

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN  
CHURCH.

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## PREFACE.

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THIS sketch is designed, first of all, to trace the Southern Presbyterian Church from its roots in Europe; to exhibit its origin as a separate church, its *peculiar* constitution and character, its growth in numbers and in working efficiency, its work at home and abroad, its relation to other Christian churches; to set forth, thus, the great problems now before it; in short, to put before the student what the church has been, and is, and should be as a factor in the great forces which go to make up universal church history.

It is designed, secondly, to furnish the materials for answers to three specific questions, viz.: Why did the Southern Presbyterian Church come into separate existence? Why has it continued till the present a separate existence? Are there any sufficient reasons why it should continue for a longer time to maintain a separate existence? These are *paramount* questions for this generation.

We have *believed that Christians should labor for church unity*, not of the spirit only, but of the form. While exalting the spiritual above the external, and holding that a true unity in Christ the head, a unity established by the Spirit and maintained by the same blessed agent, is compatible with the existence of a host of denomina-

tions, we have believed that Christians should labor to exhibit that unity in the external life of the church; and that our Lord's intercessory prayer can only be *completely* fulfilled when the church militant is outwardly one.

But we have, also, believed that a church must exist as a separate denomination while, and only while, in a convenient territory, it has one or a group of truths of fundamental importance for which to witness. And we have believed, furthermore, that there can be no union of denominations pleasing in God's sight which is not intelligently effected. We believe that the church should know its own past and its present, what it has stood for and what it should now stand for, before it can, in a way to please God, propose organic union. In the same way it should know its neighbor with whom it thinks of uniting.

We have done what we could in these few pages to exhibit fearlessly and truthfully what appears to have been the true character and purpose of our church to the present. Readers of more schools than one, perhaps, will be displeased with the truth. We have *wished* to be *convincing*. We have, therefore, resorted to laborious compiling, made the *unimpeachable records of the churches* talk wherever possible; and we have tried to reduce our own personal equation to the lowest degree. We have let the reader look through his own eyes at the facts, instead of through ours.

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HAMPDEN SIDNEY, VA.,  
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# THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANS.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANS BEFORE 1861.<sup>1</sup>

THE European sources of Southern Presbyterians are almost as numerous as European nations; but the chiefest of such sources have been the English Presbyterians, the Dutch, the Germans, the Swiss, the Huguenots, the Scotch, and the Scotch-Irish.

The English Presbyterians came into the colonies of Virginia and the Carolinas from the start. Some of these were nonconforming; and of these those in Virginia after 1531 or 1533<sup>2</sup> suffered much persecution, some of them being driven to the colonies of Maryland or the Carolinas, while others were forced into conformity. After the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Presbyterian Church came to be formally tolerated, its numerous converts from the Episcopal Church showed, with a degree of

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is intended to present only such a brief sketch of Presbyterians, New and Old School, in the South, before 1861, as is necessary to enable the reader to comprehend the body whose history he is invited to follow through the period 1861-93. For a fuller account of these peoples before 1861, the reader is referred to vol. vi., "Presbyterians."

<sup>2</sup> Hodge, part i., p. 45. Compare Hays, p. 60.

probability, that there had been many *conforming* Presbyterians in that church. Indeed, Alexander Whitaker, "the self-denying apostle of Virginia,"<sup>1</sup> had been a Cambridge Puritan. He had established a Congregational Presbytery<sup>2</sup> for the government of the local church. He had written "neither surplice nor subscription is spoken of" in Virginia.<sup>3</sup> The Puritans in the Virginia colony continued to have great freedom up to about 1530. After that they suffered persecution, as we have asserted.

The Dutch were among the early settlers of Maryland and of Charleston, S. C.<sup>4</sup> Later they were found in the valley of Virginia, and throughout the South. The Germans during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century immigrated into Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, chiefly from Pennsylvania, but also directly from South Germany.<sup>5</sup> Bodies of Swiss, too, came into South Carolina between 1730 and 1750.<sup>6</sup> The Dutch and Swiss were Presbyterians; and so, also, was a moiety of the Germans. The Huguenots, particularly after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, made settlements in our borders, the chief of which were in Virginia, on the James, and in South Carolina, in Charleston and its neighborhood.<sup>7</sup> The Scotch immigrated into our territory in large numbers from the beginning of the eighteenth century on. Scotchmen from Argyleshire were in North Carolina on the Cape Fear River in 1741. After the battle of Culloden and the defeat of the Jacobites, Scotch Highlanders came over in great numbers and settled beside their brethren on the Cape Fear and its tributaries.<sup>8</sup> Scotchmen settled during the first half of the eighteenth century, also, in parts of South Carolina, in Georgia, in

<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, vol. i., p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Bancroft, vol. i., p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> Hodge, part i., p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> Bancroft, vol. i., p. 432.

<sup>2</sup> Briggs, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 430.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Hodge, part i., p. 66.

the Piedmont region of North Carolina and Virginia, and had settled at a much earlier time in Maryland. The Scotch-Irish, irritated by increase of rents, and by a tax to support a church not of their choice, began in the first quarter of the eighteenth century a more rapid immigration into America. These people, coming directly, or after a stoppage in Pennsylvania, spread themselves over the valley of Virginia, the Piedmont region of Virginia and the Carolinas, and more sparsely over the whole remaining South Atlantic Colonies<sup>1</sup>—"a staunch and stalwart stock" of Presbyterians.

From these older States the settlers, or their children, subsequently passed over into the lands of Kentucky and Missouri, of Tennessee and Alabama, of Mississippi and the States of the Southwest. In their earlier immigrations the Scotch and Scotch-Irish did not, as a rule, settle in large bodies, but singly, and were scattered widely over the Middle and Southern Colonies. Hence, up to 1750 they had, except in a few favored localities, no regular religious ministrations. There was, of course, no organic church connection among them. Independency, even, was in the ascendant in the Charleston colony, the most favored of them all in the ecclesiastical privileges.

Nevertheless, from about 1650 on, Presbyterian settlers in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina were looked after by such servants of God as the Revs. Francis Doughty, about 1657-59, Matthew Hill, 1667-76, William Trail, Francis Makemie, and their followers; while the churches of Charleston and in the vicinity were served by Puritans like John Cotton, or Scotch Presbyterians like Archibald Stobo, and their followers.

