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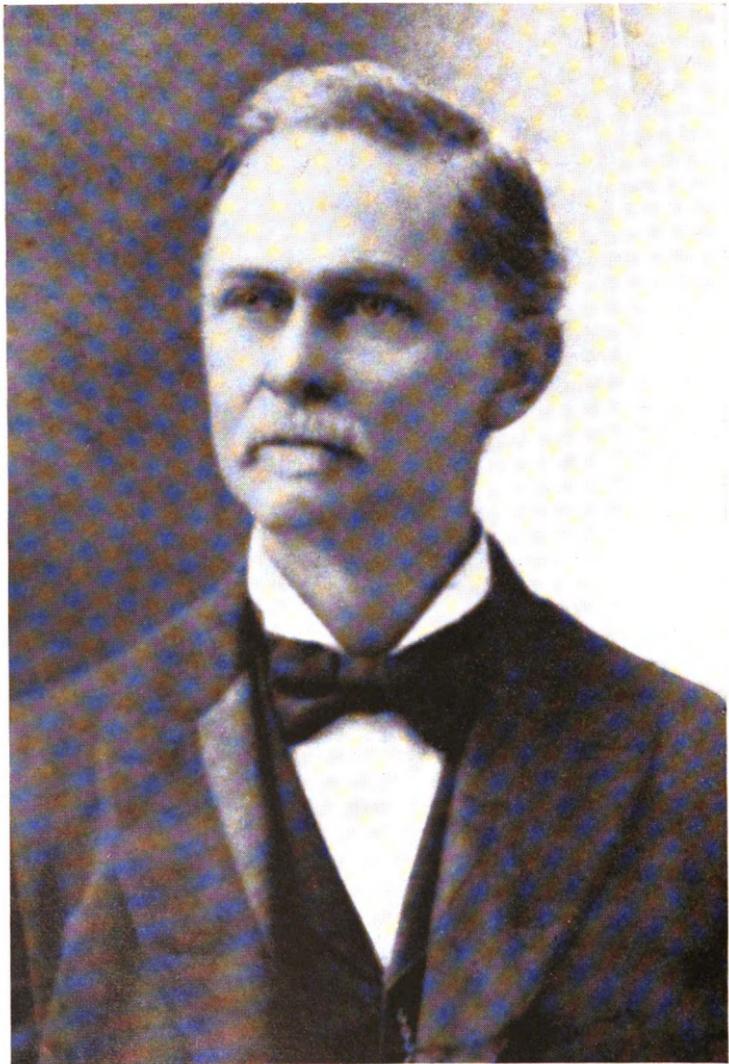
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Life and Thought of a Country Preacher

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The Rev. C. W. Grafton, D.D., LL.D.

LIFE AND THOUGHT
OF A
COUNTRY PREACHER

C. W. GRAFTON, D.D., LL.D.

By
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With Foreword by
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Professor of the History of American Christianity
The University of Chicago

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Richard S. Tedlow

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BY

REV. ALLEN CABANISS, PH.D.

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T*THIS work, undertaken in the name of the ever-blessed Trinity with the purpose of setting forth a true account of a phase in the long history of the holy church catholic, is dedicated to two persons whom I should like to honor: my mother, Frances Allen Cabaniss, and my friend, Paul Tudor Jones IV.*

Foreword

THE SUBJECT of this biography would doubtless have been greatly surprised had he been told while still alive that his career as a village minister was to be considered worthy of a full-length biography. I can well imagine that he would have protested such a distinction and would have said that there was little in his life that would warrant the attention of posterity. I can imagine him saying: "My life has been more or less a humdrum affair. I have tried to be a faithful minister all my days—living my whole life in this one little town; preaching in my pulpit each Sabbath; visiting among the people; praying at the bedside of the sick; comforting those who were sorrowing; mingling with my fellow ministers at the meetings of the presbytery and synod, and when my turn came sitting in the General Assembly. It is true that one year I was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly, which was doubtless an unusual honor for a country parson, but that is the only real distinction that ever came to me. What can there be in my quiet life worth putting into a book?" Yet it is such careers as that of Dr. Grafton's that make for the continuing life of the Christian church. The country, village, and small-town churches are the springs which feed the great Christian stream. Without them there could be no great city churches or distinguished pulpits.

In portraying the unassuming, quiet career of Dr. Grafton, the author has brought out those distinctive

elements in the life and work of the typical Presbyterian minister which have been handed on generation after generation, and which have given to Presbyterianism a distinction all its own: a well-educated and cultured ministry, thoroughly grounded in the essentials of Calvinism, but broad in sympathy and understanding, and appreciative of every force working for righteousness.

WILLIAM W. SWEET

Preface

WHAT I want to dispose of in this statement is my reason for writing this small book. Mortimer Adler, following Aristotle, tells us that the question *Why?* may be analyzed in this manner: What purpose does it serve? how did it come about? what sort of thing is it? and, of what materials is it composed? The reason I wrote these chapters may very well be explained by answering each of those questions in turn.

First, then, what purpose does it serve? The memory of man is lamentably short when he tries to “remember the days of old, [to] consider the years of many generations.” (Deuteronomy 32:7.) It has been said elsewhere that he forgets to ask his father, and when he consults his elders they give him conflicting reports. Thus, a record of the life of a man so influential in Southern Presbyterianism and in Mississippi should be available to readers. There is already growing up a “Grafton legend,” and so there is need of a fully documented account of his life and thought in order to get an authentic portrait of the old pastor. An incidental purpose is to make the public more aware of some of the little-known, but intensely interesting, features of Mississippi history.

How did it come about? There are several remarks that might be made here. There was my belief that the clergy in America should become more creatively scholarly, after the fashion, for instance, of the Scottish

and English parsons who seem to be able, in the midst of their parish duties, to carry on worth-while research. Furthermore, the impending dissolution of European culture turned me away from my primary interest in the Middle Ages to our own culture and civilization. Then, one must justify his claim to the Ph.D. degree, must he not? That is, he ought to prove that he can do some writing after the production of his thesis.

What sort of thing is it? It is an effort to put Dr. Grafton's life and thought in its context—in the background of the history of the state, church, and nation—in as objective a manner as possible. It is a study of such original materials as his sermons, letters, published writings, and one very valuable unpublished manuscript. Every important assertion in this booklet, therefore, relies upon some authoritative source. The arrangement is in four chapters: first, a sketch of the facts of his life and times; second, a study of his thought, as expressed in his sermons; third, a discussion and summary of his writings other than the sermons; and, fourth, an evaluation of Dr. Grafton's place in history, the forces producing him and his influence on the life about him.

Of what materials is it composed? This is partly answered in the paragraph above. About a thousand of his sermons—in full, or simply notes—were discovered by me while I was rummaging around among Dr. Grafton's possessions down in Union Church. His published writings are mainly the articles written for the now defunct organ of our synod. And, there is his seven hundred-page History of Presbyterianism in Mis-

issippi, which unfortunately never saw the light of day in print. The gathering of letters by Dr. Grafton was not so successful as I should have liked it to be. Either people do not save letters now or they do not care to lend them. Of course, it may be that I simply did not get in touch with the right people, though I doubt that, because my request was given wide notice by the co-operation of the editors of the *Christian Observer* and the *Jackson Daily News*. Then, there are countless conversations with those who knew Dr. Grafton personally. For the background I have made use of the recognized authors of Mississippiana.

My warmest thanks are due to Miss Susie Grafton and Mrs. J. L. Scott of Union Church, and Dr. Thomas B. Grafton of Vicksburg, children of Dr. Grafton, for their most generous assistance in every way; to Southwestern; the University of Mississippi; the Mississippi Department of Archives and History; the Columbia, Mississippi, Public Library; the War Department, Washington, D. C.; Professor P. S. Bowles, Alcorn; Mrs. D. R. Brock, Hattiesburg; Rev. J. N. Brown, Gulfport; Mrs. Proctor Cadwallader, Jackson; Mrs. S. C. Caldwell, Hazlehurst; Mrs. James Garrett, Sr., Crystal Springs; Mr. O. S. Gillis, Fayette; Rev. R. E. Hough, Jackson; the late Rev. J. B. Hutton, Jackson; Mrs. L. W. Johnson, Columbia; Mrs. W. M. Kent, Homer, Louisiana; Rev. H. V. Lofquist, Brookhaven; Mr. H. J. Perkins, Batesville; Professor W. C. Robinson, Decatur, Georgia; Rev. E. C. Scott, Dallas, Texas; Mrs. B. S. Sylverstein, Columbia; Rev. R. M. Buchanan, Liberty, for furnishing me books, papers, letters, scrapbooks, and

other relevant material; to Major Frederick Sullens and Rev. W. T. McElroy, for publicity; to Professors W. W. Sweet, University of Chicago; W. C. Robinson, Columbia Theological Seminary; and W. H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University, for reading the manuscript and making helpful suggestions; to my sister, Mrs. Frances C. Stephens, for preparing the manuscript for publication. Another person who deserves my thanks is Mr. J. D. Wise, Hazlehurst. It is needless to point out that none of these is responsible for any inaccuracies of fact or infelicities of style that may appear here. Acknowledgment of permissions to make the various quotations will be mentioned in the notes at the appropriate places.

A. C.

The Manse
Columbia, Mississippi
August, 1942

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CHAPTER I

His Life and Times

ON THURSDAY, August 2, 1934, the front page of the Jackson, Mississippi, *Daily News*¹ carried two pictures, the faces of men who had just died. One was Von Hindenburg, the last President of Germany's Weimar republic, who had died that morning. The banner headline was: "Hitler Czar as Hindenburg Dies." The other picture was of the Reverend C. W. Grafton, D.D., of Union Church, Mississippi, who had died the preceding night at 8:55 o'clock.

The next day there was an article with the headline, "Fear Grips Europe as Hitler Assumes Dictatorial Power." This same issue also carried the report of Dr. Grafton's funeral.

Who was this man whose death was of as much, if not more, interest to Mississippians as Hindenburg's, and whose funeral was considered of news value equal to Hitler's assumption of supreme authority in the German state? To answer this question it is necessary to go back almost a hundred years or more.

MISSISSIPPI BACKGROUND

In 1817—after a long preparatory period of enthralling history which includes the names of the explorer

¹ The figures occurring in the text of this chapter indicate notes at the end of the book. These notes are numbered to correspond with the figures in the chapter. The "Notes" for Chapter I begin on page 201.

Hernando de Soto, the missionary Père Marquette, and the trader Jolliet, the Sieur de la Salle, the brothers Iberville and Bienville, the "Casket girls," the Scottish adventurer John Law and his "Mississippi Bubble," the English governor George Johnstone, the Quaker surveyor Andrew Ellicott, Aaron Burr and Harmon Blennerhassett of conspiratorial fame, and "Old Hickory"—Mississippi achieved statehood. It would require many pages to relate the story of that important span of years, the story of the domination of the land by Spain, France, England, and the United States, and their sometimes conflicting claims to sovereignty, the story of battles with the Indian tribes, Mauvilla, White Apple, Pontotoc, Burnt Corn, Fort Mims, the Holy Ground, the story of the Mason-Harpe bandit gangs along the Natchez Trace, the story of the "Yazoo Fraud" and General James Wilkinson's cabals. One would have to tell the fascinating tale of James Gunn, the Virginia royalist who fled to northeast Mississippi to escape the Revolution and who to the end of his days toasted the king of England on his birthday. There would have to be an account of the early scientific interests of Sir William Dunbar, John James Audubon, James Hall. The incorporation of Jefferson College and the smuggling in of Mexican seed cotton would claim attention, as well as the beginnings of religion under the pioneer missionaries, Anthony Davion, Richard Curtis, Tobias Gibson, Lorenzo Dow, Adam Cloud, Samuel Swayze, Joseph Bullen. It will have to suffice simply to say that on December 10, 1817, the Congressional bill making Mississippi "one of the United States of America and

admitted in to the Union on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever" was signed by President James Monroe.²

In 1820 the population was 75,448. From this date onward for about ten or fifteen years, Mississippi was chiefly engaged in establishing its state government firmly and in securing Indian lands for the white settlers. By the treaties of Doak's Stand (October 18, 1820) and Dancing Rabbit Creek (September 15, 1830), the Choctaw nation ceded its territories to the United States and agreed to move to what is now Oklahoma, although "the descendants of the three thousand Choctaws of pure blood who refused to leave Mississippi still till the soil of their ancestors" in Neshoba County.³ By the treaty of Pontotoc Creek (October 20, 1852) with the Chickasaws, the state was rounded out geographically, and lay open for the vast expansion of the cotton economy.

Between the beginning of statehood and approximately 1832, there was an influx of peoples from the older sections of the new republic. It was a three-wave movement which, however, was not a chronological movement. The well-to-do came in and settled with their families and servants in the rich alluvial river country. Then the yeomen, independent farmers, who owned only a few servants or none at all, came from Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Kentucky, and Ten-

³ From *Mississippi: A Guide to the Magnolia State*, p. 59. Copyright, 1938, by Mississippi Advertising Commission. By permission of The Viking Press, Inc., New York. This work must also not be neglected in any understanding of the state. It will hereinafter be referred to briefly as *Miss. Guide*.

nessee. The third wave was made up of a numerically larger group, what Audubon called "the squatters of the Mississippi"; these took over the "piney woods" and hills of the state. The first class was, of course, the political ruling element. But "in spite of potentially divisive economic forces, the South was a social unit, and the unifying principle was an incipient feudalism."⁴ This statement was especially true of Mississippi.

NATIONAL BACKGROUND

The era just anterior to 1830 has been designated as that of nationalism, the period afterward to the War for Southern Independence, the era of sectionalism.⁵ This may be true to a certain extent, but sectional feeling was already rising on the national scene as early as 1821 with the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, which was essentially a North-South slavery issue. W. E. Woodward suggests that "one of the results of the compromise was to saturate the Southern states with a self-conscious and defiant sectionalism."⁶ The Tariff Act of 1828 was forcing the issue deeper and deeper, and caustic words were passing between Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun, so that by 1830 the country seemed already headed toward "the irrepressible conflict." This movement during the last twelve or fifteen years of the ante-bellum period may be called not sectionalism, but a developing Southern nationalism.

This was a turbulent period, called sometimes "the restless thirties and forties,"⁷ sometimes, "the booming and crashing thirties and the roaring and exploding forties,"⁸ and by an early writer about Alabama and

Mississippi, the "flush times."⁹ There was hectic speculation in government lands and increasing monetary inflation, which resulted in the panic of 1837, and in Mississippi in the famous "repudiation" of the Union Bank bonds in 1842.

By 1844 there was returning general prosperity. Dr. Dunbar Rowland summarizes this era in the state thus:

The decade from January 1838 to January 1848 was replete with action in the State of Mississippi. So varied and violent were its movements that it became evident that a great Commonwealth of complex elements and interests was in prospect of development on a larger scale. Educational institutions, such as the State Library, the State Teachers Association, and the University of Mississippi, were established, and charities supported by the Commonwealth, such as the Insane Hospital at Jackson, were created. The tendency of the public sentiment which resulted in the founding of institutions of this nature was generally pronounced to be in the right direction.¹⁰

Mississippians were taking important places in national affairs. On March 6, 1846, Robert J. Walker, of Natchez, was appointed United States Secretary of the Treasury by President James K. Polk. In the war with Mexico, which was very popular in the Southern States, Mississippians distinguished themselves, especially on February 25, 1847, when the Mississippi Rifles, under the command of Colonel Jefferson Davis, were a part of Zachary Taylor's forces which took Buena Vista. The formation that Davis used was one commended by the Duke of Wellington.

The easy victory of the Mexican War had given a tremendous impetus to "manifest destiny" and Ameri-

can imperialism. The Southerners were particularly interested. President Franklin Pierce in his inaugural address in 1853 made a reference to the desirability of securing possession of the Spanish-owned island of Cuba. Only three years before, Lopez, the leader of the Cubans fighting for independence, had visited Governor John A. Quitman of Mississippi, and asked him to take the leadership of the revolutionary forces. Quitman was enthusiastic, but conditions in the state did not seem at that time propitious. In June, 1850, he was arrested by Federal authorities for violation of United States neutrality laws and was caused to resign his office in February, 1851. In August, 1854, Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana, American minister to Spain, joined with James Buchanan and John Y. Mason, ministers respectively to England and France, in the "Ostend Manifesto" declaring that the United States must have Cuba by purchase or by force if necessary.¹¹ In 1854 and in 1858 Japan and China were opened to the western world.

On May 30, 1848, by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico acknowledged as American property Texas, New Mexico, and California. This and the discovery of gold in 1849 in California deepened the growing abyss between the North and the South and precipitated a vigorous renewal of agitation about slavery, though it must be remembered that many Southern leaders were not in favor of extending slave territory. In quick succession followed other factors in this debate, the Compromise Measures of 1850, the vicious propaganda power of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854), the

Dred Scott decision (1857), the Pottawatomie massacre (1856) and the raid on Harper's Ferry (1859), both led by the demented desperado John Brown. The resort to arms was not far distant.

NATIONAL RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

By the first of the nineteenth century, most of the great denominations in the American states had already severed their European connections and were organized on a national scale. In fact the Presbyterians, Quakers, Lutherans, Baptists, and Congregationalists had not been specifically tied to Old World organizations. They were now turning their attention to the all-important task of extension along the western frontier. In 1801, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists entered into a Plan of Union, so as to co-operate in this work. Numerous missionary societies were also being formed, notably the New York Missionary Society, which had as its object the evangelization of the southern Indians.¹²

For a while there was a great spirit of good will among the various Protestant communions, related apparently to the decline of sectional feeling during the first years under the Constitution, but it was not long before unfortunate divisions began to occur. This may have been due to the passing of the flow of national solidarity. It may have been due to the individualistic spirit of the frontiersmen. It may have been due to their unsettled situation, coupled with their lack of education. No doubt the frontier exercised a strong influence in that formative period, even upon the churches, but it is also true that this factor has been unduly stressed of

late.¹³ These divisions may as well have been due to internal struggles within the churches to keep the purity of essential Christianity. In any case, by 1803 (dating arbitrarily from the publication of "The Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery") the Disciples had come into being, in 1810 the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was organized, in 1850 the Methodist Protestant Church was formed, and in 1837 came the Old School-New School Presbyterian schism. Then came the tragic North-South splits, the Methodists and Baptists dividing over slavery in 1845, the New School Presbyterians on the same issue in 1857. The Old School Church remained united until after the war had begun and even then did not split over slavery, but on a constitutional-theological issue, the spirituality of the church.¹⁴

Meanwhile, strange new religions were springing up. In 1827 Joseph Smith claimed to have discovered the Book of Mormon near Palmyra, New York. William Miller set March 21, 1844, as the date for Christ's second advent. In 1847, the Fox sisters heard spirits rapping in their house. Many eminent people were being misled by these queer offshoots of the American frontier spirit.

MISSISSIPPI RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

Coming more closely to the subject of this book, one will find that Protestantism had come to Mississippi, the Baptists organizing in 1791, the Methodists in 1799, the Presbyterians in 1804—though the last built on the Congregational foundations laid by Samuel Swayze between 1772 and 1784.¹⁵

The Rev. Samuel Swayze of New York (1772), and the Rev. Jedediah Smith, of Massachusetts (1775), Congregationalists, were probably the first Protestant ministers to live within the present State of Mississippi, but their families and descendants went almost bodily into the Presbyterian Churches.¹⁶

The Reverend Joseph Bullen, of Vermont, had been sent about the turn of the nineteenth century by the New York Missionary Society with two deacons to the Chickasaws in northeast Mississippi near Pontotoc. He was a Presbyterian, though working under the Presbyterian-Congregationalist Plan of Union. He was often called a Congregationalist.¹⁷ Due to certain imprudent actions of the two deacons, the work among the Indians was a failure, so Bullen then went to the Natchez country about 1803. Three Presbyterian missionaries from the Synod of the Carolinas—William Montgomery, James Hall, and James Bowman—had already in 1800 spent about a year in and around Natchez trying to gather the Presbyterians together. But Bullen was more successful, and in 1804 established Bethel, the first regularly constituted Presbyterian church in Mississippi. The first presbytery was formed in 1817, under the Synod of Kentucky. In this early period there was a remarkable co-operation with other Protestant communions in Mississippi, of which one example was "The Religious Convention of Christian Denominations," held at Clear Creek, December 19, 1817, to concert efforts to improve the morals of the region. Joseph Bullen preached before this group on Ephesians 4:3.¹⁸

On January 9, 1861, Mississippi passed the ordinance

of secession, which declared that "the said State doth hereby resume all the rights, functions and powers which . . . were conveyed to the government of the said United States, and is absolved from all the obligations, restraints and duties incurred to the said Federal Union, and shall henceforth be a free, sovereign and independent State"¹⁹ and raised aloft the blue flag with its single white star of a new republic. The scene that day in Jackson so impressed Harry McCarthy, an Irish comedian filling an engagement there, that he "contributed to the new republic its battle song—the famous 'Bonnie Blue Flag'—in honor of the beautiful silk banner which had won his admiration that day."²⁰

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE

It was during this exciting period of American history—the Mexican War was just beginning, Albert Gallatin Brown had just been elected to his second term as governor, and James K. Polk had been in the presidential chair almost two years—that Cornelius Washington Grafton was born, December 21, 1846, Concord community in Madison County, Mississippi, the second of seven children born to George Washington and Rebecca (Patrick) Grafton. The other children were James Madison, Albert Newton, Laura, Henry, Samuel, Nellie, and Maggie.²¹ The little settlement was about twelve miles north of Canton, the county seat. The Concord Presbyterian Church was gathered together some time after the birth of C. W. Grafton. It was organized by the Reverend David Samuel Todd from the Synod of Kentucky. He was pastor there during

the years 1853-1856. About 1844-1846 R. B. Campbell became minister of the Camden church, and later came to the Concord church in the days of young Grafton's boyhood.²² According to his son Thomas B., Grafton's parents, of Presbyterian stock, had united with the Methodist church and remained in it until the Presbyterian church was organized there. It is therefore highly probable that young Cornelius was baptized in the Methodist church.²³ Throughout his life he was known to intimates as "Corny."

Grafton's paternal grandfather, Thomas G. Grafton, was one of four brothers who migrated to the Natchez country from South Carolina about 1800.²⁴ He fought in the War of 1812 with General Jackson, and was with him at the battle of New Orleans. Later he moved to Madison County, where his son George was engaged in farming, though many of his descendants and relatives continued to live near Natchez, one of his great-great-granddaughters, Katherine Grafton (Mrs. Balfour) Miller, being the originator of the now nationally known Natchez Pilgrimages. These Graftons were of sturdy Scottish origin, some of the type who came to Mississippi in the second wave of migration mentioned above,²⁵ "plain independent landholders who tilled their own farms,"²⁶ and who "adhered to their stern Presbyterian faith."²⁷

Madison County was one of the seats of early Mississippi culture. In the northeast corner of the county, twenty-five miles from Canton, was "Kirkwood," with its broad halls, large rooms, a conservatory, gardens, and wide lawns, the home of Colonel (later Governor)

William McWillie, a descendant of the Jacobite John McWillie, captured at Culloden. In October, 1845, accompanied by his family, servants, and a long train of wagons, carriages, and horses, he had come there from South Carolina. A New York architect was already there waiting for him, and the home was begun at once. However, at the instance of Mrs. McWillie a small Episcopal church was erected before the house was completed. Here many distinguished visitors were from time to time entertained in lavish fashion—governors, army officers, bishops. In 1850 Jefferson Davis was feted with a banquet at which were served only products from the plantation, except, of course, coffee and the spices.²⁸

South of Canton, near the village of Madison, was "Ingliside," the home of John Johnstone, a "Greek Revival adaption, with white stucco over brick, a red roof, and four large fluted columns upholding the portico."²⁹ After his death in 1848, his widow raised a finer house, "Annandale," a huge structure of French design planned by a New York architect and built with slave labor.³⁰ She also built a small Episcopal church, the Chapel of the Cross. It was completed in 1850 and consecrated in 1853.

The ivy-clad brick structure is Gothic in style with a lofty bell tower. Wills, an English architect, drew the plans of the chapel. . . The arched main entrance is placed unobtrusively on the side; it has double wooden doors fastened with an iron latch. The dim interior with its long narrow windows,

²⁹ *Miss. Guide*, p. 389. Used by permission.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 390. Used by permission.

arched wooden trusses, and stone floor is decorated with charm and simplicity. It has a stone baptismal font, and a carved altar of redwood decorated with gold leaf, both imported from Europe.⁸¹

There is a beautiful story associated with this tiny chapel and community about "the bride of Annandale."⁸²

Travel along the old Natchez Trace and the cultivation of cotton gave the county a good deal of wealth. From these few intimations, then, one may have an idea of the surroundings in which C. W. Grafton spent his childhood days, not, indeed, that he was directly associated with the people mentioned, but they do serve to set the tone of the society in the county. Dr. McLaughlin, who based his article on conversations with Grafton, his son, and his grandson, implied that the Grafton household at Concord was not well-to-do, but was nevertheless of substantial circumstances.⁸³

Grafton himself tells about the early cultural and intellectual influences surrounding his younger days:

The Bible with Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and stories in child's language of fine Bible characters; the life of Henry Martin and David Brainerd; Jonathan Edwards on Redemption; *The True Witness and Sentinel* which came to us every week, the matchless Shorter Catechism gave us all the reading that our young minds could take hold of.⁸⁴

He got his first schooling in Rankin County, near Brandon and Fannin.⁸⁵ He began the study of the Latin classics in 1856 at the age of ten, under D. G. Herron, a Kentuckian, the schoolmaster of Concord

⁸¹ *Ibid.* Used by permission.

schoolhouse.³⁶ Other teachers under whom he studied in those years were Robert J. Porterfield, Dr. J. M. Grafton, Hon. John I. Cooper, J. F. McMicken, Albert Barnes Newton, C. J. Massey, James McConnell. All were Presbyterians except one, and the last-named was a Presbyterian minister.³⁷ He was rushed into farm work at an early age.³⁸ His son says that one of the few experiences he ever told about his childhood was his first and only chew of tobacco, which he got from a slave.³⁹ His reputation for early piety was a family and neighborhood tradition.⁴⁰

ARMY SERVICE

“It was [from] this tranquil life that he was called to service in the Southern Confederacy.”⁴¹ Grafton was just fourteen years and four months old when the War for Southern Independence began with the fall of Fort Sumter and the invasion of Maryland. His father soon entered the Confederate army, then his older brother. The whole care of the household fell to his lot and that of his younger brother. Dr. McLaughlin states that one of Grafton’s most vivid memories was that of the siege of Vicksburg. “In May, 1863, he was hoeing corn in Madison County and in the distance heard the thunder of Grant’s guns as they pounded away upon the defenses of the city.”⁴² A year later, May, 1864, Grafton, seventeen years and five months old, enlisted at Canton, the county seat, and became a private of (Second) Company D, Wood’s Regiment Confederate Cavalry.⁴³ He served in General Wirt Adams’ brigade under the following other officers: Colonel Robert C. Wood, Jr.;

Joshua — 1911 January —

Joshua I: 1-2.

Moses my servant is dead: Rise Joshua, forward!

Moses was now a memory, Joshua a hope - (delete our deeds of Moses all now memories) - But Joshua must now go forward.

The year 1910 is now a memory: 1911 a hope - (delete our memories of 1910) - This is profitable - Indeed January is the month in which we look backward, and forward - The name is derived from the god Janus who had two faces, one looking forward the other backward - It is pleasant to look back. But we must not be content with looking back. Had Moses done so he would never have gone forward. Had Joshua done so he would never have led the people into Canaan. We must take time for reflection, but we must hear the call for action - Joshua did this and so did Moses before him.

The theme today is, Lessons from Joshua - The name Joshua is the Hebrew for Jesus - In Hebrew II:8 ^{see also Acts 7:45} we see indeed Joshua called Jesus - The letter J in the name is for Jehovah and the the name means "Jehovah saves" - This is like Jesus

A Page of Dr. Grafton's Sermon Manuscript

Major Stephen B. Cleveland; Captain J. S. Smythe; Lieutenants John Russell and J. W. Bond.⁴⁴ This corps was in Loring's division, and by 1864 was under Joseph E. Johnston, when he ordered the Army of the Mississippi under General Leonidas Polk to join him in Georgia, where the Mississippians were to assist in opposing Sherman's advance.⁴⁵ The day of June 27, 1864, found Loring's division occupying the crest of Kenesaw Mountain and repulsing the assaults of the enemy. They were also in the fighting around Atlanta. In November, under John B. Hood, they started on the campaign against Nashville. On November 30 many of them fell in the battle of Franklin. After the terrible experience of the siege of Nashville, they were ordered, late in January, 1865, to Mobile. After the evacuation of that city, they fell back to Meridian, Mississippi, and were surrendered by Lieutenant-General R. Taylor, May 4, 1865. They were paroled at Gainesville, Alabama, May 12th.⁴⁶ Grafton had been a soldier one year.

The last paragraph is only the bare outline of the movements of the troops with which Grafton was associated. In sermons which he preached years afterwards, he recalled details of the fearful struggle. "I once saw a man killed. It was on Canty's line of battle near Lost Mountain in Georgia."⁴⁷ Another sermon contains this note, which was evidently to remind him of a certain illustration: "Story of the wounded soldier I saw at Atlanta."⁴⁸ Another one mentions the destruction which accompanied the Federal invasion of his home state: "When the Federal Army passed through our State Capital it left its mark behind in the shape of vast piles

of rubbish and ruin and tall chimneys, the relics of a great conflagration.”⁴⁹

It is not likely that he took much part in the actual fighting. McLaughlin says: “He was slight in stature and became one of General Forrest’s troopers, assigned to bearing dispatches.”⁵⁰ However, on one occasion at least, he was in serious danger, and on this McLaughlin may again be quoted for he obtained this information from Grafton himself:

In his first action with the invading troops a charge was ordered against the enemy, who held their fire until the gray-jackets were swarming over a rail fence. As the lad reached the topmost rail a storm of bullets swept over the crest. Down he went, the grim attackers swept on to victory with ranks thinned out. At the first roll call there was no answer to the name of C. W. Grafton. A cousin stepped over to the lad’s father and said he saw him fall as he crossed the fence. But the father’s grief was quickly changed to joy by the arrival of his son, dishevelled and soiled but without a scratch. According to his version, the top rail had turned and spilled him on his head and when he came to himself the battle was over.⁵¹

There was another young Confederate, Newton Edward Walker, of Leake County, adjoining Madison County, who was of Grafton’s age and was for a time with him in the same division. In a newspaper article he has left an account of some of his army life. Inasmuch as his experiences were probably quite similar to Grafton’s, it will not be amiss at this point to cite a part of that article.

When I got through my war record at Jackson I began to be about seventeen years old and then became subject to

conscription by the Confederate government. I then joined Hill's cavalry company also made of Leake and Madison by Captain Hill who resigned on account of bad health and Dr. J. S. Smythe of our county became captain. My first camp life was at Montevallo, Alabama, where we drilled the cavalry for some time. Late one afternoon our captain got pressing orders to report to the general, Loring, some ninety miles away the next morning early. We got started out with Captain Smythe, a very nervous man, for our leader, and rode all night at half-speed over lime rocks and rough roads. We passed a farm house where there was a party and they were swinging the corner, singing "Honey Love, Me Turtle Dove." This was all I caught and that was enough to make me home-sick. We joined Johnston's army at Resaca, Georgia, where I got my initiation into real fighting though I did not myself. I with others of our company were made couriers for Maj.-Gen. W. W. Loring of Hood's corps and remained with him until he was wounded at Atlanta and sent home on furlough. Brig.-Gen. W. S. Featherston was placed in command of the division and we fell as couriers to him. While following him down our lines during a rapid firing from the enemy I had an arm broken and came home after being in a hospital twenty days at LaGrange, Georgia, on a sixty-day furlough. At the expiration of that time I was well enough to report back to the army just as it was crossing the Tennessee river on its fateful trip to Nashville.

General Loring ordered me to go forward and find out what cavalry that was engaging the enemy in his front. I went forward with a rush, just for appearance' sake—came to a dismal swamp and found dead horses and men behind trees on horses shooting. I asked a late officer whose command this was, and he said go back and tell General Loring it is Forrest and his cavalry. This was the first time I had seen General Forrest. The next time I saw him we were going into the fight at Franklin, Tennessee, with banners flying, drums beating and brass bands playing. General For-

rest rode up by the side of General Loring and said, "General, your division can take that place." General Loring said, "I hope so." The Federals had spent all the night of the 29th of November in digging fortification right close up to the town so we could not use artillery at all without shooting up the town. Here I was wounded again, though only slightly, by a piece of shell. Here was fought the most desperate battle of the war: seven thousand of twenty thousand engaged on our side were shot down in a very short time. The damage to the enemy I think was small for they were well protected; during the night they retreated to Nashville and there rested, fortified and recruited and then drove us pellmell over the Tennessee river again, badly disorganized and discouraged. . . .⁵²

UNIVERSITY CAREER

For about a year and a half after he had returned home from the war, Grafton studied to prepare himself for college, although the fall and winter of 1865-1866 he spent largely in hunting.⁵³ The studying he did chiefly at Concord. Dr. McLaughlin says: "Pine knots abounded and threw out the cheeriest light ever known. By such a light young Grafton . . . studied the classics."⁵⁴ By September, 1866, he was ready for the University of Mississippi at Oxford, generally known affectionately as "Ole Miss." Here he presented himself for the entrance examinations. He himself has described his matriculation there.

It is beautiful this day to remember his [Chancellor J. N. Waddell's] countenance. Said he, "Mr. Grafton, what class do you wish to enter?"

The answer was, "The Junior class."

"Where did you get ready for college?"

"At Concord schoolhouse under D. G. Herron, a Kentucky man."

"What Latin did you read?"

"The usual Latin reader, four books of Caesar, the *Bucolics*, *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* of Virgil, the orations of Cicero against Catiline, Sallust's history of Catiline and the Jugurthine war, Horace: his odes, epodes and satires, Livy's Roman history, Tacitus: his *Germania* and *Agricola*."

"You have had a fine teacher, Mr. Grafton, if you know anything about these. What Greek have you read?"

"Bullion's Greek grammar and Bullion's Greek reader, Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Memorabilia* of Socrates, and portions of Homer."

"Well, what mathematics did you study?"

