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THE QUAKERS AND THE RITUALISTS.

Rev. Mr. Spurgeon has been giving fresh evidence of the breadth of his religious sympathies by lecturing to the Quakers of London, on George Fox. The unbroken laudatory strain in which he speaks of the founder of the sect would be surprising, if one could not see that he had a purpose beyond the man and the occasion. George Fox and the Quakers are to be made auxiliaries in the great struggle which he, and all Evangelical Christendom are waging against ritualism. He describes the rise of the Quakers as a providentially arranged protest against the waxing formalism and deadness of the middle of the seventeenth century. George Fox, he says, "bequeathed to us more than if he had given us the mines of Peru; for he has left to the Christian Church, in the clearest and most unmistakable utterances, a testimony for the spirituality of true religion. It is wonderful," he continues, "how full the testimony is. If you were to read through the lives of all the eminent saints, I believe you would come to the conclusion that of all others, George Fox is the most distinct upon the one point, that 'God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth.'" "Would," he exclaims, "that the spirituality of worship were known throughout England! Would that it were recognized in every plan of worship, that we must worship God in spirit and in truth!"

Again, the lecturer says, "We want, in England, just now, much of Fox's holy zeal against idolatry and formalism. It wants all Christians, but does it not especially need you? If you are or wish to be at all like George Fox, was there ever a period since his day in which the existence of the Quakers was more necessary than now? I think not; and this was why I wanted to have told you some time ago, that I thought you stood upon a special vantage-ground in the fight with Ritualism—this covert Popery which is coming back amongst us."

Well, then, are you not the very persons constantly and vehemently to speak against it? . . . Satan's servants serve him well, but the servants of Christ are often self-hearted. These men are zealous in their persecutions, and are pushing it right and left, and carrying it to extremes. You have within a door or two of this meeting-house, and you can see it for yourselves, in its glory, and in all its abomination, if you wish. . . . If Fox were here to-day, he might not endorse all I have said; might not go my lengths on some points, and he would go much further on others; but I am persuaded he would say to you, friends, now, if ever, testify for the Spirit's work! Testify for the spirituality of godliness! Bear witness against idolatry! Cry out and spare not! Lift up the standard against the foe whose incoming is like a flood! If Popery comes back, will you bear blame of it? But you must, my friends, must bear a large share of it, if you do not testify openly and loudly. If you do not help those who love spiritual religion, you will be highly culpable. . . . It would be a great calamity for your Society to cease to be until its great fundamental principle is accepted by the whole church." Thus, the serious question is started, whether the reflux wave of formalism, which, in its first flow, two centuries ago, rose to this sect, may not, in our day, cause a reaction and revival in the ranks now thinned, and put once more among the fighting forces of Christianity, a denomination which seems to have accepted its own doom of decay. It is but conformity to a law of man affairs that one form of excess should give forth an opposite form. Especially if, in the bosom of the Church organizations themselves, the healthful forces and remedies handed by the times should not appear, may well expect them to be allowed by providence to arise in outside bodies—and under irregular conditions, such as it must be confessed belong to the phenomenon of Quakerism.

An illustration of what individual Quakers may be roused, by the encroachments of Ritualism and High Churchism, to do, has occurred in a rural parish, not far from this city. Within the bounds of the parish,

which, until recently, contained no place of worship but the Episcopalian, there resides a man of wealth and character, a follower of George Fox, but a liberal and generous contributor to the support of the Episcopal church. Recently, very high ground was taken in the pulpit of that church. It was even declared to be impossible to obtain salvation, without participation in ordinances, Episcopally administered. The spirit of George Fox, if no holier one, was stirred in the old Quaker who was a listener. He sent for the preacher and poured out his indignation upon him. It was unfortunate for the preacher that his own father was an honored minister of the Gospel, in another Evangelical denomination. "Does thee mean to say that thy father—a better man than thyself cannot be saved?" asked the Quaker. The result was that the very agreeable relations between the wealthy Quaker and the Episcopal parish were dissolved, and soon after, the sacred precincts of the parish were invaded, and a Methodist church has recently been completed, as, perhaps, the best form in which, under the circumstances, the spirit of George Fox could protest against the rising ritualism of the time. The Quaker had given the handsome sum of \$2,500 towards its erection.

