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PRESBYTERIANISM AND REPUBLI-CANISM.

"He that will not honor the memory and respect the influence of Calvin, knows but little of the origin of American liberty."-BAN-CROFT.

There are three important peculiarities of arepublican form of government such as that of the United States, which contribute more than anything else to recommend it to the friends of human liberty and happiness :

1. It is a free government,-self-government. on the principle of the majority of all was Presbyterian, with John Robinbeing the controlling power.

2. It is a representative governmentnet a democracy.

3. It combines by federal representation the wisdom and the authority of all, in directing the affairs of the whole.

a monarchy or an empire; the second from forces, nor, are they the men who give a democracy; and the third from an oligar- | steadiness and solidity to republican instichy or an aristocracy such as that of Venice or the States of Holland.

Considering how great an influence is exercised upon the characters, tastes, and and "no creed" which shelters under the susceptibilities of a people by their ecclesiastical relations, it becomes a question of from that soberer and steadier portion of practical muputomous white leading denominations of the country is government in Church or State. most nearly allied in its arrangements to a republican form of government, and which members, or indeed of the great body of a a relationship of cause and effect. denomination, cannot always be judged by



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few hundreds. from the ideal of a republic like our own. Both of them are lacking in equally essen-

equally removes power from the people, political affairs. No civil government in into the rarity of rationalism. Neither Hierarchy nor Independency would suggest or nurture the idea of a federal republic. Justice Tilghman should have remarked Neither of them can be regarded as in and that the framers of our Constitution bor-

of themselves friendly to its development. said for our own country, that the Puritans,

who settled New England, resembled the Dutch of New Amsterdam or the Hugue nots of the remoter South, rather than radical Independents of our day. In the New England churches, ruling elders and synods were not the objects of abhorrence that they have lately become to those who boast of their Puritan lineage most loudly. Whatever the present genus of "Plymouth" churches may be, the original one son as its pastor, and the famous "Elder Brewster" as one of its session. The principle of liberty may indeed be made good against despotism by men like the Independents. destitute of a profound sense of order; but such are not the men to organize the teachings of John Knox and of Calvin. The first principle distinguishes it from it in a wise combination and balancing of The Presbyterian Church in this country tutions. And the strength which the New England of to-day gives to the government does not come from the rabid independency

loose folds of Congregationalism, but rather the people who appreciate a good form of So remarkable, on the other hand, is the

likeness between the Presbyterian polity would be likely to cultivate in the people and a Republican form of government, that most effectually an attachment to our free we find no difficulty in admitting some institutions. The temper of the individual thing more than likeness,-actual kinship,