"After the arithmetics we had Davies' *Elementary Algebra*, and *Geometry* by Bourdon and Legendre. In addition plane and spherical trigonometry."⁵⁵

After the appropriate examinations by the faculty, he was admitted to the junior class.⁵⁶

At "Ole Miss," Grafton made a brilliant record and was graduated Bachelor of Arts with highest honors in 1868. The first semester, 1866-1867, he took Latin, Greek, English, mathematics, and mental philosophy, and made the general average of 97.57; the second, beginning February 2, 1867, he took Latin, Greek, English, logic, and natural philosophy, with the general average of 97.8. The courses which he took the second term of his last year were not recorded.⁵⁷

His classmates there were destined to be outstanding men in the state and church. Eighteen of a class of twenty-four graduating had been Confederate soldiers. One was the Honorable Edward Mayes, later (1877-1891) to become the university's professor of law, and

for the years 1889-1892 its chancellor. He was the author of a *History of Education in Mississippi* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1899) and also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1890.⁵⁸ The fifth-honor man of the class was Charles Betts Galloway, later famous as a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the youngest man ever to receive that high office.⁵⁹

With T. L. Haman (later a Presbyterian minister), of the class of 1870, and W. Calvin Wells (later a Presbyterian elder), of the class of 1869, and others, Grafton formed a prayer circle. Galloway, at that time not a professing Christian, became an associate of this group, and by them was led to become an active churchman. Galloway's widow stated it thus:

My husband was converted at a students' prayermeeting, held in the room of his friend, Mr. Calvin Wells, at the University of Mississippi. He at once went to Canton and united with the Methodist Church at that place, his lifelong friend, Dr. Charles G. Andrews, being the pastor.⁶⁰

Grafton and Galloway were friends until the latter's death in 1909. In August, 1911, Grafton wrote a lengthy letter about the Methodist bishop, and because it indicates to a certain extent their kind of life at the university it is here repeated:

My acquaintance with Charles B. Galloway began at the State University, where I spent two years with him in college study. There was a large number of students present during those two years, some of whom had served in the Confederate army.

I suppose no body of students ever assembled at the State

University that were more sober and thoughtful than those who attended the first three or four years after the war.

Luke Wright, of Memphis, who has since attained national reputation, Captain Frank Pope, of the Confederate Army, Joseph A. Brown, a man of wonderful mind, Judge Edward Mayes, of Jackson, Mississippi, Judge Rogers, of Forth Smith, Arkansas, Hon. Wiley Nash, T. A. McWillie, R. N. Miller, R. H. Thompson, Judge Whitfield, D. K. McFarland, R. B. Fulton, and others who have been prominent in the civil and religious life of Mississippi were all students at that period.

Dr. John N. Waddel was chancellor. He was a born teacher and had suffered many perils and handicaps during the war. Brigadier-General Sears, a one-legged Confederate soldier, General Shoup, of Joe Johnston's staff, Dr. George Little, professor of Natural History, had all been soldiers in the army. Dr. Garland (later chancellor of Vanderbilt University), Dr. Burney, Professor Quinche, and Dr. Wheat were veteran educators. Dr. Hilgard was a wizard in the science of chemistry and L. Q. C. Lamar was teacher of mathematics and law.

Jefferson Davis was then at Fortress Monroe; Federal troops were garrisoned in our principal cities; the Reconstruction period had just begun; and Mississippi and the whole South were wrapped in mourning. In such a body of teachers and students, and under such circumstances, there was bound to be a deep undertone of the soberest thought.

The town of Oxford, with its four churches and good people, was proud of the University and imparted a fine social stimulus to the student body.

Amid these surroundings and from the men mentioned, our friend Galloway received his academic mold. He was a member of the class that graduated in 1868. Here is a list of names that for two years were called out in the class rooms at Oxford day by day. Their sound is like music and they have the odor of sweet ointment. There were several others

that belonged to the class, but for different reasons dropped away. The ones here mentioned went through together and received their diplomas from the venerable chancellor in June 1868: Abernathy, Brown, Cameron, Dodd, Farr, Galloway, Grafton, Guthrie, Hamblen, Hill, Hudson, Mayes, McFarland, McGowen, D. Montgomery, J. Montgomery, Neill, Patton, Rogers, Sutherland, Taylor, Waddel, Wilson, and Winston. With scarcely an exception all these were close, diligent students, and in the society of such men study was a delight.

Our friend, Charles B. Galloway, showed all the zeal and devotion of his classmates, but there was no crowning mark or badge of distinction that characterized our brother during those days.

Our college life flowed smoothly and evenly away. There was nothing notable in the career of a single student. We were like soldiers in the trenches. The hour had not come for the rushing charge. Patience, pluck, and perseverance were the qualities developed in the characters of the young men who were there in training for the future. Distinction lay in the long, steady, quiet pull, extending through the months and years of college life. There was indeed very little chance for great distinction in a class where men were so evenly matched. But Galloway was in the front rank of his class and went with his brethren all the way, through algebra, geometry, and conic sections, through Livy and Juvenal, Homer and Aeschylus, through the mysteries of chemistry and philosophy, and out into the glories of planets and stars.

We all recognized him as a most faithful student. When the class roll was called he always answered, "Here," and when recitations began he never said, "Unprepared." And I do not remember ever seeing him make a failure in the classroom.

In the Phi Sigma Literary Society he was always prominent, and never evaded a responsibility. The bent of his whole future life was set forth in his constant, unremitting

devotion to daily duties, his conscientious fulfillment of every obligation, his uniformly courteous behavior, his upright walk and conversation which prevailed throughout his entire college course.

He was captivating and winsome and always displayed the rare quality of good common sense and knew how to take advantage of his opportunities.

More than anyone I ever knew, he was able at all times to use his store of knowledge. He was first class socially, intellectually, and morally. In the students' prayermeetings, in the Sunday school and church service, he was prompt and ready to contribute his best. Full of ambition to excel in all things, it was certain that when the field was open for the full energies of manhood he would play the man's part.

Those college days are in the distant past, but memory binds them to the present with a blessed chain. A long procession of student forms and faces comes into view, many of whom have gone on to the better land and all of whom that now live are mellow with age and experience; but of all those noble young men, whose voices then rang out through hall and classroom, there were none who answered more promptly to the call of duty and none who looked forward with greater hope than Charles Betts Galloway.⁶¹

Grafton was a fraternity man, a member of Delta Psi, and as such had many pleasant associations which continued throughout his life. One of these brothers was Robert N. Miller, of Hazlehurst, an eminent lawyer, who was the district attorney for the years 1884-1890. Grafton's daughter, Mrs. J. L. Scott, said that for a while Grafton and others prepared their own meals because the university board was too high for them. Others began doing so, and forced the prices down.⁶²

But these school days were not halcyon days in the state.

The five years following the conclusion of the war placed Mississippi under provisional and military forms of government, the whole period of Reconstruction embracing ten years. They were ruinous readjustment experiments undertaken by the Federal government and propagated by political leaders of such diverse and varied beliefs that they ranged all the way from something akin to pity over the suffering South to implacable hatred. Most of the Southern leaders showed a determination to accept the results of the war. Others were in favor of establishing a State government on the basis of a free northern or western State; still others were inclined to accept its results as evils forced upon them by the hand of a tyrannical power.⁶³

The duly elected Confederate governor, Charles Clark, was removed from office May 22, 1865, and arrested. The following month William L. Sharkey was appointed provisional governor by President Johnson. An election was called and Benjamin G. Humphreys was chosen October 2, 1865, though not inaugurated until a year later. On December 14, 1865, the new government and revised constitution were approved by Johnson, and the state was apparently on the road toward readjustment. But the tide of bitterness was rising higher among the carpetbag and scalawag elements over the country. The infamous Reconstruction Acts were passed in February and March, 1867, the state's constitution was annulled by the national Congress in November, and Mississippi became no longer a state but a part of the Fourth Military District under the tyrannical Major-General E. O. C. Ord. In June, 1868, Humphreys was ejected by the military commander of the district, and Adalbert Ames was appointed gover-

nor. A new constitution was prepared by the radicals, but it was voted down by the people, July 14, 1868. After modifications it was ratified November 30, 1869, and in February, 1870, Mississippi was readmitted to the Federal Union. Along with ratification of the new constitution, James L. Alcorn was elected as governor. Alcorn was a Whig before the war, a Confederate officer during it, and afterward a Republican. In 1873 Ames was elected, and inaugurated January 22, 1874. He was always surrounded by troops and was especially objectionable to the people. During his term many riots occurred in Clinton, Vicksburg, and Meridian. During 1875 the white Democrats succeeded in what was really a revolution to restore constitutional government to the state. The legislature of 1876, the first since 1866 to be truly representative of the people, turned to the matter of impeaching the radicals and Negroes in what was the last Reconstruction government of Mississippi. On May 29 Ames resigned under impeachment charges. In November a solid Democratic delegation was sent to Congress, and the revolution was complete.

In 1870 the population of Mississippi was 827,922, of which 444,201 were Negroes. The population of the United States was 38,558,371.

BETWEEN COLLEGE AND SEMINARY

As recorded, the young twenty-one year old C. W. Grafton was graduated from his state university as first-honor man in his class. For two years now he was to teach school in Sardis. He had not as yet made up his mind to enter the ministry. One of those whom he was

preparing for university in Sardis was Samuel Craighhead Caldwell, later to be the beloved pastor of Hazlehurst for forty-two years, and at whose funeral Grafton would pronounce the eulogy. Caldwell once apparently had the idea of preparing a sketch regarding Grafton, but only one page of it was prepared. Here is part of the testimony of that contemporary:

I shall never forget the thrill of that occasion when my father announced that C. W. Grafton was to be our teacher. My father rode to Oxford to confer with Chancellor Waddel about securing a teacher from the Senior Class; Dr. Waddel introduced him to C. W. Grafton with the assurance that the young student could teach all the Latin, Greek, and mathematics needed in any preparatory school.

C. W. Grafton was graduated with distinction from the University of Mississippi, taking first honor, in 1869. He graduated at the head of the most famous class that has ever gone out from that great institution of learning. Members of the class have filled the highest positions in the learned professions. The pulpit, bar, bench, and schoolroom of Mississippi and other states have furnished fields in which several members of this class have won great laurels, and most signally distinguished themselves. Bishop Charles B. Galloway, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of whom every Mississippian is justly proud, was a member of that class, as was R. B. Fulton, later chancellor of the University.

When the time arrived for school to start at Sardis, Mississippi, I saw my father drive up to the front gate in his buggy with a young man who proved to be C. W. Grafton. He was tall and slender, wore a Prince Albert broad-cloth coat, a broad black hat, and boot with heels. He was clean shaven, his hair was long, black, and glossy. His manner was marked by great dignity and precision. He told one of

the boys that he was twenty-one years of age. He remarked that many of the students at Oxford were aspiring to the legal profession, but that he would prefer to go to Europe and study with a view to a college professorship or to study for the ministry. At all events, he would teach school for a few years and have time to think about his life work.

From that day our association was most intimate: friends, members of the same fraternity, co-laborers, co-presbyters.⁶⁴

[Note the two slight errors in this account: Grafton's class was 1868, not 1869; and Fulton was of the class of 1869. Caldwell himself finished "Ole Miss" in 1872.]

While in Sardis he met and fell in love with his future bride, Miss Sue Webb Doak, the youngest daughter of Daniel G. and Rebecca (Patillo) Doak. Her father was a Presbyterian minister, a descendant of the Princeton-trained Samuel Doak, who, licensed to preach by Hanover Presbytery in 1777, became the apostle of Presbyterianism in Tennessee, "the stern, hard, God-fearing man" who, so Theodore Roosevelt said, "became a most powerful influence for good throughout the whole formative period of the Southwest."⁶⁵

SEMINARY WORK

By the fall of 1870 Grafton had made up his mind definitely to become a Presbyterian minister, and entered the Theological Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina. With him went two other friends from the University of Mississippi, Thomas L. Haman and Daniel K. McFarland. The professors during this period were George Howe, D.D., LL.D., professor of Biblical Literature (1831-1883); Aaron Whitney Leland, D.D., pro-

fessor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology (1856-1871); John B. Adger, D.D., professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Polity (1857-1874); James Woodrow, Ph.D., M.D., D.D., LL.D., Perkins Professor of Natural Science in Connexion with Revelation (1861-1887), an uncle of Woodrow Wilson; William S. Plummer, D.D., LL.D., professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology (1867-1875, later professor of Pastoral, Casuistic, and Historical Theology, 1875-1880); Joseph R. Wilson, D.D., professor of Pastoral and Evangelistic Theology and Sacred Rhetoric (1870-1874), the father of Woodrow Wilson.⁶⁶ Other future outstanding ministers who were Grafton's associates in seminary were Charles R. Hemphill, class of 1874, later president of the Louisville, Kentucky, Presbyterian Theological Seminary for many years, and Albert B. Curry, class of 1875, long the beloved pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Memphis.

Columbia Theological Seminary influenced Grafton's life and thought very deeply and lastingly. And well it might, for it had had an enviable history as a Southern institution. It was here that James Henley Thornwell, of blessed memory, ruled, under God, the fortunes of the "Southern Zion" and elaborated with fine Aristotelian precision its high ecclesiology. It was here that Benjamin Morgan Palmer, who was the first moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America (now, "in the United States"), studied and later taught. Probably none of its other seminaries has been quite so important in the life of the Southern Presbyterian Church.⁶⁷

Though outdistanced in numbers by the Methodist and Baptists, Presbyterianism was surprisingly influential in the Old South, and indeed continues to be so. This may have been due in part to an attempt of Southerners to defend their mode of life against increasing Northern criticism. After the war, because of the intolerable burden of the Reconstruction, the South felt it necessary to draw more closely to the God of Calvinism, just as the captive Hebrews in Babylon similarly depended for vindication upon the mighty God of their lurid apocalypses. In the present day it is apparently the feeling of the ruling classes that everyone is set in his appointed station by the will of God and it would be sinful to rebel against the *status quo*. This, at any rate, is the interesting interpretation advanced by W. J. Cash in his brilliant study, *The Mind of the South*.⁶⁸

If Cash's view is correct, a further assertion can be made—that this dominant influence was due largely to Thornwell and in a lesser degree to Palmer, whose ideas molded the Southern Presbyterian Church.⁶⁹ The former unfortunately died in 1862, but the latter lived into the twentieth century, a powerful and beloved citizen of New Orleans. It would be going too far afield here to set forth in adequate detail the effect which these two men had in the life and thought of the South.⁷⁰

In the congenial surroundings of the seminary, C. W. Grafton, now twenty-four years old, began to learn how to be a minister, both from the academic and theological point of view and also from the practical.⁷¹ During the summer after his first year there he was sent out as a student preacher in the district of Chesterfield,

South Carolina. This included two churches, Pisgah and Rocky Creek. There is extant a small stack of the outlines of his various sermons and prayer-meeting talks made during this summer. One is headed, "Embryo sermon—First appearance in the pulpit," based on Romans 13:11, and was delivered at the Pisgah Church on May 21, 1871.⁷² It was evidently a successful experience, for he recorded thirty-three admissions to the membership of the Pisgah Church. By now he was probably also engaged to Miss Doak, as is suggested by certain resolutions which he drew up in August.⁷³

That fall he returned for his second year of seminary work. The same autumn the Presbytery of Central Mississippi, under whose care Grafton was, assigned his trial "parts," as follows: Latin thesis, *De Divinitate Christi*; critical exercise, Romans 9:1-5; popular lecture, Philippians 1:1-8; sermon, I Corinthians 3:11. These he prepared in January, 1872, and submitted in written form to his presbytery. At its spring meeting, or perhaps at an adjourned or called meeting a little later, he appeared before it and was accordingly licensed.

The summer of 1872 he supplied the pulpit in Union Church, which was to become his official charge after seminary. He was clearly a popular young preacher: he preached in those months not only at Union Church and its affiliate parish of Bensalem, but at Brookhaven, Yazoo City, Sardis (where he was probably visiting his fiancée), and his home church of Concord. This popularity continued and was extended in his later ministry. During this summer he received into the church six people by profession, one by certificate.

Back in seminary for his senior year, he did a great amount of preaching at surrounding churches, Winnsboro, Glebe Street Church in Charleston, Congaree, Barhamville, Ladson Chapel in Columbia, Sumter, Mayesville. There is also one note about preaching in a Columbia factory, which probably indicates that he and the other students carried on to a certain degree mission work in the seminary city. He had to do practice preaching before the seminary and have it criticized by his homiletics instructor. On the manuscript of one sermon so preached, he wrote these words: "Condemned by Plumer. The cause of a heated argument between me and my brethren."⁷⁴ He also preached before the missionary society of the seminary. Sometime during his seminary days he was a groomsman at the wedding of Woodrow Wilson's sister to Professor George Howe's son.

MARRIAGE

In the early spring of 1873, he was graduated Bachelor of Divinity, and made his way back to his home, preaching at the Park Avenue Church, Memphis, May 11, 1873.⁷⁵ On May 18, in Sardis, he was married to Miss Sue Doak. In his home church of Concord, he preached May 25, and, having already received a call for his pastoral services,⁷⁶ went on to Union Church, carrying with him his letter of dismissal from the Presbytery of Central Mississippi to that of Mississippi. Nearly two months later, July 27, he was ordained and installed as pastor of Union Church and Bensalem. The Rev. Joseph B. Stratton, D.D., of Natchez, was the presiding presby-

ter at the service and made the ordaining prayer. The Rev. W. Burgess delivered the charge to the new pastor.⁷⁷

UNION CHURCH BACKGROUND

It will be necessary to describe Union Church and summarize its history up to this point. It is a very small village in the heart of what is called "the Scotch settlement" in the eastern end of Jefferson County—

"far out in the country, twenty-five miles from Brookhaven . . . twenty-one miles from Fayette the county seat . . . forty-five miles from Natchez, twenty-eight miles from Port Gibson, thirty-two from Hazlehurst, twenty from Meadville"—

as Grafton himself has said.⁷⁸

"It is indeed so far from the railroad, and the roads in the winter have been so very bad,—the mud being sometimes knee-deep and rivers and creeks being impassable,—that people in the towns and cities would never think of turning their faces toward Union Church."⁷⁹

As late as 1930, the town had grown very little, so that a native could describe it modestly thus:

"We have three general mercantile stores, two lunch stands, one cotton gin, one cream station, a branch of the Brookhaven Creamery which takes care of all our surplus cream. Also a good doctor who looks after the sick. Our postoffice has three rural routes."⁸⁰

The roads are just now being improved and it is only in the last few years that electric lights have reached the village. There are still no telephones there. Yet J. B. Cain, the Methodist historian, says that the history of

Union Church is "perhaps the most noted of any such village in the state."⁸¹

The section received its designation "the Scotch settlement" from the fact that it was settled by a group of immigrant Presbyterian families from the Highlands of Scotland. This name is no longer used now by the Presbyterians, but has passed to the Methodists who call their group of churches out there "The Scotland Circuit."⁸² The Scots had come first to North Carolina before the American Revolution, then migrated to this place in 1806.⁸³ They continued to speak their old national language for a long time, and as late as Grafton's pastorate there were extant in the village a Gaelic Psalter and Shorter Catechism.⁸⁴ The old records of Union Church contain such clearly Scottish names as McArn, McArthur, McBride, McCall, McCallum, McCormick, McDonald, McLaurin, McLean, McMillan, McPherson, Buie, Cato, Cameron, Currie, Galbreath, Gilchrist, Patterson, Smylie, Torrey, Wilkinson, and others.⁸⁵

In 1811 Rev. Jacob Rickhow was invited by some of the men to visit this settlement. He had been a New York Methodist minister ordained by Bishop Francis Asbury, but because of his belief in the final perseverance of the saints he applied for admission into and was received by the Presbytery of New Brunswick in 1808. After this he had come to the Natchez country as a missionary. In the Scotch settlement Rickhow gathered together a group of worshipers who were formally constituted as Union Church, March 2, 1817, by the Rev. Joseph Bullen.⁸⁶ This was the eighth Presbyterian

church in the Southwest, and the first to be organized by the Presbytery of Mississippi, which had just been erected by the Synod of Kentucky, March 6, 1816.⁸⁷ There were twenty-six charter members of the new church.⁸⁸ The village grew up around the church.

Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that the early settlers of Mississippi received their blood from Scotland and the north of Ireland by way of the southern seaboard states, but, so it would seem, their religion from England by way of New England and New York.⁸⁹

The first pastor of Union Church was William Montgomery, called "Father" Montgomery. He was born in 1768 in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and came with his father to North Carolina about the time of the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. With James Hall, another Pennsylvanian, and James H. Bowman, he had been sent to the Natchez country by the Synod of the Carolinas.⁹⁰ At the end of the tour the missionaries returned and reported to Synod. Later Montgomery came back to Mississippi and was one of the original members of the new presbytery; for the years 1820-1848 he was the pastor of Union Church. He was a man of culture and leisure, possessing a number of slaves and living in patriarchal style.

The second American awakening⁹¹ had its belated echo in Union Church during the early years of "Father" Montgomery's ministry. "This was the period of camp-meetings, when people would assemble from far and wide, camp out for ten or twelve days and hear the gospel from the best men of the church."⁹²

Montgomery was followed by Angus McCallum, who was pastor for six years. There were then a few months when Thomas H. McCallum supplied the pulpit. The next regular pastor was John H. Smylie, a New Englander, for six years; then Thomas H. Cleland for three years. One of "Father" Montgomery's sons, Samuel, succeeded Cleland and was the installed minister for six years. Between Samuel Montgomery and C. W. Grafton there was no pastor of Union Church, though Joseph Weeks was the stated supply for three months.⁹³

Union Church has had three buildings. The last one was erected in 1852.⁹⁴ Bensalem Church, a daughter church, was formed in 1854.

This church with its heritage from John Calvin believed in discipline. There are records of the elders' summoning men to be reprimanded for drunkenness or for violating the Sabbath, or even for heresy. Grafton related one such incident.

In reading over the old records the young preacher was startled to see how a certain member was arraigned before the session on the charge of the "Arian heresy." How could even the name "Arianism" have reached these country people? But here it was in black and white and the case was solemnly adjudicated by these stern old Scotch elders.⁹⁵

The first company that left Jefferson County to fight for Southern rights was the "Charley Clarke Rifles," one hundred and five men from Union Church and the surrounding territory. This group of patriots became Company A, Twelfth Regiment, Mississippi Infantry, Confederate States Army. The day of their departure

for the war they received a silken banner of the Confederacy from Miss Flora Buie.⁹⁶ That banner hangs today on the walls of the Department of Archives and History, Jackson, and though it is in tatters, one may still read on its red and white bars, "Presented by the [L]adies of [Union C] hurch & [Communit] y to the Charley Clarke Rifles," and around its eight stars on their field of blue, "Success to the Brave."

The village had its taste of the war a few months before the siege of Vicksburg. General Grierson was laying waste central and southwestern Mississippi in order to divert the attention of the Confederates from Grant's plan to land his troops below Vicksburg. Marching toward Natchez, he was halted at Union Church, April 28, 1862, where three companies of Colonel Wirt Adams' cavalry engaged him in a skirmish. This was for the time being a decisive check of the raid.⁹⁷

BEGINNING OF PASTORATE

It was to this historic community that Grafton, now nearing his twenty-seventh year, and his young bride came in the dark days of the carpetbag regime. He has mentioned this as a "season of darkness" in his pastorate.

During the early part of this pastorate, we were living in what was known as the "Reconstruction period." As a result of political agitation the negro race was for awhile dominant. It was a moral certainty, however, that this state of things would not be tolerated long. But it was embarrassing for the preacher to take his place as adviser during those distressing days.⁹⁸

He had now entered upon his long stretch of service to God, the church, and mankind. This has been described, probably as well as it can ever be described, in his *A Forty-Three Year Pastorate in a Country Church*,⁹⁹ and it is upon that pamphlet that this account is largely based. His preaching will be dealt with at length in a later chapter and need not detain here,¹⁰⁰ except to note that his sermons were lengthy. "Our people would be astonished to see their preacher stop at twenty-five or thirty minutes. Forty minutes is standard length, sometimes fifty, sometimes an hour."¹⁰¹ One of his former parishioners says that he "held his congregation for over one hour not counting announcements, song and prayer."¹⁰²

The territory over which he had to travel on pastoral calls was about four hundred square miles. A number of families could not be visited oftener than once a year due to distances and bad roads, but these calls were all-day affairs when they did occur. Furthermore, a more or less regular schedule was worked out. These visits drew him very close to his parishioners and were deeply spiritual meetings of prayer and Scripture reading.¹⁰³ On September 10, of his first year in Union Church, Grafton had his session divide the congregation so that each elder supervised a "parish."¹⁰⁴ The session book records the elders reporting and dealing with neglect in infant baptisms and family prayer and such disciplinary cases as drunkenness and unlawful marriages.

Grafton began to work almost immediately as an active presbyter. The fall of his first year in Union Church

there was a meeting in Hazlehurst of the Synod of Mississippi, which at that time included Louisiana also.

Dr. Palmer preached at least one time in the Hazelhurst [*sic*] church. I was present and heard him. It was on a Sunday night, November 2, 1873, the last sermon at a precious meeting of the Synod of Mississippi. The text of the sermon was Gal. 3:26. The subject was Adoption; Dr. Bartlett was with him in the pulpit. Mr. Trawick was pastor. Dr. Markham preached the opening sermon of the Synod. Rev. A. H. Barkley was moderator. The meeting lasted from October 29 to November 2, and some fine sermons were preached during the week by Dr. Hunter, Dr. Forman, Dr. Lyon and some of the others, making nine sermons in all.¹⁰⁵

A growing family and a rather heavy amount of pastoral work did not prevent Grafton from continuing scholarly activity. There are extant notebooks containing an exegesis of I Peter,¹⁰⁶ of Romans,¹⁰⁷ and of Hebrews.¹⁰⁸ Later he turned to compiling the local history of the community and the church. These writings will be given more adequate treatment in a later chapter.¹⁰⁹

In November, 1878, he was elected moderator of the Presbytery of Mississippi, meeting in Hazlehurst.

CHILDREN

Children had begun to arrive in the Grafton household, Henry Doak in 1874, Nellie in 1875, Mary in 1877, Thomas in 1878, Carrie in 1879, Susie in 1880, and Maggie in 1881 or 1882.¹¹⁰ Carrie and Maggie died in infancy.¹¹¹

SCHOOLMASTER

In 1883, feeling the need for a larger school in the village, he resolutely added the duty of teacher to that of pastor. There had, of course, been a school of a sort there before he began his project, but it had been unsatisfactory. "There was little to attract good teachers and the schools were taught by wanderers who came and vanished after a few months of inadequate pay."¹¹² Grafton secured an old storehouse, and rooms were added from time to time until there were seven recitation rooms. About four hundred children were trained here through a period of ten years. At the end of that time, in 1894, the school had gotten so large that the minister had definitely to choose between the pulpit and the schoolroom; he turned it over to the county to become the Jefferson County Agricultural High School. The staple of the teaching was Latin, Greek, mathematics, and English, although such items as spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, physiology, and civil government were taught in the intermediate grades.¹¹³ The day began and ended with religious devotions. Discipline was strict, but the children were urged to do their schoolwork for the glory of God. It was by means of the schoolroom that Grafton's fame really passed beyond the tiny village of his pastorate, for the students went forth to serve society in all walks of life. One became a major-general in the United States Army, others ministers, physicians, businessmen, and schoolmen.¹¹⁴ Wherever they went they told the people of their saintly minister-teacher. This accounts

for the fact that there is hardly a community in Mississippi where the name of C .W. Grafton is not known and loved. "His ten years in the classroom added immeasurably to his influence . . ." ¹¹⁵

He received no great amount of money from the school. At the time of its greatest prosperity and popularity under him, he got only ten dollars a month. The stipend from the parish was meager, only about six hundred dollars, of which, of course, the tithe was returned to the church. But life was apparently not too hard: the manse was free of rent, neighbors gave meats, a small garden supplied vegetables, water came from the well and cistern. Grafton believed implicitly that the Lord would provide, Jehovah-jireh. "In that far-away Jefferson county congregation his faith glowed with a light men could see in distant places." ¹¹⁶

SECOND MARRIAGE

On June 18, 1885, he received a tragic blow: the wife of his youth died, and he was left with five orphan children to whom he had now to be both father and mother. This task he performed for six years, until he married Miss Kate Wharton, of Port Gibson, who was then teaching in Fayette. She was a forceful, intellectual woman, who was ultimately responsible for the organization of the Women's Auxiliary of the Presbytery of Mississippi (commonly called the presbyterial). Interested in religion, she held certain distinctive ideas, such as faith-healing and Premillenarianism.

It was not long after this second marriage that his two older children, Henry Doak and Nellie, developed

tuberculosis. They died in 1895, causing more grief in the pastor's life, but he continued as usual to put his trust in God, never faltering although often downcast by the burden of sorrow.

HIS READING

The following lines from a letter of Grafton's son, Thomas B., throw a revealing light around this period of his life:

His library was varied, though limited, as is true of all ministers, by his purse. It was a constant surprise to find some of the latest books beside the volumes of Sir Walter Scott and Matthew Henry. His favorite book was, of course, the Bible, especially the Pauline epistles, and more particularly the epistle to the Romans, which was always read into fragments.

He read all the magazines of which he could get hold. A prize fight was to him the last thing in human degradation and sin, yet because of its fascination, he would read the description of one round by round!

I cannot say what place music had in his life, but I do know that every day began and ended with song. His favorite tunes were the old, majestic, and oftentimes mournful, Scotch hymns. Though they might be doleful and depressing, he enjoyed them. When we grew up and demanded hymns with more cheer and joy and hope he yielded, but in his heart he preferred the funeral dirge.

With his uncompromising stand on original sin and total depravity, he coupled a refusal to believe evil of anyone he knew and liked. He hated, loathed Arminian doctrines, but attended every Methodist service he could, sat in the Amen corner, and always took part. To my childish queries as to how he could participate in worship with those churches whose doctrines he abhorred, he replied that Methodists prayed Calvinistically!¹¹⁷

From other sources it is known that the favorite book outside of Scripture was Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and his favorite hymn was "Amazing Grace" to the old tune "McIntosh."¹¹⁸

BEGINNING OF RECOGNITION

By the spring of 1895, in his forty-seventh year, Grafton's name had become well-known in Mississippi and elsewhere. This was due to the scattering of his former students over the country. It was also due to his faithfulness in his pastoral services and to an increasing extensiveness of preaching engagements. From this time onward his life was to be one of growing recognition. An evidence of that came in this year when the Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tennessee (now Southwestern at Memphis), conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. Somewhat earlier he had been called to the professorship of theology in his seminary at Columbia, South Carolina. There came to him also offers of the presidency of the two largest educational institutions in the state, as well as of the Southwestern Presbyterian University.¹¹⁹ Moreover, there came calls to larger and more remunerative congregations throughout the nation.¹²⁰ All these flattering offers Dr. Grafton declined. He never felt that God had summoned him to leave Union Church and decided to remain with his first love, where he had already been for twenty-two years.

Dr. Grafton has often had many inducements offered him to change his field of ministerial activity, but has turned down all offers, saying he wants to live and die among the people

whom he has served so long. He is perfectly satisfied to remain at Union Church though he could have filled pulpits at New Orleans, Memphis, Nashville, Atlanta, and other cities. He holds to the old and true idea, that a man's best asset is his friends.¹²¹

When he was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly, a newspaper carried this statement:

During the thirty-four [*sic!* Really forty-three] years that he has served this little county church he has refused many calls to larger churches, some of them in the large cities of the country, and has also been offered chairs in colleges and universities.¹²²

In 1896 he was made moderator of Synod.

COMPARISON WITH BISHOP GALLOWAY

In regard to Dr. Grafton's choice, he may be profitably compared with Bishop Charles B. Galloway, his "Ole Miss" classmate and lifelong friend, more than with anyone else. Galloway moved rapidly upward to larger churches in the state. He was editor for a while of the New Orleans *Christian Advocate*, delegate to various world Methodist conferences, leader in the cause of prohibition in the state, elected bishop when only thirty-six years of age, the youngest ever so designated in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, author of five books.¹²³ Bishop Galloway became known far and wide as a brilliant orator and a political influence. Dr. Grafton's life was much quieter and more tranquil. He did not travel much, took no part in politics true to his Southern Presbyterian polity, was not known outside the South. Both were influential in their own ways:

each was typical of his own communion in the manner of exerting his influence. Who can say, or need to say, which was the greater?

THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

The turn of the century was important in the world and in the nation, with the death of Queen Victoria, the Spanish-American War, the Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War. News of these happenings naturally reached down to the village of Union Church and were mentioned in Dr. Grafton's sermons, as will be noted later.¹²⁴ A new generation was growing up and taking its place in Mississippi. A new era had begun. Dr. Grafton epitomized this a few years later by saying that "the congregation upon which he now looks Sabbath after Sabbath consists very largely of the grandchildren of that old set of men and women."¹²⁵

His only remaining son, Thomas Buie, was graduated in 1901 from Southwestern Presbyterian University. After his seminary work, in 1904 he was ordained in Union Church as an evangelist and went to China as a missionary,¹²⁶ where he remained over a quarter of a century. He has only recently retired from the pastorate of the church in Vicksburg. The matter of the education of this son is an example of Dr. Grafton's un-failing belief that God would take care of His own. He stated it thus:

. . . the question of education would have loomed up as a dark shadow if we had allowed it to do so. . . The question however caused no anxiety. . . And the richest promises of

God were fulfilled. . . When the time came a kind friend from Clarksville, Miss Addie Wilson, visited our home and was impressed with our only remaining boy. She invited him to come to their home at Clarksville, and the question of his education was settled.¹²⁷

By this time Dr. Grafton was having to pay the full penalty of his long pastorate. No one could get married in Jefferson or the surrounding counties without having him present to solemnize the service; no one could be buried without Dr. Grafton as the officiating minister. This would be true regardless of the Christian communion to which the interested persons belonged. He had become the shepherd and bishop of innumerable souls; and as illustrated by his letters his pastoral contact extended far beyond his physical presence.¹²⁸

COMPARISON WITH JOHN F. OBERLIN

His fame as a country minister was now becoming so well known that a few years later it would result in his election as moderator of the General Assembly. Dr. Henry W. McLaughlin, the Director of Country Church and Sunday School Extension, in the General Assembly's Executive Committee of Religious Education and Publication, has said: "No doubt he had the spirit of John Frederic Oberlin, who was for fifty-three years a country preacher in the Vosges Mountains in Alsatia."¹²⁹ This statement, however, is doubtless due to McLaughlin's well-known enthusiasm for Oberlin. Dr. Grafton had not many points in common with the Alsatian pastor. Perhaps the only thing in common was their building of schools and teaching in them. But of

the latter's political interest and activity, Dr. Grafton had none, being thus loyal to his communion. He also had none of his spirit of co-operation with the Roman Catholic Church. This may have been due to the fact that there was no Roman parish near at hand, but was also due to his doctrinal objection to that church.¹³⁰

COMPARISON WITH GEORGE B. GILBERT

There is another comparison that it might seem necessary to make. A book, *Forty Years a Country Preacher*, by a Connecticut Episcopal minister, George B. Gilbert, has been recently published.¹³¹ It recites that story of the parson's activities in a New England village, kindly deeds that needed to be done, such as barbering, plumbing, running errands, and so forth, for underprivileged parishioners. Certainly Dr. Grafton did none of these, and rather than a comparison between these two pastors, a contrast would probably be more in order. A very good review of the book has these critical remarks:

Nowhere does he seem to be saving eternal souls. He is more interested in saving kitchen steps for weary housewives by installing water pumps, or in saving a party by disciplining a rowdy, or saving a building with a painting bee. . . The intellectual appeal of the book would have been strengthened by an occasional thoughtful passage on the deeper, mystical questions of religion. We have had the lives of sundry country doctors [physicians] and at least one country lawyer, and we will doubtless soon have the inside stories of country storekeepers, mail carriers, undertakers, midwives and handymen. Here was a chance for the preacher to rise above his rival professions instead of showing that he combines them all.¹³²

Dr. Grafton would have been the person to have written the book suggested by the reviewer.