*Their Character, as Illustrated in the Civil and Religious Life.*—Under this guidance and the "favoring conditions of

<sup>1</sup> Hodge, part i., pp. 67, 68; Howe, vol. i., pp. 197 ff.

our Southern life" these several strains of European Presbyterianism were so blended as to make "a body of Christians, singularly homogeneous, conservative, truth-loving, and ardently devoted to right and liberty. The courtly and cultivated Huguenot, the stern and simple-hearted Highlander, the strong, earnest, faithful Scotch-Irish, the conscientious Puritan, and the frank, honest Teuton, contributed of the wealth of their character and the glory of their history. Devotion to principle was the guiding star of their action."<sup>1</sup> They have been devoted to the maintenance of their *civil* rights. No people has shown a higher degree of patriotism. The act of the Scotch-Irish met in Abingdon, Va., January 20, 1775;<sup>2</sup> the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, made on the 20th of May, 1775;<sup>3</sup> their conduct in the Revolutionary War—such as to draw from General Washington the famous encomium on the men of Western Virginia—are sufficient proofs. Nor were they prepared to show less of heroic devotion to the country in the calamitous struggle of 1861. They have been equally zealous, to say the least, for *religious liberty*. The petition from the Presbytery of Hanover, dated November 11, 1774, "To the Honorable the Speaker and the Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses," of Virginia,<sup>4</sup> and the memorials from the same Presbytery—in 1776<sup>5</sup> and in 1777<sup>6</sup>—to the same legislative body, at once leave no doubt as to where Mr. Jefferson got his views of religious liberty, and evince the fact of the zeal of the Presbyterian people of Virginia for religious liberty. These people have shown themselves as eager for the *truth* as for lib-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Moses D. Hoge, in Hays's "Presbyterians," p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft, vol. iv., pp. 100, 101; Briggs, p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> Bancroft, vol. iv., p. 196; Briggs, p. 340.

<sup>4</sup> This petition was published for the first time in the "Central Presbyterian," May 16, 1888, by the Hon. Wm. Wirt Henry, LL. D., Richmond, Va.

<sup>5</sup> See Foote's "Sketches of Virginia," series i., pp. 323 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, series i., pp. 326, 327.

erty. Academies were often erected beside the churches. The pastors were frequently teachers as well as preachers. Queen's Museum, in Mecklenburg County, N. C., was founded and obtained a charter from the colonial government in 1770. This charter, though set aside by the king and council, was amended, and a second time granted by the colonial legislature in 1771. The king repealed it by proclamation, evidently because several of the trustees were Presbyterian ministers.<sup>1</sup> The independent commonwealth of North Carolina chartered the institution again in 1777 as Liberty Hall. About the same time Hanover Presbytery took "into consideration the great expediency of erecting a seminary of learning." As a result academies were very soon established, one of which grew into Washington College in the valley of Virginia, the other into Hampden Sidney College in Southside, Va., each being at once a monument to patriotism and fidelity to religious convictions, and the means of supporting these virtues as long as, in the mercy of God, it shall remain substantially unperverted.

So the church ran her early course.

We cannot, in this sketch, follow her in detail to 1861. That can be fairly inferred from her start and from her condition on the eve of the war between the States. We beg leave, though, to point out one very worthy trait of Southern Presbyterians during the early part of the nineteenth century. They were a missionary body. It was from Dr. John Holt Rice, the founder of Union Theological Seminary, in Virginia, that the famous overture on missions came before the General Assembly of 1831. He asked the Assembly to adopt the following resolutions:

First, That the Presbyterian Church in the United States is a missionary society, the object of which is to aid in the conversion of the world; and

<sup>1</sup> Foote's "Sketches of North Carolina," p. 513.

that every member of the church is a member for life of the said society, and bound, in maintenance of his Christian character, to do all in his power for the accomplishment of this object. Second, ministers of the gospel in connection with the Presbyterian Church are most solemnly required to present this subject to the members of their respective congregations, using every effort to make them feel their obligations and to induce them to contribute according to their ability.<sup>1</sup>

This paper stirred the church.

*The Status of Southern Presbyterians in 1861.*—In 1861 there were south of Mason and Dixon's line 12 synods of the Old School Church, 1275 churches, and 96,550 communicants. There were three flourishing theological seminaries within her bounds, each under the control of one or more synods, viz., Union Seminary in Virginia, Columbia Seminary in Columbia, S. C., and Danville in Kentucky. There were important colleges under the more or less careful superintendence of the body, e.g., Hampden Sidney College and Washington College in Virginia, Davidson College in North Carolina, Center College in Kentucky, *et al.*

In 1861 there were in the same territory, constituting the United Synod of the South, 3 synods, with 199 churches, 11,581 communicants. Steps had been taken for the founding of a theological seminary, and \$70,000 had been subscribed and partly paid in for this purpose. The Synod had under its care one college, at Marysville, Tenn.

No part of the church had a more cultivated ministry than the Southern Presbyterian Church of the Old School. Their seminaries were manned by some of the very ablest men in either of the two churches, North and South. Thornwell was in his meridian splendor at Columbia; Dabney and Peck, slower in reaching their maturity, as

<sup>1</sup> For the whole of this able and solemnly important paper see Assembly's Digest, Baird's Collection, p. 363.

well as younger in years, were teaching with marked ability at Union; Breckenridge was illustrating as the day, or obscuring, according to his subject, as the night, the themes with which the theologian deals, at Danville; Palmer and Hoge and others were edifying as well as delighting large and cultivated audiences day after day. A ministry, generally highly cultured and especially trained, was serving with acceptance the people of God. No considerable part of the church elsewhere surpassed the South in all that goes to make intelligent and honest Presbyterianism. It had been a happy, a blessed portion of the Church of God.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE ORIGIN OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

JUPITER swallowed Metis lest she should bear, in their coming child, one wiser than himself. But that child sprang, the fully panoplied Minerva, wise and strong and impregnably chaste, from the head of her monster father. If any one had asked, "What are the grounds on which Minerva claims the right of existence among the gods and goddesses?" it might well have been said: "On the ground of the virtuous strength and happiness which she can achieve in and for her worshipers, as well as on the ground of the repentance and reformation which she may be able to work among the gods and goddesses themselves, including her father."

The occasion of the Presbyterian Church in the United States coming into existence was the successful effort, on the part of the majority of the Old School Assembly of 1861, to usurp the crown rights of the Redeemer in making new terms of church-membership; and, in the same act, to prostitute the church to the state so far as to hold the Southern Presbyterians to the support of the Federal Government, as over against the governments of their several sovereign States, on pain of ejection from the church in case of failure to comply with the terms of church-membership thus made.

On the 12th of April, 1861, the Confederacy had been forced to begin the bombardment of Fort Sumter; for the Federal Government had been about to provision anew

and reinforce and render unconquerable this doorway which it held into the heart of the South. The bombardment turned out to be so successful that in spite of a heroic resistance the fort fell into the hands of the South within thirty-six hours. The fall of Fort Sumter was used with consummate skill by the Northern demagogues. Holy Writ tells us of a certain Levite, whose concubine was done to death by the men of Gibeah in Benjamin, that "when he was come into his house, he took a knife, and laid hold on his concubine, and divided her, together with her bones, into twelve pieces, and sent her into all the coasts of Israel, so that it came to pass that all that saw it said, There was no such deed done nor seen from the day that the children of Israel came up out of Egypt until this day." Not less striking were the representations made by the leaders of the North over the "insult to the national flag in attacking Fort Sumter." The passions of the masses were aroused. The whole country was aflame with war. On the 15th of April President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to quell the "insurrection," as he called it. Though his proclamation drove four more States into the Confederacy, the rest of the country responded with four times as many men as he asked for.