Presbyterianism is a government by the the peculiarities of their creed or church people; the people organize the church, government; men are often better or worse | choose its ruling elders, elect their pastor it is part of its very idea as a polity, in fact Nothing in the world is clearer than the a leading part, and the chief difference sentatives of the people admitted to plenary tastes and wants of a self-governing community. Presbyterianism is representative not de mocratic. So is the whole form of our civil government. Our citizens delegate every official function, and transact every public act by their representatives. Pure democracy is hardly maintained in the manage- guilty authors of our troubles. We cannot Romish church. It is heresy of the most ment even of very small towns. If this system suppress our feelings of disappointment at dangerous sort, for the Catholic to have any is superior to that of bringing every public the seeming haste exhibited to pardon matter to the notice and judgment of the rather than to punish, when such enormous spiritual adviser." History shows us that people at large, as it plainly is; if it is crimes are concerned. We are willing inthe most powerful ally of despotism known important that the people be trained to deed that such a prerogative should be exvalue it, and prefer it to the loose, imprac- ercised, but not that mercy should force ticable methods of democracy; if indeed it herself into the Executive Council Cham-Spain, Portugal, and Austria, where Ro- be altogether essential in the working out ber while justice stands neglected and manism is by far stronger than anywhere of our problem of a free united govern- waiting outside. Let the majesty of justice else, prove the inherent adaptedness of ment, which the opposite method would be honored first; after that, give mercy Popery and political despotism for each utterly frustrate; then Presbyterianism must abundant room and range. Let rebels first be accepted as a grand school of republican- feel the weight of authority; as yet they ism, constantly and effectually training its know nothing about it, for they have been adherents in the general duties of Ameri- successfully resisting it for four years, and can citizenship. Again, Presbyterianism is federated, al- restoration of their States to all the privifind the opposite extreme of democracy and most precisely as are the various members leges of their former federal relations. The individualism, tending to anarchy. Here, of our political system. It forms a whole, oath they are required to take, may or not we are struck with the almost utter absence which might with entire propriety be be regarded as binding, by men fresh from of authority and organization. Here, we termed a Federal Republic. Its ideal is a monstrous act of treason and perjury; are greeted on every side with the cry of federal unity, realized by representation. but whether kept or not, it can hardly be liberty, until we wonder where even the Its individual church, with its delegated viewed in the light of a punishment. power to preserve and insure liberty is to officers comprising the session, corresponds This eager haste to reconstruct rebellious in civil government to the municipality ; its States, and to put whole communities of presbytery, made up of representatives from rebels back in their forfeited constitutional gether. Here, the final authority is the anumber of neighboring churches, resembles position, before a single act of formal justhe government of the county; the Synods tice has been done, is a sacrifice of the embracing a number of contiguous Presby- | dignity and honor of the nation, for which teries and composed still of representatives we shall sooner or later be made to suffer. from the churches, may be compared to We would like to see our Government, now the State Assemblies; while the General that the amnesty proclamation sufficiently Assembly, made up of ruling elders and vindicates its clemency-bending all its and supplement the wisdom of the few. ministers in equal proportions, chosen by energies, summoning all the legal ability at of this from the Free Church Assembly. We have a mere aggregate of small inde- the whole number of the Presbyteries, is its command, clothing itself with all the Perhaps we need say no more of it, than pendent comunities, in which no idea of the representative body of the entire majesty that insulted but victorious authority that it speaks in complimentary terms of the human heart and will.

majority vote in a company, at most, of a authority of the whole is embodied. It the most lasting and memorable form, its therefore resembles the highest representa- | solemn condemnation of the treason which analogy, both in spirit and form, both in | nation's power to put down a vast rebellion elementary parts, and in outward organiza- which are found on a hundred battle-fields

PHILADELPHIA, THURSDAY, JUNE 29, 1865.

rowed very much of the form of our Re-And if history be appealed to, it can be public from that form of church govern- traitors more? Shall we treat the section ment developed in the constitution of the of our Constitution which defines treason Presbyterian Church of Scotland; or that (Art. III., Sec. 3) as a nullity? Are trea-Mr. G. C. Verplanck traces the Declara- son and resistence to treason reduced to the tion of Independence to the Solemn League | naked question of who is the strongest; so and Covenant as its model. Republicanism, that when any party feels himself strong in fact, sprung up in connection with the very origin of the modern Presbyterian risk than naturally belongs to such a strug-Church. Geneva was the early nursery of gle, and without any crime whatever, Republicanism and Presbyterianism. Bancroft says, that Calvin made Geneva, "for the modern world the impregnable fortress of modern liberty, the perfect seed plot of him? Do we stand, in this age of civiliza-Democracy." The commonwealth of England and the modified republic of Holland, were both the work of Presbyterians. The republican elements in the present government of Great Britain, are largely due to was the first to protest against British tyranny, and the first to acknowledge the Declaration of Independence ; in fact, it went before Mr. Jefferson by the famous declaration of Mecklenburg, N. C. And to the Presbyterian Church of this country is due the separation between Church and security have we that, before this generation State, a separation which was fully consum- passes, some of the very same men who are mated in Massachusenes only in 1833. In- now receiving Executive elemency, may be

dependency in New England felt the need of the outside support of the civil power, afford to dispense with it, and oppose it as the foe of liberty everywhere.

We have not the slightest doubt that the spread of the Presbyterian polity over our land, is adding strength to our free institutions, and is training the people to an intel-

has brought it to the verge of ruin. We need, not merely the monuments of the we need such a monument of the sound moral sentiment of the nation, of just indignation at the criminal authors of these bloody interruptions of our peace and prosperity, as can only be found in a calm, deliberate, and comprehensive decision of the highest tribunal of the land, sustained by the atmost penalties of the law. This is called for first, and we suffer. North and South by every hour of delay.