Dr. Grafton was no controversialist. Though he held a definite theological position and believed it to be true, he was charitable to those who differed from him. It is nevertheless obvious from some sermons of this period that he felt a divisive influence coming into the quiet community of Union Church. To this point the village had been predominantly Presbyterian and Methodist; now the Baptists were debating the question of the mode and the recipients of the sacrament of baptism. Mrs. Scott, his daughter, said that once a young Baptist preacher came to the old minister and tried to argue the issue, but Dr. Grafton kindly declined.¹³³ The young man then told that Dr. Grafton could not answer him. When asked why he did not see fit to give an answer, Dr. Grafton told his friends that he did not care to disturb the young preacher's faith. For all his gentleness, however, he did preach some sermons setting forth the Scriptural position. There are two homilies dated August, 1915—"Baptism: Design and Mode, Ps. 51:7" and "Baptism: Infant Church Membership, Rom. 3:1."

During these latter days there is evidence that he was developing an ever-increasing respect for the Roman Catholic Church, due perhaps to a greater knowledge of the medieval church. It may be doubted now whether he would have gone so far as to call it an apostate organization, as he would have in his earlier ministry. He now called the Holy Communion the Eucharist, commended ejaculatory prayer, made references to great saints, spoke on the guardianship of angels, de-

scribed with apparent approval the exercises of the Flagellants of the fourteenth century. All this hardly means complete approval of Rome, but simply appreciation. In his unpublished History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi, he paid a high tribute to the work of the intrepid Roman missionaries in the early days of the territory.¹³⁴ The significance of this attitude is an increasing mellowness as he grew older.

In 1911 the Presbyterian Church, U. S., celebrated its fifty years of separate existence. The Presbytery of Mississippi, at its meeting in Crystal Springs, April 11-13, recognized the semicentennial of the Southern General Assembly by hearing three important addresses: "The Need of Evangelistic Missions in the Southwest," by Dr. S. C. Caldwell, Hazlehurst; "Her Foreign Mission Spirit and Extension," by Dr. J. J. Chisolm, Natchez; and "Heritage and Testimony of the Southern Presbyterian Church," by Dr. Grafton.¹³⁵ The last address was chiefly historical, though the last two sections are entitled, respectively, "Our Testimony" and "Our Responsibility." It is a brief but able statement of Southern Presbyterianism, reflecting the writings of James Henley Thornwell. In June, 1914, Dr. Grafton was on the faculty of Synod's Training School at Belhaven College, Jackson, along with other luminaries of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.

FURTHER RECOGNITION

At its commencement in 1915, "Ole Miss," his Alma Mater, made Dr. Grafton a Doctor of Laws along with two other eminent men of the State, the Honorable

Alf H. Stone and Professor Franklin L. Riley. The time had now come, also, for him to receive the highest recognition that can be conferred within Presbyterianism; and in May, 1916, he was elected moderator of the General Assembly, meeting in Orlando, Florida. His election was by acclamation, the first time such action had ever been taken in the Southern Presbyterian Church.¹³⁶

The next year, on April 29, he preached the baccalaureate sermon for the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, and on May 17 he attended the meeting of the General Assembly, Birmingham. It was then that as retiring moderator he delivered the now well-known lecture, "A Forty-Three Year Pastorate in a Country Church," which is so valuable in any study of his life.

THE WORLD WAR PERIOD

By this time the United States had entered the World War. On Thursday morning, August 23, he made an address—"The Story of Union Church"—at a commemoration of his church's centennial.¹³⁷ In the course of this he referred to the war, which he called "a great cataclysm," as indeed it was. Apparently against the rabid "Hun-haters," Dr. Grafton said that he regretted that every state in the Union did not have a thousand Arthur Schaefers. Schaefer was a German who had come to Union Church in 1868 and returned to his country in 1910. While in the village he had served the little church faithfully as a deacon. This simple statement shows how Dr. Grafton refused to be

swept off his feet into the movement against everything German. In the same issue of the *Fayette Chronicle* which carried the account of this address, one will find samples of attitudes widely divergent from his fair and thoughtful one.

As noted below,¹³⁸ there are no extant sermons of this World War period, April, 1916—September, 1918. Union Church was as upset as any other Mississippi town. The grandsons of the men who fought under the Stars and Bars for Southern rights were fighting under the Stars and Stripes for the American and democratic way of life. Dr. Grafton's life seems not to have been greatly affected by the European upheaval.

He was now the patriarch, not only of his community, but also of the presbytery, the synod, indeed of the whole state, and was highly respected by all, both white and colored. An editorial was later to say of him:

No man ever spoke from a great cathedral with more ringing zeal. His voice carried far beyond the limits of his congregation. It held attention because it rang with a simple faith and a deep affection that drew men to him.¹³⁹

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

In 1923, July 19-20, when he had been in Union Church fifty years, there was a celebration, the program including speeches by distinguished visitors, dinner on the grounds, and four services each day. Out in that tiny Jefferson County community there is still a silver loving cup which bears this inscription: "Presented to Reverend C. W. Grafton by Union Church Congregation in celebration of 50th anniversary as

Pastor 1873-1923." Three years later his former pupils gathered out there on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, which was also near Christmas, and had a Christmas tree for him. Beforehand they made up a purse of approximately four hundred dollars. After the sermon Mr. Luther Sexton of Hazlehurst stepped forward and presented him with the money. Donations for this purpose had come in from almost every state in the Union. Dr. Grafton knew nothing about this until the moment of the presentation and was taken by surprise.¹⁴⁰

THE HISTORY

At its meeting in Hattiesburg in 1924, the Synod of Mississippi received notice through the Rev. P. W. McClintock of Laurel that the Eastman Memorial Foundation had offered to publish a history of the synod if that body would compile the material. A committee representing the five constituent presbyteries was appointed: Professor A. L. Bondurant, North Mississippi; Mr. J. F. Frierson, East Mississippi; Dr. W. H. McIntosh, Meridian; Dr. J. B. Hutton, Central Mississippi; and Dr. Grafton, Mississippi. The last-named was made chairman and Dr. Hutton secretary. The gathering of information and pictures from far and wide was begun immediately. An attempt was made to secure the services of the Dr. Thomas Cary Johnson, then Professor of Systematic Theology, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, for the writing, but it failed, and the task devolved upon Dr. Grafton,¹⁴¹ and constituted a recognition of his knowledge of and interest in the

local history of Mississippi and its religion. For about three years he worked at this, with the assistance of others, and by February, 1927, the manuscript was in final typed form. Dr. Grafton gave it the title, *History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi*, for it included more than just the history of the Synod. For some reason, however, the Eastman Memorial Foundation found itself no longer able or willing to finance publication, and it remains today in manuscript form out in Union Church. A discussion of its content and style will be presented later.¹⁴²

LAST DAYS AND DEATH

On May 28, 1930, one of his dearest friends died, the Rev. S. C. Caldwell, D.D., of Hazlehurst. The next day he made the address at the funeral service. Dr. Caldwell was very near to Dr. Grafton and a lifelong associate. As noted above,¹⁴³ Dr. Grafton had prepared him for college. They had been co-presbyters since 1888, when Dr. Caldwell came to Hazlehurst. He was probably the last of Dr. Grafton's old friends to die.

That summer Dr. Henry W. McLaughlin visited Dr. Grafton. The result of that interview was a valuable paper in the *Union Seminary Review*, April, 1931, entitled, "The Grand Old Man of Mississippi."¹⁴⁴ The article was based on information from Grafton himself, his son, Thomas, his grandson, Thomas, and his friend Dr. Hutton, and is therefore reliable. It has been used extensively in the preparation of this chapter. There is an incident related by Dr. McLaughlin that may appropriately be repeated here, inasmuch as it came to the

writer of this chapter independently.¹⁴⁵ Dr. Grafton and Dr. Hutton, being directors of the Columbia Theological Seminary, often made the trip to Atlanta together. Dr. Grafton on each trip made himself acquainted with all the people in the Pullman, learning their names, homes, and many other details about them. Once, as it began to get late, he suggested that they have a sort of family devotion, such as that to which he was accustomed out "under the beeches," and proceeded to read a passage of Scripture and lead in prayer. The Negro porter happened to come in while this was going on and was deeply impressed, telling Dr. Hutton, after Dr. Grafton had gone to the men's room, "I've been on this train seventeen years and that's the first time that's ever happened." Some years later Dr. Hutton was waiting between trains in Meridian, when he was approached by a Negro who asked, "Where's the old doctor?" It was the porter inquiring about Dr. Grafton. Dr. Hutton's remark about this occurrence was, "Only Dr. Grafton could do that and get away with it."

During his last years Dr. Grafton became so feeble that some of his parishioners built a railing about the pulpit so that he would not fall from it. When Dr. McLaughlin visited him he had not used spectacles for more than twenty years, his hearing was unimpaired, and none of his teeth were faulty,¹⁴⁶ remarkable for a man of his age. He continued to work on his sermons and his mind remained alert. One bit of mental gymnastic which he took was to unroll a scroll containing the pictures of all the Confederate generals and call the names of each one.¹⁴⁷ It was not until the summer of

1930 that he applied for a Confederate pension. His application is dated August 30.¹⁴⁸ His need of the additional money may have been due to the depression.

He was not at all well the spring of 1934 and was becoming weaker. The church and his friends over the state became apprehensive. Their fears were well founded. He died at his home Wednesday night at 8:55 o'clock, August 1, being in his eighty-eighth year and having served Union Church for sixty-one years as the installed pastor and one summer as student supply.

The next afternoon the funeral service was attended by a huge concourse of friends, parishioners, and pupils from all over Mississippi. In the crowd were twenty-five ministers. The Rev. V. L. Currie, Fayette, and Dr. G. D. Booth, Natchez, conducted the rites in the church. Dr. Hutton pronounced the eulogy, and prayer was offered by the aged Rev. B. F. Jones, a Methodist minister from Brookhaven who had been associated with Dr. Grafton in Union Church in earlier days. At the grave the final prayers were said by the Rev. R. L. Campbell, Macon, and the Rev. F. L. McCue, Centreville. After the committal the ministers sang "Blest Be the Tie That Binds," one of Dr. Grafton's favorite hymns and the traditional one with which meetings of the Presbytery of Mississippi are closed.¹⁴⁹ The following morning the *Daily Clarion-Ledger*, Jackson, carried as its first editorial one with this heading, "Mississippi's Greatest Minister Goes to His Reward."¹⁵⁰ An era in the history of Mississippi and her religion had come to its close.

CHAPTER II

His Sermons

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

OUT IN Union Church there are extant in manuscript form nine hundred and seventy-five of Dr. Grafton's sermons, some in outline only, but the majority of them rather full. In sixty-two years, preaching twice a week, one would deliver something over six thousand sermons. Thus these manuscripts represent approximately one sixth of his pulpit utterances. Furthermore, since they range in date from his earliest sermons of seminary days down to 1928, they constitute a fairly accurate and adequate source for the determination of his thought and style. Four hundred and seventy-nine of them are of the nineteenth century, while four hundred seven are of the twentieth. Eighty-nine are undated. There are certain lacunae: for instance, for the period between August, 1884, and July, 1894, there is only one sermon, that of September, 1885. These were the years in which his first wife died, his second marriage occurred, and he was conducting the school. There are also no sermons from April, 1916, to September, 1918, the days in which Union Church was upset and disturbed over the American participation in the first World War. Moreover, there are no sermons after September 18, 1928, that is, from his eighty-second year on, when he was probably repeating a great deal. Most of

these manuscripts are handwritten, though a few near the end are typed. The earlier ones are in the beautiful old Spencerian flowing style; the later ones more spidery and less regular, though still quite legible.

Colonel J. W. Kennedy, the president of Chamberlain-Hunt Academy, Port Gibson, Mississippi, is authority for the statement that Dr. Grafton kept most of his sermons arranged on the shelves of his study according to the book of the Bible from which the text was taken.¹ This is confirmed in a general way by Dr. McLaughlin, who, quoting one of Dr. Grafton's grandsons, says: "Here [in the study] are shelves of sermons of six decades, written out in outline, and treatises arranged in chronological sequence."² Colonel Kennedy also said that most of them were in the stack based on the epistle to the Hebrews.

The earlier sermons are written out completely. The later ones, while still rather full, make use of devices to suggest that at certain points the preacher would extemporize or elaborate. The word "dilate" in parentheses frequently occurs at the end of sentences, and often at the end of the sermon is the phrase "*close ad libitum.*" Only a few of the nine hundred seventy-five extant manuscript sermons are just bare outlines: they are mainly prayer meeting talks.

Mrs. J. L. Scott of Union Church, one of Dr. Grafton's daughters, said that he wrote his sermons after preaching them, not before.³ This is also clear from the

¹ The figures occurring in the text of this chapter indicate notes at the end of the book. These notes are numbered to correspond with the figures in the chapter. The "Notes" for Chapter II begin on page 207.

concluding sentence of the notes on John 1:6, delivered in January, 1905: "This sermon on John the Baptist was preached but not *immediately* (italics mine) transcribed; hence the meagreness above—" In his later years his daughter often typed the sermons at his dictation; she says that she was always glad when he used the word "dilate"! This writing of the sermon after the preaching of it will also account for some occasional parenthetical remarks in the manuscripts regarding the reaction of the congregation. In a sermon of January, 1919, occurs this statement: "All then who . . . promise to do all within your power to uphold the law rise to your feet. (The whole congregation arose, then prayer.)"

Every sermon is of a strongly theological and exegetical turn, as befitting a conservative Presbyterian. To the very last there are frequent quotations from Latin authors and the Greek New Testament. This habit was characteristic of the products of the old South and the period immediately following the War for Southern Independence. The active life of those days almost forbade the development of creative literature, but the leaders were more versed in classical literature than is common today. It is said of the famous Mississippi Indian chieftain, Greenwood LeFlore, that when he was a member of the state legislature, in order to show his annoyance at the use of Latin quotations by the white men in that body, he rose and solemnly delivered a speech wholly in the Choctaw language.⁴

Dr. Grafton preached regularly on the great doctrines of the faith—election, reprobation, the covenant of works, total depravity, the atonement, the priesthood

of Christ. Approximately once a year he preached on the Second Advent. In a sermon on I Corinthians 2:14, delivered at Union Church, August, 1874, he said:

I saw not long since an article in a leading newspaper in which it was stated that a Presbyterian minister nowadays would not dare to preach one of those old doctrines, for instance, human inability, lest he should lose popularity and position. And I thought if our ministers were ashamed of God's truth they had better leave the pulpit and quit preaching forever. This doctrine of man's inability I accept as true and expect to preach it while life lasts holding up helpless man by the side of a Saviour able to save to the uttermost.

He was true to his expectation, and in the course of his long pastorate his congregation should have become quite familiar with the Calvinistic system of thought. This he confirms in his moderatorial address before General Assembly:

These are sometimes called the dry bones of theology, but our people have not found it so. These doctrines go to the very bottom of human nature and set forth God in His beauty and glory, and country people love these great truths, and it would do you good to hear them discuss these great themes.⁵

His preaching was therefore primarily doctrinal, but, as he said, "Along with the doctrinal, following Paul's example, we have had the practical."⁶ On December 28, 1902, he said from the pulpit, "Your pastor's two great themes have been the Ruling Eldership and the Abrahamic Covenant, and duties, *etc.*, growing out of them." In May, 1903, he said, "For thirty years I have been preaching on parental duties. Should I preach

thirty years longer, family religion will be a prominent topic for all those years, and then in heaven the fruit.”

However, with all the intellectual character of these sermons, they all have in them the warm fervor of deep piety, and they conclude with what the new Methodist Hymnal calls “the invitation to Christian discipleship.” Thus it may be said that they are also evangelistic, although Dr. Grafton did not like “revivals” as such. A sermon on Mark 4:26ff., which he preached at Union Church, September, 1876, was a vigorous denunciation of the “extraordinary means” as against the ordinary. He says:

The Bible history of the Church embraces a period of four thousand years and it is very significant that the Spirit records only two or three great revivals in all that time. Modern “revivalists,” so called, are always pointing us to Pentecost, and some churches think that nothing is going on unless we are continually in Pentecost, but the Holy Spirit speaks with special emphasis of the *daily* additions to the Church.

. . . Such a church [one that goes quietly on its way] is entitled to expect the Lord’s blessing and will without fail receive it. Such a church will prove a happy church, ever rejoicing in the conversion of its sons and daughters, a *real living* power in the world.

In a discussion of the religious instinct as natural to man, he says: “Criticize, if deemed appropriate just here, the phrase ‘getting religion.’”⁷ This attitude he continued throughout his ministry, as is proven by this quotation from the moderatorial sermon:

On account of the perfect regularity of the preaching services and the pure gospel, which we claim without any

hesitation has permeated them all, we have never felt the need of so-called evangelistic services. We do not discount these indeed, but we have never felt their need. . . Once or twice in forty-three years we have had services lasting five or six days, which was regarded as remarkable.

Almost every extant sermon has a reference in it to the great Emperor of the French. It is strange that this stalwart prince of the Church in the tiny village of Union Church should have had such an admiration for the "Little Corporal"; but Napoleon serves many illustrative purposes. Dr. Grafton's concern for the military figure and military heroism was not limited to Napoleon. In a sermon on II Kings 22:1, 2, dated 1905, he began: "I yield to none in admiration of the brave soldier (Quintus Curtius or the Japanese in the far east dilate) . . ." He had, of course, been a Confederate soldier.

There is also an interest in monarchs and monarchy, and above all a devotion to the British Empire. On January 11, 1874, he calls Great Britain, "the greatest nation on earth." In December, 1883, preaching on Colossians 3:17, he illustrates a point by a reference to a British consul:

In his person he represents the intelligence, refinement, aristocracy, wealth, power, and glory of the English people. Whatever he does, he does in the name of the government of Great Britain. What an honor is this to stand as representative of so great a sovereign, of so great a nation!

There is a later statement regarding the large families of Union Church: "Would not Queen Victoria, the model mother of Great Britain, have smiled on these

descendants of the ancient highlanders?"⁸ This admiration for England may be typical of the old-style Southerners. In November, 1860, when the Georgia legislature was discussing secession, Alexander H. Stephens, later to become vice-president of the Confederacy, was pleading for the state to remain in the Union and fight for the Constitution: "If our hopes are to be blasted, if the Republic is to go down, let us be found to the last standing on the deck—with the Constitution waving over our heads. . . This government of our fathers, with all its defects, comes nearer the objects of all good government than any other on the face of the earth." At this point, Robert Toombs, one of those calling for secession and first Secretary of State in the Confederate Cabinet, interjected, "England!"⁹

"The Song of Songs which is Solomon's," attracted Dr. Grafton homiletically, as it did the *Doctor Mellifluus*, St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). Like the great medieval preacher also, Dr. Grafton took the allegorical interpretation of this book. In a sermon of 1909, entitled appropriately "Longings for Love," and based on Canticles 1:1-6, he says:

Solomon wrote a thousand songs. This alone is extant and is called the Song of Songs. There are two methods of interpretation. (a) One holds it to be a dramatic poem to set forth the beauties of monogamy and condemn polygamy. A maid of Israel is captured in her "garden of nuts," carried to Solomon's palace where the king tries to win her, but fails because she loves a shepherd whom she calls "my beloved." (b) The other holds the Song to have been written to set forth the spiritual relation between Christ and his people. We adopt this view.

St. Bernard wrote eighty-six homiles on this book, Dr. Grafton not quite so many. Incidentally, the abbot of Clairvaux also wrote his sermons after preaching them; and this, as noted above,¹⁰ was the habit of the Mississippian. It might sometime be profitable to compare these two men in greater detail, for they were similar in many respects, though the latter was not the mystic the former was.

Another point to be mentioned about Dr. Grafton's sermons is his use of homely village references. It should be noted, however, that these are not so numerous as one would have expected, or indeed as one would have desired, but there are some, chiefly in rebuke. There were charges against the congregation for illiberality in contributing to the causes of the church;¹¹ for lack of heartiness in singing;¹² for the low grade of the Sunday school;¹³ for poor attendance;¹⁴ for failure to profit from "protracted meetings";¹⁵ for Sabbath-breaking;¹⁶ for contentions among neighbors;¹⁷ for what he calls forgetfulness of their "first love."¹⁸ One undated sermon on Psalm 78:11 has this outburst, "Oh, Union Church, will you meet the expectations formed of you? Fail not!" But there is more definitely illustrative material, as in these two statements, one from a sermon on Luke 24:49, January, 1916, "The sound of a tornado is awe-inspiring (Illustrate by two storms, i.e., the Beaugard storm and the Union Church storm)"; the other from a sermon on David's sin, II Samuel 12:7, 13, January, 1919, "Two oaks once stood at the Manse gates at Union Church. Lightning struck one. Ever since we have known the other might also be struck."

After this preliminary treatment of Dr. Grafton's sermons, it now becomes necessary to look at them more closely.

HIS THEOLOGY

Dr. Grafton's theology was in the main, as has been noted, orthodox Calvinism and typically Southern Presbyterian. Throughout his life this remained unaltered in all essentials. In only one detail is there an apparent change and that may be quickly disposed of in a few sentences. In January 11, 1874, in Union Church, and the following Sunday in Bensalem, he preached on "The Duty of Giving," from the text Ecclesiastes 11:1. In that sermon he was rather severe with his congregations for their seeming lack of interest in the Church's causes, as exhibited by their small contributions. But he declined to insist on the tithe as a means of solving the problem:

By the Levitical law the Jewish Church under the old dispensation was assessed one-tenth. But the law of the New Testament, whatever some may say to the contrary, devolves this whole matter upon the hearts and consciences of the people, allowing every man to give just what he pleases "according as God hath prospered him."

Three years later, in January, he used the text Proverbs 3:9. Evidently the parish had not made any improvement in financial matters, so he thus expressed himself:

. . . if we would allow ourselves to be governed by the force of the *example* of the Jews we would regard *one-tenth* as the lowest amount that God would accept of our produce and our increase. But it will be urged that this old law of

the tenth enacted along with types and shadows has long since ceased to be binding. But is there any certainty about it? Will it be said that the law has never been reenacted in the New Testament and therefore cannot bind the Christian? May it not be asked however on the other side, "Has the law in question ever been repealed?" . . . is it not a principle that a law is in force until a power with proper authority repeals it? . . . It is strange too that we should be more just to our fellowmen than to God. We take colored men into our employment at the opening of the year who *furnish nothing* and are *consuming* all the time. We pay them a fourth or a half; whereas when according to our professions we take God into our co-partnership who *furnishes everything* and consumes *nothing* we do not pay him anything near the tenth!¹⁹ Shame on shame!

A peculiar turn of his Calvinism crops out in a sermon on Revelation 3:20, which he preached five times, once before presbytery:²⁰

God never has and according to this Scripture God never will bring a man into communion with a glorious Saviour contrary to his own will. God's redeeming grace moves with irresistible power but moves *concurrently* (italics mine) with man's will.

Is not this congruism, a mode of thought brought into Calvinism by the seventeenth century professor, Claude Pajon, of Saumur, France? Warfield, describing this school and also calling it Pajonism after its representative, says:

. . . the Holy Spirit thus effectually brings them to Christ, not by an almighty creative action on their souls, . . . but purely by suasive operations, adapted in his infallible wisdom to the precise state of mind and heart of those whom he has selected for salvation, and so securing from their own free

action, a voluntary coming to Christ and embracing of him for salvation.²¹

Having called attention to what seem to be the only aberrations in his thought, it will now be profitable to turn to the more normal expression of Dr. Grafton's theology.

He believed in the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. This is shown by his regular employment of the textual type of preaching. He would announce the passage of the Bible which was to be the basis for his homily, then explain it rather fully and sometimes even go to the Greek for exact exegesis; after that he drew the lessons and made the application. Always in his preaching the Bible was authoritative and the final court of appeal. In 1926 he preached a sermon on the Apocrypha, in which he compared stories and statements therefrom with similar stories and statements in the canonical books, always to the discredit of the former and to the glory of the latter.^{21a} He even justified the harsh cruelty of the old people of God, as recorded in the Old Testament:

Here is what Thomas Grafton²² says: "Did you ever shudder as you read the Old Testament with its record of the wholesale destruction of men, women, and children? I have had many a one. But now after living in the east where man has let his heart go on its depraved way for milleniums I begin to see that it would be possible for a people to be wholly and unreclaimably rotten, so that nothing short of absolute extinction would save the world from its pollution. I do not say that for the Chinese for they are not yet in that state. However on bad days they approach dangerously near it."²³

Furthermore, he thought of the Bible as a kind of judgment against those who were privileged to have it and yet failed in appreciating it:

Now sometimes [we] hear the prayer, "We thank thee, O God, that we were born in a Bible land, *etc.*" Take care that you won't have in a future world to curse the day and place of your birth, "for it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn away from the holy commandment delivered unto them." (II Peter 2:21.)²⁴

He accepted the traditional ascriptions of authorship and sometimes the traditional allegorical interpretations. This has been called to the reader's attention above in the reference to the Song of Songs.²⁵

Dr. Grafton, however, did not hold a mechanical view of Scripture. For instance, when telling the account of Achan's trespass, he said:

When Joshua called for them to appear before the Lord, they came tribe by tribe, and *Jewish tradition* [italics mine] tells us that when the tribe of Judah was singled out by the lot, the warriors of that tribe drew their swords and declared that they would never sheath them till the fair name of their tribe was vindicated, till the offender was found and punished.²⁶

And when preaching on Proverbs 23:7, April, 1914, he said, "In Solomon's day they spoke of a man as soul, body, and spirit. But we speak of mind and body, following the metaphysics of today." Moreover, he accepted to a certain extent the idea that Scriptural revelation was progressive.

The presence of Moses and Elijah on the occasion satisfies our yearnings for immortality. This doctrine was not fully taught in the Old Testament. Life and immortality were brought to light in the Gospel.²⁷

The deity of Jesus Christ was, of course, an important article of faith to Dr. Grafton. The Latin thesis assigned him by the Presbytery of Central Mississippi, at its fall meeting in 1871 was *De Divinitate Christi*. This he wrote in January, 1872, but it is not extant. A sermon on Mark 14:61, 62, on this subject was prepared by him to be preached before the missionary society of his seminary in October, 1872. It was repeated three times.²⁸ In this address he grounded the missionary activity of the Christian religion on the fact of Christ as God. A similar sermon on the priesthood of Christ, Hebrews 5:10, was delivered nine times.²⁹

"The Atonement" was a sermon based on Galatians 1:4 that he preached three times.³⁰ In his view of this "sacrifice to satisfy divine justice" he quite naturally adopted Calvin's forensic and substitutionary doctrine, but in some elements he anticipated the peculiar emphasis of the modern "Theologians of the Word." In July, 1876, preaching on Matthew 27:46, he said:

This mighty spirit [Satan] backed by the principalities and powers of darkness contended with Christ for the three hours of darkness and what he did no mortal can tell. Christ all *alone* spoiled Satan and cried, "It is finished."

A similar sentiment is found in a sermon, "Episodes of the Crucifixion," Matthew 27:35ff., of January, 1920:

Remember that the divine nature never left the human. Recount from birth to cross and sepulchre, and the divine

nature was always with the human. The Holy Spirit, who had been with Jesus from before his birth . . . to present, now left him. Why? Because sundering of communion between God and sinner by departure of the Holy Ghost was one grievous penalty for sin (dilute). Jesus suffers temporary separation from Holy Ghost to save us from everlasting separation.

In these two passages Dr. Grafton presents the scene of a terrible battle between the myrmidons of the Evil One and the hosts of heaven for the possession of Christ, with Christ's torn, emaciated, and weakened body as the battleground, an awesome sight, beyond the power of mortals to comprehend. With these two quotations, compare the following from Karl Heim of Tübingen:

He, whose wrath we have deserved, tears something from His own heart, and gives it for our sakes. We feel that there must have been a fearful conflict between God and the hostile power of Satan, who had a claim upon us. An ultimate battle must have been fought between the holy God and the impure Power, which had rebelled against him. But if we look upon Jesus on his way to the Cross, our feelings are like those of the waiting congregation of Israel, on the day of atonement. They could only look after the High Priest, who disappeared before their eyes into the Holy of Holies, there, in the presence of God, to accomplish the atonement. They could not see what happened there in the Holy of Holies. In the same way, we hear the cry of our Saviour's prayer in Gethsemane and on the Cross; but what was going on before him in the depths of the invisible world, while Christ descended into the abyss of being forsaken by God, that we cannot see. Christ fights the battle for us entirely alone.⁸¹

Unlike some of the dialectical theologians, however, Dr. Grafton did believe in the natural revelation and

common grace. Several times he cites the prevalence of sacrifice among pagans to show the necessity of the great sacrifice of Christ. Also the fact that enlightened heathen believed in angelic protection is used in a sermon on the similar Christian belief. There is a striking sentence in a homily, "The Brazen Serpent," John 3:14, 15, delivered six times:^{31a}

It was God's reechoing voice that, partially arousing the people, raised up the altars in heathen lands, that called forth the deep musings of philosophy in its attempts to solve the destiny of man.

From the quotations from Dr. Grafton regarding the atoning sacrifice of Christ on Calvary³² one may also note the reality of the unseen world of demons and angels to his mind. In a sermon on "The Christian Race," Philippians 3:13, 14, delivered July 7, 1872, this comes out in clearer detail:

The track lies through the valleys and plains, over the hills and mountains of human life, and upon each side are thousands and millions of spectators. Could we but lift up the veil which shuts out from our view the invisible world we could see hosts of the redeemed with the Angels of God watching with eager interest the progress of the race below. Jesus Christ himself, too, as the Captain of the race watches with favoring smiles the efforts of the runners as they press toward the goal. But these are not the only spectators, for troops of Satan's emissaries swarm along the path, who watch with fiendish eye every runner as he moves on to the end.

There are extant two sermons on angels: one, "The Guardianship of Angels," undated but prepared during seminary days; the other, "The Ministry of Angels,"

Hebrews 1:14, also undated but obviously about 1920 from the handwriting. He believed that each Christian had his particular tutelary angel, though he did not care to speculate beyond the statement of Acts 12:15. In the latter sermon he pointed out that the Roman Catholic Church went too far in its veneration of angels, but, he insisted, "Protestants consider this whole theme too lightly." In the sermon on "The Blessing of Asher," Deuteronomy 33:24, 25, September, 1913, occurs this remark incidentally, "You can rejoice in the ministry of angels and the abiding presence of Jesus Christ."

The first of the famous "Five Points" of Calvinism was a subject on which Dr. Grafton often preached. There is one sermon on that doctrine with the text Psalm 51:5, delivered at Bensalem, July 21, 1872. Another on the text Psalm 25:11, prepared his last year in seminary, he thought suitable enough to use twelve times.³³ His outline of it is as follows:

The Petition [for pardon] and the two pleas [i.e., (1) the magnitude of the guilt and (2) God's name's sake].

All men do sin.

Pointedness of the petition [not asking for wealth, health, etc., but pardon].

Why the magnitude of guilt [the impenitent would have pleaded the smallness of his guilt, Christian alive to the enormity of sin].

The value of the *great name* [some plead their sincerity, honesty, morality, but Christian pleads only God and his Word].³⁴

In 1900, preaching on Romans 1:28, he said:

The human heart is the same. The Anglo-Saxon, German, Gaul, Jew, *et al.*, all have the same old depraved heart.

The works of the flesh (Gal. 5) are universally the same. If you are not convinced by these statements, see Russians drowning five thousand Chinese, and Mohammedans murdering Armenians, and Britons conquering Boers, and amongst us crime that darkens every page.

An important stress in his preaching was faith, as would be natural with a Protestant of the Reformed tradition. "Saving Faith Illustrated by the Blind Man" was based on John 9:35-38, and was preached in Union Church, December, 1906. In this he distinguished four kinds of faith: one, intellectual or historical faith, which deludes many men; two, temporary faith, which gives way when trial comes; three, the faith which works miracles (Judas Iscariot no doubt cast out demons); four, saving faith which is born of the Spirit and exacts tribute from our whole being. Much earlier in seminary, in 1872, he had preached on Romans 10:17 and had insisted on the necessity of the intellectual element in saving faith. At the end of the manuscript occurs this note:

Condemned by [William S.] Plumer. The cause of a heated argument between me and my brethren. Question—Are infants saved by faith? My position—Infants have the *disposition* of faith without the *exercise*. Adults must *exercise* their faith. In both the *instrumental* cause is the same. Adults *exercise* it—infants hold it ready for exercise.

This emphasis on *Sola Fides* did not keep Dr. Graf-ton from pointing out that "faith without works is dead." A sermon of 1881 on Acts 9:6 says:

The whole subject of Christian experience [is] a varied one: one will shout, another weep, another will say nothing.

What was the prominent feeling of Paul as unfolded by this language? Was it to shout? No. To weep? No. Possibly he did both, but the great idea in the text was to *work*.

Once he charged his flock: "It is dead faith which I fear has nearly killed this church. Take care that it doesn't bring you into confusion at the judgment bar."³⁵

Dr. Grafton was an adherent of what is called the Federal theology, usually associated with the Dutch professor, Jan Coccejus, who died in 1669. There is a sermon entitled, "The Principle of Representation," on Romans 5:19, which Dr. Grafton preached seven times.³⁶ As late as July, 1921, using the same text, he defended the covenant of works, thus:

Adam was no infant but full-grown (dilate) with all his faculties. Adam was not a sinner but pure and clean (dilate). Adam was not a stranger but our own flesh and blood (dilate). Who could or would have served mankind so faithfully as Adam their natural father?