The Assembly of 1861, which convened in Philadelphia on May 16th, met in an atmosphere surcharged with the war-spirit. Many ministers and elders from all sections of the country had fondly hoped that the church might maintain her unity in spite of political disunion. They had hoped that her spirituality, her divine origin, and Christ-like character might be all the more brightly illustrated by her course in the midst of what even then gave awful promise of being one of the fiercest civil wars of all history. But their hopes were doomed to an early

blighting. Such union could only be maintained by the church's keeping within her own sphere, and steering clear of the political issues on which the ship of state had become dismembered. And there was a party—at first small, but destined to rapid growth under extraneous pressure and ignoble motives<sup>1</sup>—in the church which had determined to make the General Assembly indorse the Federal Government at Washington and pledge its support thereto. This was, of course, to prostitute the church to the state—nay, to a party in the state. But what is it men will not prostitute, and to what will they not make that prostitution when driven on by prejudice, passion, and revenge?

The venerable Dr. Spring, of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, probably at the urgent insistence of others, with a clearer vision of the nature and consequence of the action but with less of conscience than himself thereat, so early as the third day of the Assembly introduced the following resolution:

That a special committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of the Assembly's making some expression of their devotion to the Union of these States, and their loyalty to the government; and if in their judgment it is expedient so to do, they report what that expression shall be.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. J. H. Vandyke says: "There was at first a large majority who were opposed to any political deliverance whatever. They were in favor of simply asserting the great Scriptural doctrine of obedience to civil rulers, accompanied by kind injunctions to study the things that made for peace. But as the Assembly proceeded with its business, the pressure from without, and a little leaven working within, changed the spirit and purposes of the body. That kind of martyrdom so eloquently portrayed by Dr. Thomas a few days ago, as consisting of applause in the galleries, and other indications of popular will, began to make its influence felt. There were, moreover, indications of another kind of martyrdom in the streets, whose instruments would not be waving of pocket-handkerchiefs and clapping of fair hands, but tar and feathers, ropes and lamp-posts. . . . Whether from these causes or not, it is well known that the Assembly underwent a speedy and marvelous change in its spirit and in its purpose; until 'in an evil hour her rash hand reaching forth,' she passed the famous, or rather *infamous*, Spring Resolution."—"Concise Record of the Assembly," 1866, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of the General Assembly," O. S., 1861, p. 303.

This resolution was laid on the table by a vote of 123 to 102. But the Progressives were not to be balked. Only three days later Dr. Spring offered a paper with resolutions respecting the appointment of religious solemnities for the 4th of July next, and the duty of ministers and churches in relation to the "condition of our country."<sup>1</sup> The house made the consideration of these resolutions the first order of the day for the Friday next, May 24th. Friday brought a protracted and heated debate over the resolutions, and a substitute moved by Dr. Charles Hodge. The debate continued Saturday and Monday. Monday evening there was an effort made, under the lead of Dr. Hodge, to lay the whole business on the table; but it was defeated, the vote being 87 yeas and 153 nays. Tuesday morning the matter was referred to a special committee, with instructions to report in the afternoon. Nine were appointed on this committee. They presented a majority report with eight names affixed, and a minority report with one name subscribed, that of Dr. William C. Anderson, of San Francisco. After further discussion the majority report failed of adoption, the vote standing 84 yeas and 128 nays. Dr. Anderson's report was then taken up. It consisted of Dr. Spring's resolutions, with a slight alteration. It received an amendment, making the report as follows:

Gratefully acknowledging the distinguished bounty and care of Almighty God toward this favored land, and recognizing our obligation to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, this General Assembly adopts the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, 1. That in view of the present agitated and unhappy condition of our country, the first day of July next be set apart as a day of prayer throughout our bounds; and that on this day ministers and people be called on humbly to confess and bewail our national sins; to offer our thanks to the Father of lights for his abundant and undeserved goodness toward us as a nation; to seek his guidance and blessing upon our rulers and their coun-

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, p. 308.

sels, as well as on the Congress of the United States about to assemble; and to implore him, in the name of Jesus Christ, the great High-Priest of the Christian profession, to turn away his anger from us, and speedily restore to us the blessings of an honorable peace.

*Resolved*, 2. That this General Assembly, in the spirit of Christian patriotism which the Scriptures enjoin, and which has always characterized this church, do hereby acknowledge and declare our obligations to promote and perpetuate, so far as in us lies, the integrity of these United States, and to strengthen, uphold, and encourage the Federal Government in the exercise of all its functions under our noble Constitution; and to this Constitution, in all its provisions, requirements, and principles, we profess our unabated loyalty. And to avoid all misconceptions, the Assembly declare that by the terms the "Federal Government," as here used, is not meant any particular administration, or the peculiar opinions of any particular party, but that central administration which, being at any time appointed and inaugurated according to the forms prescribed in the Constitution of the United States, is the visible representative of our national existence.<sup>1</sup>

This paper was adopted by a vote of 156 yeas to 66 nays. It was revolutionary, filled with the very genius of usurpation and prostitution of the things of the Lord Jesus Christ. Dr. Hodge and others gave notice that they protested against this action of the Assembly for reasons to be given. The protest when it came was substantially as follows:

We, the undersigned, respectfully protest against the action of the General Assembly in adopting the minority report of the committee on the state of the country.

We make this protest, not because we do not acknowledge loyalty to our country to be a moral and religious duty, according to the Word of God, which requires us to be subject to the powers that be, nor because we deny the right of the Assembly to enjoin that, and all other like duties, on the ministers and churches under its care, but because we deny the right of the General Assembly to decide the political question to what government the allegiance of Presbyterians as citizens is due, and its right to make that decision a condition of membership in our church.

That the paper adopted by the Assembly does decide the political question just stated is in our judgment undeniable. It asserts, not only the loyalty of this body to the Constitution of the Union, but it promises, in the name of all the churches and ministers whom it represents, to do all that in them

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the General Assembly," O. S., 1861, pp. 329, 330.

lies to strengthen, uphold, and encourage the Federal Government. It is, however, a notorious fact that many of our ministers and members conscientiously believe that the allegiance of the citizens of this country is primarily due to the States to which they respectively belong; and, therefore, that when any State renounces its connection with the United States and its allegiance to the Constitution, the citizens of that State are bound by the laws of God to continue loyal to their State, and obedient to its laws. The paper adopted by the Assembly virtually declares, on the other hand, that the allegiance of the citizen is due to the United States, anything in the Constitution or ordinances or laws of the several States to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is not the loyalty of the members constituting this Assembly, nor of our churches or ministers in any one portion of our country, that is thus asserted, but the loyalty of the whole Presbyterian Church, North and South, East and West.

Allegiance to the Federal Government is recognized or declared to be the duty of all churches and ministers represented in this body. In adopting this paper, therefore, the Assembly does decide the great political question which agitates and divides the country. The question is, Whether the allegiance of our citizens is primarily to the State or to the Union. However clear our own convictions of the correctness of this decision may be, or however deeply we may be impressed with its importance, yet it is not a question which this Assembly has a right to decide.