What protection are we to have against treasonable plots in the future, it we take the advice so officiously obtruded upon us from abroad, to shed no blood, to punish no enough, he may, without any more personal launch into rebellion at his pleasure? If he fails, is it the mere overflow of malignity or popular vengeance to the h to punish tion, so close upon the verge of the barbarous condition where might makes right, as all this would indicate?

Let such a doctrine prevail, and again we ask, what protection have we against the repetition of the crime? What great lesson will the restless spirits of this nation have before their eyes for all time, to discourage them from similar monstrous undertakings? what, according to the method of dealing with treason, now proposed, besides mere military failure? failure without a particle of disgrace? What ready once more to run the same risk of failure without disgrace? Certainly their while well-organized Presbytery could immunity will be a perpetual temptation to unprincipled, disappointed men, in all coming generations, to repeat what will henceforward be viewed as a bold military

experiment, and not as a crime. We are deeply and painfully convinced that President Johnson and his advisers

government is cultivated beyond that of a | church, in which the wisdom and judicial | can assume, in order to put upon record, in | the work of the Christian Commission, refers with deep feeling to the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, and rejoices in the abolition of slavery, regards all causes of alienation between the American and British churches on this subject as removed and proposes a closer union between them by interchange of delegates. If we have space, we may, at another time, give the address entire. At present, our readers will rather be pleased to read what another titled member of the Free Church,-not as we presume, of the late General Assembly-thinks of Lord Dalhousie's statements and of the state of opinion and causes of the war in our country. We refer to the DUKE OF ARGYLL, whose intelligent and earnest sympathy for the North, we have already had occasion to notice in these columns. In reply to the speech of Lord Dal-

housie, he has written a letter to The Scotsman, in which he points out that the "platform" on which Mr. Lincoln was elected is a written document, and that of the seventeen paragraphs, not less than one-third were devoted to direct and emphatic declarations of the anti-slavery principle. The duke continnes:----

It is true, of course, that the abolition of slavery within the slave States was not contemplated, and this for the very sufficient eason that the constitutional powers of the President and Congress did not make even he discussion of such a measure competent But on every one question connected with slavery on which the President and Congres could act, Mr. Lincoln was pledged by his "platform" to measures adverse to the inteests of slavery. One of these questions was the restriction of slavery within its existing limits, its non-extension, its exclusion from " territories" of the republic. the great Nor was this all, though this was the main question in dispute. In dealing with this question, and in laying the basis of a firmer and more organized resistance to the aggressions of the slave party principles were laid down which cut very deep indeed, down even to the very roots of the "peculiar institu-tion." Here are some of the pledges taken by those Northern States who, we are now told, were partners with the South in an organized opposition to defeat the purposes of Providence for the ultimate overthrow of

slavery. The fifth paragraph of the Republican sent Demcoratic administration (Buchanan's) has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infa-mous Lecompton (slave) Constitution on the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve unqualified property in persons," &c., &c. The seventh paragraph is, "That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States. or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instru-ment itself, * * * is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country." The eighth para-graph is, "That the normal condition of all the Territories of the United States is that the remaining the country." The eighth para-graph is, "That the normal condition of all the territories of the United States is that of freedom; and that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation when neces-sary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all who violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Terri-torial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Terri-tory of the United States." Another paragraph denounced a threatened revival of the slave trade. In view of these solemn declarations of principle, to which Mr. Lincoln was pledged at his election, and in view of the consequences which they involve, reaching far beyond the mea-sures with which they were closely connected, I have never doubted that the slave States had serious cause for alarm in the triumph of the Republican party. That triumph meant a great deal to them. For the first time in the history of the Union, the central Government was no longer to be under their prevailing influence. The new Administra tion was constituted on declarations of principle directly aimed at their opinion, at their aspirations, at their policy upon the subject of slavery. It is as unjust to them as it is to the North to affirm that the slave States involved their country in a bloody civil war for no intelligible reason, or on account of differences of interest or opinion which were not essential. Nor did the Southern States ever pretend in America that the interest which they rose to defend was any other than the interest of slavery. On this subject there is another document which also I am afraid that my noble friend, Lord Dalhousie, has never seen. When the civil war was upon the point of breaking out, a committee of representatives of every State in the Union was appointed with a view to some compromise which might avert secession. I suppose these men knew what was the peaceably-disposed North was concerned, that the war arose from the evil pas-sions of men out of the struggle of the calamities which were then in sight. I suppose at that solemn moment, when they were already in the rapids, the efforts at the helm must have been directed to avoid the "rock ahead." What was it? Slavery, and nothing else. The proceedings of the committee have been published. Long and hard did they pull, and writhe, and struggle; but not a word did they speak; not a stroke of the oar did they give; not a caution did they shout into each other's ear, which had not exclusive reference to the rock of slavery, and on that rock they split. It is indeed, by God's mercy, visibly extended to the United States, that now the rapids have been passed, the vessel of that great State has reappeared, not "bottom-up," a wreck upon the waters, but sound and whole, with the black reefs of slavery already tar down in the heroism of the past, to which in the I agree with my noble friend; but there is no special honor paid to God in refusing to recognize that agency which he honors most,

