The following are some extracts from the speech of Rev. Dr. H. A. Boardman, of this city, in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, recently held at St. Louis:-

Here, sir, on the first day of this question, there eame four brethren from the Presbytery of Louisville, and presented their credentials to your Committee on Commission—your Committee, not theirs. That Committee passed upon them, and found them regular. Their names were enrolled. They took their seats upon the floor by the same authority, Mr. Moderator, with which you and I sit here. There was no question, There was no question as to the accuracy, or regularity, or validity of this commission. The Presbytery of Louisville was a Presbytery in good standing, as much so as the Presbytery of Chillicothe, or the Presbytery of Miami, or as the Presbytery down in Jersey-I don't know which it is—who sent a brother here to move a previous question. That Presbytery was and is in as good standing as any of these. and these men are here by a right as clear and indisputable as we are—any of us—and what did you do? Well, sir, here is what you did:—

"Resolved, That a committee of seven be appointed, composed of four ministers and three elders, to examine into the facts connected with the alleged acts and proceedings of the Louisville Presbylery, and whether it is entitled to representation in the General Assembly, and to recommend what action, if any, the General Assembly should take with regard to this said Presbylery."

Well, sir, since the world began-since the institutions of Justinian were organized and established—was it ever heard that a set of men were put upon trial under an indictment like

'Alleged acts!" What are they? They are not stated here on this paper under which they are condemned. Certain things are referred to in debate: what has it to do with the action of this house? What explanation is there to be of that resolution as it goes down to your succes sors? I will not say that a diligent archæolo-gical student in some distant period of the Church may not be able to find out what the first ground of this proceeding was; but surely, sir, it was the equitable right of these brethren to be informed in the paper and resolution by which they were condemned, what they were condemned for; and if they were to be excluded from seats in the House, what they were to be

excluded for.

Sir, this Church is dear to me, and all its rights are dear to me, and in striking down these brethren they have struck at me and struck at you, sir, and every man on this floor, and every convenient method of defense. And, sir, rely upon it, it is not the mode of proce-dure which is recognized in the house of God: it is not the method of dealing with the highest and most sacred rights of Christian men and Christian ministers which is prescribed in that Constitution; it is an utter invasion of all those rights. You not only find no precedent for it in the history of the Church, but no precedents for it in the history of Christian jurisprudence,

Sir, did this General Assembly in 1837, when the minute was already prepared by the hand of that revered and illustrious man, Dr. Baxter, of Virginia (for he wrote it in my house)-a min ute which was to lay the foundation for the excluding of those four sinners-sir, did the excluding of those four sinners—sir, did the General Assembly introduce that minute or the committee who presented it, and say, "Moderator, I move the previous question?" And did the General Assembly sustain the previous question? And did the members of these four Synods get up and go out of the house, or were they allowed the amplest latitude of debate? When the General Assembly dissolved the three Presbyteries of Philadelphia which gave them. Presbyteries of Philadelphia which gave them so much trouble for many years, did they begin, sir, by excluding the members of those Presbyteries from the house; or did they give them plenary opportunity to say what reason they had why they should not be dissolved?

My brethren and fathers—I must say it—I

believe a mistaken judgment is embodied in the hasty action of this body on Friday last. And I say it was a woful thing for a great assembly, representing one of the greatest churches on this continent, or of the world—a Church which has gloried alike in holding forth the banner as well of civil as of religious liberty in all lands and wherever yonder sun circuits the earth-it is a woful thing that a General Assembly of this sort hand to a principle which to subv subvert all human rights and all human

these men must be heard; and you will not sleep quietly until they are heard. You may have four to one—yes, sir, and you may have four hundred to one, but, sir, you are on trial yourself-we are on trial; and thus far we have made but a very poor showing of it.

The sentiment has gone over the communityamong the men that have been faithful Union men during the war-that have poured out their money like water, and that have stood by the old flag with an inflexible fidelity-and among the men whose sympathies have been supposed to be in the other direction-the sentiment has gone forth through this community that you are proceeding beyond the principles of collight-ened Christian liberty, or of a government of law, or a Constitution of freedom, and upon the principles of despotism; and the reputation of the Church is concerned in it. We cannot afford that sort of thing; we cannot afford to have pleaded by politicians, who may have their schemes to accomplish and their purposes to achieve; we cannot afford to have the action of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church cited as a venerable precedent as giving sanc tion to these foul and oppressive measures. No sir, we must adhere to the great doctrine of human rights, to the principles of our Constitution and this great American Republic. I do not refer merely to our respected friends, our

fellow-citizens, I may say, for the time being, to the comparatively limited assembly which can crowd itself within these doors. We are on trial before the American people, and before all the Churches of all lands, before the whole civilized world. And I tell you, sir, that it this action goes forth unmodified, unrecalled, unredressed by what you are vet to do, it will turn out with you as it turned out in that memorable conflict between Rome and Carthage. "One more such victory will prove your defeat and

I tell you, sir, that the silence of these men who ut along here but the other day clothed with heir sacred right, that the silence—the enforced silence of these men—is a voice which will make itself heard throughout the whole

Sir, you have delegated these men with power of speech—with a mighty influence which they never could have exercised—a power which they never could have attained here had you surrendered this platform to them exclusively for a week together.