That the action of the Assembly in the premises does not only decide the political question referred to, but makes that decision a term of membership in our church, is no less clear. It puts into the mouths of all represented in this body a declaration of loyalty and allegiance to the Union and to the Federal Government. But such a declaration made by our members residing in what are called the seceding States is treasonable. Presbyterians under the jurisdiction of those States cannot, therefore, make that declaration. They are consequently forced to choose between allegiance to their State and allegiance to the church.

The General Assembly, in thus deciding a political question, and making that decision practically a condition of membership to the church, has in our judgment violated the constitution of the church, and usurped the prerogative of the Divine Master. . . .

In the third place, we protest because we regard the action of the Assembly as altogether unnecessary and uncalled for. . . . We are fully persuaded that we best promote the interests of the country by preserving the integrity and unity of the church.

We regard this action of the Assembly, therefore, as a great national calamity, as well as the most disastrous to the interests of our church which has marked its history.

We protest, fourthly, because we regard the action of the Assembly as unjust and cruel in its bearings on our Southern brethren.

And finally, we protest because we believe the act of the Assembly will not

only diminish the resources of the church, but greatly weaken its power for good, and expose it to the danger of being carried away more and more from its true principles by a worldly and fanatical spirit.<sup>1</sup>

Fifty-seven other men, along with Dr. Hodge, honored themselves by affixing their names to this paper, which for its political and ecclesiastical sagacity, its gentlemanly and Christian spirit, is deserving of everlasting admiration. Fourteen of the only sixteen Southern commissioners were among the signers. The other forty-four names included, in addition to that of the revered Princeton theologian, that of the moderator, the Rev. Dr. John T. Backus, and of the moderator of the preceding Assembly, the Rev. Dr. John W. Yeomans, who had preached the opening sermon on the text John xviii. 36, "My kingdom is not of this world"; and many more names of the wisest and godliest men of the whole North.

The best possible foil for Dr. Hodge's protest, one that makes it shine like a jewel in an ash-bank, was the answer to it by the Assembly's committee. They "readily admitted" that the Assembly's action had political as well as moral bearings; and then went on to produce an almost matchless specimen of pettifogging and sophistical demagoguery in the vain attempt to support the Assembly as just and Scriptural in its conduct. The haters of democracy might find in this instance a very convenient proof of the folly of the rule by the mere numerical majority in collusion against principle and intelligence.<sup>2</sup> In itself it would be both interesting and instructive to illustrate the Machiavellianism of this reply at length, but it would carry us too far aside from the particular course of events with which we are directly concerned. We recall our attention, therefore, to the Spring resolutions, and to the

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, pp. 339, 340.

<sup>2</sup> See "Minutes of the General Assembly," O. S., 1861, pp. 342-344.

view taken of them by Dr. Hodge and his party in the North. That party was not moved by sectionalism. Its judgment was not warped by self-interest. It was not a secession party. It was not largely a slave-owning party. The student of history will remember these facts when studying the reception which Southern Presbyterians gave the resolutions by the venerable pastor of the Brick Church. There is no proof of their having been moved by schism, heresy, or selfishness.

Almost the whole Southern wing of the church regarded the Assembly's action just as the conservative party in the North did. They saw: first, that the political question had been decided for the whole Presbyterian Church represented in the Assembly; second, that the action of the Assembly in the premises did not only decide the political question referred to, but made that decision a term of membership in the church; third, that it was cruel in its bearings on the Southern members of the church, making them renounce allegiance either to church or state; fourth, that in the political adjudication the church had been guilty of usurpation of the Redeemer's rights, and the prostitution of the Redeemer's bride; fifth, that, finally, the flood-gates of politico-religious syncretism, of fanaticism, had been thrown open. These things they saw; and these things, together with the actual setting up of the Confederate Government, were the objective causes, the occasions, of the rise of the Presbyterian Church, South.

Some of the strongest intellects as well as some of the most devoted Christian ministers in the whole church were in the South. They desired a church on whose banner should be inscribed, "The Spirituality of the Church," "The power of the Church Court as to kind and degree only what the Word of God as interpreted by the Stand-

ards of the Church makes it," "A faithful adherence to the Constitution of the Church," "The absolute Headship of Christ in the Church." They wanted a church, and a better one than that from which they had been virtually ejected. They wanted a church that looked to her bridegroom as her very lord, that wore not the skirts of a prostitute; a church whose courts "would never ask what might be a man's view of the Constitution of the United States, of the doctrine of State rights, or of any other political question"; but "What does he think of the headship of Christ, of the atonement, of regeneration? is he willing to adopt sincerely and in their true import our time-honored standard of doctrine and church order?"<sup>1</sup> Such a church as the Old School Presbyterian had been, but was no longer, a church of their own people, among whom homogeneity would prevent all retarding friction of her chariot-wheels as her armies should go forth against the world. They wanted a church for their own sakes, their fellows' sakes, and for the sake of truth and God.

In these glorious aspirations and honorable desires we find the true causes of the existence of the Presbyterian Church, South. As these causes are to receive fuller illustration incidentally as we proceed, we shall for the present dispense with their further elucidation, and pass on to trace the organization of the church in process, and then to set forth the completeness of the form of organization, and its adjustment to its ecclesiastical environment.

*The Organization of the Body and its Adjustment to its Environment.*—Most of the Southern Presbyteries—all, perhaps—had held, as the custom is, their spring meetings prior to the time of the Philadelphia Assembly. But such of them as had adjourned meetings, or *pro re nata*

<sup>1</sup> See speech of Dr. J. H. Vandyke, in "Concise Records of the Assembly of St. Louis," 1866, p. 54.

meetings, on the heel of that Assembly, protested with various degrees of vigor against the high-handed usurpation and abhorred degradation of that body. The Presbytery of Memphis, in an adjourned meeting on the 13th of June, renounced connection with the Assembly for its unchristian and revolutionary action, and requested all concurring Presbyteries to meet with them by their commissioners, in Memphis, on the third Thursday in May, 1863, for the purpose of organizing a General Assembly. It also suggested to the Presbyteries the advisability of their calling meetings and appointing delegates to a convention to meet in Atlanta on the 15th of August, "to consult upon various important matters, especially our benevolent operations." This action was immediately followed by that of the East Alabama Presbytery, which was called together to consider the matter. It did not secede from the Assembly, but earnestly protested, and declared that it would not acquiesce in the Assembly's action. It then called for a convention of the Presbyteries to meet in Columbia, S. C., on the Thursday before the second Sunday in September, 1861, aiming thus to secure coöperative action.

On the 9th of July the Presbytery of New Orleans formally renounced the jurisdiction of the Old Assembly, ordered that a copy of their action be sent to the Southern Presbyteries, and requested them, if they should concur in this action, to send commissioners authorized to organize an Assembly, to commence its meetings on the 4th of December, 1861, in Augusta, Ga.