Like the old Puritan divines, who themselves were but following medieval clerics,³⁷ he was a strict sabbatarian. For many years he was chairman of his Presbytery's committee on Sabbath, Family Religion, and the Bible. One of the most curious of his illustrations to impress the need of observing the Lord's Day is as follows:

The captivity emphasizes the great sin of violating the Sabbath-day. The duration of the captivity was seventy years. God required his people to observe the Sabbath year during which the lands must rest (dilate). This commandment the Jews violated. Now take the period of the life of Judah, about four hundred ninety years, and divide by seven . . .

and we have seventy years. During this period there were seventy Sabbath years which should have been kept. As the people did not observe them voluntarily, their observance was *enforced* by the captivity. Note the solemn stillness of the land during that period (dilate). The land was enjoying her Sabbath. Or this way. . . The number of Sabbaths in four hundred ninety years just about corresponds to the number of days in seventy years. So the period of the captivity was a most striking commentary on the great sin of violating the Sabbath.³⁸

In closing this treatment of his theology as expressed in his sermons, it is fitting to call attention to his apparent interest in "divine healing," due perhaps to his second wife, who is reputed to have practiced it. In any case, on September 20, 1894, he read a book entitled, *Divine Healing or Faith Cure*, by a Captain Carter. The following Sunday, September 23, he mentioned it in his sermon on Galatians 3:13. He expressed the belief that it was largely in error, but stated:

I have read the book with pleasure and profit. There is no doubt that we Christians are today living far below our privileges. . . A great proportion of our complaints both in body and soul we ought to lay aside forever. . . Still farther, in using means we sometimes honor the means more than God. When we use the healing oil let us remember that God is the author of its curative properties.

And in April, 1903, in a sermon on Exodus 15:26, he said: "Books are published full of wonderful cures of this kind and they are beyond doubt." He also knew of the famous healing shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes in France, and quite possibly the shrines of Ste. Anne de Beaupré in Canada and the Black Virgin of Guada-

lupe in Mexico, but seemingly did not think much of the occurrences there. This is obvious from the following allusion in his sermon on John 12:35, September, 1915: "See his [Jesus'] miracles and note the difference between them and the ones in repute in France and elsewhere (dilate)." ³⁹

HIGH CHURCHMANSHIP

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, it is necessary to define the phrase "High Church." In the first place, it does not, as some mistakenly think, refer primarily to liturgy, but to doctrine, particularly the doctrines of the church, the ministry, and the sacraments. ⁴⁰ If one holds a low view of the church, either Erastian, service club, or some other, no matter how elaborate his service of worship, he is "Low Church." For instance, the First Unitarian Church of Chicago has a beautifully ordered ritual, but it is hardly "High Church" (indeed, hardly Christian, according to some criteria). But if one has a lofty conception of the church, no matter how poor and meager the order of worship, he is "High Church." Of course, in time one's liturgical habits may be elaborated to accord with his ecclesiology. The Oxford Movement began in 1833 in its first phase on a strictly doctrinal level, but grew into the ceremonialism of the Anglo-Catholic revival.

In the second place, the phrase "High Church" is not to be limited to the Anglican communion. Its use has appeared in connection with a movement in the Scottish Kirk, ⁴¹ and no less an authority than Charles Hodge of the Princeton Seminary has described South-

ern Presbyterianism as "Hyper-hyper-hyper High Church Presbyterianism."⁴² The phrase is also used by the historian of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., Professor Thomas Cary Johnson, of the Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.⁴³ In this connection it will be appropriate to quote from the doctrinal standards of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. Some sentences from the Confession of Faith, Chapter XXV, say:

The visible church, which is catholic or universal under the gospel, (not confined to one nation as before under the law) consists of all those throughout the world, that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ; the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation. [Unfortunately revised in 1939 to read, "the house and family of God, through which men are ordinarily saved and union with which is essential to their best growth and service."] Unto this visible catholic church, Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the saints, in this life to the end of the world: and doth by his own presence and Spirit, according to his promise, make them effectual thereunto.⁴⁴

The first paragraph of a sermon on Psalm 8:5, preached by Dr. Grafton in October, 1880, at Union Church, is:

The kingdom of Christ is the church. It is not bounded by territorial lines, nor defended by the ordinary resources of human skill and ingenuity. It is world-wide in its extent and defended by the arm of God. Its future triumph over all the kingdoms of this world is vouchsafed by the promises of God which in Christ are Yea and Amen.

The next year in July, preaching on "Infant Church Membership," text Romans 11:16, he called attention to the fact that in common speech Southern churchmen often did not use strictly Confessional language in this regard: "Our language is sometimes at variance with these principles, as when we talk about joining the Church, when we are born into it." In February, 1919, in a sermon on the ninth commandment, Exodus 20:16, he re-echoed the official "Address To All The Churches of Jesus Christ Throughout The Earth" (prepared by the Rev. James Henley Thornwell in late 1861), which is a lofty statement of the Church's origin and function: "The Church and State are divine institutes. Each has its special work to do. The Church bears testimony and uses the Word. The State enforces the law and uses the sword."

Dr. Grafton was a loyal Presbyterian. Once he said that there were two reasons for belonging to any church: association and principle. If one were a Presbyterian for the former reason, he might easily transfer his membership to another communion if occasion arose; but if for the latter, one should on no account do so, and Dr. Grafton discouraged it. There is extant a sermon of his on Ephesians 1:22, dated June, 1897, which is in advocacy of Presbyterianism: "Many say, 'One church is as good as another.' But you will share my impatience with that class. You might as well say, 'I only want to be a man and I care not whether Anglo-Saxon or African.'"

In agreement with the historic position of the Reformed churches, Dr. Grafton believed in the church's

right to discipline its membership, and though even in his day the practice had almost disappeared from American Christianity, he pleaded for its continuance. In June, 1912, preaching on Romans 11:21, he stated: "Mr. Roosevelt as a church member must honor the discipline of the Church. Governor Davis of Arkansas has just been expelled from a church."

He was also concerned for the externals of the church, as he said: "Reverence for the house of God and true religion have walked together down the ages, the one an index to the other."⁴⁵ He suggested that one among many methods of reverencing the sanctuary was "by a neat and orderly ornamentation."⁴⁶

Turning to Dr. Grafton's ideas about the ministry, one will find that here he adhered to the Presbyterian doctrine of the apostolic succession. In a twice-preached sermon on "Duties of the Elders," based on Acts 20:28,⁴⁸ one will note this statement: "We are here today, my friends, in the presence of those who bear precisely the same office as did the elders of Ephesus." One will recall that in Presbyterianism there is only one order, that of presbyter or elder, sometimes denoted ruling elder. The minister is a ruling elder with the additional power to preach the Word (and administer the sacraments). The government of the church is in the hands of the presbyters, gathered in presbyteries judicially convened. This, according to the Presbyterian Church, U. S., is the Scriptural form of church government.⁴⁹ An eminent thinker states the Presbyterian view thus:

Presbyterians believe in a succession from the Apostles; in a historic episcopate—not diocesan, but pastoral—which

runs back through a long line of ordained presbyters to the very men whom the Lord Christ chose to found and organize His Church. . . Presbyterianism recognizes that the pope and the prelates are presbyters, but declines to recognize them as of higher order than presbyters. For presbyters are the genuine bishops of the New Testament, and the true apostolic succession is in the presbyters who have been ordained by the Apostles and their successors from the foundations of the Christian Church until the present time. It has the true apostolic faith in its purity, integrity and fulness.⁵⁰

And that this succession in orders has been maintained unbroken is confirmed by the Presbyterian delegates to the second World Conference on Faith and Order, which met in Edinburgh, Scotland, August 3-18, 1937.⁵¹ That Dr. Grafton's views on polity are true to the Presbyterian insistence becomes even more clear in a sermon of April, 1881, on Luke 22:19:

None but the Head of this family and those to whom he has handed down the right can properly administer it [the Eucharist]. But Christ delivered the keys to the Apostles. Hence those who are the official descendants of the Apostles are the only ones authorized to administer this family ordinance to God's family.

There is a manuscript of an earlier sermon, entitled "Duties of Private Members to Elders," text I Timothy 5:17, delivered at Union Church, September 28, 1872. One paragraph of it will bear quoting:

We are taught again that the office-bearers are to *protect* the flock and consequently the members are in duty bound to receive that protection and use it for their edification. They are by no means to take matters into their own hands

and constitute themselves the arbiters of cases instead of rendering a willing obedience to the lawful authorities. We are assured that wolves shall indeed vex the fold not sparing them, but the lamb could do nothing to eject the wolf. That must in every instance be done by the shepherd. On no account are we excused in retiring from the ordinances of the sanctuary and from the communion of the Lord because in our opinion there are wolves there with whom we would be required by our presence to enter into communion. We should remember that our communion is with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ, and the basis of this communion is faith in Jesus Christ. If a devil be at the table we have no communion together because there is between us no common faith. An old divine once said, "I would sit at the table with Satan if by proper authorities he were not expelled." And our Savior sat at the table when that base hypocrite Judas Iscariot was present. It would be very unwise to try to be better than Jesus Christ. It would be very foolish for one to leave the table where he only supposes there is present a wolf and go out into the world where there are thousands known to be seeking their prey. The shepherds are to protect us and we are to submit to their protection meekly rendering that obedience which their position demands.

This rather lengthy quotation leads one to a consideration of his view of the Eucharist. Here again one finds "High Church" teaching. Hear the emphasis with which he spoke in May, 1880, preaching from the text Luke 22:19:

It [the Holy Supper] is a positive institute of Christianity. . . So there is a reason in the very nature of things why we should love Christ. But the reason why we should show our love in this particular way is simply because Christ commands it.

From this view of the nature of the Lord's Supper it

follows that disobedience is of the nature of rebellion. . . It [rebellion] is the one unpardonable sin among kings and princes. Now I do not say that the violation of this command to "do this in remembrance of me" is more heinous, or as heinous, in the sight of God than murder but I do say that the consciences of God's people are not tender enough on this command. The same God that said, "Do not kill," said, "Do this." Who shall make a difference in the binding nature of these commands?

In April of the following year, using the same text, Dr. Grafton said: "We call it [the Supper] a great mystery sometimes, but the mystery is in the truth it teaches." This is in accordance with Calvin's language in regard to this sacrament:

He gave his body . . . to be made bread, when he surrendered it to be crucified for the redemption of the world; he gives it daily, when, by the word of the gospel, he presents it to us, that we may partake of it as crucified; when he confirms that presentation by the sacred mystery of the supper; when he accomplishes within that which he signifies without. Here it behooves us to guard against two errors; that, on the one hand, we may not, by undervaluing the signs, disjoin them from the mysteries with which they are connected; nor, on the other hand, by extolling them beyond measure, obscure the glory of the mysteries themselves. . .⁵²

Churchmen know that the church is not made up of those who have already attained sainthood; the sectaries delude themselves into thinking the reverse. Tragically enough, throughout the years an overscrupulous sectarian attitude has become intensified in certain types of people at the Holy Communion. They have tended to be hesitant in communicating, either for fear of their

own unworthiness or because they do not want to be partakers along with others whom they deem unworthy. Against these mistaken conceptions of I Corinthians 11:29, Dr. Grafton spoke in June, 1880:

The design of this passage then must be to warn the careless and profane. There is nothing in it to fence away the Lord's timid servants or to surround his table with gloom.

It is not essential to a worthy participation of the Lord's Supper that one's faith should be perfectly clear and free from doubt. . . If an undoubting faith had been essential, would Jesus have ever handed the elements of the sacred Supper to that Apostle who said that he could not believe until he could put his fingers into the print of the nails and thrust his hand into his wounded side? What Jesus did then, he does now.

. . . It is not essential again that one should be pure and holy in heart. For sinners the supper is designed. Sinners alone are invited. To sinners alone the supper is given. . .

From all that has now been said, who can find it in his heart to stay away from his Master's table? Come in all your unworthiness with a deep sense of your sin with penitence and sorrow for it; come as you first came to Jesus, with your eye on the cleansing blood that taketh away all sin; come with a sense of God's love to your poor dying soul and be persuaded to hope in his mercy; consecrate yourself anew this day before God and the world to your Lord and King; and thus sitting at his table you will most worthily show your Lord's death as he has commanded you.⁵⁸

In January, 1923, preaching on I Corinthians 11:23-26, he favored the term Eucharist:

Why is it called "Eucharist"? Because Jesus gave thanks and blessed the elements εὐχαριστεῖν (dilate). Feast of thanksgiving. Our need to be thankful (dilate).

In loyalty to Scottish practice and the Westminster Directory of Worship, Dr. Grafton held the preparatory service before each celebration of the Holy Supper. There is extant his sermon delivered on one of these occasions. It is dated [Saturday] April, 1925, and the Scriptural basis is Luke 22:7-13. The sermon is largely an explanation of the sacrament. Some important passages in it are:

The Lord's Supper teaches us the very close contact of Jesus to us. We hear of him through the Word but we see him in the feast. We take him into ourselves when we eat. . . Jesus alludes to this in John 6:31, 33, 35, 48, 58 (dilate). . . At every communion feast Jesus comes very near us.

This passage shows his belief in a true presence as taught by the Calvinist, not the corporeal presence as taught by the Romanist and the Lutheran, not the absence or mere representation as taught by the Zwinglian.

The next morning Dr. Grafton chided his congregation: "Did you talk last night with your family about the service we are to have today? You didn't? How careless this was. Worse than that, how sinful!" This remark certainly demonstrates the awesome character which he ascribed to this sacrament.

SOCIAL ISSUES

The Presbyterian Church, U. S., from its beginning has stood on the ground that "the provinces of Church and State are perfectly distinct. . . They are as planets moving in different orbits, and unless each is confined

to its own track, the consequences may be as disastrous in the moral world as the collision of different spheres in the world of matter."⁵⁴ In 1936 the Presbytery of Central Mississippi sent up an overture to General Assembly, asking it to discontinue the Committee on Moral and Social Welfare just erected the preceding year. Though this overture was answered in the negative, the following year the report of the committee was passed over the formidable protest of an important minority, the protest having originated among the commissioners from the Synod of Mississippi. Feeling against the committee has been so strong that its later pronouncements have been less and less vigorous. All this action has been due to the fear that the church was being untrue to its principle of not invading the secular sphere.

With this as a background one would hardly expect to find much about social issues in Dr. Grafton's pulpit utterances. Only in so far as the issue was clearly only a moral one without any political suggestions and one dealt with in Scriptural revelation did Dr. Grafton give public expression to his attitude on it. As an example of his type of sermon on a social problem, one may cite the one on the sixth commandment, dated 1899:

We may kill animals for food. . . We should be humane though and not kill in sport.

Killing in just and necessary war is permissible. Soldiers came to Jesus and he did not rebuke them. But most wars are unnecessary.

Now men just here are liable themselves to commit murder. This is done by the mob that lynches the criminal however bad he is. In the town of Port Gibson a man com-

mitted a crime for which he deserved to die and a mob hanged him. They thus gratified their vengeance. Another man committed murder and was sentenced to penitentiary for life. The same set of men in due time petitioned the Governor to pardon him. They here gratified their sympathy. In both cases they dishonored justice. Never join a band to lynch a criminal and don't ordinarily petition for the release of the criminal.

It will be recalled that Dr. Grafton was a great admirer of the soldier life, but as he says: "Shall we not draw our ideals from other source? Could you ever see a battlefield you would be horrified (dilate)."⁵⁵

In regard to the seventh commandment, he thought the worst instance of violation of it was miscegenation.

God has stamped his disapproval of the sin by visiting upon the guilty ones the deadliest bodily diseases, which play havoc with peace and happiness in man and woman. Three deadly venereal diseases rage among men and women and blast thousands (dilate).

. . . But the great danger in the country is not the house of prostitution but the colored woman. She belongs to the inferior race and she can be made to pander to the worst passions of the white man and she is a perpetual menace to the rising boys and men. . . Amalgamation is the great bane of southern life. It is dreadful to think that the parties to this crime are declared to be one flesh. Now think of this— one with a black woman. How shameful. Then you will possibly embarrass yourselves all through your lives. That little mulatto on the streets or big road has the natural right to call you father and your own white children brother and sister (dilate).⁵⁶

He dealt with the eighth commandment in a sermon on Achan, Joshua 7, March, 1884 (delivered also in

Bensalem, May 4, 1884): "It is interesting to inquire why Achan was punished so severely. The [e]state [was] about \$500 worth, while there are men today who steal a hundred times that amount and they go at large."

Typically, Dr. Grafton was also opposed to card-playing, dancing, and such like.

Card-playing, betting and gambling, buying lottery tickets are ways of the world. Be not conformed in these things. . . Dancing is an amusement of the world. Don't dance. . . There may not be any harm in it here, but follow it where you can see the fruit. . . In the city you see all the fruit. The cotillion gives way to the waltz. . .⁵⁷

He was not unaware of the larger issues. For instance, in June, 1908, he preached on Matthew 16:1-4:

See today some of the signs of the times—

- (a) The laymen's movement (dilate).
- (b) The upheaval of China, Japan, Africa, *et al.* (dilate).
- (c) The great prohibition movement; opium movement (dilate).
- (d) The tendency towards organic union of all churches (dilate).
- (e) The big fight for good government in our large cities.
- (f) The Conference for peace at the Hague.

The World and the church seem to be getting ready for the second advent.

He knew of modern social research and once illustrated a point by reference to the brilliant progeny of Jonathan Edwards' family and the notorious offspring of the Jukes.⁵⁸ In February, 1919, preaching on Genesis 2:9, he said:

From Jackson, Meridian, Governor Bilbo, New Orleans, Tallulah, we are having sad stories of boys from nine years up to fifteen and seventeen, who are caught stealing, house-breaking, lying, *etc., etc.* . . . Our "Reformatory" at Columbia⁵⁹ is full of overflowing and calls for more room (dilate). In ten years, unless checked, these children will develop into desperate daring criminals. The condition demands earnest thought.

Later the same year he expressed his horror at the advance of Bolshevism:

Take a survey of the world and observe (a) that the world is a trembling, shaking world today. Bolshevism is wearing out Europe. See it from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea in Russia, in Poland, Roumania, Germany, and spreading. See it in our own country (dilate). This is the anarchy that hates God, the Bible, the Church, society, marriage, the man of wealth, *et al., et al.* (dilate).⁶⁰

Dr. Grafton was deeply interested in the youth of Mississippi. The introduction to his unpublished History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi states that it was written to inspire and encourage the young folk. In February, 1916, on two consecutive Sundays, he preached first on Mary of Bethany, John 12:3-8, then on "The Christian Race Course," Hebrews 12:1. The theme of the first sermon was "If I Were a Girl"; of the second, "If I Were a Boy."

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS

According to his daughter, Mrs. J. L. Scott,⁶¹ Dr. Grafton subscribed to the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, and also generally borrowed and read the Jackson *Daily News*. Thus he kept up with current events. These

inevitably found their way occasionally into his sermons. In an early sermon he made a reference to the approaching execution of Charles Guiteau, sentenced for the assassination of President James A. Garfield.⁶² The murder of Garfield shocked Mississippians as that of McKinley did not, probably because Garfield, as an Ohio Republican in the Congress, had been one of the opponents of the infamous Enforcement Act of April 20, 1871, which was one of the Reconstruction laws levelled against the South.⁶³ Guiteau and his fate exercised such a fascination over the minds of Mississippians that a folk song about the fact grew up among them.

In the last years of the nineteenth century the Spanish-American War drew his attention: "Spanish rapacity brought on the Cuban rebellion . . . the folly of the Greeks this present year brought ruin by the Turks";⁶⁴ and the malady affecting the Hapsburgs also was commented upon: "The Emperor Franz Josef abides today under the dark shadow that rests upon his home."⁶⁵

The following are passages from twentieth-century sermons which show how he kept up with the news of the day:

Cecil Rhodes just a few days ago dying said, "So little done and so much to do." This [is] a good commentary on Solomon's words. Rhodes had done much but had planned more.⁶⁶

From him [the unfaithful steward] the talent was taken away. One-half the price of cotton has been taken away from us this year. We have sustained many other losses. Let us ponder whether this be due to our unfaithfulness.⁶⁷

1

See the terrors of the pestilence. The yellow fever epidemic of 1878 produced fear far and wide (dilate). But this far worse.⁶⁸

How long will the work of Jesus on the throne as mediator last? Till he has finished his work. Read I Cor. 15:24-28. Oyama, Kuroki, Togi *et al* when peace is conquered from the Russians surrender their commissions to the Emperor.⁶⁹

The grandest thing today of human construction is the battle ship. See it afloat and hear the awful sound of its heavy guns in the Sea of Japan last May. Yet Admiral Togo that stands on deck is grander than all the fleets of Japan and Russia. The navies go down at last but Togo lives on.⁷⁰

Note Volapük and Esperanto two attempts on the part of men to reestablish *one* speech.⁷¹

Roosevelt and Taft were good friends and called each other by their given names, but the American people know the story of their rupture.⁷²

Sir Lionel Carden was withdrawn from Mexico last summer because he failed to represent his country properly.⁷³

All through England the beat of the drum is heard calling men to the ranks because the country is in danger. England is fighting for her life and her empire. She knows that if she is defeated her flag will be furled in large parts of the world (dilate).⁷⁴

It is difficult sometimes to say *No*. Some names are hard to pronounce. The American people found it hard to pronounce the name of the man who killed Mr. Garfield; to wit,

Charles J. Guiteau (dilate). Again the man who killed Mr. McKinley has a hard name to pronounce, and had not a Polish writer written it SHOLGOSH nobody would have known how to call it (dilate). Then who would ever be able to call the name of the great battle fortress PRZEMISYL (dilate). But the word NO is much more difficult to say now and then than all these hard names.⁷⁵

In the awful disease (Spanish influenza) now abating just a little in our own country there have been over 300,000 cases among the soldiers in our home encampments of which number 20,000 have died. In our civilian population there have been up to date over 300,000 deaths. The disease passed through New York and left behind 21,000 orphans. When we think of these deaths and the suffering involved and the grief among bereaved families the picture is appalling.⁷⁶

THE WAR FOR SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE

Dr. Grafton was a loyal Southerner, and carried within his heart all his life an admiration for Southern heroes and heroism.

It is characteristic of the world to add to the real names of its heroes other names which are significant of their qualities, of their deeds. Thus the world delights to honor Alexander by calling him the Great. So we have a William the Conqueror, Edward the Martyr, Richard the Lion Heart, and an honored chieftain of our land, who fills a soldier's grave, has gone into history under the well-earned name of Stonewall.⁷⁷

In 1902, preaching on Acts 11:26, he said: "Could Harry Lee have seen R. E. Lee and Fitzhugh . . . how he would have rejoiced (dilate)." And in April, 1907, with the

text Hebrews 2:10, he lauded the local Union Church leader: "Who was your captain? Answer, R. R. Applewhite. Were you ashamed of him? Nay, he was a hero on the field." His memory of the glorious old "Rebel yell" thrilled him even in 1922: "The French go wild when they hear their national song. The gray lines on Virginia battlefields raise the battle yell. This was patriotism."⁷⁸

He had, of course, been a Confederate soldier, and knew what war meant: "I once saw a man killed. It was on Canty's line of battle near Lost Mountain in Georgia."⁷⁹ An earlier sermon contains this note: "Story of the wounded soldier I saw at Atlanta."⁸⁰

He knew at first hand what this generation knows only through the pages of Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* or David Selznick's screen production of it, the destruction which accompanies warfare: "You have seen desolated fields and villages burnt . . . you have seen Confederate orphans and the graves of soldiers—behold the consequences of war!"⁸¹ "When the Federal army passed through our State Capital it left its mark behind in the shape of vast piles of rubbish and ruin and tall chimneys, the relics of a great conflagration."⁸² He had seen also the economic collapse of the South after the throes of strife were over:

A man once spent much money for a slave. He thought it a good investment. The war came on. Negro slaves were converted to freemen and the investment proved disastrous.⁸³

Dr. Grafton dearly loved the Lost Cause, but it is needless to say that he was no stiff-necked Southerner

who saw nothing but magnolias and mockingbirds in his native land:

But will God always answer this prayer? Aye, his word is given. But why do there seem to be so many unanswered prayers? Did not thousands pray for the success of the Confederacy? . . . Before however we can charge with a failure in this matter we must remember exactly what he promised. He has promised to hear and answer the prayer in the name of Christ, i. e., whatever he has authorized us to ask, i. e., whatever is agreeable to his will. But *how do you know* that the success of the Confederacy *was Christ's will?*⁸⁴

He was eminently fair-minded. He knew the "peculiar institution" had its bad features; but he never failed to point out that there were redeeming features even in it:

In days gone the term "runaway slave" had an ominous sound. It always in our land meant a black man and there was always something grim and haunting in the word "runaway negro." It brought out at once the dark picture of a chase through the woods. The baying of the blood hounds and the certain capture of the black man and his return to his master. Pull the curtain down right there. So much for African slavery. Be it said just here that that institution was greatly abused throughout our country and nobody need deny it. At the same time many of our Christian men were slaveholders and they never tolerated any injustice to the poor slave. They fed him well and clothed him well and "Old Marster" and "Old Mistress" held the topmost place in the admiration and devotion.

In the neighborhood of Carmel church and on the old farms around Natchez and Oakland College, the institution of slavery reminded one of patriarchal slavery in the days of Abraham. Dr. William Dunbar and Ruthven Bennett and David Hunt and Benjamin Chase and William Mont-

gomery were men that loved their slaves. They took care of them, nursed them when they were sick and taught them the gospel. Four of five families in the Dunbar neighborhood united and built a special church for their slaves; secured the services of Rev. Thomas A. Ogden who was a shining light in the presbytery to preach for their slaves regularly and pay them pastoral visits. You ought to hear those negroes in the old Forest Church near Carmel. And you ought to have seen some of those seventeen hundred slaves on the plantations of David Hunt. Excuse this digression but this was the point to speak of it as the sermon today is about a runaway slave.

We can never forget the labors of John L. Girardeau and Charles Colcock Jones, eminent men of South Carolina and Georgia, who devoted their lives and lofty talent in bringing light to the colored man. God bless their labors.

The Synod of Mississippi, a body of great and noble men, in pastoral letters urged masters and parents to take religious care of all that were dependent upon them.⁸⁵

IMAGINATIVE AND POETIC SPIRIT

Dr. Grafton apparently never tried his hand at poetry, but he had what has been called "a consecrated imagination." This was perhaps inevitable to his type of preaching, which was related to the oratorical style of Seargent S. Prentiss, L. Q. C. Lamar, Bishop Charles B. Galloway, and James K. Vardaman. In all of them there was a flair for resounding phrases and words, antithesis and alliteration, moving descriptions and Homeric epithets. In Dr. Grafton this may have been partly due to his love for the Song of Songs, as in the case of St. Bernard of Clairvaux suggested above.⁸⁶ Sometimes this poetic feeling was expressed in descriptive passages, sometimes in short sentences containing

startling ideas. The former may be illustrated by a quotation from a sermon of January, 1877, based on Psalm 17:15:

See for a moment the man who is flying from the pestilence. At nightfall perhaps he takes the train which will bear him away. He lies down upon his cushioned seat to sleep and as the hours pass by he is sped on his way and when the morning dawns he opens his eyes upon different scenes, flowering vegetation exhaling new odors, he breathes a new air not freighted with the poison of pestilence and death, but laden with health invigorating to body and soul. During the hours of sleep the pestilence has been left far behind.

The latter type of expression may be illustrated by a line from a sermon of May, 1906, on Galatians 2:20: "This world may be the only prodigal world in all the number of worlds." A longer passage, but one quite similar to the last one, is the following:

. . . *Dying is love going home.* Here closeth the *first round*. I know not what other rounds it may please God for love to take in the long future . . . it may please God to send you forth in long rounds of service in the everlasting future and you may wing your way through rolling suns and stars; but with the end of the first round I close today. Let me die the death of the righteous and my last end be like his.⁸⁷

He could appeal to the emotions of his congregation by certain ideas, as, for instance, when preaching on Mary Magdalene (text, John 20:11-18) in 1900, he began by saying: "Graveyard memories are always subduing. In early morning or in evening twilights we visit the graves of loved ones and our hearts are tenderly respon-

sive to these memories (dilate)." And again, in 1923, preaching from the text Psalm 17:15, he used a similar mode of thought:

By and by the trumpet of God shall sound and the saints shall all awake. The dead son, brother, husband, you mourn today as he sleeps under these flowers shall stir in his bed and he shall awake and in the grand assembly we shall go up to his [Christ's] presence and . . . see his face. He will sit upon the throne and pass judgment upon the world and then every fond hope of his people will be fully and forever realized.

On December 24, 1906, Dr. Grafton preached on the subject "The Day of Redemption," using Luke 21:28 as his text. In the course of this sermon he used a figure that was evidently a favorite of his because it also occurs in some of his prayers and letters:

That day will come suddenly and to many will be startling. A heavy train full of passengers rushes on its way. The milestones are rapidly passed, some of the passengers are merry, some sad, some silent, some garrulous, some are alert and *many sleep*. At last the lights of the city shine out and the train halts. The passengers disembark, some going to jail, to execution, others to the hospital, to school, to business, and multitudes *home*. The whole world is like that train. We are rushing on and the milestones are dropping past, some are watchful, others sleep, *et al., et al.* [*sic*], when suddenly our train rolls in and stops. The day has come—

In a commencement sermon on I John 4:7, 8, delivered in 1908 in Hazlehurst, he told the legend of the Cherokee rose. Where he heard or read his version of the story is not known. It may even have been of his own composition. At all events, it is not the same legend

as the one related by the historian of Mississippi, Dr. Rowland. The latter says that the Jesuit missionary, Father Anthony Davion, was lost while on his way to Biloxi. At nightfall he prayed for guidance. In answer, his mother appeared to him in a dream, telling him to follow the trail of the white flower and it would lead him to the Gulf.⁸⁸ Dr. Grafton's variation was less practical, but more beautiful:

You have heard the legend of the Cherokee rose? They tell us that we got it from the Indians. Once it was abundant all through Mississippi and the farmers used it for hedges. A Cherokee maiden was wooed and won by a red brave from a far distant tribe. As she was leaving her childhood home she clipped a cutting from the rose that grew by her father's wigwam on the coast of Georgia, and carried it across wide savannahs and plains and hills, over streams and rivers and planted it out by her own home far away. Lo, the cutting grew and became a rose, like the one she had left behind. Every month of May the parent rose had bloomed out in clean white roses, and to drink their nectar the humming bees and birds that come, and to their gentle music she had slept and dreamed in her childhood hours. And now in her own home, in the same month of May, the Cherokee rose shot forth its beautiful white blossoms and her own children sang and played and dreamed under the same kind of music that had charmed her childhood days.

Three other very short references may be introduced to show Dr. Grafton's poetic feelings; they need no explanatory remarks:

The whole world of poetry and art has just been distressed by the fall of the Campanile, the old belltower of St. Mark's in Venice.⁸⁹

The hair-jewelry—The girl of Madison county gave her hair and the expert made cross, heart, and anchor (dilate).⁹⁰

Lord Byron wrote “ζωή μου σὰς ἀγαπῶ” and the girls fifty years ago sang it.⁹¹

PERSONAL REFERENCES

Some of these personal references have already been used⁹² in the account of Dr. Grafton's life and will therefore not be here repeated. There are not in the extant manuscripts of his sermons so many passages of this nature as one would like to have had, but some are especially revealing. Because of his habit of writing his sermons or sermon-notes after delivery, there are occasionally parenthetical remarks about the reaction of the congregation, the hymns sung, and similar details. There is one manuscript which bears these words, “Embryo sermon—First appearance in the pulpit.” It was delivered May 21, 1871, in Pisgah Church, Chesterfield District, South Carolina, where he supplied during the summer after his first year in seminary. The text was Romans 13:11, and is thus outlined by him on the first page:

- I. The nature and character and effects of the sleep spoken of.
- II. Comparison between physical and spiritual sleep.
- III. To whom addressed—saints and sinners.
- IV. Time to awake—
 - a. Because the sun has long been shining.
 - b. Because others are up around you.
 - c. Because you have so much work to do.
 - d. Because the murderer is standing over you.
 - e. You have slept long enough and the Master is calling you.

This summer was evidently influential in his future life, as will be seen from the following interesting meditation he wrote and appended to the end of a sermon preached in August, 1871, in Chesterfield:

As a member of the redeemed family of God and a traveller to eternity it is my desire to live above the world, devoted heart and soul to the service of God. To this end I would use every lawful means and employ every agency that I may be a good workman in the great vineyard. I would make every faculty of my body, mind, and spirit and my whole life, domestic, social, and public, subordinate to the same end and flow in that channel whose end is perfect peace. The body and mind with all their members, thoughts, and affections must be controlled and yield implicitly to well-regulated laws. With good motives the following are presented for my own consideration and conduct.

The body being the medium through which the mind operates, a mere instrument, should be taught implicit obedience to the will. Hence all the avenues of ingress and egress must be closely guarded and strictly watched that no enemy may come in and none of its powers withdrawn. An enemy coming in will poison and defile—its power withdrawn, it is left weakened, and in either case disqualified from performing its functions as a ready servant.

All those natural propensities, half-physical and half-mental, which act through the mind, must be held with an iron grasp and chained down under the power of reason. Otherwise the body as the instrument will take the government, and the will and reason will totter from their thrones. *Semper vigilate. In vitii primordia bellum gerito.*

The law of analogy is found to prevail in the world of mind as well as in matter. As the body and soul must be governed, so must the mind. The will, the motive power, must sway the mind as well as the body, and any triumph of the faculties over the will weakens the mental discipline.

Hence all the avenues leading to the mind must be closely guarded, or the enemy will come in and poison and defile.

In the province of the sentiments reason must control all except the sentiment of love. Nothing must rise superior to the divine passion, yet prayer must be made that this passion sanctified may not run counter to reason, but that each to the other may be a mutual help. Reason must rule all the faculties, but *love* may sit upon her head and pour over her the sweetest incense and perfume all her acts. *Esto perpetua dulcis sententia.*

In domestic life let my heart never indulge a drop of bitterness for my faithful love. My heart is her home. Let her dwell there in peace and happiness and preserve it pure. Avoid the slightest symptom or approach to infidelity in the solemn betrothals, and let me never indulge one thought or feeling which would stain her bright name and bring pain to her love. In the future I will inscribe in the sanctum of our chamber *Parvulum Coelum* and in feeling and affection make it a reality. *Deus salvator, gratiam habeamus.*

Te Deum laudemus. Tibi laus, gloria, honorque mortalium et immortalium, Pater noster, hinc atque hinc in sempiterno. ἀμήν.

How well he kept his resolutions will be discovered from the study of his life.

Figures of Dr. Grafton's friends pass quietly through the extant sermons. In July, 1899, using the text Ephesians 3:19, he had occasion to express his admiration for Dr. Joseph B. Stratton, pastor of Natchez, and chairman of the commission of presbytery that ordained him:

One who preaches on knowing the love of Christ ought to experience that love. But I know so little of it. Dr. Stratton however wades out a hundred or two hundred yards from the shore up to his neck maybe, and though there are thousands of miles beyond him and enormous depths of briny

waters, still he writes and talks beautifully of the sea. I may have waded out a short distance only into God's love, but let me tell something that Jesus himself tells us about that love.

Sometime later he refers tenderly to his old "fathers-in-God":

New Orleans a few days ago buried a man four years older than B[arzillai] (Dr. Palmer). None the less brave, *etc.*, than B[arzillai]. No nobler men than Palmer and Thornwell, Girardeau and John B. Adger, and the twentieth century will be rich if it produces such.⁹³

He knew Palmer as a fellow presbyter, Thornwell probably only by reputation, Girardeau either by reputation or personally in visits to the seminary, and John B. Adger as his professor of ecclesiastical and church polity during seminary days. These men were the giants of the early period of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., and today it still bears the imprint of their personalities.

