at it from the Synod's point of view. The Book of Discipline of the with foreign churches upon such terms as may be agreed upon between the General Assembly and the corresponding body." From this very general pro-vision it has resulted that this Assembly holds correspondence with as many as ten or twelve different bodies, which embrace among them a considerable diversity of doctrinal opinions. The constitution of The 3d resolution was read.

Rev. C. Brown. I simply desire to call the attention of the Assembly to the very modest suggestion of the Moderator, made awhile ago that in any further discussion of this subject there should be Judicatories or Assemblies of other religious denominations. minations, for the purpose of promoting union and concert in general measures which may be calculaduce concert and harmony in their respective proceedings to promote the cause of religion and piety." Now, sir, you know we are strict constructionists. The effect The third resolution was adopted unanimously.

The fourth resolution was read, and was adopted ananimously.

The fifth resolution was read, and was adopted this formal correspondence has in all our history been extended only to three bodies. At this moment we hold it only with one. Both our constitutional law, accordingly, has been that the formal correspondence has in all our history been extended only to three bodies. At this moment we hold it only with one. Both our constitutional law, accordingly, has been that the formal correspondence has in all our history been extended only to three bodies. At this moment we hold it only with one. The sixth resolution was read.

Rev. Dr. Cox. This resolution refers to our deliverance in 1818, and the language would seem to imply that we never made any deliverance on the subject of slavery before that time. I move to amend as is the setting your hand at the bottom of your letter, to a friend, from setting your name to your friend's copinions. The Assembly will be kind enough to bear this distinction in mind as I proceed

The proposition to open a correspondence with the New School General Assembly was brought before would continue the language of the resolution—
what wonder working providence of God, by which
military necessities become the instrument of justice, etc."

tion that such a correspondence be proposed by the body to this. The first mention of that word correspondence, developed two parties in the Synd—
the one consisting of the mover of the resolution, and It will be observed that this branch of the resolu-common and looser sense of an interchange of courtion as offered by the committee studiously and designedly ignores altogether this measure so far forth respondence should not be had; and the other of respondence should not be had; and the other of the expression of any opinion touching it may be