Let them do their worst, sir, they could not have done for themselves what you have done for them, by sending them forth branded men without the opportunity of making a defense. It has gone over this community, and if the people you are staying with do not delicately hint to you, it will be because their courtesy forbids it.

God has put that feeling in the human bosom—He has lodged is there in the deepest recesses of human nature—He has incorporated it. I might say, in almost every human heart—that sense of sympathy with the wronged, of compassion for the feeble. Why, Moderator, there is every day an example which might occur. Suppose you see a group of boys, and there is a quarrel among them, and baif a dozen of them have taken one poor scamp and tied his hands behind him, thrust a gag in his mouth, and are attempting to beat and to pummel him—what would you say? Suppose they told you he is would you say? Suppose they told you he is the greatest little rascal in the street; he has done all manner of wicked things, and is likely to do just as many more—what would you say sir? You would feel like shaking them, and i you had your official gavel in your hand, Mr. Moderator—if the little wretches did not desist Christian man that you are, and averse to controversy as you are—I almost fear you would strike the little scamps themselves upon the head, as I know you have hit a good many others on the head.

others on the head. (Merriment.)

Now, I tell you, sir, that is what you would have done. You have put these men in a post I they will inevitably tend, as we believe, to I

tion where every fair-minded man who looks at these matters in any other atmosphere than one which is beclouded as this is—one who looks at these things from a point where these conflicting and surging tides of prejudice and passion and remembered wrong, or apticipated evil, are not met in mighty conflict—you have put these men in a position where the heart of every man, and I am sure of every woman (in such circum-stances as these), will go forth in sympathy.

Now, Moderator, I say that these brethren are just as much entitled to be heard as any mem-ber on this floor is entitled to be heard, and if distinctions are to be made, they are more entitled to be heard before you finally dispose of this case then any man is to be heard either for or against them. It may be a question of life and death with them and their Presbyteries. Sir, by this vote you have for a time disfranchised one of the largest Presbyteries of the Church. I see by the minutes that Presbytery has thirty-three churches. You put them out of the house and entirely ignore them. We have a right to avail ourselves of the accumulated wisdom and experience and Christian fidelity of every Commissioner appointed to this body, in passing upon every one of the questions which are or may be acted upon. Sir, questions may come up here which the presence or absence of these form may be upon the presence or absence of these forms may not the presence or absence of these forms may not the presence or absence of these forms may not be the presence or absence of these forms are not the presence or absence of the presence or absence or absence of the presence or absence or absence of the presence or absence or absence or absence of the presence or absence o four men night decide—questions of funda-mental importance concerning the policy of the Church; respecting the Theological Seminaries of the Church; and respecting the future inte-rests of our blessed country. And so, therefore, you wrong not only them, but you wrong us all. You wrong our Presbyteries and Churches by excluding them from their seats. excluding them from their seats.

But, sir, in conclusion, no man can look upon this scene without feeling that our Church is reaching a crisis. The Church is in deep waters, and there are two policies that meet us. There is a fork in the road, brethren, and you must take one path or the other, and, under God, the whole future of our Church is bound up in the path which you take. On the one hand turre is the path of severity, and stern, unrelenting justice, and of holding every man accountable for every rash word he has uttered, and for every rash sentiment he has written and for every rash sentiment he has written and for every rash sentiment he has written, and for every disloyal—I refer to the Church—for every dis-loyal paragraph he has put for h in sermon or newspaper; you are to hold everyman accountable for what has gone forth from him in the season of conflict and excitement which has swept like hurricane over our land-which has filled it with graves and mourners; and you are to arraign every such man at your bar; you are to visit upon bim the full penalty of your jurisprudence for every such offense. But if you do it sir, your Church is divided. The Episcopa Church is gathering up its scattered fragments to unite them once more in blessed fraternity. The Methodist Church, North and South, are clasping their hands together over these lines of blocd, and saying one to another, we will not see it. Let us be brethern. Sir, it remains for this Assembly to decide what shall be the policy of our Church, not only for years to come-for a few years to come-but peradventure for very long period to come.

PROTEST.

The undersigned, for themselves and othersrespectfully protest against the entire proceedings of the General Assembly concerning the Louisville Presbytery and the signers of the 'Declaration and Testimony."