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THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

We cannot doubt that there remains a large sections of the South, a revengeful and implacable spirit which vents itself upon the freedmen. Facts are transpiring such as those named by our Richmond correspondent, which prove that the old spirit of the plantation not only exists, but is intensified by the crushing disappointment it has just received. The condition of the freedmen would be deplorable indeed; but fortunately their interests are represented by a National Bureau, in the construction of which the largest views have prevailed. The appointment of General Howard as the head of this Bureau, is the best possible assurance that could be given, that the Government has the real interests of these people at heart; and General Howard, by the appointment of General Fisk to a prominent position in the Bureau, has only fulfilled the best expectations of the country as to the mode in which he designs to carry out the purposes of the Government. In his address before the Ladies' Christian Commissions at the Academy of Music in this city, June 9th, General Howard declared that the Bureau was to be guided, in its treatment of the freedmen, "by the simple principles which are in accordance with the religion of the blessed Saviour." Again, he said, that "this people were free; and that the whole power of the Government, if necessary, should be exerted to defend them in this thing." General Fisk declared himself in the following emphatic language :----'He had long been enlisted in the work of elevating these people. He was in the first movement for giving the Bible to the negro in a Southern State, and, he thanked God, among the first to put a bayonet on his shoulder in the defence of this glorious, undivided, indivisible Union. He hoped and believed that with the Bible and the ballot, with the Christian Commission and the Freedmen's Bureau, they would be able to raise the black man, and the next time he should appear before them it would be to recount the success and triumphs of this honest effort for the good of their fellow man."

It is one of the most cheering of the signs of the times, that two men of such noble sentiments, and such warm, tender, and intelligent Christian sympathies with the black man, to say nothing of their great executive abilities, have been placed at the head of the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Indeed, we think the freedmen will be found rapidly attaining the ability to take care of themselves. The latest report of their condition comes from General Fisk, who informs us that "in Missouri and Arkansas, the affairs of the freedmen are at present in a very prosperous condition. There is a great demand for laborers, and good wages are offered. In Missouri there are only two hundred and thirty-six colored people dependent upon the Government for sustenance; while there are forty-four hundred and fifty-two whites supported by the Government."

We need not say that we consider both | tive body of the land, the Congress of the Hierarchy and Independency far removed | United States. Hence we have a close tial, though in very different, elements. A tion, between the entire structure of the hierarchy withdraws power from the peo- Presbyterian polity and the whole scheme ple and lodges it absolutely in the hands of of representative government by which the spiritual head. Independency almost people of the United States manage their

but lodges it nowhere. A hierarchy crushes | the world is so much like the Presbyterian the church into unity and nearly kills it; polity as this of the United States; no deindependency explodes it into fragments, nominational polity is so closely allied to and evaporates the very idea of the church the republicanism of America as is that of our own church'. It is not surprising, therefore, that Chief

than their circumstances would lead us to in whose license and ordination they have believe; but tendencies inherent in the very had an equal voice in the councils of the nature of an institution cannot be ignored church at large. No assembly can conby the observer, and he will nearly always vene, no law can be passed. without their find that, if sufficient time transpires, those presence as judges and legislators. This is tendencies make themselves good in his- essential, not accidental, in Presbyterianism; tory.

antagonism between hierarchical forms of between it and all other church polities. church government and all forms of politi- In no other denomination, are the repre cal liberty. The Papacy is a complete system of spiritual despotism. Obedience authority in all acts of government and of and not liberty is its ever-recurring watch- counsel. No other denomination therefore word. People, nobles, kings, czars must | can compare with ours in adaptation to the all alike acknowledge the absolute sovereignty of the Pope. Subordinate to the Pope are the various orders of the clergy, who manage the affairs of the church, in utter unconcern of the mind of the laity. The governing and the governed are as widely distinguished almost as master and slave. Liberty is a tabooed idea in the mind of his own distinct from that of "his in the civilized world, has been popery; and at this day the spectacles of France, other.