THE PARALYSIS OF JUSTICE.

One of the greatest, if not the supreme evil under which political institutions suffer, is the indifference of men in power and of their influential supporters to purely moral considerations. Expediency, personal interest, party prejudice, revenge or aggrandizement, too generally dictate the line of national policy. Rulers and their supporters are too slothful, too timorous, too selfish or too thoroughly depraved, to do right for right's sake. A very convenient philosophy is manufactured for those who are unwilling to do justice, which diminishes the value of penalty in human and divine governments, and proclaims a regimen of nearly unmitigated mildness and mercy for the family, the school, the State, and the universe itself. Punishment for the mere satisfaction of justice, is reprobated by this philosophy as cruelty. If any penalty is to be exacted for crime, it must be exactly measured by the standard of expediency; if it appears expedient to exact none at all, the worst of offenders is to go free, in the most powerful of governments.

The hinderances thrown in the way of the punishment of the late rebels in our country—rebels still for the most part—are multiplied and extraordinary. A paralysis seems to have fallen upon the arm of justice. A dreamy impotence, a night-mare oppression has seized upon the organs of the national will. The limitation of three years within which, it is claimed, a criminal process must be commenced against these offenders, is rapidly approaching, and not a single effective step has been taken for the execution of the law upon any one of the several million of offenders, even the chief.

Justice paralyzed did we say? Nay, injustice and wrong, and rebellion have been vintaged and honored and rewarded to an amazing extent. Executive favors have been taken from the loyal, from men who have actually suffered in the service of their country, and been showered upon those who threw all the weight of their influence upon the side of rebellion. The high executive officer of the nation, whose most solemn and urgent business it was to provide for the due punishment of the rebellion, has not only utterly neglected this duty, has not only dispensed pardons by the thousands, but has thoroughly identified himself with the party which was substantially the party of rebellion in the North. And we behold, through the North and the South, the monstrous spectacle of crime shielded and rewarded, and virtue frowned upon by the highest dignity of the land.

No wonder, then, that the spirit of rebellion survives; that it speaks in defiant language, or in a tone of injured innocence, proudly rejecting all terms but those of perfect equality with the victors and the loyal people. No wonder that it plays all its old tricks of passion and oppression and bloody cruelty upon white and black within its own limits. What has it to fear? The ass may kick the sick lion. Justice herself is wearing the halter; and some are even trying to put the rope in the hands of the criminals. When the cause of justice lost the sup-

port of the Chief Magistrate, the bewildering effect would have been much greater even than it was, but for the general expectation that the Judges of the Supreme Bench would vindicate the insulted honor of the nation, and maintain the dignity of the laws so murderously assailed by rebellion. Not to this arm of the body politic, it was thought, had the paralysis extended. Here, the righteous indignation of the people, elsewhere so cramped and fettered, would find a healthful, vigorous and ready organ. At least just decisions can be solemnly uttered and recorded, even if an executive cannot be found to carry them into effect. Vain expectation! A year and a half of inaction passes. Thousands of pardons are issued to rebels of every grade, in advance even of indictment. A single prisoner of war is kept in the most comfortable possible confinement in Fortress Monroe. At length the Supreme Court speaks, and it is only to show the astonished nation that the paralysis has crept over more than half of this august tribunal, and that the solemn ministry of justice, demanded by the great crime of the rebellion, would be expected in vain from this quarter. The decision of a military tribunal, punishing an avowed and dangerous conspirator in Indiana, and condemning him to an ignominious and richly deserved death—afterwards commuted to imprisonment,—was not only set aside, and the enemy of his country restored to her protection, but the extraordinary doctrine was announced that Congress has no power whatever to authorize a military trial in a State not actually in rebellion. Treason in the South may lawfully be met by military measures, but, according to the decision, treason at home, treason in the form of a "powerful secret association, under military organization, conspiring against the draft and plotting insurrection, the liberation of the prisoners of war at various depots, the seizure of State and national arsenals, armed co-operation with the enemy, and war against the National Government," such treason in time of actual war, and in the daily peril of invasion, is to enjoy immunity from all military process, and to be insured the deliberate form of civil trial by all the authority of the Supreme Court. While the brave and loyal men of the nation are shedding their blood to overthrow rebellion in their front, traitors in the rear, under the protection of the forms of law, may be successfully plotting to undo all their dear-bought advantages in the bloody field. So rules the Supreme Court.