The Methodist bishop, Charles B. Galloway, was another lifelong friend, one of his classmates at "Ole Miss":

Bishop Galloway with his fine parts, his oratory, *etc., etc.*, is envied by the weaker brother. They say to the bishop, "Your sermon did me much good." They don't say this to the weaker brother (dilate) hence envy.⁹⁴

The eminent lawyer, Calvin Wells, of Jackson, was another classmate whose friendship was lasting: "Our old friend Calvin Wells in the last speech I ever heard from him said, 'Do it well and do it now.'"⁹⁵ And Dr. S. C. Caldwell, pastor of Hazlehurst, whom he had prepared

for the University, and whose funeral he was later to conduct, was also a beloved associate: "If the governor of Mississippi⁹⁶ or dear Dr. Caldwell should come in and spend a day or night or an hour even, you would be sure to know it."⁹⁷

Occasional references to his family experiences creep into his preaching. Once, discussing kinds of knowledge, he illustrated thus: "Susie by *sense* knew Carrie was dying. I in Memphis *knew* it on the testimony of a telegram."⁹⁸ Another such passage is:

Are you not prepared to hear of a remedy? How blessed the man who brings us a remedy. For a consumption cure I'd have gone around the world.⁹⁹

This no doubt refers to the tubercular deaths of two of his children, Henry Doak and Nellie.

It has been noted that between August, 1884, and July, 1894, there is extant only one sermon manuscript. It is entitled "Walking Through the Valley of the Shadow of Death," text, John 4:34, dated September, 1885. The wife of his youth and the mother of his children had just died June 18, 1885. This sermon seems to reflect his feeling after the tragedy:

Sometimes since an afflicted man was pondering upon God's dealings with him. The burdens of life were accumulating upon his shoulders and the faith and hope of his soul were struggling for existence. While travelling along with a heavy heart the above passage of Scripture came into his mind. He was impressed with the wonderful idea contained in the text. Did my Lord indeed rejoice so greatly in *his* work, his mission, his allotment, his *awful* work; while I am repining and groaning over mine? That man rose up and went forward to his work with new zeal.

This passage has been the means of inspiring me with good resolutions.

On February 13, 1925, Mrs. Thomas B. Grafton, the former Miss Lettie Taylor of Louisville, Kentucky, died in China. She was Dr. Grafton's daughter-in-law, the wife of his missionary son. The following Sunday Dr. Grafton, using the text Acts 9:36-43, preached on "The Story of Dorcas and Lessons from Her Life and Application to Mrs. ——." The first paragraph was:

Mrs. Kellersberger, Mrs. McKinnon, and Mrs. Thomas Grafton were wives of missionaries: The first two of men in African Congo mission; the other of Thomas Grafton in China mission. The cablegram announcing the death of the last-named reached Union Church February 14, about eleven o'clock in the morning. We suppose she must have died February 13th.

The concluding sentence was: "Lo, the dead missionary on Chinese soil will hear the voice of Jesus at resurrection . . . (dilate)."

Every January, apparently, Dr. Grafton preached a financial sermon. These were generally rather severe. For instance, in one of the earliest of this type, dated January, 1875, based on Nehemiah 4:6, he showed that the congregation had contributed approximately only forty-two cents a person during the year to all church causes! At the end he mentions the "failure of the church in pastoral support," and urged all to work together and give according to their ability. In his published moderatorial address he said that his salary was meager, that if he received six hundred dollars it was considered paid in full.¹⁰⁰ Some years earlier he had said, evidently refer-

ring to himself: "Preachers of fair ability today instead of accepting six hundred dollars *per annum* might in law or trade make ten thousand dollars."¹⁰¹

In the course of a long pastorate it is natural that there would arise some dissatisfaction among malcontents in the parish. This was true even in the case of Dr. Grafton, and he mentioned it in one of his sermons. In January, 1897, using I Chronicles 22:16 as the text, when he had been in Union Church twenty-four years, he had this sentence: "Mention the criticism concerning the long pastorate." The following sentence from a sermon of December, 1914, text, II Timothy 2:3, may also possibly refer to his reaction to such criticism and discontent of parishioners: "A minister may be called on to hold his post fifty years. He may be on the point of giving way occasionally, but remember the petrified soldier at Herculaneum." When he preached this he had been in Union Church forty-one years; moreover, he had had opportunities to go to other fields of service.

He had the realization that it is sometimes very hard to prepare sermons that are altogether suitable.

The difficulty of selecting an appropriate theme sometimes. (Illustrate by the housekeeper preparing food. When the children express a preference her labors are lightened.) Even so with the pastor. I have selected this text today because it *suits me*.¹⁰²

He also had what is often called "the homiletic mind," that is, what he saw about him furnished him material for his preaching. "I once saw in New Orleans two policemen pull a woman out of the gutter. How dreadful she looked (dilate)."¹⁰³

UNION CHURCH REFERENCES

Some of these passages have been cited above.¹⁰⁴ Dr. Grafton, obviously, was not accustomed to indulge in flattery of his congregation. From the beginning of his pastorate he did not hesitate to upbraid them when it was necessary, and some of his sermons are very severe, especially the financial sermons. Here is a passage from one on Romans 1:14, delivered in October, 1905:

Now one great fault at Union Church is your illiberality. Your contributions are exceedingly small. We are ashamed of them. To the big cause of Home Missions last month you paid \$8.55, to the Bible cause \$13.37, *et al.*, *et al.* And we have used all manner of methods: envelopes, circulars, cards, *et al.*, but to no avail. One great reason of your failure perhaps is your ignorance of the fields beyond.

The following year, using the subject, "The Blasted Figtree," Mark 11:12-14, 20-21, he did not limit his chiding to financial matters. Hear him:

Now God has given us countless blessings of providence and grace (dilate). What a poor response we have made to these. Our sons and daughters that have gone from us are lost to the church. Five [or is it, Fine?] cities and towns whither our people have gone say, "Your Union Church people don't come to church." Of those that remain great numbers stay away from the sanctuary. A visitor is astonished that the absence of family altars. . . The attendance is poor, the singing is poor, the preaching too is poor. . . Think on these things and see if you are like the figtree.

In September, 1918, on the text Psalm 30:4, he preached to try to improve the singing at Union Church. He described it as then in a deplorable condition:

Our great lack at Union Church is in the singing. We were once noted for good music. Visitors were astonished but it is not so now. We have quite a number of men and women who have fine voices but the music is limited to a little circle around the organ most entirely. Men on this side the aisle, women on that side or in the back of the church as a rule do not sing. The design of this sermon is to improve the singing.

Another type of local reference is that which mentions not only Union Church, but includes some of the surrounding churches, even Methodist and Baptist congregations. Here are three such passages:

Today the churches around us are in mourning because of their young men. Pleasant Hill, Piedmont, Union Church, all are in sorrow because of those who have forgotten their first love.¹⁰⁵

During the summer thus far we have had much preaching. Recount Nebo, Piedmont, Pleasant Hill, Galatia, Philadelphia, the camp-meeting . . . preaching and singing all good. Question comes up, "How have we heard?"¹⁰⁶

During summer now gone we have had special services at Union Church, Bensalem, Galatia, Pleasant Hill, Nebo, Piedmont and the campmeeting. We have had preaching services, eighty-three, and over a hundred prayer meetings. The preaching was excellent, singing good, prayers fervent, preachers all earnest. What has been done? How have you been affected? I pray that you have been good hearers.¹⁰⁷

Commendatory references occur when Dr. Grafton thought of the past of Union Church, when he thought of the former members, and tried to inspire the present ones by reminding them of their ancestry:

Now you are the great-grandchildren of Matthew Smylie, the McDougalds and McCormicks and McLaurins, Wilkin-

sons, Watsons, Galbreaths and McCallums, and surely your hearts must thrill as you hear this gospel. What must you do?¹⁰⁸

Another passage is one recalling the heroism and world-wide vision of the newly formed Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, heroism that was not to be hampered by invading armies:

In 1861-62 we [i. e., the Presbyterian Church, C. S. A., later to become the Presbyterian Church, U. S.] had only one missionary in the field and that was in China, Rev. E. E. Inslee. We are interested in him for one of his daughters, Miss Zelia Inslee, taught in our midst. That was ten or eleven years after the organization of our Church [i. e., after the organization of the Southern Assembly].¹⁰⁹

PROGRESSIVE SPIRIT

The title of this section may be somewhat misleading. It does not mean that Dr. Grafton was ever anything else during his life but a very conservative believer of the very conservative Presbyterian Church, U. S. He was a truly Biblical Christian. But he was not unaware of the liberalizing movements in the world of his day. His mind was not closed to types of thought not in accord with his own, and a few times passages in his sermons may suggest that he did not adhere in all details to the old-line Calvinism. Two such references have already been cited.¹¹⁰ Another citation already given above¹¹¹ shows that he would not have agreed with the reactionary spirit of those who deny that there is a natural theology.

Strangely enough the famous *Marrow of Modern*

Divinity attracted him. There are two remarks about this work in his manuscripts. The first occurs on the margin of a sermon of November, 1880, based on the text Galatians 4:31. He says: "Before preaching this sermon read *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, pages 158-170." The second is a parenthesis from a 1915 sermon on "The Covenant of Works," Genesis 2:16, 17: "(Dilate on this point from *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, pages 35-36.)" This however, may or may not be a true liberalizing tendency, for some might call this book ultra-fundamentalist, while others might find it savoring of dispensationalism in its distinctions between law and grace.

These are only a few remarks in the manuscripts, and hardly serve as more than slight indications of Dr. Grafton's occasional intentions, for Dr. Grafton was too well-grounded in the Southern and Calvinistic conservatism. One may therefore conclude with this quotation from a sermon based in Philippians 3:13, preached in April, 1907:

Review your own history and your church history. 'Tis sweet to bring up "old times" but we must not linger among them. Reach out to the things ahead. New views of truth, new plans of advancing God's Kingdom at home and abroad claim our attention. As times change we must change our methods. . .

His Writings

"DR. GRAFTON'S MESSAGE"

DR. GRAFTON contributed articles to *The Mississippi Visitor*, the official organ of the Synod of Mississippi,¹ almost every month from its inception in December, 1911, to December, 1928—approximately two hundred articles in all. These were entitled, "Dr. Grafton's Message," a title which shows in what high esteem he was held by his associates in synod and presbytery. It is also significant that no minister since his death has succeeded him in continuing a similar column in the *Visitor*.

The great majority of these brief writings were sermonic in style, devotional in content. Such subjects as, "Walking in the Spirit,"² "Trees of the Bible,"³ "The Heavenly Visitation,"⁴ "Jacob's Dream,"⁵ "Are We Saved by Grace?"⁶ "The Work of the Unregenerate Man,"⁷ "The Fig Tree on the Bethany Road,"⁸ and "Think and Thank"⁹ are typical. Occasionally Dr. Grafton used a text or a story from a source other than Scripture, such as, "Hitching to a Star,"¹⁰ "Fresh Blossoms on the Rose Bush,"¹¹ "The Two Gardens,"¹² and "Story of a Little Clock,"¹³ but these are not frequent.

¹ The figures occurring in the text of this chapter indicate notes at the end of the book. These notes are numbered to correspond with the figures in the chapter. The "Notes" for Chapter III begin on page 214.

Even less frequently there appear controversial issues, but a few of these deserve some mention. For instance, there is an attack on Modernism,¹⁴ defenses of affusion as Scriptural baptism and the practice of infant baptism,¹⁵ a strong article opposing such wordly forms of entertainment as dancing.¹⁶ Two are repetitions.¹⁷ Some are shorter forms of extant sermons.¹⁸ One is a tribute to George A. McGehee, an elder of Liberty, Mississippi.¹⁹

These articles contribute nothing new to an understanding of Dr. Grafton's thought which cannot be discovered from his sermons already discussed. They show him to be a thoroughly orthodox churchman. Like the ancient Fathers, he identified concupiscence as the root of all actual sin; contrary to St. Thomas Aquinas, who considered only the desire for gain as infinite (*appetitus divitiarum infinitus*), Dr. Grafton believed that concupiscence was insatiable.²⁰ In accordance with Calvinistic thought he believed that not only did good come from God, but also the ills of human life.²¹ He was a typically Southern Christian when he stated that it was a violation of the third commandment for anyone, especially a minister, to make a frivolous quotation from Scripture,²² and when he thought that even knitting for the Red Cross on Sunday was contrary to the fourth commandment.²³ In opposition to some modern religious educators, Dr. Grafton did not agree that a child was an "angel enclosed in marble" and that it was therefore the duty of parents, teachers, and other leaders simply to chisel away the marble and allow the angel to stand forth in its beauty. He believed that children have only the Devil in them and the duty of Christian

instructors was to release the old Serpent and put Christ in instead.²⁴

Three of these columns are particularly comforting to the quiet obscure workers of the world. The first commends those faithful toilers who do their work but get no credit;²⁵ the second exhorts them to do their tasks well because they cannot know what great things may result from small beginnings;²⁶ the third is a charge not to be weary in well-doing for sooner or later the bread cast upon the waters will be found again.²⁷

In the *Visitor* of May, 1923, "Dr. Grafton's Message" was entitled "The Country Church and Gravel Roads."²⁸ It contains a great amount of unconscious humor for the present-day reader, though it refers to what was a serious problem then. It describes the "improvements" of transportation by means of "fine gravel roads," but suggests that along with the good that will result from this evidence of progress, there goes a companion evil, the temptation to use the roads for pleasure trips on Sunday and the consequent nonattendance at church.

At intervals Dr. Grafton broke away from the strictly devotional and wrote concerning a meeting of presbytery or synod or a visit to a special preaching appointment. For example, in August, 1918, he assisted Rev. W. H. McIntosh in a meeting at Calvary Church in Smith County. In writing of this he recalled a meeting of the Presbytery of Mississippi there in September, 1899, when it took him four days to reach the place.²⁹ Then he recounted the dedication of the J. J. White Memorial Church, McComb, on the second Sunday of

January, 1922. He had laid the cornerstone of it some time before that. In this article he paid high tribute to Captain J. J. White (father of former Governor Hugh White), with whom he had been associated in the Confederate Army, and who had lived in his home county, Madison.³⁰ There are articles about the dedication of the church at Fayette,³¹ a meeting of presbytery at Centerville,³² the meeting of the four synods of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana at their college, Southwestern, at Memphis, Tennessee,³³ and a meeting of presbytery at the historic Pine Ridge Church.³⁴ Two articles are accounts of his visits to his Alma Mater, the Columbia Theological Seminary. One is his first visit in his new capacity as a director from the Synod of Mississippi, and is a reminiscent story about his professors and classmates there;³⁵ the other, written in March, 1927, discusses the moving of the seminary to Decatur, Georgia, the coming September.³⁶ A most interesting column is the one which tells about the installation and dedication of a new Mason and Hamlin organ at Union Church on March 20, 1927, in the course of which he stated that the people there had used only a tuning fork until 1880.³⁷

There are a group of important articles written about the same time he was compiling his history of Presbyterianism in Mississippi. A news note on the first page of the *Visitor* for November, 1924, mentioned the appointment by the synod of the committee to prepare the history.³⁸ Dr. Grafton used his "Message" to give sketches of what he was writing in fuller detail in the History, as well as to ask for more information. On oc-

casions he would also thank various people for their assistance. One column was devoted to "Preachers of the Presbyterian Church in the Early Pioneer Period," men like "Father" William Montgomery, James Smylie, and others.³⁹ Another was "Presbyterianism in Mississippi and Church Schools," dealing with Oakland College, Montrose Academy, Zion Seminary, Mount Salus Academy, LaGrange College in Tennessee, Holly Springs Synodical College, Southwestern Presbyterian University, Belhaven, Chamberlain-Hunt Academy, and Silliman Institute.⁴⁰ Still another was a very sketchy account of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church in Mississippi.⁴¹ Three successive ones were entitled "Memorabilia," the first two being about Dr. J. B. Stratton, of Natchez, and the third about Mary Jane Stuart, daughter of Thomas C. Stuart, an early missionary to the Chickasaw Indians of northeast Mississippi.⁴² These articles do not contribute any more to the history of the state or of Presbyterianism in it than can be found in the manuscript of the book by Dr. Grafton and the other members of the synod's committee.

Perhaps the most amazing omission in these messages is reference to the Great War during the years the United States was engaged in it.

"HERITAGE AND TESTIMONY"

The Presbytery of Mississippi celebrated the semi-centennial of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. at its spring meeting in Crystal Springs, April 11-13, 1911, by hearing three addresses, one of which was made by Dr. Grafton. It was entitled "Heritage and Testimony of

the Southern Presbyterian Church." These three addresses were preserved in a pamphlet printed by the press of the *McComb City Journal*, McComb, Mississippi. In typical preacherly fashion Dr. Grafton took a text for his address, the phrase, "the faith which was once delivered unto the saints," Jude 3. The first section dealt with the Church's heritages. These, he pointed out, were Scripture, Calvinistic theology, and Presbyterian polity, an inheritance bought with blood.⁴³ In this treatment he attacked the Church of Rome vigorously along many lines, and also the New Schoolmen.

In the second section he set forth the testimony of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. on its two distinctive teachings, the ruling eldership and the spirituality of the church.⁴⁴ The former was a point over which James Henley Thornwell had had many debates in the undivided Old School Assembly. Under his guidance the Southern Church wrote into its constitution the absolute equality of the ruling elder with the teaching elder in the church courts. It also specified that he might lay on hands with the ministers in the ordination of a minister. It also held that no church court was complete without the presence of at least one lay elder. Dr. Grafton claimed that apostolic practice sanctioned this.⁴⁵

The other special witness, the spirituality of the church, was the reason why the Southern presbyteries finally broke away and organized the Southern General Assembly, December 4, 1861. Here again Dr. Grafton quoted Thornwell at length. Moreover, he said graphically that when Dr. Gardiner Spring introduced his fatal resolutions, "The spirit of Presbyterianism seemed

for once to be asleep, fascinated by the spirit of the world.”⁴⁶ The resolutions he described as “injudicious, cruel, and criminal,” as strong a statement as could probably be made about them.⁴⁷ He did yield slightly to another interpretation of the schism when he said, “. . . it is not positively certain how far our Southern Presbyterians were influenced by this naked principle in withdrawing and setting up a separate church organization,” but he followed that immediately with this declaration, “but having been forced out, they saw that they were on the right side of a great question and our church has ever since clung to that principle, emphasized and accentuated it.”⁴⁸

The third section is devoted to the responsibility of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. This lies in two directions, according to Dr. Grafton. First, the heritage must be preserved:

We must preserve the Bible, guard carefully its inspiration, watch with a jealous eye against every invasion of that system of truth which we have received from it and show in our lives the fruits of practical holiness.⁴⁹

Second, this preserved truth must be given to the world:

One of our best methods of keeping our standards pure is to give them broadcast to the world. . . If Welhausen, Kuenen, Driver, and Cheyne had been evangelists in the mountains of Kentucky or the plains of Texas telling dying men how to be saved, curing the wounds and pouring the oil of joy into the running sore of the world, they would have had no time for foolish quibbling about Moses, Isaiah and Daniel.⁵⁰

“BIBLE ETHICS”

In the early summer of 1914 Dr. Grafton, as a member of the faculty of the Synod's Training School in Jackson, delivered a series of three lectures on the subject of "Bible Ethics." During this week he was associated with some of the outstanding preachers and teachers of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., at that time, namely, Professor R. A. Webb of the Louisville Seminary, Professor Theron Rice of the Union Seminary (Richmond), Dr. A. W. Blackwood, then of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Dr. J. S. Foster of Birmingham. Dr. Grafton's lectures were entitled, respectively, "Meaning of the Sabbath," "Keeping of the Sabbath," and "The Religious Home." About a month after the close of the Training School all the addresses were published as a volume, *Elements of Truth*.⁵¹ It is from this book that the following exposition is derived.

In the first address,⁵² Dr. Grafton, in attempting to define the purpose of the Sabbath says, "It was designed to be a picture of what man lost by sin and what he regains in heaven."⁵³ This is the key sentence of his discussion. Thereafter he sets forth the orthodox idea of the glory and holiness of man as he came from the hand of Almighty God. This condition of perfection man lost in the fall and thereafter entered upon a life of sin and misery. God, however, did not leave man to suffer unrelievedly, but gave him certain alleviations. The Sabbath is as it were a relic of the old days of man's Edenic situation when he communed with God and God with him in the cool of the day. It therefore serves to remind

man of those days and thus to make him penitent for the sin that broke the peace.

“This day of rest is designed of God to keep before his mind the memory of his loss and the hope of his perfection.”⁵⁴ With this line Dr. Grafton turned to the second purpose of the Sabbath. Man must not work on that day because labor is a slave’s business, a part of the curse: on the Sabbath man must rest as a king. On the Sabbath man is once again, by anticipation, what God intends him to be: a prophet, teaching and learning to teach the will of God; a priest, learning to intercede; a king, enjoying his dignity and rest.⁵⁵

The second lecture⁵⁶ repeats a good portion of the thought and language of the first, especially in the stress laid upon the “monumental significance of the Sabbath,”⁵⁷ a reminder of the link man has with Eden and heaven. Dr. Grafton then turns to the blessings that come from keeping the Sabbath. They are two: by rest, the Sabbath promotes a long life; and Sabbath work does not pay!⁵⁸ He says that in the decline of Sabbath observance there is a definite scheme (which he borrowed from an unknown source), described by these words: “Holy Day, Holiday, Work Day, Devil’s Day, Despot’s Day.”⁵⁹

Not only is it advantageous to keep the Sabbath day holy, but it is disadvantageous to desecrate it. The latter brings alarming results, as is proven by three defeats in military history. The Federals lost the first battle of Manassas because they attacked on Sunday, the Confederates lost Shiloh for the same reason, and Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo for similar desecration!⁶⁰

Moreover, according to some report which Dr. Grafton had, of the twelve hundred twenty-two prisoners in Auburn State Prison that year all but eleven had been Sabbathbreakers, and of three hundred and fifty criminals executed nine out of ten were the same kind of sinners!⁶¹ Some of the responsibility for the low estimate of the fourth commandment in the United States must, according to Dr. Grafton, be shared by Christian ministers who in order to get to certain appointments at a distance actually begin their trips on Sunday night.⁶²

The third is a short fantasy, if one may call it that, an attempt to imagine the home life of Obed-edom when the ark of the covenant was with him for three months. Dr. Grafton considered Obed's home an ideal one because God was present in it,⁶³ and he described Obed's family prayer and strict Sabbath observance. The most interesting lines in this address are these:

Now it is true, the Israelites once used the ark as a fetish. It was so used in the latter days of Eli, the prophet, but the result was disastrous. Many today make the Bible a fetish, also baptism and the Lord's Supper, the house of God and every other sacred thing, when the spirit of formalism prevails and the spirit of worship departs.⁶⁴

It is amazing to find Dr. Grafton conceding that the Bible could be used as a fetish.

It must be remarked that, except for the first, these lectures are decidedly inferior to any of his other published works both in thought and in structure.

Three of Dr. Grafton's historical publications have been used extensively in the preparation of Chapter I of this book. They are, "A Sketch of the Old Scotch

Settlement at Union Church," in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*,⁶⁵ *A Forty-Three Year Pastorate in a Country Church*,⁶⁶ and "Story of Union Church," in the *Fayette Chronicle*.⁶⁷

"SKETCH OF THE OLD SCOTCH SETTLEMENT"

The "Sketch of the Old Scotch Settlement" begins in 1806 with the coming of George Torrey, his son Don-gold Torrey, Laughlin Currie, and Robert Willis, and their families from North Carolina through Tennessee to Jefferson county. "They were soon followed by the Gilchrists, Galbreaths and Camerons."⁶⁸ These people were Scottish and spoke Gaelic for a long time. Dr. Grafton knew of a Psalter and Shorter Catechism in that language still extant in his day. Most of the pages of this paper deal with the ministerial succession of Union Church, the lists of elders and deacons, and the men in the "Charley Clarke Rifles."

It was a sad and long-to-be-remembered day when those dear young men paraded in the shade of the trees close to the old church and received from the hands of Miss Flora Buie a silken banner of the Southern Confederacy.⁶⁹

There are many others whose names are found upon our gravestones who had in them the stuff to make them stand in Senate halls or wear the crown of martyrs, but like the "many a flower that wastes its sweetness on the desert air," they rest sweetly in their quiet beds with no sculptured urn or monument to tell their story.⁷⁰

Dr. Grafton closed the "Sketch" on a note of sadness, lamenting the loss of Union Church's sons and daughters to surrounding towns and cities and other states. In the

thirty years, 1875-1905, seventy families had moved away from the community! And with the coming of better roads, and perhaps even the railroads, it was to be expected that yet more would in time move away, but he was confident that the influence of the Scotch Settlemen would never wane.

We may be opened up better to the commerce and methods of the world, but the history of Union Church for these hundred years past is beyond the reach of change. It is embalmed in precious memories that lie hidden away on old tombstones and in old Bibles all over the land.⁷¹

“FORTY-THREE YEAR PASTORATE”

A Forty-Three Year Pastorate was the address delivered by Dr. Grafton as moderator of General Assembly meeting in Orlando, Florida, in 1916. The first section is the by-now familiar history of his old church, then follows a section on his type of preaching for forty years. This, as is well known, was sternly Calvinistic. “Calvinism presents God as standing before the sinner, demanding his surrender and offering infinite mercy. These truths make up the conquering gospel.”⁷² This may be further illustrated by his reference to conducting the funeral service of a bad man killed in a brawl.

You have a house crowded from one end to the other and they wonder what will the preacher say. But don't be disturbed about that. The preacher is not hampered in any way and does not feel called on to laud the dead and foster the spiritual pride of survivors in this sad hour. The preacher is backed up by Calvinistic theology and he takes a text like this: The Lord God omnipotent reigneth. And he preaches about a Sovereign God who is just, but tender and boundless

in love. The sermon will create no false hopes, but all feel bowed and subdued and consoled by the fact that God reigns and not man.⁷⁸

He describes the Union Church use of psalmody, his pastoral work, his activity in the church courts, and his labor of love as a schoolmaster. The section entitled "Lights and Shadows of Forty-Three Years" is particularly moving. He concludes with touching mellowness, gratefully acknowledging God's mercies to him. "It cannot be a long time till this earthly pastorate shall come to an end."⁷⁴ It is interesting to note that he missed this guess by eighteen years. "So, in the coming sunset, as another sinner redeemed by sovereign love, with the world behind him and the future ahead, without a regret or a sigh, the country preacher will pass on to a better country."⁷⁵ As Gibbon, without documentary warrant, described the council of Piacenza as bursting into tears at Pope Urban II's "sad tale of the misery and perils" of the Greeks at the hands of the Turks,⁷⁶ so it is safe to assume that not many eyes of the commissioners to General Assembly were dry as Dr. Grafton sat down.

"STORY OF UNION CHURCH"

The "Story of Union Church" was an address delivered Thursday morning, August 23, 1917, at a celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the organization of that church. It is the same story as recorded in the two above-mentioned works and need not be further discussed.

“OAKLAND COLLEGE”

By the canon “History is documents,” the article “Oakland College” in the centennial catalogue of the Alcorn, Mississippi, Agricultural and Mechanical College is the most objectively historical of Dr. Grafton’s printed writings.⁷⁷ In this he has preserved several important pieces of original material, such as a presbytery report by Benjamin Chase at Bethel Church, January 4, 1830; the act of incorporation of Oakland College, signed by Governor G. C. Brandon, December 3, 1830; the report of synod’s committee on dissolution of the college, November, 1871. But even in this Dr. Grafton has inserted enough sentences to show that it is really a *Tendenzschrift*.

This will show the providence of God and his people as co-laborers with God.⁷⁸ . . . This proposition came at a point of time that well nigh stamped it as the providence of God.⁷⁹ . . . So it came to pass in the providence of God that the authorities of Oakland College, being pressed beyond measure by some outstanding debts and suffering from want of patronage, were getting ready to sell out and move to another place.⁸⁰ . . . It was a strange conjuncture of providence.⁸¹

The work is marred by some unnecessary repetitions. The April, 1829, meeting of presbytery at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, which began the movement toward the creation of Oakland College is recorded three times;⁸² the presbytery in convention, January 14, 1830, three times;⁸³ the first graduation, that of James W. Smylie, three times;⁸⁴ the number of ministers to receive their degrees there, twice.⁸⁵ Some curious infelicities of style

are present. For instance, about the middle of the article occurs this sentence which is also a paragraph: "Here we lay down our pen for a while."⁸⁶ This reminds one of the marginal notations made by monkish copyists of the Middle Ages. Here is a paragraph which contains two sentences which have no essential relation to each other:

It can easily be imagined how facts like these [lack of candidates for the ministry in the first twenty-one years of Presbyterianism in Mississippi] should create surprise and consternation. The Presbytery of Mississippi at that time [1829] embraced the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas.⁸⁷

Oakland College, belonging to the Presbytery of Mississippi, was incorporated December 3, 1830, under the presidency of Rev. Jeremiah Chamberlain, D.D. It was transferred to the synod nine years later. The War Between the States and the Reconstruction broke up its functioning; and in January, 1872, it was bought by the state to be used as a school for Negroes. It was renamed Alcorn University in honor of the then governor.⁸⁸ In 1878 it was reorganized as Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College to have it conform to the Land-Grant College Act. The money received by the presbytery from the state was used to open Chamberlain-Hunt Military Academy in Port Gibson in 1877. Thus the old institution has two modern successors.

The first graduate was James W. Smylic, class of 1833, from Amite County. He is—

. . . believed to be the first native citizen of Mississippi, who received the degree of A.B. in his own state; and was prob-

ably the first instance in the United States of one being called so early in life as he was [at thirty-four years of age] to fill the honorable station of Vice Chancellor, which duties he discharged with marked ability and general satisfaction.⁸⁹

In 1837 an unknown donor gave twenty thousand dollars to establish a chair of theology, to which the Rev. Samuel Beach Jones was appointed.⁹⁰ The schedule of required work in the classes was very impressive and would delight present-day folk who lament the decline in classical studies. It is here set down as Dr. Grafton reproduced it from the old catalogue.

Freshman:

Andrews and Stoddard's Latin Grammar
 Sallust's Conspiracy of Catiline
 Cicero's Orations against Catiline
 Xenophon's Anabasis
 The Odes of Horace
 Latin Prose Composition. Arnold
 Herodotus
 Algebra
 Geometry, five books

Sophomore:

Odes of Horace (completed)
 Classical Mythology and Roman Antiquities
 Homer's Iliad
 Arnold's Prose Composition (Latin)
 Satires and Epistles of Horace
 Tacitus: Germania and Agricola
 Thucydides
 Latin Prose Composition. Arnold
 Geometry (completed)

History; Rhetoric
 Plane Trigonometry
 Spherical Trigonometry; Surveying

Junior:

Ars Poetica (Horace)
 Thucydides
 Juvenal; Greek Tragedy
 Analytical Geometry
 Rhetoric; Botany
 Calculus; Logic
 Chemistry (inorganic)
 Chemistry (organic)
 Mineralogy; Natural Theology
 Geology

Senior:

Cicero de Officiis
 Cicero de Oratore
 Plato's Gorgias
 Natural Philosophy
 Astronomy
 Political Economy; Zoology
 Evidences of Christianity
 Mental Philosophy
 Moral Philosophy⁹¹

As Dr. Grafton said, "Anyone that understands a college curriculum will recognize this as a first-class course in every sense of the word."⁹² And he was probably right when he added, "No college through all the land had higher grades of study than those pursued at Oakland College."⁹³ Dr. Grafton performed a creditable work when he put down in permanent form this history of a great old college whose name should never be for-

gotten by Mississippi Presbyterians. It is altogether likely that this may prove the most important of Dr. Grafton's published historical productions.

THE UNPUBLISHED HISTORY

The most pretentious of all Dr. Grafton's writings was his History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi, which however never went to press. It remains in manuscript form out in Union Church. In the main it was the product of his own research, although he was assisted by a committee of synod. In fact, the task was undertaken at the order of synod.⁹⁴ The manuscript is approximately seven hundred pages in length, and is divided into fifty chapters. The compilation of the materials took about three years, and the actual preparation of the book thirteen months, being finished in February, 1927. Why the History was not published by the Eastman Memorial Foundation is not exactly known. The collapse of the project was a great disappointment to Dr. Grafton, as it is a great loss to the synod and to the state. Perhaps this regrettable failure may yet be remedied if the synod and other interested parties should again devote some attention to it and take steps to have it edited and sent to press. It is not likely, however, that it will ever be printed, therefore more space will be given to an exposition of its contents here. The other writings mentioned in this chapter are available to the public, but this one being more or less inaccessible cannot be so widely known as it deserves; hence this description, which may seem overlong.

In the Introductory,⁹⁵ Dr. Grafton sketched briefly

the method he would use in telling his story of Mississippi Presbyterianism. It was by dividing the state into four parts and discussing the development in each division. The sections as he named them were southwest Mississippi, or the Natchez country; northeast Mississippi, or the Mayhew district; southeast Mississippi; and north Mississippi, including the Delta.

As Chapter II,⁹⁶ Dr. Grafton has incorporated a paper by Judge Jeff Truly of Fayette, delivered before the local D. A. R. It shows how Mississippi Presbyterianism was built upon Congregational foundations. In 1768, Captain Amos Ogden of New Jersey, a retired British naval officer, had received a grant of twenty-five thousand acres of land in Mississippi, then the territory of West Florida. In 1772 he sold the major portion of this property to the brothers Richard and Samuel Swayze, the latter of whom was a Congregationalist minister, founder of the first Protestant church in the Southwest. Another early Congregationalist preacher dealt with was the Rev. Jedidiah Smith, who came slightly later than the Swayzes, and who died and was buried in Natchez.⁹⁷ In addition to these men, Dr. Grafton then included some consideration of other Protestant pioneers—Richard Curtis the Baptist, Adam Cloud the Episcopalian, Tobias Gibson and the eccentric Lorenzo Dow the Methodists, and the early Presbyterian missionaries William Montgomery, James Hall, James Bowman, and Joseph Bullen.⁹⁸ Some of this material has been used above⁹⁹ and is vitally important to an understanding of the source of ideas and thoughts in the state.