About the same time many of the Presbyteries met and chose delegates to a convention in Atlanta, Ga., during July. Individuals throughout the church had been calling for such a convention, as an advisory body. Prominent ministers in the Synod of Virginia had, on the close of the

Philadelphia Assembly, at once published a circular, inviting ministers and elders in Southern Synods to meet in convention in Richmond, Va., on the 24th of July. Prominent ministers in the South Carolina Synod early agitated the calling of such a convention; and Dr. Thornwell, at least, expressed a preference for the Piedmont region of North Carolina, and named, specially, Greensboro as a suitable place. Such a convention was needed to give harmony of action touching their relation to the Old Assembly, to the several Presbyteries and Synods, and to prevent the evils which might arise from a temporary disorganization, especially to make some temporary arrangement concerning the benevolent operations of the church. The upshot of all these calls for a convention was the final fixing upon Atlanta as the place, and the 15th of August, 1861, as the time, for a convention of representatives from the Presbyteries.

*The Atlanta Convention* met at the time and place appointed. It was composed of twenty delegates from eleven Presbyteries, with fourteen corresponding members from six Presbyteries, and was in session three days. In reference to the benevolent operations, it suggested and recommended that the work of education, publication, domestic missions, etc., should be left to the Presbyteries, Synods, and the Southwestern Advisory-Committee of New Orleans; "but as to foreign missions, the convention indorsed the temporary plan for conducting this work which had been devised by certain brethren in Columbia, S. C., and pledged the support of the Presbyteries represented in the convention to it."<sup>1</sup> In reference to the action touching their relations to the Old Assembly, the

<sup>1</sup> Alexander's "Digest," p. 68. We acknowledge here our indebtedness to Mr. Alexander for his account of the Atlanta Convention, which we have freely used in constructing ours.

convention urged all such Presbyteries as had not renounced the jurisdiction of the Old Assembly to do so, and urged all the Presbyteries to declare their adherence and submission to the standards as formerly held, with the single change of the phrase "Presbyterian Church in the United States of America" to this form, viz., "Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America." It further urged that these Presbyteries send commissioners to a General Assembly to be held in Augusta, Ga., on the fourth day of the next December; that Rev. Dr. Waddel, Rev. Dr. Gray, and Dr. Joseph H. Jones, of Atlanta, Ga., be a committee on commissions to examine the credentials of all who should be present; and that the respective Synods review the records of the Presbyteries and confirm the actions herein proposed. Though a convention, this body "disclaimed the right to determine the political relations of individuals, or to solve for them political questions."

The convention did just what it was intended to do. It secured substantial unanimity of action touching relations to the Old Assembly, and touching relations to the standards, on the part of all the Presbyteries and Synods. And it gave a certain support to the temporary agencies of the church until the Assembly should meet and place them on a stable footing. During the remainder of the summer and fall forty-seven Presbyteries, each for itself, dissolved connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. "This separation," says Dr. Palmer, "was based in every case upon the unconstitutional character of the Assembly's legislation. We give the language employed by a single Presbytery, as showing the common ground upon which they all stood: *Resolved*, That in view of the unconstitutional, Erastian, tyrannical, and *virtually excind-*

*ing act* of the late General Assembly, sitting at Philadelphia in May last, we do hereby, with a solemn protest against this act, declare, in the fear of God, our connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States to be dissolved."<sup>1</sup> These words are from the minutes of Dr. Palmer's own Presbytery. That he is correct in setting them forth as containing the common ground on which all the Presbyteries stood admits of no doubt. Their sober truth is no more than an adequate expression of the Assembly's action as seen by clear-headed and stout-hearted Presbyterians throughout the South. Before the time for the meeting of the General Assembly at Augusta, the forty-seven Presbyteries, with their ten Synods, had been completely organized under a common constitution, and the Presbyteries had duly authorized and appointed commissioners to form said Assembly.

*The First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, South*, convened, according to appointment, on the 4th of December, 1861. One of the most venerable ministers present, the Rev. Dr. Francis McFarland, presided until a regular organization could be effected. On his motion the Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer was unanimously chosen to preach the opening sermon. Dr. Palmer took for his text Ephesians i. 22, 23—"And gave him to be head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all." The preacher felt the responsibility of the moment. What was of greater importance, he was prepared for it. Endowed with a force, splendor, and enthusiasm like Homer's, a fiery logic like Paul's, the speaker had acquired an eloquence comparable to Burke's. He was habitually an honest student, and hence a well-furnished preacher on all occa-

<sup>1</sup> Palmer's "Life of Thornwell," pp. 502, 503.

sions. On great occasions he had the mettle in him which responded readily to the unusual pressure. The present was a very great occasion. After an exordium which makes the reader think that Palmer has a right to preach on the sublime passages of him who, while describing himself as rude in speech, yet wrote as the lord thereof, the preacher announced his subject as: "*The supreme dominion to which Christ is exalted as the Head of the church, and the glory of the church in that relation, as being at once his body and his fullness.*"

The flood-gates of discourse were raised, and the waters gushed forth. The sermon was a true unfolding of the great theme announced. There was but little direct allusion to the situation of the church and the country. The chief of such passages should be set forth to the reader. The preacher had been speaking of the glory which "surrounds the church," *in virtue of the headship of Christ over it.* "The immortal Church of Christ, which survives all change and never knows decay, . . . outliving all time, and henceforth counting her years upon the dial of Eternity." He at length breaks out: "Do we understand, fathers and brethren, the mission of the church given us here to execute? It is to lift throughout the world our testimony for this headship of Christ. The convocation of this Assembly is in part this testimony. But a little while since it was attempted in the most august court of our church to place the crown of our Lord upon the head of Cæsar—to bind that body which is Christ's fullness to the chariot in which Cæsar rides. The intervening months have sufficiently discovered the character of that state under whose yoke this church was summoned to bow the neck in meek obedience; but in advance of these disclosures, the voice went up throughout our land in indignant remonstrance against the usurpa-

tion, in solemn protest against the sacrilege. And now this parliament of the Lord's freemen solemnly declares, that, by the terms of her great charter, none but Jesus may be King in Zion. Once more, in this distant age and in these ends of the earth, the church must declare for the supremacy of her Head, and fling out the consecrated ensign with the old inscription, 'For Christ and his Crown.'"<sup>1</sup>

The Assembly honored itself by directing the publication of the sermon in the appendix to the minutes. So far as we know, it is the only sermon which has been so published in the history of our church. Dr. Palmer was made moderator of the Assembly.

*The organization of the church, including its agencies for carrying on all the great enterprises of Christian effort, and the orientation of the church before the world, and especially before the other churches of Jesus Christ throughout the earth, was to be the great work of the Assembly. As soon as the court had been organized Dr. Thornwell introduced two resolutions, which were unanimously adopted. They were as follows:*

1. That the style and title of this church shall be The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.

2. That this Assembly declare, in conformity with the unanimous decision of our Presbyteries, that the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Forms of Government, the Book of Discipline, and the Directory of Worship, which together make up the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, are the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America; only substituting the term "Confederate States" for "United States."<sup>2</sup>

In 1865, influenced by the issue of the war, the church came under the necessity of changing its name somewhat, and from that time has borne the legal style and title of

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 1861, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, p. 7.