Again, the Court speaks, and plainer still is the absence of a keen sense of the criminality and disgrace of rebellion. The measure which Congress wisely proposed, in order to keep the bar of that once august tribunal clear of rebel influence, and to put deserved disability on legal talent which had once been prostituted to the service of rebellion, the test oath, is declared unconstitutional; and henceforth voices, hands, gifts that have been used for the subversion of law, constitution and country itself, may be heard and seen without hinderance in the highest law court of the land. Suitable attorneys indeed to such justices. Well may rebels plead before judges so little inclined to hold the crime of rebellion in abhorrence.

Congress and the loyal people yet remain. The Thirty-ninth Congress has done excellent service to the cause of justice. It has successfully withstood the demoralizing influence so unscrupulously wielded by the Executive. An unwavering two-thirds in both houses has faithfully represented the conscience of the people. The Civil Rights Bill, the continuance of the Freedman's Bureau, the Constitutional Amendment, the District Suffrage Bill, the Territorial Suffrage Bill, and other like measures passed against the express or implied veto of the President, have, under God, saved the national honor, and preserved the fruits of victory, which otherwise would have been hopelessly sacrificed. But for the faithfulness of this body of men, every Southern State would have got back into Congress, and a delegation chosen by and from the very men who carried on the war, would have sat in the councils of the nation. We venture to assert that a worse, and bitterer, and more dangerous set of men would now have occupied those seats, than those who left them at the outbreak of the rebellion. And yet there is a hesitancy in the movements of Congress, looking to punishment,

which we would fain attribute to wise caution, but which sometimes greatly resembles symptoms of paralysis. Caution which extends over months and years, and which refers to crimes perpetrated in the sight of the world, must excite uneasiness, not to say suspicion. The Constitutional Amendment, passed by both Houses, last summer, allows every rebel the privilege of voting at any and every election, and excludes only a comparatively limited class from holding office. Even those prominent and perjured rebels, who are thus excluded, may be relieved of their disqualifications by acts of Congress at any time. Mr. Stevens' Territorial bill, which proposed the temporary disfranchisement of the entire rebel population, instead of passing the House, was recently sent into committee. And that earnest purpose to secure justice, which was well expressed by vote of the House, on the 21st of last May: "That this House will stand by and sustain the President in executing the laws of the United States upon a sufficient number of leading rebels in such of the States recently in insurrection against the National Government, to vindicate the majesty of law to sustain the confidence of loyal people and to warn the refractory for all time to come,"—that earnest purpose, if it still existed, we would confidently expect to see exhibited in persistent and unwearied efforts to secure its end.

We do not intend to complain of a Congress whose record is so glorious and which has so promptly responded to the demonstrations of the loyal people. We think the spirit of the people is very nearly understood by the body. It is not deceived by the cries which were heard in certain quarters for universal amnesty and universal suffrage; it was not to be hurried into a crude reconstruction of the union, upon the supposition that the people were burning with anxiety to have it completed, or from the alleged great hindrance and damage to the business interests of the country, arising from the non-representation of the rebellious districts. Congress knows that the people, above all things, want the rebellion effectually put down; that they want their judgment of the immense moral difference between treason and loyalty put broadly and ineffaceably upon the legislation and policy of the nation; that they want the deadly virus kept out of the reconstructed national life. The true anxiety of the loyal people is for all reasonable haste in accomplishing these high ends of justice. Any alleged interest in the return of the rebellious South to the councils of the nation, is a mere figment of a politician's brain. The men who had to be swept back from Cincinnati and Harrisburg, and St. Louis, and Washington, with the point of the bayonet, are not very earnestly expected back again by those who expelled them. A generation of retirement would give their own position better, and would best the loyal North no special discomfort.