Some of these men suffered for their Protestantism under the Spanish Catholic government. Swayze had to flee with his parishioners to the swamps in order to preach. Lookouts were placed on guard to warn against a raid. A cowhorn summoned the congregation to worship if the way was clear.¹⁰⁰ The stream near which Swayze stood to preach in the midst of a dense canebrake was called "Sammie's Creek" as late as the days of J. G. Jones, the Methodist historian.¹⁰¹ Curtis was seized in 1795 and condemned to the Mexican silver mines, but escaped to return in late 1796 to his flock.¹⁰² Cloud's property was confiscated in 1792, and he was taken in chains to New Orleans. Twenty-five years later he came back and succeeded in establishing the beautiful little Christ Church at Church Hill.¹⁰³ Due credit, however, is paid to the sacrificial life of the earlier French Catholic missionary Father Anthony Davion, who in 1698 reared the cross at Loftus' Heights (then known as "Davion's Rock").¹⁰⁴

There is to our mind remaining unwritten a grand epic which will portray in its proper light this hero of the Cross. . . . When we recall that this Cross was the first emblem of religion raised along the course of the great Father of Waters, and stood catching the first golden ray of the morning sun, as an awe-inspiring emblem to the untutored savage, and gilded by the last light from the western horizon, was a warning and a guide to the roistering flatboatmen who floated at the foot of the cliff upon which it stood, who can say how many an oath and ribald song was hushed and how many a devout prayer was inspired by the knowledge that the temporal kingdom of God has posted a sentinel even in the untracked wilderness! Dead is the

priest, gone is the mission, forgotten even the site of the Cross, but let each one hope that the good that this man did was not interred with his bones.¹⁰⁵

Four chapters follow regarding the establishment of the first ten Presbyterian churches, the settling of ministers, and the organization of the Presbytery of Mississippi.¹⁰⁶ Of the ten churches referred to by Dr. Grafton seven were organized before the presbytery was erected, namely, Bethel at Uniontown in Jefferson County, founded by Joseph Bullen in 1804; Bayou Pierre near Port Gibson, by Joseph Bullen and James Smylie in 1807; Salem at Washington, by Smylie, February 25, 1807; Bethany and Amite in Amite County, by Smylie between 1807 and 1811; Florida near Jackson, Louisiana, by Smylie between 1807 and 1811; and Ebenezer in the Scotch Settlement of Jefferson County, by Jacob Rickhow in 1811. In 1822, Bethel was dissolved and the members transferred to Harmony Church, which was also subsequently dissolved and the members transferred to Ebenezer. The church building still stands and is used by a Negro congregation. Bayou Pierre Church was dissolved too, the members going to Port Gibson and to a second Bethel near the old Oakland College, both of these churches being still active. Salem was moved in 1808 to Pine Ridge, and as such continues to the present; and is thus the oldest existing Presbyterian church of the old Southwest. Bethany and Amite remain today. Florida Church was moved to Jackson, Louisiana. Ebenezer was dissolved in 1875 or 1876. The building was sold to the Methodists and it now belongs to the circuit called "Scotland," which serves "to retain

the Scotch name long after the Presbyterians have ceased to call their community the Scotch Settlement."¹⁰⁷ The other three churches whose beginnings are recorded by Dr. Grafton in his Chapter IV are Union Church, organized March 2, 1817, by Joseph Bullen; Natchez, in the fall of 1817, by Daniel Smith; and New Orleans, November 23, 1823, by Theodore Clapp (gathered together in 1819 by Sylvester Larned). "These ten churches are the strictly pioneer churches of the Presbytery of Mississippi."¹⁰⁸

From the old Southwest, Dr. Grafton passed to the beginnings of Presbyterianism in northeast Mississippi.¹⁰⁹ This section had been an ancient field of conflict in which Britain, France, Spain, and the Indians had contended for the mastery. Here, near Tupelo, Hernando de Soto and his men had spent the winter of 1540-41, previous to their discovery of the Mississippi River. Here, on May 20, 1736, had been fought the battle of Ackia, one of the most decisive battles in American history, decisive because with the defeat of the French and Choctaws by the Chickasaw allies of the English, French encirclement of the English colonies was prevented and the way to the Pacific remained open for Anglo-American expansion. Here the blood of martyrs had been spilt when D'Artaguiette, Father Senat, and others had, while chanting the *Miserere*, perished at the stake at the hands of the Chickasaws on Palm Sunday, 1736. The pioneer Presbyterian missionary here was Thomas C. Stuart, who in January, 1821, began his work among the Indians. The old Monroe church was organized on June 7, 1823.¹¹⁰

Dr. Grafton mentioned briefly the fascinating stories of French Nancy, Peggy Allen, and the famous outlaw, John A. Murrell. Murrell, it will be recalled, was the "great western land pirate" who organized a clan which extended all over the South in a fantastic conspiracy involving a servile insurrection, the purpose of which was to overthrow the established order of the frontier, and set up a vast outlaw empire with New Orleans as its capital.¹¹¹ Some amounts of money for this scheme were actually obtained from Northern Abolitionist groups with whom Murrell was in communication. He frequently posed as a traveling evangelist, and is reported to have preached some effective sermons.

After a chapter on the missions among the Choctaw Indians near the middle portion of the state, sponsored largely by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,¹¹² he described the early work of the church in southeast Mississippi, the section known as the "piney woods." The labors of Rev. A. R. Graves in the founding of Mount Zion Seminary in Covington county and his other missionary activities, the labors of Rev. John N. Waddel, later chancellor of the University of Mississippi, in the founding of Montrose Academy in Jasper county, come in for due consideration.¹¹⁸ Graves was a pioneer preacher and educator who came to the state in 1833 from his home near Saratoga, New York. He so identified himself with his adopted country that he became a chaplain in the Confederate Army. Some of his descendants still live in the "piney woods" section of Mississippi. Waddel was a South Carolinian

who came to Mississippi about the same time that Graves did. His work in behalf of both state and church schools was truly apostolic. The Enon High School in Perry County was another early project of the southeast Mississippi Presbyterians.¹¹⁴ It was established about 1850, with Mr. and Mrs A. B. Alvoid in charge.

The preliminary work over, the institutional task of erecting presbyteries was done by subdividing the original Presbytery of Mississippi. Dr. Grafton described this in two chapters, one being a more detailed study of the organization of the first presbytery,¹¹⁵ the other being a sketch of Tombigbee, Central Mississippi, Meridian, and North Mississippi Presbyteries.¹¹⁶ At the present time the boundaries of the Synod of Mississippi are coterminous with those of the state, as is generally true in the Presbyterian Church, U. S., though it was not always so. In the early days of organization the Synod of the Carolinas claimed jurisdiction, but the first presbytery, that of Mississippi, was created by the Synod of Kentucky, as the result of an overture sent up by the Presbytery of West Tennessee. The new presbytery—

. . . was of immense extent. It was bounded on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, the eastern line was the Perdido River up to Fort Jackson, thence to the headwaters of the Alabama River, and thence to the Choctaw-Chickasaw line, which ran west to the Mississippi River. The western boundary was indefinite. The presbytery embraced a good part of the state of Alabama, nearly all of Mississippi, the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas.¹¹⁷

In 1817 the Synod of Kentucky was divided, the part to which the Presbytery of Mississippi was assigned be-

coming the Synod of Tennessee, and eight years later, in 1825, this synod was in turn divided, the presbytery becoming subject to the Synod of West Tennessee. Three years after this the Presbytery of Tombigbee was erected in the northeast section of the state by order of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia. In 1829 the Presbytery of Mississippi protested against this act, which was a usurpation of its rights, and succeeded in having the General Assembly form the Synod of Mississippi and South Alabama, to include the presbyteries of Mississippi, Tombigbee, and South Alabama. The Presbytery of Clinton in the central part of the state was set off from the Presbytery of Mississippi in 1831. "Then followed the presbyteries of Arkansas and Amite in 1834, the name of Amite being changed in 1836 to Louisiana."¹¹⁸

In 1835 the presbyteries of Mississippi, Clinton, Amite (or Louisiana), and Arkansas were made the Synod of Mississippi by action of the Assembly. Dr. Grafton then brought the succeeding divisions up to date by summarizing the action as follows:

The Indian Presbytery was set off Oct. 25, 1840. In 1841 the Presbytery of Holly Springs was formed out of missionary territory which the Synod claimed and its name was changed to Chickasaw in 1842. In 1856 the Presbytery of Chickasaw having come under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Memphis was divided so as to form the presbyteries of North Mississippi and Chickasaw.

In 1842 the Presbytery of Tombigbee was received. In 1844 the Presbytery of New Orleans was organized, dissolved in 1845 and reorganized in 1854. In 1845 the Presbytery of Brazos was received and in 1850 the Synod set off

from it the two presbyteries of Eastern and Western Texas. In 1853 the Presbytery of Red River was set off and in 1854 the two presbyteries of Yazoo and East Mississippi.

In 1855 the name of Yazoo was changed to Central Mississippi and in 1866 East Mississippi was dissolved and its territory divided among other presbyteries.

In 1864 the New School presbyteries of Clinton, Lexington South, and Newton were received, then dissolved and the members and churches transferred to the Old School presbyteries. The Presbytery of Bethel (colored) was set off in 1890 and in 1899 the Presbytery of Meridian.

In 1901 the General Assembly set off from the Synod of Mississippi the presbyteries of New Orleans, Louisiana, and Red River, and formed them into the Synod of Louisiana. In the same year the synods of Memphis and Nashville were dissolved and the Tennessee presbyteries were organized into the Synod of Tennessee, and the two presbyteries of North Mississippi and Chickasaw were assigned to the Synod of Mississippi.

In 1909 through the order of the General Assembly, all the churches of the two counties of Amite and Wilkinson, which belonged to the Synod of Louisiana, were set off to the Synod of Mississippi, so that the boundary lines of the synods of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana now coincide with their respective state lines.¹¹⁹

James Smylic and Samuel J. Mills each receive a chapter.¹²⁰ The former, an apostolic figure, was born in North Carolina in 1780 and died in Amite County, Mississippi, in 1853. Sent out by the Synod of the Carolinas, he arrived in Washington, Mississippi, in 1804, and became the first permanently settled pastor in the territory of the Presbytery of Mississippi. He was responsible for the organization of five churches in that old Southwest. In 1816 he undertook, at the request of his

brethren, a trip on horseback alone, through the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations to Nashville, where the Presbytery of West Tennessee was in session, and instituted the process which resulted in the formation of the Presbytery of Mississippi. The first act of the new church court was a vote of thanks to him for his agency in this matter.

Previously to this, in 1815, the nondenominational Amite and Florida Bible Society was organized and held its first meeting in Liberty, Mississippi. Smylie made the opening address, "setting forth the purposes of the organization, which was to labor in connection with the American Bible Society."¹²¹ He was also a writer, being the author of some of the early Scriptural proslavery pamphlets of the period. In 1836 the Presbytery of Chillicothe (Ohio) had issued a violent abolitionist letter to the Presbytery of Mississippi, and in response to it Smylie compiled what became a kind of textbook setting forth the Southern viewpoint, a book with large influence on the later attitude of church and state in the slave states. Smylie, however, often stirred up the anger of the slaveholders by sermons in which he flayed them for not performing their religious duties to the Negroes. In his later life he devoted his time exclusively to instruction of the slaves, even preparing for them a catechism which was approved by the synod.¹²²

Another of Smylie's pamphlets which deserves some attention was the one about the trial of Dr. W. A. Scott, pastor of the First Church, New Orleans, 1843-1854. In the presidential campaign of 1844 between Henry Clay

and James K. Polk, rumors were circulated that Clay had been seen by two ministers playing cards on the Sabbath while on a boat going up the Mississippi River. Clay's friends traced the origin of this story to Dr. Scott and Dr. James A. Lyon of Columbus, Mississippi. The latter stood by his assertion, but Dr. Scott denied having made any such statement. His parishioners preferred charges against him for falsifying, but the presbytery (Mississippi) declined to prosecute the case. Smylie, feeling that he must now ward off the public accusation of being contentious, wrote his booklet to set forth what he considered the true facts of the case and dedicated it to Dr. Charles Hodge of Princeton who was the chairman of the Assembly committee. Not long after the publication, and probably due in a large measure to it, Dr. Scott left New Orleans and lived many years on the Pacific coast. Dr. Grafton's estimate of Smylie follows:

He left an unmistakable impress upon the religion, social and educational life of the Southwest and the influence of this one man has gone out in ever widening circles far beyond the vision of any of our generation.¹²³

Mills was one of the leaders of the famous "Haystack Meeting" at Williams College. In 1812-1813 he had made a missionary tour through the Southwest country, and he was ultimately instrumental in founding the Mayhew mission to the Choctaws in Oktibbeha County.¹²⁴ Dr. Grafton compared Mills' "Society of Brethren" with Loyola's Society of Jesus and Wesley's "Holy Club," and suggested that in keeping the pro-

ceedings of the group secret by means of a cipher he was following the example of the German "Illuminati."¹²⁵

These early Presbyterians were not narrow and sectarian but exhibited a most unusual co-operative spirit, as Dr. Grafton has shown by describing "The Religious Convention of Christian Denominations," at Clear Creek, December 19, 1817.¹²⁶

This History was not limited by its author to the regular Presbyterianism of the synod, but included chapters on the Cumberland Church,¹²⁷ the New School Church,¹²⁸ the Associate Reformed Church,¹²⁹ and much later the Negro Presbytery of Ethel (organized December 10, 1890), which belongs not to the Synod of Mississippi, but to the Negro Synod of Snedecor Memorial (organized May 19, 1898).¹³⁰ He even devoted a chapter to the Methodist and Baptist denominations in the state.¹³¹ The Cumberlanders formed their first presbytery in Mississippi at the now extinct town of Gallatin in April, 1832.¹³² The Mississippi New School group had four presbyteries which withdrew in the schism, not because of agreement with the liberalizing tendency of the national New Schoolmen, but because of disagreement with the high-handed action of the Old School Assembly in excising the offending synods. Later, when the Old Schoolmen split north and south, the Mississippi New School presbyteries proved their essential orthodoxy when they were dissolved and absorbed by the Southern Assembly. The Associate Reformed Presbytery of Memphis had two congregations in Mississippi—Ebenezer in Tippah County and Bethany in Lee County.¹³³

Mississippi College, now a Baptist institution but originally owned by the Presbyterians, was then discussed, as well as one of its early ministerial trustees, Colonel Robert McLain.¹³⁴ It was controlled by the New School Presbytery of Clinton, and even had a theological department attached to it. It was Presbyterian for only eight years (1842-1850) then was sold to the state, which in turn sold it to the Baptists.

Until the end of the nineteenth century the Synod of Mississippi included Louisiana. So Dr. Grafton devoted several chapters to Presbyterianism in New Orleans, the early Louisiana preacher, Sylvester Larned, the heresy trial of Theodore Clapp, and the lottery question.¹³⁵ Clapp was originally a Congregationalist. Tried for heresy and immoral and unchristian conduct, he was deposed for contumacy by the Presbytery of Mississippi, January 10, 1833. In a preface to a later book about the trial, Dr. W. E. Channing entered the lists, ridiculing the presbytery, Princeton Seminary, and Westminster Calvinism.

An important chapter for the history of culture in Mississippi is the one on religious newspapers in the synod.¹³⁶ The ones named by Dr. Grafton are: *The Presbyterian Preacher* (1854), *New Orleans Observer* (1830-1839), *Watchman of the South* (1840), *The New Orleans Protestant* (1844), *Presbyterian Herald* (1846, published in Louisville, Ky.), *New Orleans Presbyterian* (1847-1849), *The True Witness and Southwestern Presbyterian* (1854-1861), *Presbyterian Index* (1865-1868, published in Mobile, Ala.), and *The Southwestern Presbyterian* (1869) and for about thirty years there-

after). (The correct name of the seventh paper was *The True Witness and Sentinel*.) After this chapter follow those on Dr. Richmond McInnis, the Trimble sketches, and Rev. Horatio Thompson.¹³⁷ McInnis was a pioneer editor of Presbyterian publications.

The battle of King's Mountain and its influence received a chapter. So many Presbyterians were in that engagement, who later migrated to the southwest country, that this apparent digression was entirely apropos.¹³⁸ Two chapters deal with expansion in terms of foreign missions and in terms of following the territorial enlargement of the country.¹³⁹

The chapter on Oakland College is the one mentioned above as being published in the centennial catalogue of Alcorn A. and M. College.¹⁴⁰ This was followed by a biographical sketch of Rev. Jeremiah Chamberlain.¹⁴¹ This minister-president was one of the five "martyrs of Mississippi." The others were the eighteenth century Jesuits, Fathers Du Poisson, Souel, and Senat, murdered by the Indians, and Dr. Hugh Bodley, killed in 1835 by gamblers, "while defending the morals of Vicksburg." Chamberlain was stabbed to death in 1851 by a drunken hothead, who mistakenly thought that he had been teaching Unionist doctrine. Mississippi has also had its confessor, another Jesuit, Father Doutreleau.

The philanthropist-planter, David Hunt, and the slave, Mammy Sally, are also treated briefly. Hunt was one of the largest slaveholders of this district and indeed of the whole South, reputedly owning seventeen hundred Negroes. It was his money that was so useful to the presbytery in sustaining Oakland College. One of

the modern successors of Oakland, Chamberlain-Hunt Military Academy, in Port Gibson, commemorates him and Oakland's first president in its name.

Corona and Silliman Colleges as educational enterprises of the synod are discussed. The former was founded by Rev. L. B. Gaston near Corinth before the War. It was a girls' school. Silliman, now a synodical college near Clinton, Louisiana, was begun in 1852 under the Presbytery of Louisiana. This was followed by accounts of the influential leadership of the mid-nineteenth century ministers, Alexander Newton, John McCallum, A. H. Caldwell, J. H. Alexander, William Alexander, R. B. Campbell, D. S. Todd, J. W. Moseley, Sr., B. F. Peters, A. H. Barkley, and Hector Smith.¹⁴² Each of these men deserves a biography because of the influence which is still felt flowing from them in Mississippi Presbyterianism.

The history of several old churches, Pine Ridge, Natchez, Columbus, Summit, Vicksburg, Port Gibson, Carmel and Forest, Woodville, French Camp, Grenada, Bethsalem, Red Banks, Bethesda, and Crystal Springs, is considered.¹⁴³ The boisterous and uproarious unruliness of this early frontier and the harsh conditions may be illustrated by the following story related by Dr. Grafton. Rev. George Moore labored throughout the year 1829 trying to gather a Presbyterian congregation at Vicksburg. Once while he was delivering a discourse a group of drunken rowdies came into the building and noisily proclaimed that they had come "to stop such silly doings as preaching. They wanted none of it in Vicksburg. And so to carry out their part of their pro-

gram they ordered the preacher to stop preaching." To their surprise Moore did stop, pull off his coat, step rapidly down the aisle, and begin to pummel them right and left. The men got out of the house as quickly as possible, and the minister "went calmly back to the pulpit and put on his coat and began again to preach the glad gospel."¹⁴⁴

Dr. Grafton then passed diagonally across the state to describe the condition of the Presbyterian Church in Tishomongo County. In reading the history of the church in the early days of the state and country, one often notes examples of the disciplining of delinquent members by the session, but it is to be wondered if anything like the following was at all frequent. It is a letter written to the session of the Holly Springs church on March 21, 1844, by a prominent member of the congregation. (By way of explanation, for many years in the early days of the synod the ministers were officially designated as bishops.)

To the Bishop and Elders of the Presbyterian Church of
Holly Springs.

Brethren:

From a careful examination of the articles of our church government, I am satisfied that no person can voluntarily withdraw himself from its connection, and therefore the petition lately preferred by me in that subject cannot be granted.

My views on the propriety and necessity of terminating the connection between us have undergone no change since that time but have much strengthened by late events so as to induce me earnestly to demand from you an exclusion from the communion and membership of your body. This

step is dictated by no unbelief about the doctrines of the church or dislike of its members, but from a thorough conviction that a longer connection between us would be highly injurious to both.

The church and myself differ widely as to the propriety or impropriety of many of the common amusements of life. The church condemns and I approve them and approving enjoy them. This in the opinion of some reflects discredit on the church. Solely to avoid this, I sought a dismissal but it could not be granted. I now demand an expulsion. It cannot be refused. My reasons however for taking this step were more fully explained at that time and I believe were commended by you.

It is unnecessary to reiterate them. I have done one thing which is censured by the church, which is sufficient ground of expulsion. Namely, dancing at a private party of ladies and gentlemen and disclaiming the act as unworthy of censure either by religion or sound morals. Holding this opinion on the subject I never will express any regret at the act, but under similar circumstances would repeat it. As I am actuated by no other motive than the benefit and good of the church in preferring this request, let me hope that your personal friendship and Christian charity will induce you to read the above charge at my public expulsion as the real cause of it. In the success of the church I shall ever take the liveliest interest and my earnest prayer will be that all your efforts for the happiness of man may prove eminently successful.

With sentiments of sincere friendship and esteem, I remain,

H. W. WALTER

P. S. I waive the necessity of citation and the ten days allowed as well as every other privilege due me. H. W. Walter.¹⁴⁵

Suffice it to say that the session acceded to this request and excommunicated the gentleman.

Two chapters are an attempt to estimate the influence the Church has had on the state through laymen, as well as ministers, who were statesmen in the commonwealth and those who were teachers in the state schools.¹⁴⁶ This is a most important testimony, in view of the numerical preponderance of the Methodists and Baptists generally, and of the Roman Catholics in certain sections, such as the Coast. One will remember that Southern Presbyterians as a church do not care directly to influence politics, maintaining strictly the distinction between the sphere of the church (which is spiritual) and the sphere of the state (which is secular). But the stable type of men whom this Church attracts and produces does have, and always has had, an indirect effect upon the affairs in which they have taken a part.

The synod's home missions, schools, colleges, and orphanage at Columbus receive adequate treatment.¹⁴⁷ In the control of Southwestern at Memphis, Tennessee (formerly the Southwestern Presbyterian University at Clarksville, Tenn.), the Synod of Mississippi co-operates with three other synods. This receives a chapter,¹⁴⁸ as well as the vain attempt to secure the services of Dr. Benjamin Morgan Palmer as chancellor there.¹⁴⁹ The manuscript ends with a chapter on "Pastoral Incidents" and a formal conclusion.¹⁵⁰

This manuscript, if ever published, would prove an important contribution not only to the history of religion in the state, but also to the history of the general culture of Mississippi, and would be fully as indispensable for students as the *History of Methodism As Connected With The Mississippi Conference*, by J. G. Jones.¹⁵¹

CHAPTER IV

An Attempted Evaluation and Conclusion

IT MAY seem audacious perhaps for a lesser than he to evaluate the life and thought of the late Dr. C. W. Grafton, yet in a work of this kind it is necessary to make the effort; *hinc illum capitulum*. Is it possible that there can be deduced from the presentation of his life, his sermons, his writings, both historical and non-historical, as well as from other sources, an estimate of his place in the story of Mississippi and the Presbyterian Church, that is, an understanding of the environment and heredity that produced him and in turn his imprint upon succeeding days and men? Men are not the beginning nor the end of history, but links—more or less strong—in its long chain; they must therefore be considered in their context.

FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

First, then, it may be asked, what were the formative influences upon the life and mind of Dr. Grafton? These can be reduced to four. The first and most important element molding his mind was the sacred Scriptures of the Christian religion. One is not surprised to discover this from his sermons; but from a study of his letters, also, one may see how deeply Biblical were his

most intimate everyday thoughts.¹ His son has told how worn his Bibles were, especially the Pauline epistles.² He continued every day throughout his life to read the New Testament in Greek; he was in the habit of giving away penny editions of the Gospels; for a long time he was chairman of both the synod's and the presbytery's committee on the American Bible Society. Even on Pullmans he closed his day with a devotion consisting of Scripture reading and prayer.³ His sermon on the superiority of the canonical books of the Bible to the Apocryphal has already been mentioned,⁴ as has also his thoroughly Scriptural modes of thought.⁵ It is therefore safe to state that the dominant influence in his life was the Bible.

The second element was the Protestant scholasticism of the Westminster divines. Dr. Grafton was a thoroughgoing Presbyterian of Scottish ancestry. He had been reared under the influence of the Shorter Catechism and had been trained for the ministry in the Columbia Theological Seminary, where James Henley Thornwell, a stalwart Aristotelian, high-church Presbyterian defender of the Reformed faith and practice, had held forth. His library contained well-used copies of the four volumes of Thornwell's *Collected Writings*.⁶ Along with his penny Gospels, Dr. Grafton was also in the habit of giving away small Shorter Catechisms. He often preached on the Reformed testimony,⁷ and advised those who were Presbyterian by principle never to

¹ The figures occurring in the text of this chapter indicate notes at the end of the book. These notes are numbered to correspond with the figures in the chapter. The "Notes" for Chapter IV begin on page 218.

transfer to another communion their church membership.⁸ His sermons bear evidence of a rigorous intellectual backbone nourished on the traditional teachings of the Puritan and Covenanter theologians, which he believed to be the true systematization of the thought contained in Scripture.

The third formative element to mold his mind was the dogmas of the mid-nineteenth century fathers of the Southern Presbyterian Church. This is simply an elaboration of the influence mentioned in the last paragraph, and is a reference to Thornwell and also to Benjamin Morgan Palmer of New Orleans. Dr. Grafton was conscious of and often stressed the distinctive emphases of the Southern Church. These were the spirituality of the church (which to Dr. Thornwell was involved in the headship and kingship of Christ, the same principle which is the life and substance of the Confessional Church of Germany today), the ruling eldership, the analogy of the Presbyterian system, and missions as the mission of the church. He referred frequently to early leaders of Southern Presbyterianism, especially the Columbia Seminary professors, and was opposed to the reunion of the divisions of Presbyterianism, if it meant surrendering the distinctive witness of the Southern Church. This is still the official attitude of this Church.⁹

If these were the only formative influences upon the mind and life of Dr. Grafton, it is possible that he might have been a severe, correct, good character, but hardly a lovely one. But from all who knew him, there is testimony that this would not have been an adequate description of him. There was a fervency, a gentle

kindness, about him that tempered the stern Scottish iron in his blood. Not least important, therefore, as a molding element in his life and thought was the deep Southern warmth of Mississippi's sunny climate. He adhered rigidly to the Calvinistic Scripturalism of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., but he did not anathematize those who differed from it. His son says that he attended every Methodist meeting he could, and even took part in those more hearty services. Generally, when people are reminiscent about him, it is not his learning nor his power as a preacher that they recall, but rather his amiable affability and his appropriate prayers.

HIS SINGLE PASTORATE

A problem in Dr. Grafton's history which has excited curiosity, and must now be dealt with, is the fact that he chose to spend so long a time—indeed his whole pastoral life—in one parish, and that a small, relatively unimportant Mississippi village. It has been shown that this was a deliberate choice on Dr. Grafton's part; for having received many calls to other places, he declined to accept them.¹⁰ In attempting to account for his attitude in this regard one will naturally recall that it is somewhat characteristic of southern Mississippi Presbyterianism. Dr. S. C. Caldwell, in Hazlehurst, Dr. C. P. Colmery, in Edwards, Dr. J. B. Hutton, in Jackson, to mention only a few, all were in these pastorates well over forty years. Just recently Dr. W. H. McIntosh, of Hattiesburg, expressed his opinion that a minister in accepting a parish, and a congregation in calling a minister, should think of the pastoral relationship as perma-

ment.¹¹ To say no more, that position is certainly the Scriptural one. In addition, however, to the reasons of Scripture and local custom, the present writer can bear witness to the pleasant serenity of life in small Mississippi towns, the sense of security, social status, and close friendship that might conspire to cause a minister to remain a long time with a particular congregation. How much more true that would be of a pastor with a family, whose wife and children had also formed their ties locally, and some of whom might have strengthened the tie with the village by their death and by lying buried in a near-by cemetery. Thus this problem in Dr. Grafton's life is seen no longer as a problem, but as a quite understandable choice.

Some, however, have suggested that there might have been a hidden reason, known only to Dr. Grafton, but further than this they say nothing. There is a tradition that he was planning to accept another call when his first wife died, and he interpreted that event as a call to remain in Union Church. Some have mildly condemned him for not exercising his gifts in a larger field. A letter to the present writer says, "It seems too bad, however, he didn't go to a larger place—so that today there would be more religion in that place." But who can say whether Dr. Grafton was right or wrong in this matter?

HIS PIETY

A modern convert to the Roman Catholic Church gives an almost classic description of a saint:

A good man is not necessarily a saint. Sanctity in the full sense implies an abandonment, holocaust of the whole life, something more than martyrdom, something which is completely and entirely not of this world, the consummation and triumph of supernatural grace.¹²

She has, of course, in these lines failed to mention that her communion would require proof of the performance of miracles before the candidates for sainthood could be canonized, but aside from that the statement would be a not untrue estimate of Dr. Grafton's personality. Dr. Hutton's tribute to him contains the following paragraph, which bears out this informal canonization:

We have noted the obscurity of his birthplace, the seclusion of his country charge, the retirement of his life, the reach of his labors, and the fullness of his honors. They had a cause. There is something here more than native ability, higher than attainment, something which towered above Pastor, Preacher, Presbyter, Friend, Neighbor. It was Manhood; Manhood wearing the image of God; Manhood redeemed by the blood of the Crucified; Manhood sanctified by the Spirit, consecrated to a high and holy purpose; Manhood baptized in love, radiant with eternal hope.¹³

Another impressive expression of this is the following sentence from synod's memorial:

His name is the synonym of all that is highest in manhood, noblest in conduct, truest in Christian character, and in devotion to the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁴

Many who knew Dr. Grafton testify to the aura of sanctity that surrounded him, and indeed any sensitive

visitor to the village of Union Church can, without undue mysticism, feel his still-lingering presence and benediction. "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints."¹⁵

HIS IMPORTANCE

The judicious minister of the J. J. White Memorial Church, McComb, Dr. C. E. Guice, who was ordained to the diaconate at the age of fifteen by Dr. Grafton, has ventured the assertion that there is hardly a town in Mississippi which does not have at least one person in it who knew Dr. Grafton and was influenced by him. It has been interesting to observe that fully as many Methodists as Presbyterians keep his memory green. It has already been said that the state-wide knowledge of him was due mainly to his teaching in his school.¹⁶ Beyond Mississippi he was known by his association with the Church. This culminated in his election as moderator of the 1916 General Assembly. Thereafter his fame in the Southern Church was secure. It comes, therefore, as a surprise to be reminded that, in spite of his wonderful life, his congregation produced only three ministers: one, his son, Thomas B. Grafton, for twenty-five years a missionary to China, now recently retired pastor of Vicksburg; another, J. V. Currie, pastor at Picayune; the last, W. I. McInnis, retired pastor of Ocean Springs. One is probably entitled to the expectation that more spiritual sons should have been raised up to this father-in-God. It was no doubt surprising that no more were. Here again, who can tell the reason?

HIS FAULTS

Did Dr. Grafton have any faults? To ask such a question is to answer it, for no mortal man is perfect, not even a saint—but one hesitates long, before dealing with the errors of a saint. One may know intellectually that all idols have feet of clay, that all saints are human, but he may never quite recover from the shock of knowing it emotionally. Loyal Calvinist that he was, Dr. Grafton would have been the first to acknowledge that he came short of the glory of God. In his moderatorial address he called himself a “sinner redeemed by sovereign love.”¹⁷ But passing beyond generalities, can specific failings be detected? It must be admitted at once that they are few and far between, and it may be hypercritical to call attention to the following faults.

Dr. Grafton seemed to set his face rather stubbornly toward the old and against the new or young. This attitude may be illustrated by this quotation:

Our bright young girls go off now and then and attend preaching in the cities. They come back and sometimes shrug their shoulders at the long sermons, but the country preacher goes right straight ahead.¹⁸

There is a story told that he once heard some parishioner complain of the length of the sermon on a particular Sunday, and the very next Sunday he preached twice as long to express his disapproval of the criticism. A preference for the older ways is quite understandable, change may be regretted, and yet may not one yield more gracefully than this?

Part and parcel of this attitude of his, too, are the frequent hortatory passages in his sermons and writings, addressed to the "young people," as though they alone, apart from their elders, were the only ones needing exhortation to be good and moral. This reiteration becomes quite tiresome to the reader of Dr. Grafton's sermons and articles. He even intended his History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi to be an inspiration to the young people of the state. One has the impression that if Dr. Grafton had devoted some attention to the older people, parents, teachers, and others, in his exhortations, the problem of the "young people" would have taken care of itself. That indeed would have been more in accord with the modern idea of adult education.

He also allowed his parishioners and friends to become so attached to him as practically to "unfrock" neighboring ministers. An example of this is recorded by Mrs. Kent in the first page of her scrapbook. She wrote:

Annie Dakin (now Mrs. W. M. Kent) a *Methodist* since ten years of age, but had "Dr. Grafton" to come from Union Church to Lorman (then Hays, Miss.) and perform her marriage ceremony, February 24th, 1897, as she expressed then (and still feels) "the bonds will be more sacred *if Mr. Grafton blesses our union,*" if he gives his benediction on the union.

Dr. Grafton himself unconsciously records such an instance in his moderatorial address:

. . . at the burial of their dead, surrounding churches and neighborhoods all want him. Being Methodist or Baptist doesn't count anything. You get to the church or grounds

and the head of the family says, "We have nothing against our own preacher, but you have known our boy all his life, and we wanted you with us." And the young preachers, Methodist and Baptist alike, understand the situation and deferentially and gracefully give way to him.¹⁹

Both of these passages show the deep affection in which people held him, but, in spite of the beauty of it, it approaches, no doubt unintentionally, the essential error of Donatism, the idea that the validity of ministerial function lies in the person, not in the office. Dr. Grafton could and should have tactfully instructed the people against this attitude on their part, and thus prevented what was probably a very embarrassing position for the other ministers concerned.

But these small faults are as nothing compared with his holiness and his vast sympathy.

Possessor of a gentle nature this man of God provided a solace for numerous persons as they came to him with their misfortunes. He shared in the grief and the joy of virtually every family of this community.²⁰

HIS PLACE

Comparisons of Dr. Grafton with Bishop Charles B. Galloway, John F. Oberlin, and George B. Gilbert have already been made,²¹ that with Galloway being perhaps the most profitable. The few points of similarity between Dr. Grafton and St. Bernard of Clairvaux have also been noted.²² At this point, therefore, several paragraphs of digression may be allowed in order, by indirection, to bring out the worth of Dr. Grafton to his world.

Of the three great professions, the ministry alone faces the paradox of being in the world, yet not of it. Every minister has to answer the question, "To what extent shall I be in the world, and to what extent shall I not be of it?" But this may in turn be resolved into the further paradox which confronts each minister. It may be expressed by the question, "How can I most effectively help my community and the world?" One may be acutely conscious of the problems that ought to be dealt with in any situation and may attack them directly. If he does this, he achieves one of two results, success or misunderstanding and failure. On the other hand, one may see the same problem, but realizing the strength of the forces which he would have to combat, he may choose to deal with it by indirection, that is, by example and advice. The result of this method is either no success or small visible effect, but in the long run it is probably the most sure to accomplish the desired end. Stated briefly, then, a particular Protestant minister may answer the question either by crusading, or simply living. A third alternative may be suggested: a Protestant minister can preach the Word from its central standpoint of Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King; and the living Christ can thereby affect life both individually and socially.