“The Presbyterian Church in the United States.” Of changes in the constitution we shall have something to say in a future chapter.

As one looks over the proceedings of this Assembly, he observes that though it is but an hour old, it is not wrapped in swaddling-clothes. In the ordinary routine work of such a body, it shows no signs of infancy. But we marvel not at this; for many of the members are among the most skillful presbyters who could have been found in the undivided church. But we do look on with admiration as this fully grown young giant begins to rig the ship in which it is to breast the waves and face the foes of an indefinite future.

One of the first as well as the most notable things which the Assembly did was to organize a permanent agency for conducting foreign missions. And as the principles of organization involved in the establishment of the executive committee of foreign missions were applied in all the executive committees established by the Assembly, we may with profit bring out somewhat fully this plan of the Assembly. Nor can this be better done than by transcribing here the vital parts of the resolutions which the body passed as a means to the organization of said committee; and the vital parts of those touching its attitude to the missions committed already by Providence to its care, and to the unchristian and papal peoples over the face of the globe.

For the organization of a permanent agency for conducting foreign missions, the following resolutions were adopted:

*Resolved*, 1. That this General Assembly proceed to appoint an Executive Committee, with its proper officers, to carry on this work, and that the character and functions of this committee be comprised in the following articles as its constitution, viz. :

ARTICLE I. This committee shall be known as the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. It shall consist of a secretary, who shall be styled the Secretary of Foreign Missions, and who shall be the committee's organ of communication with the Assembly and with all portions of the work intrusted to this committee; a treasurer and nine other members, three of whom, at least, shall be ruling elders or deacons, or private members of the church, all appointed annually by the General Assembly, and shall be directly amenable to it for the faithful and efficient discharge of the duties intrusted to its care. Vacancies occurring *ad interim* it shall fill if necessary.

ART. II. It shall meet once a month, or oftener, if necessary, at the call of the chairman or secretary. It may enact by-laws for its government, the same being subject to the revision and approval of the General Assembly.

ART. III. It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to take direction and control of the foreign missionary work, subject to such instructions as may be given by the General Assembly from time to time; to appoint missionaries and assistant missionaries; to designate their field of labor, and provide for their support; to receive the reports of the secretary and treasurer, and give such directions in relation to their respective duties as may seem necessary; to authorize appropriations and expenditures of money, including the salaries of officers; to communicate to the churches from time to time such information about the missionary work as may seem important to be known; and to lay before the General Assembly from year to year a full report of the work and of their receipts and expenditures, together with their books of minutes for examination.<sup>1</sup>

The cumbrous and Scripturally unwarranted machinery of boards, as well as voluntary societies, is done away with. The fifth wheel of the chariot is cast aside; a simple committee, directly and immediately responsible to the General Assembly as the Assembly's executive agent, does the work which had in the Old Assembly been done at one time by voluntary societies, and later by largely irresponsible boards. The Assembly had quietly made a long stride toward a more Scriptural form.

The Southern Assembly of 1861 did much more than to frame a good agency for conducting foreign missions. It betrayed a glorious missionary zeal. The new church had in its heart the Saviour's last command to the nascent

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, p. 15.

church of the Apostles. Already, during the summer of 1861 and before the Atlanta Convention, Dr. J. Leighton Wilson and other brethren in Columbia, S. C., had called the attention of the church throughout the Confederacy to the demands of the Presbyterian missions among the tribes of the Indian Territory, and had raised and dispersed about four thousand dollars. After the convention Dr. Wilson, with its indorsement, continued his efforts to support these missions, and also made a personal visit to that interesting but perturbed field. When the Assembly at Augusta met about twenty thousand dollars had been expended in the support of the mission since May by the Southern Presbyterians. Dr. Wilson read a report of his work as provisional secretary. On occasion of that report the Assembly passed a series of resolutions, the following excerpt from which will at once interest the reader and enlighten him further as to the aims of the new-born church toward missions:

*Resolved, 2.* That the Assembly accepts, with joyful gratitude to God, the care of these missions among our southwestern Indian tribes, the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees, thus thrown upon them by his providence: missions whose whole history has been signalized by a degree of success attending few other modern missions; to a people comprising near seventy thousand souls, to whom we are bound by obligations of special tenderness and strength, and whose spiritual interest must ever be dear to the Christians of this land. . . . And the Assembly assures those people, and the beloved missionaries who have so long and successfully labored among them, of our fixed purpose, under God, to sustain and carry forward the blessed work, whose foundations have been so nobly and deeply laid. We therefore decidedly approve of the recommendation of the report, that six new missionaries be sent to this field speedily, two of them to commence a new mission among the Cherokees, and that a few small boarding-schools be established with the special design of raising up a native agency.

3. That in the striking fact that the same upheaving and overturning that have called us into existence as a distinct organization, and shut us out from present access to distant nations, have also laid thus upon our hearts and hands these interesting missions, with their fifteen stations and twelve ordained missionaries and sixteen hundred communicants, so that, at the very moment

of commencing our separate existence, we find them forming in fact an organic part of our body; and also in the gratifying promptitude with which our church has advanced to their support—the Assembly recognizes most gratefully the clear foreshadowing of the divine purpose to make our beloved church an eminently missionary church, and a heart-stirring call upon all her people to engage in this blessed work with new zeal and self-denial.

4. The Assembly further rejoices to know that there are a few of the sons of our Southern Zion who are laboring in distant lands, and approves heartily of the action of the committee in forwarding funds for the support of the missions in which they are engaged,\*trusting that the committee to be appointed will, as soon as possible, ascertain the facts on the subject necessary to their future guidance; and takes this occasion, hence, to direct the longing eyes of the whole church to those broad fields where Satan reigns almost undisturbed—to India, Siam, China, Japan, and especially to Africa and South America, which have peculiar claims upon us, as fields where we are soon to be called to win glorious victories for our King, if we prove faithful; and solemnly charges them that now while in the convulsions that are shaking the earth we hear the tread of his coming footsteps, to take the kingdom bought with his blood, they should be preparing to meet him with their whole hearts and their largest offerings.