1. The summary exclusion from this house of the Commissioners of the Louisville Presbytery, under the operation of the previous question, without allowing them or their friends one word of defense or explanation, was, in our judgment, a usurpation of powers not belonging to the General Assembly, a gross invasion of the rights of the Presbytery, an act of oppression towards the Commissioners themselves, and a violation of those principles of justice and equity which every deliberative assembly, and especially a Court of Jesus Christ, is bound to hold inviolate. For a proper analysis of this procedure we refer to a protest of certain members of this body, to be found in the minutes of the 22d ult., and in most of the reasons for which the undersigned

We lay the utmost stress upon this point, be this business must be judged in the light of the fact that the Assembly was passing upon the conduct of men who, by its act, not their own, were not present to defend themselves. The allegation that the Assembly offered to hear them when a vector transfer in the second conduction of the second c them when a report was introduced proposing to visit upon them the severest penalties, can be of no avail; for in the resolution of expul-sion it was their Presbytery which was arraigned, and they could not properly return to their seats without consulting their Presbytery. Nor is it believed that there was a single member of the Assembly who expected plead at the bar of a court which bad opened their case by ejecting them from their seats unheard, and three days after voted down a resolution to readmit them to the seats until their cases should be disposed of.

2. Throughout the entire course of these proceedings, and pervading the elaborate argu-ments of the majority, it was maintained that this was a "judicial case," and that these brethren were "on trial" before the Assembly. Whereas the noterious fact is that they had never been array ned and tried: that neither in Presbytery nor Synod had there been any mention of formal charges, of citations, witnesses, or any of the steps essential under our Constitu-tion to a judicial process. The Form of Gov-ernment and the Digest show that it is not competent to a judicatory to take up a case judicially on "Review and Control." And this plea is further debarred by the fact that the records of the Presbytery of Louisville were not before the Assembly. As the General Assembly has no original jurisdiction in cases of offense, the proceeding, in so far as the case was treated judicially, was, in our judgment, irregular and unconstitutional.

3. The case was biassed by the action of a Convention called together to consider these very matters on the eve of the Assembly's meeting, and sitting, it was currently reported, with closed doors. The inflammatory memorial sent to the Assembly by this Convention (some of them members of the Assembly) discloses a state of mind on the part of the authors ill suited to calm and impartial deliberation upon such questions as were involved in this

4. The severity of the judgment visited upon these brothren was gready disproportioned to their offense. No one had charged them with heresy, or with immorality. The principles affirmed in their pamphlet are substantially the principles incorporated in our Confession of Faith and held by our whole Church. They be-lieved that General Assemblies had violated the principles, and especially that the Assembly of 1865 had undertaken to impose certain laws 1865 had undertaken to impose certain laws upon the Church in derogation of the plain provision of our Constitution. In this belief they are sustained by the Synods of New Jersey and Philadelphia, by several Presbyteries, and by numerous ministers and laymen of the Church. Their error lay in the measures by Church. Their error lay in the measures by which they sought to redress these evils. We do not justify them in these measures. We con-demn them. But we insist that they should have been allowed to plead their own cause without its being prejudged, as it was by their instant exclusion from their seats on the second day of our session. We insist that they second day of our session. We misst that they should have been allowed time to review their proceedings, and cancel (if so disposed) the offensive terms they had applied to the General Assemblies of the Church. We do not object to their being required to do this, and to suswer to their Presbyteries and Synods, and to the reyt Assembly as a what to the reyt as a second to the region of the re and to the next Assembly as to what they may have done in the premises; but we regard the spirit and terms of their exclusion from all the church judicatories (the Session excepted) until the next Assembly, and the contingent dissolu-tion of Presbyteries, as needlessly harsh mea-sures, pregnant with evil to the Church. And we tortily this conclusion by the fact, fully established in debate, and controverted by no one, that one of the Presbyteries now repre-sented in this house, and even one or more of the members of this very Assembly, had used language and performed acts quite as pregnant with rebellion towards the Assembly, without being subjected to the slightest censure.
5. We protest against these measures because

foment strife and alienation. needs repose. Reut asunder by the war, and ag tated with conflicting passions, it requires to be soothed and cemented and comforted. The final action of the Assembly, as connected with the previous measures and debates (for the whole must be taken together), can hardly fall to bring about another secession er separation, to divide congregations, to instigate lawsuits, to diffuse and prolong a bitter but hitherto local controversy, to create wide-apread dissatisfaction with the deliverances of the Assembly, and to alienate many of the best friends of our institutions. With one accord, our several Boards have appeared before us deploring the falling off in their receipts, and the decay of sympathy in their operations. We greatly fear that the measures against which we protest will aggravate these arills.

vate these evils. 6. We believe that the interests of the Church and of the country are identified. And thus believing, we protest against these proceedings as adapted to impair the capacity of the Church for its legitimate and beneficent work, and to increase and perpetuate the Jealousies and animo-

sities which still vex the land.

7. And finally, we protest against these ordinances because they are likely to defer, if not prevent, that Christian co-operation between the Presbyterian churches, North and South, which is so needful to the which is so needful to the evangelizing of our people, and especially to the religious instruction of four millions of freedmen, most of them now as sheep without a shepherd. In General Assembly at St. Louis, Mo., June

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