Two of the departments of our government are paralyzed. At their hands, rebellion is altogether unlikely to get any part of its desert. The great crime which deluged our land with blood, which imperilled our national existence, deranged our commerce, and loaded us with the second largest debt in the world, will be unknown in the records of their official acts. It is a calamity only second to that of the rebellion itself. And if Congress is not also paralyzed, it will, in a constitutional and proper manner, but with the promptness of men who act under the clearest and most solemn considerations, remove out of its path the Executive or the judiciary that has betrayed justice, and that is using its great powers to shield instead of punishing the criminal.

A PROPER REFERENCE.

Our State Senators, we are glad to see, entertain very much the same opinion this year of the operations of the friends of Sunday street cars in that body, as their predecessors of last year did. The proposal to put the question of Sabbath profanation to the vote of our citizens, introduced into the Senate last week by Mr. Ridgway, and which that persevering enemy of the Sabbath quiet of our city wished to have referred to a committee of the Philadelphia City Senators, was, referred without a division to the Committee of Vice and Immorality. This, of course, does not necessarily decide the fate of the bill; yet,

as the composition of that Committee is substantially the same as in the last session, and as the Senate was doubtless aware of its opposition to Sabbath profanation, as shown in its very able Report of last year, the indications are not favorable to the passage of the bill.

Mr. Donovan's bill to repeal the laws against Sunday travel, so far as to permit the street cars to run in our city, still slumbers in the House, awaiting perhaps the fate of the kindred measure of Senator Ridgway.

Prayers were offered in our city churches last Sabbath for divine guidance to the Legislature in their future action on the subject.

WASHINGTON LETTER.

The President began the week by hurling two vetoes at Congress, one of the Colorado bill, and the other of the Nebraska bill. The slight effect which his favorite style of message has upon this body, must soon convince him that Congress does not hang so near "the verge of a government," as he supposed. He objected to the requirements of equal suffrage, and argued the advantages of a territorial form of government. If this form of government be so advantageous, why can he not persuade himself to support Mr. Stevens' plan of placing the Southern States in possession of these Utopian benefits? President Johnson has now issued as many veto messages as all the presidents during the first sixty years of our government. This fact is, doubtless, the foundation of the remark that he writes a veto every morning before breakfast by way of diversion.

The prospects are, that Congress will materially reduce the burden of extraordinary taxation which now rests so heavily on the people. They do not concur in the notion expressed by the Secretary of the Treasury, that the national debt should be paid by the generation that incurs it. This generation need not fear the charge of shirking responsibility in asking those who come after to share in the payment of a debt incurred in saving for them a country and a free government. The resources of the nation increase each year. An ox for us will be but a calf for them to carry. This generation has paid the first instalment in blood. Let posterity, who will reap the rich results, have an opportunity of contributing something. Secretary McCulloch wishes the debt wiped out at once, so that it may not remain as "a reminder to the Southern people of humiliation and defeat." This is decidedly sentimental in a matter of such practical moment. This "wiping out reminders" is an impossible job, unless the pen be taken from the hand of history forever. Let the South help pay the debt which has been incurred on account of her rebellious conduct. If she pleads poverty now, grant her an extension until she is reconstructed.

The recent investigations in the Treasury Department developed no frauds of moment in the printing bureau, where they were supposed to exist, but one was unearthed in the Register's office, quite unexpectedly. As soon as suspicion was aroused, the guilty party absconded, and his whereabouts have not yet been ascertained. One hundred thousand dollars worth of seven-thirty bonds have thus far been missing.

The case of one Magruder is exciting considerable interest in the District, and, on account of the nature of the question involved, is likely to attract more or less attention throughout the country. He was formerly a resident of Washington, but, at the breaking out of the rebellion, joined the confederacy, and became a rebel colonel. He now applies for permission to practise before the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. He is unable to take the test oath, but the Supreme Court of the United States having declared, by a bare majority, that oath to be unconstitutional, he seeks to take advantage of that decision. The case has been argued before a full bench, but the court reserves its decision, which is awaited with a great deal of interest. Should they declare the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court to be binding, rather than advisory, scores of epauletted rebels will make the same application. The wisdom of Mr. Boutwell's bill, prohibiting any person guilty of treason, from practising in the United States courts, is already apparent.

We shall be glad to correct any errors detected by subscribers on the printed labels giving their names and state of their accounts.