5. Finally, the General Assembly desires distinctly and deliberately to inscribe on our church's banner, as she now first unfurls it to the world, in immediate connection with the headship of our Lord, his last command: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature;" regarding this as the great end of her organization, and obedience to it as the indispensable condition of her Lord's promised presence, and as one great comprehensive object, a proper conception of whose vast magnitude and grandeur is the only thing which, in connection with the love of Christ, can ever sufficiently arouse her energies and develop her resources so as to cause her to carry on, with the vigor and efficiency which true fealty to her Lord demands, those other agencies necessary to her internal growth and home prosperity. The claims of this cause ought therefore to be kept constantly before the minds of the people and pressed upon their consciences. The ministers and ruling elders and deacons and Sabbath-school teachers, and especially the parents, ought, and are enjoined by the Assembly, to give particular attention to all those for whose religious teaching they are responsible, in training them to feel a deep interest in this work, to form habits of systematic benevolence, and to feel and respond to the claims of Jesus upon them for personal service in the field.<sup>1</sup>

Such are the resolutions adopted by the Augusta Assembly, as expressing its attitude toward foreign missions. There is an exalted heroism in them, a sublimity of faith

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the General Assembly of 1861," pp. 16, 17.

to which history furnishes few parallels. Surrounded by "a cordon of armies," in a country itself on the point of being one of the world's theaters of most terrific war, the church quietly looks forth on the world as its field, and quietly, fearlessly, and earnestly prepares for its present and its future labors. Sacred Writ tells us that in the time of Zedekiah, when the Babylonian army was besieging Jerusalem and on the point of taking it, Jeremiah, having been shut up in prison for having predicted the city's overthrow, said: "The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Buy the field that is in Anathoth, for the right of redemption is thine to buy it;" Jeremiah bought the field and weighed out the money, seventeen shekels of silver. His heroism was mightier than that of kings. His faith assured him that there was light beyond the clouds. This church in vision pierces the confines and the gloom of war; and, true to the principles which God had given her grace to see, prepares for their exemplification as God shall give her opportunity.

The Assembly's work relating to home missions is of a piece with that concerning foreign missions. The constitution of the "Executive Committee of Domestic Missions," as it was called, is *mutatis mutandis* altogether "similar in its provisions to that adopted for the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions"<sup>1</sup> save in one important particular, to which we will subsequently return.

The work of this committee had been carried on during the interregnum by the Southwestern Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee had been created by an order of the General Assembly of 1859, and had gone into active operation in November of that year. It had presented two annual reports to the Old Assembly, through the parent board. On March 1, 1861, it had a

<sup>1</sup> Alexander's "Digest," p. 127.

balance in its treasury of \$7729.55; it had received between March and November \$4490.37, having thus, during those eight months, \$12,219.92. About forty missionaries were, on November 1st, in commission, which was about the number in commission at the meeting of the Philadelphia Assembly. Through the good providence of the blessed Master and Head, amidst the terrible convulsions of the times the work of missions had moved on without a jar. One cannot "fail to notice the wonderful manner in which God prepared and equipped the Southern Presbyterian Church for the storm," "in the creation of this agency, without which domestic missions upon her extended frontier must have been brought abruptly to a close, and many faithful laborers, without a warning, cast loose upon the world, without visible prospect of support for themselves and their families."<sup>1</sup> This committee surrendered its trusts to the Assembly's Executive Committee of Domestic Missions, according to its own proffer and the Assembly's action.

For the time being the Assembly enlarged the number of duties to be rendered by the Committee of Domestic Missions. In framing the constitution of this committee, the Assembly had passed one more resolution than in that of Foreign Missions—a resolution commending to its particular attention a special class of the greater class of people for whom the committee must labor. The Assembly had resolved:

That the great field of missionary operation among our colored population falls more immediately under the care of the Committee of Domestic Missions; and that the committee be urged to give it serious and constant attention, and the Presbyteries to coöperate with the committee in securing pastors and missionaries for this field.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the Assembly of 1861," pp. 49, 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Two days later the Assembly resolved :

That in view of the service rendered by the action of the Church Extension Committee, as organized under the Old Assembly, and the importance of continuing to extend aid to the feeble churches in the erection of church edifices, the duties of that committee be put in charge of the Committee of Domestic Missions, until otherwise ordered by the General Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

The reader of history has remarked over and over that a time of war is a time unfavorable to religious living and achievement. The reader of the church records in the South, 1861-65, is driven to the conclusion that though stout defenders of their political principles, they were stouter still in defensive and offensive Christian warfare.

The Executive Committee of Education was also constituted by our Assembly. It solemnly reaffirmed "the deliverances made in its former connection concerning the responsibility that rests on the church to secure and maintain for itself a pious, gifted, and learned ministry." It appointed an executive committee to aid candidates for the gospel ministry who needed assistance, and formed a constitution for said committee. Its constitution was as nearly like those which have already been illustrated as its nature and ends allowed.

*An Executive Committee of Publication*, also with a constitution, the exact analogue of those of the other agencies, was constituted. Important as this branch of church work is, as the nature of the work is so well known it will not prove interesting or instructive to dwell longer upon it.

*The following mode of electing these several committees* was determined upon by the Assembly :

1. The Assembly's standing committees shall, on making their respective reports, present nominations for the members and officers of their respective executive committees for the ensuing year.

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, p. 35.

2. The presentations of these respective nominations shall not preclude any additional nominations which any member of the Assembly may choose to make.

3. The election of said committee shall not take place until at least one day after the nominations are made.

4. In all cases a majority of the votes of the Assembly shall be necessary to an election.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the Assembly kept its own hand on the helm of all its great enterprises. It had no irresponsible societies to do its work, no barely responsible boards.

One of the most interesting scenes in this Assembly was witnessed on the discussion of the report of the committee on "The Propriety of Securing a Charter for the Assembly." This report contained the draft of a bill to incorporate the trustees of the General Assembly. The peculiar feature of this instrument is contained in its fourth section, which reads as follows:

Be it further enacted, That whenever the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America shall establish any committees, agencies, or boards, for the purposes of education, publication, foreign and domestic missions, church extension, or any other committees, agencies, or boards connected with the benevolent purposes and operations of the said Assembly, any of the said committees, agencies, or boards shall be held and deemed to be branches of this corporation; subject always to the review, control, and power of the said General Assembly; and when any gift, conveyance, or transfer of estate in any wise, any devise, or bequest shall be made to "the trustees of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America," for either of the committees, agencies, or boards of the General Assembly, it shall be good and effectual to transfer the estate, property, or thing in as full and as perfect a manner as if the said committee, agency, or board had been especially incorporated with powers to take and to hold the same, and no misnomer or misconception of the said corporation shall defeat any gift, grant, devise, or bequest to the corporation, wherever the interest shall appear sufficiently upon the face of the gift, grant, devise, or bequest.<sup>2</sup>

• The aim in this was "to keep our boards or committees dependent upon and responsible to the General Assembly;

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the General Assembly," 1861, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1861, pp. 31-33.

to have an organization broad enough to embrace all our undertakings; to keep them so bound together that the Creator may be above the creature; to have the church present the view of the vine and the branches.”<sup>1</sup>

This paper, though scrutinized with the keenest insight and amended before its final adoption, was received with the greatest satisfaction. It was felt that the biblical idea of polity was being further approximated. This bill was never enacted, but in substance was wrought into the charter of 1866, granted by the State of North Carolina. But the high-water mark of interest was reached as early as the first Saturday, in the hearing of the “Address to the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth,” prepared by the committee of which Dr. J. H. Thornwell was the chairman. / In this letter the church was trying to let the world look on its *orientation*. It aimed to show the other churches its own *raison de être*, and its aims toward God and man. It is a paper of which any church might be proud. As we reread it, again and again remarking its luminous precision of thought and language, its broad and deep charity for all the Lord’s own, and the profoundly sanctified spirit that runs through it all, the impression comes with increasing strength that in that single paper is enough to justify the separate existence of the Southern Presbyterian Church. The church is the pillar and ground of the truth or nothing. It is to be doubted whether any other church in existence was more capable of setting forth the truth on the questions in debate than this church showed itself in that letter.<sup>1</sup> Such a document should be read by every student who would know the origin of the Presbyterian Church, South. Our limits admit only of some excerpts, which, however, have been so selected as to give a fair notion of the address as