In the radical form of Congregationalism called Independency,-understood to have been claimed as of Divine authority by the preacher of the late Boston Convention,-we be found : or until, in the cry of "no creed," we lose sight of church and of order altomajority of all the members of the individual church, of which the minister himself is one. Everything else is advisory. There is no federation, no representation, no interdependence, no authoritative interposition of the whole, to correct the errors

ligent estimate and right use of them; while Independency tends to breed restlessness, and to lessen the popular regard for order, system, and organization, in public people. The country looks to Chief Jusaffairs. Hierarchical and prelatical forms tice Chase for a line of conduct worthv of of church government, on the other hand, his high position, and reassuring to the accustom the minds of the people to the friends of justice a righteous and solid idea of simple obedience to irresponsible authority, which is equally unfriendly to republicanism. In a word, Independency represents liberty without law; Hierarchy represents law without liberty, while Presbyterianism and the better forms of Congregationalism represent the true republican idea of liberty-in-law.

POLICY AND DUTY OF PUNISHING TRAITOR LEADERS. II.

With the lapse of another week, we find no sensible progress made by our Government in the administration of justice to the the first taste they have of it is in the

have begun at the wrong end in the settlement of our affairs, and are injuring and offending the sense of justice among the

ADDRESS OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND TO THE AMERICAN CHURCHES.

Among the acts of the late General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, of special interest to ourselves, was an address to the churches of America on the close of the war. It is a document quite as remarkable for what it does not say, as for what it does. There is not a syllable congratulatory of our successes, or expressing gatification at the result of the salvation of a free Protestant nation from dismemberment and overthrow. •We cannot learn from the address, that it would have made any difference to the venerable assembly which side had succeeded, in this unprovoked civil war, provided only slavery had been abolished. That the cause of the North was essentially that of freedom, and of the South essentially that of slavery, does not seem to have penetrated the prejudiced minds of these "Free" Church men. Indeed, the convener of the committee, Lord Dalhousie, took particular pains in presenting the report to accuse the North of indifference to the question of slavery in the contest; saying, most falsely and opprobriously, so far as the long-suffering and party against party, and that it was the hand of God alone that overruled the vain purposes of man, and brought the grand issue of the abolition of slavery. We presume that Lord D. in these expressions fairly represents the large majority of his ecclesiastical associates, as we cannot find that they met with any dissent upon the floor of the Assembly. Certainly the address, for the language of which he is responsible, contains nothing incompatible with the narrow and blind sentiments uttered in his speech.

We doubt whether our readers are concerned to see an address of the type

A NEW ENTERPRISE.---- Under this head, last Saturday's daily papers had the following notice:----

"Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D.D., President of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. will preach to-morrow morning at the Academy, Powelton avenue, below Thirty-fifth street, Mantua, at which place a Mission Church is being organized under the auspices of the German Reformed Church. All those friendly to such an organization have been invited to attend."

It is often the case that Scotchmen and Scotch Irish in this country, find a pleasant homogeneity by associating themselves with churches which, like the United or Reformed Presbyterian. surround them with ancestral church customs. So the German often turns for church fellowship to a Lutheran or German Reformed body. The same law of mind forbids that Christians of purely American modes of religious thought and worship, will ever, in any considerable number, ecclesiastically denationalize themselves. If there are about Mantua a sufficient number of Germans by birth. or near ancestry, to require and sustain this "new enterprise," there is no reason why it should not become a popular one. But if it is to be gotten up by attempting to Germanize Americans, its road to prosperity will be a long one.

ERRATA.—In the first column of 'Religious World Abroad," page 203, 4th paragraph, 9th line, read "This is the greatest proportionate gain, enjoyed by any great" (not one) " Society." Also istory of nations there is no return. So far add to the concluding sentence of the paragraph which undertakes to tell the total of gains of the British Benevolent Societies for the year, "£78,891."