In small Southern villages and towns there is little possibility or need for crusading; the minister must, in the main, work with his *milieu* by means of his own Christian life, and by preaching, intercession, and advice. Thus he is a sort of Protestant monk. He is, of course, under no vows of poverty, chastity, and

obedience, but he generally does observe the great monastic rule of stability. He is, moreover, as his community is, dissociated from the great currents of life and thought in the outside world. His life, and that of his village, is relatively quiet, easygoing, of an even tenor. The scene changes almost imperceptibly, for the generations live together in close contact. People die, but new ones are born, and there is continuity of thought and feeling and folkways.

The men described in these last paragraphs are they of whom it may be said, "They shall maintain the fabric of the world";²³ to whom also may be applied the words of the second century Epistle of Diognetus, ". . . they are kept in the world as in a prison house, yet they themselves hold the world together." Dr. Grafton was of such as these.

A MEMORIAL POEM

Three months after his death, the *Mississippi Visitor* carried the following poem in his memory. It was signed simply "K. W. G.," the full name probably being Kate Wharton Grafton, his second wife.

Eighty-seven, and yet we never thought him old,
Who knew him in the autumn of his youth:
The courteous heart, the spirit never cold
To beauty or to truth.

So memory recalls him, not with tears,
But rather with rejoicing that he went
Bearing (beneath the burden of his years)
A soul so little bent.²⁴

Appendices

APPENDIX I

The following are the few letters of Dr. Grafton that the present writer has been able to recover and record:

Union Church, Miss.

Feb. 28th, 1906

DEAR MISS IDA:

I was not at all surprised to hear of your plan with reference to our friend Proctor and I give you in advance congratulations and very best wishes. We will of course be sorry to have you leave us but we can still call you *ours*. You will be another link to bind us to the church at large and I am sure that wherever you go you will be faithful to the training and traditions of your school-girl days.

You are very kind and considerate about the date of your approaching marriage. Many young ladies don't seem to think of synods and presbyteries and our obligations to attend them. The last of April will find me at home and ready to serve you. Of course the "old house" must be honored with the wedding. No other place should be thought of but the home in which you were born. From it you have been constantly going forth, and from it you must go forth to your new line of duties.

Mr. Henderson is one of our best men. How much I appreciate his blessing upon you! What will he do without you, I am thinking. You have served a long time though, as a teacher and you deserve a "vacation".

I pray that your cup of happiness may be full to the brim,
and running over with blessing—

With much love

Your friend

C. W. GRAFTON

(Lent by Mrs. Ida McCormick Cadwallader of Jackson, Missis-
sippi.)

Union Church, Miss.

May 14th, 1906

DEAR FRIEND ELMO:

We are all very sorry to hear of your great affliction, and I offer you my deepest sympathy. I know very well the extent of your loss; when God gives a man a true, good woman who loves him and honors him and then takes her away the trial is sore; the hurt goes down into the depths of the heart—I look back to the period when you brought your wife from Kentucky, and remember how she loved you and looked up to you; and I feel sure that she was one of God's choice gifts to you. Her devotion to you I always thought was unusually tender and loyal; and I was much grieved when I heard of her death. How lonely you must be since the sad day you looked on her face for the last time. The truth is, and we need not try to conceal the matter, you have received a wound whose mark you will bear all your life. But, dear Elmo, there is a balm for all our wounds; God wounds, but God heals. And now, in the midst of your deep distress, I want you to hear him calling you to come and sit under the shadow of his wings. Our sweet truth is, that no death comes by chance; God orders death as well as life. And so when by death our loved ones are taken from us, we must say: "Our Father did it, and he loves us, and it's bound to be all right." It *is* all right; and by and by we will

see that it is right. By troubles like yours, God mellows his people. Just as he uses the rough winds and summer heats to ripen the grain, he uses the hurts and sores of life to mature his people for nobler and better things. Moreover he has given us blessed pledge that all our dead shall be raised again; his people shall see one another again; so you must cheer up. Remember that you belong, as never before, to a great brotherhood bound together by common sorrows and hopes; I pray God's blessing upon you and your children.

With love, your friend,

C. W. GRAFTON

(Lent by Mrs. James Garrett, Sr., of Crystal Springs, Mississippi.)

Jan. 7th, 1914

MRS. ANNIE DAKIN KENT.

DEAR ANNIE:—

I was much pleased to get your card and to know that you were remembering us still. I wish very much that I could see you and your husband and fine children. You are surely doing a great work for the world in training those fine boys. I trust indeed that all your experience with your family will be most sweet. May God bless you and help you.

Thomas told us about seeing you when he was at Bunkie. He left us in August and reached his home in China sometime in October. We hear from him about twice a month. He has three fine boys and we were sorry to see them leave, but they were all eager to get back to China.

Your kindred near Union Church are quite well indeed. Nat Watson who has been at work in the Delta is now at home on a visit to his people.

We have a great school at Union Church now, much larger than we have ever had. We have two large dormitories and a large school building between them. They are all located on the old ball ground in the rear of the manse. We have had enrolled this year about two hundred boys and girls. We have two of Mamie Hooker's children, one of Letha Douglass' and others of your old school-mates. So it brings the ends together.

The old neighborhood is in much distress just now on account of the failure of the banks. The big bank at Natchez and another at Brookhaven have both suspended business and our people have lost very heavily, but we are all enjoying good health and other blessings which bank failures don't affect.

Mary and Lee Scott are quite well and happy with their two children. Susie is well and is a helper to us all.

Dear Martha Watson has been quite puny but is much better and seems very well again. Tom Watson is as good and strong as ever. He is very faithful and devoted to his home. He loves the church and is a good Christian man. For some reason though, Tom has not married yet. He may be waiting for some angel to fly down to his house.

Some day or other we hope that you will come to see us again. Get Mr. Kent to take two or three weeks off from his work and all of you come to the old neighborhood. In spite of financial losses we have plenty to eat, plenty of house room and hearts full of love for all the boys and girls of the past.

Susie and Mary send you their love.

With love and best wishes to you especially and to all your family,

I am your old friend,

C. W. GRAFTON

(Lent by Mrs. W. M. Kent of Homer, Louisiana.)

Union Church, Mississippi

March 31, 1915

MR. J. W. JOHNSON

DEAR BROTHER JOHNSON:

I received a letter from Brother Bolling and he told me that you are now in Columbia with your daughter and sick.

I write to say I am very sorry. I had heard of your bad health sometime ago and that you had gone over to Columbia but I did not know definitely about you. I wish I could see you this minute and shake hands with you. You know we have been shaking hands a long time. I should be delighted to talk over with you our fine trip to Savannah. I can never forget how much you helped me out on that trip. Somethings about it we can remember forever. The engineer was always at his post. He never failed us day or night. There was always plenty of coal, plenty of fire, plenty of water and plenty of steam. And we reached our journey's end going and coming without hurt or harm. That was a trip to a city by the sea.

Well, you and I have long been on a journey to The City on the mountains. We began that journey when we were children and we have not finished it yet. Our great leader has been with us all the time. He said to us at the outset, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee". We have had plenty of bread and water and every needful thing by the way. We have had thorns and stones and hard places now and then but we have gotten through every day. Let me give you the assurance of a fellow-traveler with best wishes and congratulations. We'll get home by and bye in good time and all right.

"Lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world." I pray that you may realize the sweetness of this precious truth. I pray that you may day and night enjoy the companionship of

the King. Rest in his love and waiting [*sic*] patiently for him. Crosses here, Crowns hereafter. With tenderest memories and very much love,

I am your friend always,

C. W. GRAFTON

(Lent by Mrs. L. W. Johnson of Columbia, Mississippi.)

November 28th, 1922

MRS. H. D. FAIRLY

DEAR MISS ANNA:

We had a splendid ride home to Union Church in the bracing air and bright sunshine. The roads were very fine and Brother Saunders and Brother Caldwell gave themselves up to the joy of the trip. Brother Caldwell did most of the talking on the way and you know how full of matter he is. Things historical, theological, social, etc., rest on the shelves in his fine mind and he is free to give them out to his friends [*sic*]. Brother Saunders did not talk much for the driver must keep his eyes open and fixed on the road, but he had the open ear and knew all that went on.

Our folks gave the preachers a cordial welcome when we got home. So the big trip to Collins and Hazlehurst has come to a close.

It fills me with joy to think of the precious home you have. Now and then in traveling we see homes in which the trail of the serpent is clearly seen, but I feel that in your home love to one another reigns without any rival. I pray that as children of the King's love you may live in that blessed air all your life and enjoy it in heaven.

Tell Mr. Hendrick some time or other I want to come over again and we will touch a little on predestination, the atone-

ment, the Virgin Birth and final perseverance. Tell Shirley we will make her our reader on the occasion. I am looking forward with anticipation.

Give love to the two heads.

With much love to Shirley and yourself, I am your friend,

C. W. GRAFTON

(Lent through the mediation of Mrs. S. C. Caldwell of Hazlehurst, Mississippi.)

Union Church, Mississippi

December 27, 1922

DEAR FRIEND ANNIE:

Does not time fly? Christmas comes and goes and the years roll swiftly on. You must write to me at least once a year. Mary and Susie and Thomas are all quite well. Mary is living on the site of the old schoolhouse. We used the lumber in the buildings for a dwelling house for the Scotts. Martha Watson is now at home for the holidays; she is matron for high school at Liberty. Cleo is quite well and her band of five growing; Jim, Josie, Hattie, Florence, and John Jefferson. Tom Watson is as good as ever. He has been repairing the storm damages. I trust that your splendid husband is measuring up to all his promises. Give love to him and the child.

With love, your friend,

C. W. GRAFTON

(Lent by Mrs. Kent)

MR. DAN WATSON

DEAR FRIEND DAN:

I have not forgotten your visit to Union Church during the meeting in September. And then you remembered me so kindly by contributing to our necessities. Many thanks, dear Dan, for your kindness and thoughtfulness. The old proverb puts it this way, "Honor the Lord with thy substance and the first-fruits of all thine increase: So shall thy barns be filled with plenty and thy presses burst out with new wine." God honors the man that honors him. I have not yet seen the Bensalem Deacon but will see him on Sunday and make my report to him. I was out yesterday in that neighborhood to see Mr. Jim Allred. His house was burned down on Monday last and he saved almost nothing from the wreck. The roof caught from sparks from the kitchen stove and as the roof was very dry and the wind high there was no chance to save it. Mr. Allred was picking cotton at some distance and when he came home for dinner he found the ashes. He is planning to rebuild right away. We have had a great deal of fire in the woods this season and much damage has been done.

Give my love and best wishes to your wife. I hope you are both letting your light shine. Keep the fire in the Home Altars constantly burning and don't forget to pray every day for your old Church and preacher. I have many precious memories of your old home where I visited in days gone by. These memories can never be blotted out. Your Mother was always a clean, pure warm-hearted Christian and she still lives in her children. May God bless you and keep you.

Very tenderly your friend,

C. W. GRAFTON

(Lent through the mediation of Rev. H. V. Lofquist of Brookhaven, Mississippi.)

January 11th, 1925

MRS. ANNIE DAKIN KENT

DEAR ANNIE:—

Is it really true that you have a girl who has put on the bridal robes? I just wish I could have seen her. I would have loved to stand right by you and your husband and think of those old, old times, when you were looking forward yourself.

Time flies like an eagle in the air, or as the boys would say, it runs like a race-horse.

We were talking about it last night here with the Scotts. Lee has not forgotten the long trip he took with me over to Lorman when you were wearing the wedding garment. How handsome Mr. Kent looked that night! And you were just his ideal of a bride.

Well, it is very sweet to think of you as one of our dear girls. Do you know one precious memory I have of you all! It is of you and Nellie Grafton and Kate Scott and Nellie Torrey filing out of the main room for the last recitation of the evening. I used to look down on you like a general and you were all so precious and tender. And each one of you would look up at your teacher with a feeling of confidence. Well, those days have passed away and you are all bearing some of the good fruits. One link of that beautiful chain of girls has been transplanted to the better land and I love to think that you are all on the march yourselves.

The Scotts, Mary, Susie, Lee Scott and the girls, all send you our love. Thomas you know is in China. He has two boys in America in college. Mary's two girls have grown very fast, the older one is at Belhaven college, the other is at the school here. Susie Grafton is still my constant companion.

Give my special love to every one of your family and a little more special to the one that is just married.

Very truly your old friend,

C. W. GRAFTON

P. S. The Watsons are all well and are all at home, except Martha now matron in school at Liberty, and Nat who lives in the delta. Of course Mary lives at Eddiceton. Cleo lives in the old home and her children are growing fast and are all at home. Tom Watson is the same good man as always. He is now a Ruling Elder at Union Church.

(Lent by Mrs. Kent.)

May 25th, 1925

MRS. ANNIE DAKIN KENT.

DEAR ANNIE,

I picked up your letter again this morning, the good long letter you wrote sometime ago and it was so full of tender memories.

Then again Tom Watson was telling us of the death of your brother, Matt Dakin. I am very sorry to hear of his death. He always seemed so good and strong and he filled his place so well. How hard it will be to fill that place now. Really is it not true that it never can be filled? But that is what the people say when one is gone. No, when you have finished your work and passed away, your work is done and nobody can take your place.

I suppose Matt has left some children behind and I trust they will all measure up well to all requirements.

Does it not seem strange that we are all passing on so rapidly? Some time ago I passed by the old Dakin home, coming from Port Gibson, but everything about it is changed. I could recognize things though and of course I thought of you and all the Dakins. Your grandpa Dakin was a hard working stirring man. He was one that you would always remember. The houses along the roadside are all changed up and the ones you knew as children are grown to manhood.

Mary Grafton is enjoying her home very much. Lee Scott is a very fine man and he is always in the right place. Every-

body appreciates his worth. Susie Scott, the older one of her girls, has been at Belhaven College during the session. Commencement begins in a few days and next week she will be at home. The other girl, Mary Lee, has been in the tenth grade this session and their commencement is over.

Vacation means simply a change of work. Give my love to Mr. Kent and all your family.

Receive our tender sympathies for the loss of your brother. It means another link from the chain, the flesh and blood chain that binds you to the past, but it is precious to know that God holds the links of the chain. And he will by and by bring the links all together. And for those who are God's people not a link will ever be lost. And the chain will be perfect by and by.

I pray that you may let your light shine and prove your calling and election by your love to God and man.

May your life be like a river that pours out its precious waters upon the thirsty land.

There is so much more ahead of us than there is behind us. Behind us are tears and broken hearts and disappointments. Ahead of us is the paradise of God, peace and blessedness forever.

We must all fight the good fight.

Kate Scott was up here some time ago. She has two boys and she is now a grandmother. How odd it seems that Kate, dear Kate, should now belong to three generations. And these generations all right with her. Her grandchild is distant just a stone's throw.

You'll be glad to know that the Watsons are all getting along well. You know that Tom is one of our ruling elders now. Martha I suppose will soon be at home for awhile at least.

All send you much love.

With very best wishes, your friend,

C. W. GRAFTON

(Lent by Mrs. Kent.)

July 27th, 1925

MRS. SOPHIA GRAVES FOXWORTH.

DEAR MRS. FOXWORTH,

I received on Saturday yours and read with interest the product of the tender Muse. Surely the man that gazes upon the rocks and the mountaintops and the glow of the sunset and the evening clouds will go to bed at night with sweet thoughts.

Then if such an one could listen to the cowbells tinkling down in the meadows and then lift his eye to the great silent stars, now subduing, as the heavens declare the glory of God.

I hope you will cultivate the sacred spirit of song. Doubtless you come to it by the law of inheritance.

I am glad to hear you speak of Butler Graves. He is one of the memories of our days at Oxford and I cannot forget that his father was one of the pioneers in the greatest of all causes, religion and education.

I have a little grandchild going to school at Belhaven this last session and she speaks very tenderly of Butler's daughter.

We elderly people of close spiritual affinities ought to have a "get together" meeting some of these days.

Well, the day will come when we will have an "all-round meeting" which shall never be broken up. Our pioneers and the men of today will meet as one great family.

Mrs. Grafton, who remembers seeing you, sends you her regards. Any other bits of information you can send me will be thankfully received.

Very truly your friend,

C. W. GRAFTON

(Lent by Mrs. B. S. Sylverstein of Columbia, Mississippi.)

Union Church, Miss.

April 26th, 1930

DEAR MR. BUCHANAN:

I rec'd yesterday a letter from Rev. F. H. Caldwell of McComb containing one from you with reference to Trial Pieces for Licensure. We are glad to think of your coming our way and we will be glad to have you. Be sure to get a letter of Dismission or rather transfer from your Presbytery to ours. And do your best on the parts of Trial suggested on the preceding page. I have been chairman of Ministerial Education in the Presbytery of Mississippi a long time. With best wishes your friend.

C. W. GRAFTON

(Lent by Rev. R. M. Buchanan of Liberty, Mississippi.)

Union Church, Miss.

Feb. 20, 1932

MRS. ANNIE DAKIN KENT.

DEAR FRIEND ANNIE,

I read the letter from your daughter telling of the death of her Grand-Mother (your mother). I am very sorry and here is my right hand tendering sympathy. The truth is, we all belong to a great band of mourners. We have been under the shadows more or less all our lives. My two children, Henry and Nellie, how precious they were, passed off like the dew of the morning and their chairs are still vacant. Their greatest loss was in the death of their mother in 1885. For losses of this kind the wealth of the world can supply no remedy. You see how much I can sympathize with you. But there is no balm in Gilead for all the weary ones and the sad ones of the world. Jesus Christ died for our sins and he says, "Come unto me". When we come unto

him and accept him as our Savior we receive from him the merit of his death. So when we put away the bodies of our loved ones we can say they will surely rise again. Though mountains may rest upon them in their graves, the day will come when they will come forth again. They may be under the sands or snows of the deserts, but they will surely come forth again. The waters of the deep seas can't keep them down. God says of his people, "They shall come forth again." When we take Christ to be our Savior we are redeemed both soul and body. At death the soul goes at once to heaven, entering into everlasting joy. The body goes back to dust and rests till the last day and then is raised from the dead, and soul and body reunited live forever in Heaven. Don't you think this is glad news for us all? Remember then that while you belong to the band of the mourning ones you have the right to a place among the joyous ones. Jesus says, "Come and receive it." There is no balm to one who has lost a mother or some other dear one, no balm except that God gives. By and bye our long march through this world will be over and we will pass over to the "Better Land." May God's great blessing be with you. May you enjoy the touch of his love. Give my love to Mr. Kent and Annie and the rest of your family.

With love, I am your friend,

C. W. GRAFTON

P. S. The Watsons are among our best attendants at church. Martha is at Columbus taking care of the big "Tea Room", Hattie and Florence are at home this session, Jim has been in bad health for a long time, John Jefferson is the youngest and he is bright and studious. Cleo has been in good health all along, but a few days ago she had a fall and broke her arm. The old neighbors are getting on well and I am able to preach every Sunday. May richest blessings be yours. My two girls,

Mary and Susie, are at Union Church, Susie with me and Mary in the old school building which has been converted into a dwelling house.

Your friend,

C. W. GRAFTON

(Lent by Mrs. Kent.)

Union Church, Mississippi

March 28, 1932

MRS. ANNIE DAKIN KENT.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your letter in due time and enjoyed very much your good words.

I am sorry to hear that your Brother Robert is not in good health. I very much trust that he is better by this time. Please drop me a line and let me hear about him.

I am sorry to tell you that we have had a great deal of sickness in our community. Four members of the old Pritchard family: Clara, Lizzie, Anna, and Robert, have been down and are still down. Cleo Watson Pritchard is suffering from a broken arm. Lee Covington has tuberculosis. Several other persons have died of different complaints, while general depression from financial and other causes is on our whole state.

In the midst of all this however we know that our Lord reigneth. He has never made a mistake. He calls us his children and has taught us to say, "Our Father which art in heaven". This precious truth is like a well which will never run dry. So stand by the well and drink the healing waters.

We had a visit yesterday from our friend R. A. Torrey. He is now a member of the State Legislature from North Mississippi, but he still looks "mathematical". Mary Grafton you

know married Lee Scott and they have two precious girls, Susie and Mary Lee. They were both at home yesterday to our great joy and they are both well. Florence and Hattie (Watson) Pritchard were both at church yesterday and "Uncle Tom". Well, the sun is shining bright today in spite of all the tornadoes and kidnapping. And God's promises are as bright as the sunshine. May God's blessing be on you and all yours. Special love to Annie who wrote to me.

Your friend,

C. W. GRAFTON

(Lent by Mrs. Kent.)

APPENDIX II

The following tribute paid Dr. Grafton by the late Rev. J. B. Hutton, D.D., of Jackson, Mississippi, was printed in *The Jackson Daily News*, August 2, 1934, *The Daily Clarion-Ledger*, August 3, 1934, and *The Fayette Chronicle*, August 10, 1934, and probably in some other papers as well. It is here reproduced from an unidentifiable paper clipping in the scrapbook of Mrs. W. M. Kent of Homer, Louisiana:

While C. W. Grafton lived, multitudes delighted to do him honor. Now that he is dead, his memory, love will not let die.

With hearts beating with commingled emotions of affection, grief and admiration, we feel that it is meet to think upon "the inheritance the good man leaveth to his children's children."

In attempting to do that which all feel is fitting to be done, to bring before us the source and meaning of his life, I am

forcibly reminded of the faltering words with which Bossuet began his eloquent eulogy of the Prince of Condé. Said he: "At the moment I open my lips to celebrate the immortal glory of the Prince of Condé I find myself equally overwhelmed with the greatness of the theme and the needlessness of the task." What part of the Commonwealth of Mississippi or of the Southern Church has not heard of the strength of his virtues and the gentleness of his graces? Everywhere they are rehearsed. His own congregation in extolling him can give no information to the stranger. His name is the synonym for all that is high in manhood, noblest in conduct, truest in Christian character.

By unanimous acclaim he will not only be accorded station in the ranks of the good but given a first place among those of every age and country who are pre-eminent for godliness. To those who knew him he is renowned both for ability and attainment. His gentleness is as proverbial as his strength of character. His graciousness of spirit is matched by his courage of soul. His superior knowledge of the doctrines of his Church was translated into the superior excellence of his life. The convictions of his faith were inviolably wedded to his daily devotion to duty.

The uniqueness of his life has peculiar impressiveness. Throughout the life there is the paradox of obscurity and prominence, seclusion and public esteem. It has been said that obscurity is the birthplace of greatness. But here is a life that not only in its beginning, but in its development, achievements, fullness of honors was ever in retirement. At the very end, a loving people, an admiring public, an eager and friendly press found it difficult to learn of his last hours by reason of the fact, that his home is hidden away from the thoroughfare of men but close to nature and to God.

His birthplace was in Madison County, Mississippi, some twelve miles north of Canton, near Concord Presbyterian

Church. By reason of slow means of transportation and slow roads, the isolation of the country church was more marked at the time of his birth, December 21, 1846, than it is today. Far away from many things, but close to his church, his home, his Bible and his God, he grew to young manhood.

From these environs of purity and peace, he was called, when a mere boy, to join the army of the Confederate States of America. He marched with General Joseph E. Johnston as he repeatedly threw the thin lines of Southern boys before the overwhelming numbers of Sherman's forces in his cruel and irresistible march to the sea. When the flag of the Confederacy was furled forever and the star of his country sank in eternal night, "with the satisfaction which proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed," he returned to his desolate state. Here he heard the voice of an infinitely greater Captain calling for volunteers to enlist for life for world conquest. Answering that call, he became a Soldier of the Cross, and began his preparation for leadership by going to the University of his state.

The march to this training camp had special significance. There joined him two other Confederate soldier boys, the late Hon. Calvin W. Wells and the late Rev. T. L. Haman, D.D.; when they reached Canton a mere lad was put in their custody. When they reached Oxford they formed a family prayer circle. In this circle, perchance, was his first great achievement toward world conquest. They won the lad entrusted to them for Christ, and we know him as the beloved Bishop C. B. Galloway. He graduated from the University in 1868, taking the first honors of his class, a class that will ever be among the University's chiefest glories. The friendship of those men as they walked life's way was like unto that of Jonathan for David. Their love was "stronger than the love of women". Dr. Grafton graduated from Columbia Theological Seminary, Columbia, South Caro-

lina, and was licensed to preach by Central Mississippi Presbytery in May 1872. He was ordained by Mississippi Presbytery, July 1873, accepting a call to Union and Bensalem churches. Here he laid down his stainless armor, after sixty-one years of active work, August 1, 1934.

Southwestern Presbyterian University honored itself by conferring on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., elected him Moderator in 1916.

He was called to pastorates of large city churches, to professorships in colleges and seminaries, but never felt that God desired him to leave the shepherding of the sheep among the hills of his native state.

Any appreciation of C. W. Grafton would be incomplete which did not speak of him as a pastor. But who feels equal to making that appraisal? Who could tell of his errands of mercy to the abodes of the sons and daughters of affliction, when on horseback or in buggy, through the dust and heat of summer, and the wind and cold of winter, he went in answer to every call? Who can portray the sympathy of his heart as he talked of the love of his Lord and the light of His resurrection? Who can tell of his tenderness with little children as he told them of the Saviour who took little ones in His arms and blessed them, and taught their parents of the Covenant-making God, who said to Abraham, "I will be a God unto thee and thy seed after thee, and this shall be an everlasting covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee."

Who can show him the joyous scenes of the marriage, as he speaks of its sanctity approved by the presence of Jesus at Cana, and invokes God's benediction on the hearts united in love.

Any appraisal would be incomplete which did not show him in his study, and tell of his familiarity with The Great Holy Book, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English, and let us

see him as he reads and meditates upon the great theme of redemption, or as he walks, with poetic imagination, to look upon the beauties of the forest of beech and giant oak and to survey the morning and evening glories and splendors of the country skies. The imagination enabled him to put himself in the places others held, to understand their joys and sorrows, and by the help of the Holy Spirit to embody in his own life the Golden Rule his Master taught.

Any estimate would be defective which did not tell of him as Presbyter, of his fidelity in attending Church Courts, Presbytery and Synod, of his love for the doctrines of his Church, of his fellowship with his brethren. These will abide as an inspiration and challenge to all who knew him.

An estimate which did not show him as friend and neighbor, with an affection that knew not the bounds of denominational lines or class distinctions, trusting and loving all, trusted and loved by all, would be fatally defective.

We have noted the obscurity of his birthplace, the seclusion of his country charge, the retirement of his life, the reach of his labors, and the fullness of his honors. They had a cause. There is something here more than native ability, higher than attainment, something which towered above Pastor, Preacher, Presbyter, Friend, Neighbor. It was Manhood, Manhood wearing the image of God, Manhood redeemed by the blood of the Crucified, Manhood sanctified by the Spirit, consecrated to a high and holy purpose, Manhood baptized in love, radiant with eternal hope.

There is embodied in this life a simplicity of virtue, a humility of spirit, a steadfastness of hope, a tenderness of love, a devotion to duty higher than found in any ideal pagan philosophy ever conceived; nobler and truer than found in any life that agnosticism ever produced. There is no adequate explanation of the life save that God was its Alpha and Omega,

its beginning and its end. The secret of the life is found in the answer to the first question of the Catechism which he loved and taught: "Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy Him forever." Here you find the source of its strength and beauty; the origin of its joy, the cause of its devotion.

When in the evening of his life his body became so frail that loving hands builded about the pulpit, which he had entered in the strength of his young manhood, a railing to keep him from falling—stout of soul, mighty in faith, with a love impelling to duty, to the end he climbed the steps to his pulpit throne, and in the royalty of redeemed manhood, stood before the people he loved, as the spokesman of God to man. It must be said of him, as Motley said of William the Silent, "as long as he lived, he was the guiding star of a whole, brave people; and when he died, little children cried in the streets." It cannot be otherwise. The old study in the manse is without an occupant, the familiar form no longer is seen under the "Beech Trees", the gentle hand no more rests on the infant's brow, the consoling words in the presence of the dead are only memories, the voice in the sanctuary is silent. It must be said of him, as of the righteous Abel, "He being dead yet speaketh." We are now listening to his master sermon. The finished life of a sinner saved by grace, "He is not, for God took him."

APPENDIX III

The following sermon by Dr. Grafton is here copied as a sample of his style as well as an illustration of how he dealt with certain matters. It is dated simply 1919, but from its content it is obvious that it was preached sometime in January of that year. The text was Exodus 20:13: "Thou shalt not kill."

This command was given at Sinai, spoken by God in audible voice, written by God's finger on tables of stone and stamped on man's conscience at creation. The history of murder is gruesome. Cain killed Abel, Levi and Simeon the Shechemites, David killed Uriah *et al* (dilate on each). But passing by all these, consider the killing at Union Church of a negro, Will Reed, on the eve of this New Year 1919.

Certain persons went at night to the residence of Dr. Towns, in his absence, his mother and wife and child being there alone and unprotected, searched around till they found the negro. A shot rang out and the following morning he was found lying on the ground dead. The body was taken in charge by a jury of inquest who are now considering it.

This killing was an outrage on the wife and mother of Dr. Towns (dilate). The shot was fired in the hearing of every house in the village of Union Church and as such was an outrage on every woman and child in the village (dilate). The killing was done close by two churches where Sunday School and church services are constantly held (dilate). It was done in hearing distance of the cemetery where there rest the remains of such men as Daniel G. Buie, William E. Buie, Lewis Cato, Angus McCallum, John G. Faris, R. D. Torrey, John A. Galbreath, and a host of other faithful law-abiding men of days gone by. It was an insult to the memory of the dead.

It was done in hearing of our Agricultural High School on which Jefferson county has expended so much money and the centre of so many hopes (dilate). It was an insult to the State of Mississippi, our own state that we are bound to love and honor and whose laws we must not violate (dilate). It was an insult to the blood of a hundred thousand of our boys who have laid their lives on the battlefield and in hospitals for the rights of men. See our president and our country spending billions of money, and mothers and wives shedding tears of

grief! Note the awful travail of Britain and France, *et al., et al.*, all that the rights of man should be preserved; think on all these points and let us be ashamed and humiliated.

The killing again was a violation of God's own law (dilata). Finally it was an insult to Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, who shed his blood that men might live (dilata).

And then too it was an irreparable wrong to the negro, who they say was a bad negro, and therefore probably went at once to hell (dilata). And the killing was without excuse, for if the negro had committed any grievous offense here was the law prepared by white men and white men could have enforced the law against the black man. One says, "It was only a negro." But the negro belongs to the inferior race and every dictate of Christian manhood would urge that we defend the weak (dilata).

What is the penalty for murder? The penalty is in a variety of forms:

- (a) It paralyses our labor (dilata). This is the lowest form of penalty but this is serious.
- (b) It damages the good name of our community and impairs investment. This too a lower form but serious.
- (c) The school is damaged. People planning to send to school would hesitate about sending here where lawlessness shows a hand (dilata).
- (d) The crime of murder is a sin against one's own soul. It awakens a fire within which will burn forever. Conscience is the undying worm and the unquenchable fire. Conscience condemns it throughout eternity, for murder can never be right. And God has put in every human breast his own eternal witness (dilata).
- (e) The final punishment is *Hell*. "Depart ye cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels." "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment." "But the fearful

and unbelieving and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death." "For without are dogs and sorcerers and whoremongers and murderers and idolaters and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie."

What is the remedy for murder can it be pardoned? Jesus in infinite pity shed his blood for lost men and there is no sin known in the black calendar that his blood will not wash away. And Jesus says, "Come unto me". Repent! Repent!! Repent!!!

Repentance means confession of our sin and turning from it to God with grief and hatred. "If we confess our sin he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness." "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper: but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy." This is God's plan. Come then and confess your sin and God will have mercy upon you. This is the only way.

Just so long as you conceal this matter just so long will it be as a fire within your bones. David said, "When I kept silence my bones waxed old through my roaring all the day long. For day and night thy hand was heavy upon me: my moisture is turned into the drought of summer." (Dilate) But "I acknowledge my sin unto thee and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin." See Psalm 51:1-3 and 4.

But there was only one shot fired. One person did the killing. What about those who were present? They were giving countenance and approval by their presence. They were therefore *accessories*. The person who actually did the killing wouldn't have fired the shot, or have even been there if the others hadn't been there. They are all therefore partakers of the crime and are all guilty. And they can be saved only by repentance and the blood of Jesus.

But the congregation, are we guilty too? Remember that Achan committed the sin but it was charged up to all Israel. God said, "*Israel* hath sinned . . . neither will I be with you any more except ye destroy the accursed from among you." All then who confess this sin done among us and denounce it with grief and indignation, and promise to do all within your power to uphold the law, *rise* to your feet. (The whole congregation arose; then prayer.)

Now if there be present any guilty person who is willing to confess his sin let him come forward openly and publicly and give me his hand while the congregation is bowed in prayer. (The congregation bowed in prayer but no one confessed.)

(The Lord's Supper was then administered and a sad but tender service concluded.)

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NOTES

CHAPTER I: HIS LIFE AND TIMES

1. The Jackson *Daily News* is the most important paper published in Mississippi. The editor is Maj. Frederick Sullens.

2. Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi: The Heart of the South* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1925), I, 482. This four-volume work will hereinafter be mentioned thus: Rowland, *History*. The first two volumes of this set are the history proper, the last two contain brief biographies of contemporary personages of more or less importance. The first two volumes are essential to study of the state and its people.

3. From *Mississippi: A Guide to the Magnolia State*, p. 59. Copyright, 1938, by Mississippi Advertising Commission. By permission of The Viking Press, Inc., New York. This work must also not be neglected in any understanding of the state. It will hereinafter be referred to briefly as *Miss. Guide*.

4. A. P. Hudson, *Folksongs of Mississippi and Their Background* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936), 17. I shall refer in later notes to this book briefly as Hudson, *Folksongs*. The four chapters of background are excellent summaries of relevant material. Used by permission.

5. W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, Revised Edition (New York: Harper and Bros., 1939), 373. Used by permission.

6. From *A New American History* by W. E. Woodward, copyright, 1936, and reprinted by permission of Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., Publishers. This quotation is from the issue made by The Literary Guild, 1937, p. 354.

7. Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 373. Used by permission.

8. A. P. Hudson (editor), *Humor of the Old Deep South* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936), 337. By permission.

9. Joseph G. Baldwin, *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi: A Series of Sketches* (Americus, Ga.: Americus Book Co., 1853). Some of these sketches were originally published in *The Southern Literary Messenger*, Richmond, Virginia. Perhaps the most accessible printing of it is San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Co., 1895.

10. Rowland, *History*, I, 599.

11. F. A. Kirkpatrick, *Latin America: A Brief History* (New York: Macmillan Co., Cambridge: The University Press, 1939), 378-380.

12. Sweet, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-308, 351.
13. W. W. Sweet, "The Frontier in American Christianity," in *Environmental Factors in Christian History*, edited by J. T. McNeill, M. Spinka, and H. R. Willoughby (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), 380-398.
14. Irving Stoddard Kull, "Presbyterian Attitudes Toward Slavery," *Church History*, VII, 2 (June, 1938), 113.
15. Allen Cabaniss, "Some Religious Survivals in Mississippi," in *The Southwestern Journal*, XIX (1940), 75.
16. William A. Love, "The Mayhew Mission to the Choctaws," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, XI (1910), 381.
17. Harry Warren, "Missions, Missionaries, Frontier Characters, and Schools," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, edited by Franklin L. Riley (Oxford, Miss.: For the Society, 1904), VIII, 581; E. T. Thompson, *Presbyterian Missions in the Southern United States* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1934), 140f.; Dunbar Rowland, *An Encyclopedia of Mississippi* (Atlanta: Southern Historical Publishing Association, 1907), II, 253. The last-named is a three-volume work fully as important as Rowland, *History*, mentioned in Note 3 above. It is badly arranged, without an index, not strictly alphabetical, but is a mine of valuable information, which one will sometimes find in an unusual place in it, and often under a heading where one would least expect it. The third volume is biographical, dealing with contemporaries. It will hereinafter be known as Rowland, *Encyclopedia*.
18. C. W. Grafton, *History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi*, pp. 145-151. This is an unpublished typewritten manuscript in the possession of the Grafton heirs, Union Church, Miss. Reference to it will be under the abbreviated form, Grafton, *History*.
19. Rowland, *History*, I, 786.
20. *Ibid.*, 784.
21. Information given to me by Dr. Grafton's son, Thomas B. Grafton, D.D., Vicksburg, Miss., in a letter dated June 9, 1940, hereinafter designated T. B. Grafton, Letter.
22. Grafton, *History*, 412; cf. also p. 104.
23. T. B. Grafton, Letter.
24. *Jackson Daily News*, Aug. 2, 1934, p. 1.
25. See p. 17.
26. Hudson, *Folksongs*, 14. By permission.
27. From W. E. Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom*, pp. 8, 19 (Vol. 27, *The Chronicles of America*). Copyright Yale University Press. Used by permission.

28. Mrs. N. D. Deupree, "Some Historic Homes of Mississippi," in *Publications of the Miss. Hist. Soc.*, VI (1902), 256-258.
29. *Miss. Guide*, 389. Used by permission.
30. *Ibid.*, 390. Used by permission.
31. *Ibid.* Used by permission.
32. E. M. Cook, "The Chapel of the Cross," in *The Hazlehurst (Miss.) Courier*, Oct. 27, 1938, p. 6.
33. Henry W. McLaughlin, "The Grand Old Man of Mississippi," in *Union Seminary Review*, Vol. XLII, No. 3 (April, 1931), 300f. This will be abbreviated as, McLaughlin.
34. Grafton, History, 106.
35. T. B. Grafton, Letter; also a statement prepared for me by Miss Susie Grafton, Union Church, one of Dr. Grafton's daughters.
36. Grafton, History, 104.
37. *Ibid.*
38. T. B. Grafton, Letter.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. Jackson *Daily Clarion-Ledger*, Aug. 3, 1934, p. 6. By permission.
42. McLaughlin, 301. Used by permission.
43. From a letter sent to me by the War Department, Washington, D. C., dated Apr. 23, 1940. Cf. also McLaughlin, 301; *Daily News*, Aug. 2, 1934, p. 1; *Clarion-Ledger*, Aug. 3, 1934, p. 7.
44. Rowland, *History*, II, 90; cf. also a letter sent to me by O. S. Gillis, Fayette, Miss., clerk of the Chancery Court, who handled the details of Dr. Grafton's Confederate pension.
45. *Ibid.*, 39.
46. *Ibid.*, 40-42; cf. also the War Department's letter.
47. A sermon manuscript in Union Church, based on Josh. 20:1-9 and Num. 35:9-34, and entitled "The Cities of Refuge." It is undated, but was prepared after 1900. These MSS. are to be discussed at length in a later chapter. For the purpose of these notes they will be described as fully as possible by reference to the Scriptural text, subject, and date, where those are given.
48. Sermon MS., Heb. 7:25, Sept., 1874.
49. Sermon MS., I Cor. 3:12, 13, Dec., 1876.
50. McLaughlin, 301. Used by permission.
51. *Ibid.* By permission.
52. "Historical Sketch of the Life of N[ewton] E[dward] Walker," in *The (Carthage, Miss.) Carthaginian*, Aug. 21, 1913. Used by permission.
53. T. B. Grafton, Letter.

54. McLaughlin, 301. By permission.

55. Grafton, History, 105.

56. From the transcript of Dr. Grafton's record at the University of Mississippi sent to me by the registrar, T. A. Bickerstaff.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Historical Catalogue of the University of Mississippi 1849-1909* (Nashville, Tenn.: Marshall and Bruce Co., 1910), 146.

59. *Ibid.*

60. Warren A. Candler, *Bishop Charles Betts Galloway* (Nashville, Tenn.: Cokesbury Press, 1927), 21, quoting Mrs. Galloway's letter. Used by permission.

61. *Ibid.*, 17-20. Used by permission.

62. On life in the University of Mississippi during an important period, consult J. N. Waddel, *Memorials of Academic Life Through Three Generations* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1891), *passim*.

63. Rowland, *History*, II, 105.

64. This page of manuscript is in the possession of Mrs. S. C. Caldwell, Hazlehurst.

65. Quoted in Thompson, *Presbyterian Missions, etc.*, 69. [Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*. (New York: The Current Literature Publishing Co., 1905), III, 99.] Used by permission.

66. *Memorial Volume of the Semi-Centennial of the Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina* (Columbia, S. C.: Presbyterian Publishing House, 1884), 421.

67. Consult William C. Robinson, *Columbia Theological Seminary and the Southern Presbyterian Church* (Decatur, Ga.: Dennis Lindsey Printing Co., Inc., 1931), *passim*, and John M. Wells, *Southern Presbyterian Worthies* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1936), *passim*, but esp. pp. 11-49, 140-179.

68. W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), 80-82, 130-132, 350-352.

69. H. Shelton Smith, "The Church and the Social Order in the Old South as Interpreted by James H. Thornwell," *Church History*, VII, 2 (June, 1938), 116.

70. On this consult Cash, *op. cit.*, 80f; Smith, *op. cit.*, *passim*; J. M. Wells, *Southern Presbyterian Worthies* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1936), 11-49, 140-179.

71. For some intimations regarding life in the seminary at this period, see *Memorial Volume, etc.*

72. See p. 110.
73. See pp. 111f.
74. See p. 85.
75. See p. 86 and note 36.
76. The call is recorded in the MS. Minutes of the Session of Union Church, p. 54, dated Oct. 12, 1872.
77. MS. Minutes of Session of Union Church, p. 60, July 27, 1873.
78. C. W. Grafton, *A Forty-Three Year Pastorate in a Country Church* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1917), 3. This pamphlet will be referred to as, Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*. Used by permission.
79. *Ibid.*, 4. By permission.
80. A clipping from an unidentified newspaper of 1930 or 1931, in Mrs. Kent's scrapbook.
81. J. B. Cain, "Union Church Neighborhood Reflects Scottish Culture," *The Commercial Appeal*, Sept. 22, 1927. Used by permission.
82. J. B. Cain, *Methodism in the Mississippi Conference, 1846-1870* (Jackson, Miss.: The Hawkins Foundation, 1939), 373. Used by permission.
83. T. L. Haman, "The Beginnings of Presbyterianism in Mississippi," in *Publications of the Miss. Hist. Soc.*, X (1909), 218f.
84. C. W. Grafton, "A Sketch of the Old Scotch Settlement at Union Church," in *Publications of the Miss. Hist. Soc.*, IX (1906), 263.
85. Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, 4f. By permission.
86. See p. 23.
87. Haman, *op. cit.*, 219.
88. C. W. Grafton, "Story of Union Church," in *The Fayette* (Miss.) *Chronicle*, Aug. 24, 1917, p. 1.
89. Cabaniss, *op. cit.*, 75f.
90. See p. 23; Thompson, *op. cit.*, 71.
91. On which see Sweet, *Story of Religion*, 322-334.
92. Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, 5. By permission.
93. Grafton, "Story of Union Church," p. 1.
94. Grafton, "A Sketch of the Old Scotch Settlement," 266.
95. Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, 7. By permission.
96. Grafton, "A Sketch, etc.," 269.
97. Rowland, *History*, I, 876.
98. Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, 23. By permission.
99. Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1917.
100. See pp. 69-120.

101. Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, 8. By permission.
102. A letter sent to me by Mrs. Ida McCormick Cadwallader, Jackson, Miss., dated Mar. 15, 1940.
103. Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, 10f. By permission.
104. MS. Minutes of Session of Union Church, p. 61.
105. A letter of Dr. Grafton to Mrs. S. C. Caldwell, Hazlehurst, Mar. 28, 1932.
106. MS., undated but quite early.
107. MS., dated 1878.
108. MS., dated 1882-1883.
109. See pp. 121-155.
110. T. B. Grafton, Letter.
111. *Ibid.*
112. McLaughlin, *op. cit.*, 302. By permission.
113. Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, 17. By permission.
114. McLaughlin, *op. cit.*, 304.
115. J. B. Cain, "Union Church Neighborhood." By permission.
116. *The Daily Clarion-Ledger*, Jackson, Miss., Aug. 3, 1934, p. 6. By permission.
117. T. B. Grafton, Letter. This letter was in the main just a series of notes put down without order. For the purpose of this quotation I have filled out the sentences and rearranged some of the items.
118. From conversations with Mrs. J. L. Scott, Union Church, his daughter, and Mrs. S. C. Caldwell, Hazlehurst.
119. McLaughlin, *op. cit.*, 303; *Clarion-Ledger*, Aug. 3, 1934, p. 7.
120. Mrs. Cadwallader's letter; Dr. Caldwell's note; *The Fayette Chronicle*, Aug. 3, 1934, p. 1; Jackson *Daily News*, Aug. 2, 1934, p. 6; *Clarion-Ledger*, Aug. 3, 1934, p. 7.
121. A clipping from the *Clarion-Ledger* of 1919 or 1920, in Mrs. Kent's scrapbook.
122. *The Fayette (Miss.) Chronicle*, May 24, 1916. Used by permission.
123. Edward Mayes, "C. B. Galloway," in *Publications of the Miss. Hist. Soc.*, XII (1911), 23, 25.
124. See pp. 100-103.
125. Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, 25. By permission.
126. *General Catalogue and Alumni Directory of Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tenn.*, December, 1922, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1922), 62.
127. Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, 21. By permission.
128. Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, 12f. By permission.

129. McLaughlin, *op. cit.*, 303. By permission.
130. A. F. Beard, *The Story of John Frederic Oberlin* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1909), *passim*, but see esp. pp. 41-53, 115-134, 159-161.
131. New York: Harper, 1940.
132. Robert D. Franklin, in *The (Memphis) Commercial Appeal*, May 26, 1940, Section IV, p. 10. Used by permission.
133. From a conversation with Mrs. J. L. Scott, Apr. 12, 1940.
134. Grafton, *History*, 11.
135. *After Fifty Years, 1861-1911* (McComb, Miss.: McComb City Journal, 1911).
136. *The [Louisville] Christian Observer*, Aug. 15, 1934.
137. Published in *The Fayette Chronicle*, Aug. 24, 1917, p. 1.
138. See p. 69.
139. *Clarion-Ledger*, Aug. 3, 1934, p. 6. By permission.
140. Mrs. Cadwallader's letter; McLaughlin, *op. cit.*, 304.
141. Grafton, *History*, 1.
142. See pp. 138-155.
143. See p. 40.
144. Pp. 298-305.
145. McLaughlin, *op. cit.*, 298; recounted to me by Dr. Hutton before I read McLaughlin's article.
146. *Ibid.*, 300.
147. *Ibid.*, 299.
148. O. S. Gillis' letter.
149. *Clarion-Ledger*, Aug. 3, 1934, p. 1; *Fayette Chronicle*, Aug. 3, 1934, p. 1.
150. P. 6.

NOTES

CHAPTER II: HIS SERMONS

1. In conversation, Apr. 11, 1940.
2. McLaughlin, *op. cit.*, p. 299. Used by permission.
3. In conversation, April 13, 1940.
4. Mabel B. Fant and John C. Fant, *History of Mississippi* (The Mississippi Publishing Co., 1923), 158.
5. Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, 7. Used by permission.
6. *Ibid.* By permission.
7. Sermon MS., John 6:68, 1882.
8. Grafton, "A Sketch of the Old Scotch Settlement," 271.

9. Burton J. Hendrick, *Statesmen of the Lost Cause* (New York: The Literary Guild of America, Inc., 1939), 81. Used by permission of Little, Brown and Co., Boston, Mass., original publishers.
10. See pp. 7of.
11. Sermon MSS., Rom. 1:14, October, 1905; Prov. 3:9, January, 1877; Eccles. 11:1, Jan. 11, 1874.
12. Sermon MSS., Ps. 30:4, September, 1918; Mark 11:12-14, 20, 21, 1906.
13. Sermon MS., I Chron. 22:16, January, 1897.
14. Sermon MSS., Mark 11:12-14, 20, 21, 1906; Acts 20:26, 27, Dec. 28, 1902.
15. Sermon MSS., Matt. 3:1-9, August, 1920; Luke 8:15, September, 1921.
16. Sermon MS., Acts 20:26, 27, Dec. 28, 1902.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Sermon MS., Hos. 2:15, July, 1902.
19. Note reference to share-cropping.
20. Delivered at Union Church, Dec. 27, 1873; Bensalem, Feb. 15, 1874; Hazlehurst, Feb. 19, 1874; Brookhaven, May 29, 1874; Fayette (meeting of presbytery), Apr. 4, 1874.
21. B. B. Warfield, *The Plan of Salvation*, new revised edition (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1935), 116. Used by permission.
- 21a. Reminiscent of Thornwell's famous essays against the Apocrypha, "Romanist Arguments for the Apocrypha Discussed," *The Collected Writings of James Henley Thornwell*, III (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1873), 413-742.
22. His son, a missionary to China at that time.
23. Sermon MS., Heb. 11:31, 1911.
24. Sermon MS., Luke 12:48, April, 1884.
25. See p. 75.
26. Sermon MS., Josh. 7, delivered at Union Church, March 1884; at Bensalem, May 14, 1884.
27. Sermon MS., Matt. 17:1-13, May, 1880.
28. At Union Church, June 1, 1873; Brookhaven, Aug. 31, 1873; Red Lick Church, Oct. 11, 1873.
29. At Union Church, June 9, 1872; Brookhaven, June 30, 1872; Yazoo City, Sept. 1, 1872; Sardis, Sept. 8, 1872; Winnsboro, S. C., Dec. 22, 1872; Glebe St. Church, Charleston, S. C., April 13, 1873; seminary, Apr. 20, 1873; Bensalem, July 6, 1873; Galatia Methodist Church, Jefferson County, Miss., Oct. 6, 1873.

30. At Concord Church, May 26, 1872; Bensalem, June 2, 1872; Sardis, Sept. 8, 1872.

31. Karl Heim, *The Church of Christ and the Problems of the Day* (New York: Scribner's, 1935), 95f. Used by permission.

31a. At Union Church, July 14, 1872; factory, Columbia, S. C., December, 1872; Congaree Church, Columbia, May 30, 1873; Zion Hill, Jefferson County, Miss., July 13, 1873; Providence, Claiborne County, Miss., Sept. 23, 1873; Galatia Methodist Church, Jefferson County, Oct. 7, 1873.

32. See p. 81.

33. At seminary, 1873; Barhamville, S. C., January, 1873; Zion Glebe St. Church, Charleston, S. C., Apr. 11, 1873; Congaree, S. C., Apr. 20, 1873; Ladson Chapel, Columbia, S. C., Apr. 27, 1873; Salem Black River, Sumter, S. C., May 3, 1873; Union Church, June 8, 1873; Providence, Miss., Sept. 22, 1873; Ebenezer, Jefferson County, Miss., Sept. 27, 1873; Zion Hill, Jefferson County, Nov. 23, 1873; New Hope, Lincoln County, Miss., Nov. 30, 1873; Sunny Side, Apr. 23, 1874.

34. I have taken the phrases in brackets from the sermon to elucidate the outline for the reader.

35. Sermon MS., Gal. 5:6, January, 1875.

36. At seminary, 1873; Barhamville, S. C., Mar. 15, 1873; Mayesville, S. C., May 4, 1873; Park Ave. Church, Memphis, Tenn., May 11, 1873; Concord Church, May 25, 1873; Bensalem, June 1, 1873; Union Church, Oct. 12, 1873.

37. Cf. G. G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, four volumes in one (New York: Macmillan Co., 1935), I, 243; IV, 145-198; John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 194, 205f., 247, 272, 287, 352f., 366, 384.

38. Sermon MS., Ps. 85:1, 2, 1905.

39. Here at the end of this discussion of Dr. Grafton's theology it may not be amiss to cite a lengthy passage from his sermon entitled, "Three Stages in the Scheme of Life, One Legal, Two Moral," Text, I John 1:7, delivered in Brookhaven, June 30, 1872, and at Bensalem, June 16, 1873: "As to the distribution of this work (i. e., justification, regeneration, and sanctification) between the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, we learn by just inference from the Word of God that the Father was designated as the Advocate for the Majesty and dignity of the Godhead. The Son and Spirit are both Advocates or intercessors for man—the Son pleading at the eternal throne, the Spirit at the throne of the human heart—one Advocate for God and two for man. The Father it is who standing for the

glory and honor of God holds in his hands the scales in which are balanced with perfect precision all the attributes of the divine character—who sees that their several demands are all perfectly satisfied—that justice and mercy alike receive their dues neither to the detriment of the other. He it is that sweeps with the profundity of infinite thought through the vast creation and regulates all things in order and harmony and when in all this vast range one daring opponent is found to the divine will He it is who brings him at once to the bar of eternal justice and pronounces the irrevocable decree. And when the Father as stern executor of the divine law found man as a guilty offender He it was who brought him at once to an awful account. Standing upon the character of inviolable law the Eternal Father vindicating the insulted majesty of heaven pronounced the awful sentence of death. And man with no plea to make but guilty, thrice guilty, would have sunk at once under the Avenging Sword, but through the love of God, the Eternal Son was allowed to stand as his Advocate before the throne. And this righteous Advocate for man having poured out his own precious blood of infinite value presents it to the Eternal Justice as an expiation to meet the claims against his guilty clients. And the Eternal Father balancing the claims of Heaven's law against guilty man by the precious expiating blood of the Son issues that judicial decree by which man is absolved from all farther liabilities to the law. This act is purely legal in its character reaching no farther than the state of man. The man's heart is not yet reached. Not one element of his moral nature has undergone a change. It is simply the verdict by which man who was heretofore guilty, now upon the merits of the expiating blood offered by the Eternal Son is simply regarded as not guilty. Man who was before in a state of condemnation is now by a judicial decree in a state of complete justification. The cleansing blood as an expiatory offering has now accomplished its work. The Eternal Father has preserved inviolate the sanctity of the law and yet one step has been taken to the salvation of the sinful man. All legal disabilities being now removed the Eternal Son hands over to the Eternal Spirit the writ of pardon which has been secured and the latter coming forth upon the merits of the quickening blood enters at once into the justified soul and takes the second step. He introduces the spark of a new life into the nature of the man, energizes him with new feelings and desires, weds him by vital communion with the Eternal Son as his head, and stamps upon him the heavenly seal of adoption into the family of the living God. This act of regeneration is of all strange mysteries the strangest . . . and . . . cannot be explained by human reason . . . Regeneration being performed the Eternal Spirit proceeds with the next step or rather succession of steps constituting the work of sanctification . . . The

regenerate soul is but an adopted foreigner in the royal family of God and though when he is stamped with the seal of adoption in Regeneration he has a legal right by God's grace to all the rights and privileges of a son yet being unfit to handle the inheritance, being unfit to sit with the chosen family stained as he is with the pollution of his former sins, the Eternal Spirit acting on the basis of the sanctifying blood graciously conducts him through the necessary training . . . This work of sanctification is progressive in its character and never ceases until the Christian is called home to his reward."

40. B. E. Meland, *Modern Man's Worship* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934), 96f.

41. E. g., *The Christian Century*, Vol. LIV, No. 39 (Sept. 29, 1937), 1207.

42. Cited in William C. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 69.

43. T. C. Johnson, *History of the Southern Presbyterian Church* (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1894), *passim*.

44. *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1933), 133-135. Used by permission.

45. Sermon MS., Lev. 19:30, January, 1883.

46. *Ibid.*

47. Omitted.

48. At Union Church, Sept. 14, 1883, and the following Sunday at Bensalem.

49. Book of Church Order, par. I, in *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.*, p. 5.

50. Henry van Dyke, quoted in J. H. Patton, *A Popular History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: R. S. Mighill and Co., 1900), 24.

51. See *Report* of same, American edition, 111 Fifth Ave., New York, November, 1937, p. 13; cf. also Patton, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-26; Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-85; T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries* (New York: Doran, n. d.), *passim*; Henry van Dyke, *The Church: Its Ministry and Sacraments* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Co., 1890), *passim*; J. H. Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York: Scribner's, 1908), Vol. I, pp. 633-642, "Apostolic Succession," by J. G. Simpson.

52. Hugh Thomson Kerr, Jr., *A Compend of the Institutes of the Christian Religion by John Calvin* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1939), 197f. Used by permission.

53. Cf. his statement p. 93.

54. "Address to All the Churches of Jesus Christ Throughout the Earth," in *The Collected Writings of James Henley Thornwell, D.D., LL.D.*, edited by John B. Adger and John L. Girardeau, Vol. IV, *Ecclesiastical* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1873), 449. Used by permission.

55. Sermon MS., II Kings 22:1, 2, 1905.

56. Sermon MS., I Cor. 6:8, 1913.

57. Sermon MS., Rom. 12:2, July, 1894.

58. Sermon MS., Ex. 32:26, April, 1914.

59. It is not a reformatory, but an Industrial and Training School of the state. It cares not only for delinquents but also for orphans and children of underprivileged families. This may account for Dr. Grafton's use of quotation marks.

60. Sermon MS., Acts 20:28, November, 1919.

61. In a conversation, Apr. 12, 1940.

62. Sermon MS., "The Prayer of Dives," delivered at Union Church, Feb. 12, 1882, and at Bensalem, May, 1882.

63. Rowland, *History*, II, 173.

64. Sermon MS., Hos. 8:7, 1897.

65. Sermon MS., a Thanksgiving sermon on Hab. 3:17, 18, delivered before the synod, Vicksburg, Nov. 24, 1898.

66. Sermon MS., Eccles. 9:10, April, 1902.

67. Sermon MS., I Pet. 4:10, January, 1905.

68. Sermon MS., "David at the Threshing Floor of Araunah the Jebusite," I Chron. 21:26, 27, May, 1905.

69. Sermon MS., "Glimpses of the King," John 18:37, July, 1905.

70. Sermon MS., "Peter—Self-denial—Value of the Soul," Matt. 16:21-28, January, 1906.

71. Sermon MS., "The Confusion of Tongues at Tower of Babel," Gen. 11:1-9, 1911.

72. Sermon MS., John 15:15, October, 1913.

73. Sermon MS., Eph. 2:1, November, 1914.

74. Sermon MS., II Tim. 2:3, December, 1914.

75. Sermon MS., Prov. 1:10, 1915.

76. Sermon MS., "The Pestilence That Walketh in Darkness," Ps. 91:6, December, 1918.

77. Sermon MS., Rev. 22:16, February, 1875.

78. Sermon MS., "The Witness of the Spirit," Rom. 8:15, 16, January, 1922.

79. Sermon MS., "Cities of Refuge," Josh. 20:1-9, Num. 35:9-34, no date but after 1900.

80. Sermon MS., Heb. 7:25, September, 1874.
81. Sermon MS., Rom. 5:1, January, 1876.
82. Sermon MS., I Cor. 3:12, 13, December, 1876.
83. Sermon MS., Matt. 13:45, 46, November, 1883.
84. Sermon MS., "Prayer," John 14:13, February, 1884.
85. Sermon MS., Philemon, 1925.
86. See p. 75.
87. Sermon MS., commencement sermon, I John 4:7, 8, delivered at Hazlehurst, 1908.
88. Rowland, *History*, I, 91f.
89. Sermon MS., Amos 7:8, July, 1902.
90. Sermon MS., "Thankworthy Lives," I Thess. 1:2, July, 1906.
91. Sermon MS., I Cor. 13:13, November, 1922.
92. See pp. 29f., 44f., 61.
93. Sermon MS., "Barzillai," II Sam. 19:31-39, May, 1902.
94. Sermon MS., "Envy," Num. 16:3, Ps. 106:16-18, July, 1920.
95. Sermon MS., John 9:4, March, 1925.
96. Theodore G. Bilbo, second term, 1928-32 (first term, 1916-20), present Senior Senator.
97. Sermon MS., "The Bethany Home," John 11:5, Feb. 12, 1928.
98. Sermon MS., I John 5:9, June, 1880.
99. Sermon MS., "The Brazen Serpent," John 3:14, 15, 1898.
100. Grafton, *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, 19. By permission.
101. Sermon MS., John 10:10, 1902.
102. Sermon MS., Matt. 6:12, November, 1882.
103. Sermon MS., "The Unclean Spirit," Matt. 12:43-45, January, 1913.
104. See pp. 76, 104.
105. Sermon MS., Hos. 2:15, July, 1902.
106. Sermon MS., "The Parable of the Sower," Matt. 13:1-9ff., August, 1920.
107. Sermon MS., Luke 8:15, September, 1921.
108. Sermon MS., "The Spirit of the Macedonian Christians," II Cor. 8:1-5, October, 1905.
109. Sermon MS., "Heirs of God and Joint Heirs with Christ," Feb. 19, 1922.
110. See p. 77f.
111. See p. 82f.

NOTES

CHAPTER III: HIS WRITINGS

1. Discontinued recently with the October, 1940, issue. All quotations by permission.
2. VII, 4 (March, 1918), 6.
3. VIII, 1 (December, 1918), 11f.
4. IX, 4 (March, 1920), 6.
5. XI, 11 (October, 1922), 4.
6. XIV, 4 (March, 1925), 6f.
7. XVI, 6 (May, 1927), 6f.
8. XVII, 5 (March, 1928), 13f.
9. XVIII, 1 (December, 1928), 13-15.
10. VIII, 3 (February, 1919), 6.
11. XI, 4 (March, 1922), 2.
12. XVI, 3 (February, 1927), 6f.
13. XVI, 8 (July, 1927), 4f.
14. "The Arnebeth," XIII, 4 (March, 1924), 12f.
15. "The Burial Theory of Baptism," XIII, 10 (September, 1924), 5f; "Infant Church Membership," XV, 11 (October, 1926), 6f., 9.
16. "Why Don't You Dance, Rebecca?" XIV, 10 (September, 1925), 4f.
17. "Diotrephes," X, 12 (November, 1921), 5; XIII, 9 (August, 1924), 5f.
18. E. g., "Juvenile Criminals," VIII, 4 (March, 1919), 4f.; "What I Am I Carry with Me, What I Have I Leave Behind," X, 1 (December, 1920), 5.
19. XIII, 3 (February, 1924), 3.
20. "Thou Shalt Not Lust," VII, 8 (July, 1918), 7.
21. "Who Sent the Tornado?" XI, 5 (April, 1922), 4-6; "Though He Slay Me Yet Will I Trust Him," XII, 8 (July, 1923), 8f; "A Famine That Brought a Blessing," XIII, 1 (December, 1923), 13f; "The Pestilence That Walketh in Darkness," VII, 12 (November, 1918), 5f.
22. "The Third Commandment," VII, 6 (May, 1918), 4.
23. "The Sabbath Day," VII, 7 (June, 1918), 7, 9f.
24. "What Is in the Marble?" VII, 11 (October, 1918), 7.
25. "Underground Streams," IX, 8 (July, 1920), 5f.
26. "Big Things," IX, 11 (October, 1920), 2f.
27. "Cast Thy Bread upon the Waters," X, 2 (January, 1921), 6f.
28. XII, 6 (May, 1923), 8.
29. "Calvary Church," VII, 10 (September, 1918), 2f.
30. "Presbyterian Church at McComb City," XI, 3 (February, 1922), 8f.

31. "Dedication of Fayette Church," XII, 2 (January, 1923), 8f.
32. "Meeting of Mississippi Presbytery at Centerville," XV, 6 (May, 1926), 6f., 13.
33. "Meeting at Memphis for Southwestern," XVI, 11 (October, 1927), 6f.
34. "Meeting of Mississippi Presbytery at Pine Ridge," XVII, 6 (April, 1928), 9, 13.
35. "A Trip to Columbia Seminary," XV, 7 (June, 1926), 7ff.
36. XVI, 4 (March, 1927), 5f.
37. XVI, 5 (April, 1927), 6f.
38. XIII, 12 (November, 1924), 1.
39. XIV, 11 (October, 1925), 5ff.
40. XIV, 12 (November, 1925), 5ff.
41. XV, 5 (April, 1926), 6f.
42. XVI, 8 (July, 1926), 6f.
43. "Heritage and Testimony of the Southern Presbyterian Church," pp. 3, 6.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
45. *Ibid.*
46. P. 11.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. P. 12.
50. P. 13.
51. *Elements of Truth*, addresses delivered at Synod's Training School, June 16 to 26, 1914, at Belhaven College, Jackson, Miss., by eminent leaders and workers of the Presbyterian Church.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-195.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-203.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 202f.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

65. Oxford, Miss.: For the Society, 1906. Vol. IX, 262-271.
66. Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1917.
67. Fayette, Miss., Aug. 24, 1917, p. 1.
68. "Sketch of the Old Scotch Settlement," p. 263.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 271.
72. *Forty-Three Year Pastorate*, p. 7. Used by permission.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 13. By permission.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 28. By permission.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 28f. By permission.
76. Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: The Modern Library, n. d.), II, 998.
77. *The Centennial 1928* of Alcorn (Miss.) Agricultural and Mechanical College (Fowler, Ind.: Benton Review Shop, 1928), I, 145-165.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 146. Used by permission.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 159. By permission.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 163. By permission.
81. *Ibid.* By permission.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 156, 160.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 160.
85. *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 160.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 158. By permission.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 157. By permission.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 160 for summary.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 155. By permission.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 160.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 157. By permission.
92. *Ibid.* By permission.
93. *Ibid.* By permission.
94. See p. 65.
95. Manuscript History of Presbyterianism in Mississippi, pp. 1ff.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 11ff.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
98. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-20.
99. See pp. 23-25, 27f., 32f., 62.
100. The manuscript History, p. 10.
101. J. G. Jones, *A Complete History of Methodism as Connected with the Mississippi Conference* (Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1908), 32.

102. The manuscript History, p. 18.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
105. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
106. *Ibid.*, chs. 3-6, pp. 21ff., 29ff., 35ff., 46ff.
107. J. B. Cain, *Methodism in the Mississippi Conference, 1846-1870* (Jackson, Miss.: The Hawkins Foundation, 1939), 373. Used by permission.
108. The manuscript History, p. 33.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 51ff.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
111. On this consult R. M. Coates, *The Outlaw Years: The History of the Land Pirates of the Natchez Trace* (New York: The Macaulay Co., 1930), *passim*.
112. The manuscript History, pp. 75ff.
113. *Ibid.*, pp. 91ff.
114. *Ibid.*, pp. 100ff.
115. *Ibid.*, pp. 108ff.
116. *Ibid.*, pp. 152ff.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
119. *Ibid.*, pp. 112f.
120. *Ibid.*, chs. 13, 14, pp. 116ff., 124ff.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
123. *Ibid.*
124. On this see W. A. Love, "The Mayhew Mission to the Choctaws," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, XI (1910), 363-402.
125. The manuscript History, p. 130.
126. *Ibid.*, pp. 145ff.
127. *Ibid.*, pp. 169ff.
128. *Ibid.*, pp. 173ff.
129. *Ibid.*, pp. 286ff.
130. *Ibid.*, pp. 561ff.
131. *Ibid.*, pp. 317ff.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
134. *Ibid.*, chs. 19, 20, pp. 190ff., 193ff.
135. *Ibid.*, chs. 21-24, pp. 197ff., 207ff., 216ff., 252ff.
136. *Ibid.*, ch. 25, pp. 265ff.
137. *Ibid.*, chs. 26, 27, 29, pp. 271ff., 275ff., 303ff.

138. *Ibid.*, ch. 30, pp. 305ff.
 139. *Ibid.*, chs. 31, 33, pp. 308ff, 324ff.
 140. *Ibid.*, ch. 34, pp. 328ff. (See also pp. 134-138 of this book.)
 141. *Ibid.*, ch. 34, continued, pp. 371ff.
 142. *Ibid.*, chs. 35, 36, 37, pp. 389ff., 394ff., 410ff.
 143. *Ibid.*, chs. 38, 39, 40, continued, pp. 423ff., 445ff., 543ff.
 144. P. 467. On the bad conditions of Vicksburg and other Mississippi towns in the early nineteenth century, consult R. M. Coates, *op. cit.*, and the article "Vicksburgeseque," *The Vicksburg Evening Post*, July 20, 1940, p. 4.
 145. The manuscript History, p. 519.
 146. *Ibid.*, chs. 42, 47, pp. 590ff., 642ff.
 147. *Ibid.*, chs. 43, 44, 48, pp. 603ff., 615ff., 647ff.
 148. *Ibid.*, ch. 46, pp. 636ff.
 149. *Ibid.*, ch. 45, pp. 630ff.
 150. *Ibid.*, chs. 49, 50, pp. 650ff., 655ff.
 151. See Note 101, above.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV: AN ATTEMPTED EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

1. See Appendix I, pp. 168-183.
2. See p. 55.
3. See p. 67.
4. See p. 79.
5. See pp. 79f.
6. *The Collected Writings of James Henley Thornwell*, edited by John B. Adger (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1871-1873) 4 volumes. Very important for a study of Southern thought. Used by permission.
7. See pp. 84-86.
8. See p. 90.
9. See *Minutes* of General Assembly 1940, p. 67.
10. See p. 56f.
11. In a private conversation with me, Aug. 2, 1940.
12. Sheila Kaye-Smith, in Hilaire Belloc (editor), *Why I Am and Why I Am Not a Catholic* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), 109. Used by permission.
13. See Appendix II, p. 187.
14. *Minutes* of the Synod of Mississippi, 1934.

15. Ps. 116:15.

16. See p. 53f.

17. C. W. Grafton, *A Forty-Three Year Pastorate in a Country Church* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1917), 28. Used by permission.

18. *Ibid.*, 8.

19. *Ibid.*, 13.

20. *The Daily Clarion-Ledger*, Jackson, Miss., Aug. 2, 1934, p. 1. By permission.

21. See pp. 57-60.

22. See p. 75f.

23. Ecclus. 38:34.

24. XXII, 10 (October, 1934), 9. Used by permission.