<sup>1</sup> “Minutes of the General Assembly,” 1861, pp. 31-35.

a whole, so far as such a thing can be done. They are as follows:

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America to all the churches of Jesus Christ throughout the earth, greeting: grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied unto you.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHERN: It is probably known to you that the Presbyteries and Synods in the Confederate States, which were formerly in connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, have renounced the jurisdiction of that body, and dissolved the ties which bound them ecclesiastically with their brethren of the North. This act of separation left them without any formal union among themselves. But as they are one in faith and order, and still adhere to their old standards, measures were promptly adopted for giving expression to their unity, by the organization of a supreme court, upon the model of the one whose authority they had just relinquished. Commissioners, duly appointed, from all the Presbyteries of these Confederate States, met accordingly, in the city of Augusta, on the fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and then and there proceeded to constitute the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. . . .

In thus taking its place among sister churches of this and other countries, it seems proper that it should set forth the causes which have impelled it to separate from the church of the North, and to indicate a general view of the course which it feels it incumbent upon it to pursue in the new circumstances in which it is placed.

We should be sorry to be regarded by our brethren in any part of the world as guilty of schism. We are not conscious of any purpose to rend the body of Christ. . . .

We have separated from our brethren of the North as Abraham separated from Lot—because we are persuaded that the interests of true religion will be more effectually subserved by two independent churches, under the circumstances in which the two countries are placed, than by one united body.

1. In the first place, the course of the last Assembly, at Philadelphia, conclusively shows that if we should remain together the political questions which divide us as citizens will be obtruded on our church courts, and discussed by Christian ministers and elders with all the acrimony, bitterness, and rancor with which such questions are usually discussed by men of the world. Our Assembly would present a mournful spectacle of strife and debate. . . .

Two nations, under any circumstances except those of perfect homogeneity, cannot be united in one church without the rigid exclusion of all civil and secular questions from its halls. Where the countries differ in their customs and institutions, and view each other with an eye of jealousy and

rivalry, if national feelings are permitted to enter the church courts there must be an end of harmony and peace. . . . An Assembly composed of representatives from two such countries could have no security for peace except in a steady, uncompromising adherence to the Scriptural principle, that it would know no man after the flesh; that it would abolish the distinctions of barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, and recognize nothing but the new creature in Christ Jesus. . . .

The only conceivable condition, therefore, upon which the church of the North and of the South could remain together as one body, with any prospect of success, is the rigorous exclusion of the questions and passions of the forum from its halls of debate. This is what always ought to be done. The provinces of church and state are perfectly distinct, and one has no right to usurp the jurisdiction of the other. The state is a natural institute, founded in the constitution of man as moral and social, and designed to realize the idea of justice. It is the society of rights. The church is a supernatural institute, founded in the facts of redemption, and is designed to realize the idea of grace. It is the society of the redeemed. The state aims at social order; the church, at spiritual holiness. The state looks to the visible and outward; the church is concerned for the invisible and inward. The badge of the state's authority is the sword, by which it becomes a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well; the badge of the church is the keys by which it opens and shuts the kingdom of heaven, according as men are believing or impenitent. The power of the church is exclusively spiritual; that of the state includes the exercise of force. The constitution of the church is a divine revelation; the constitution of the state must be determined by human reason and the course of providential events. The church has no right to construct or modify a government for the state, and the state has no right to frame a creed or polity for the church. 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 collision of different spheres in the world of matter. It is true that there is a point at which their respective jurisdictions seem to meet—in the idea of duty. But even duty is viewed by each in very different lights. The church enjoins it as obedience to God, and the state enforces it as safeguard of order. But there can be no collision unless one or the other blunders as to the things that are materially right. When the state makes wicked laws contradicting the eternal principles of rectitude, the church is at liberty to testify against them, and humbly petition that they may be repealed. In like manner, if the church becomes seditious and a disturber of the peace the state has a right to abate the nuisance. In ordinary cases, however, there is not likely to be a collision. Among a Christian people there is little difference of opinion as to the radical distinctions of right and wrong. The only serious danger is where moral duty is conditioned upon a political question. Under the pretext of inculcating duty, the church may usurp the power to determine the question which conditions it, and that is precisely what she is debarred from doing. The condition

must be given. She must accept it from the state, and then her own course is clear. If Cæsar is your master, then pay tribute to him; but whether the *if* holds—whether Cæsar is your master or not, whether he ever had any just authority, whether he now retains it or has forfeited it—these are points which the church has no commission to adjudicate.

It was ardently desired that the sublime spectacle might be presented of one church upon earth combining in cordial fellowship and holy love—the disciples of Jesus in different and even hostile lands. But alas for the weakness of man! these golden visions were soon dispelled. The first thing which roused our Presbyteries to look the question of separation seriously in the face was the course of the Assembly in venturing to determine, as a court of Jesus Christ, which it did by necessary implication, the true interpretation of the Constitution of the United States as to the kind of government it intended to form. A political theory was, to all intents and purposes, propounded which made secession a crime, the seceding States rebellious, and the citizens who obeyed them traitors. We say nothing here as to the righteousness or unrighteousness of these decrees. What we maintain is, that, whether right or wrong, the church had no right to make them—she transcended her sphere, and usurped the duties of the state. . . .

We frankly admit that the mere unconstitutionality of the proceedings of the last Assembly is not, in itself considered, a sufficient ground of separation. It is the consequence of these proceedings which makes them so offensive. It is the door which they open for the worst passions of human nature in the deliberation of church courts. . . . For the sake of peace, therefore, for Christian charity, for the honor of the church, and for the glory of God, we have been constrained, as much as in us lies, to remove all occasion of offense. We have quietly separated, and we are grateful to God that, while leaving for the sake of peace, we leave it with the humble consciousness that we ourselves have never given occasion to break the peace. We have never confounded Cæsar and Christ; we have never mixed the issues of this world with the weighty matters that properly belong to us as citizens of the kingdom of God.

2. Though the immediate occasion of separation was the course of the General Assembly at Philadelphia in relation to the Federal Government and the war, yet there is another ground on which the independent organization of the Southern Church can be amply and Scripturally maintained.

If it is desirable that each nation should contain a separate and independent church, the Presbyteries of the Confederate States need no apology for bowing to the decree of Providence, which in withdrawing their country from the government of the United States has at the same time determined that they should withdraw from the church of their fathers. It is not that they have ceased to love, not that they have abjured its ancient principles, or forgotten its glorious history. . . .

The antagonism of Northern and Southern sentiments on the subject of slavery lies at the root of all the difficulties which have resulted in the

dismemberment of the Federal Union and involved us in the horrors of an unnatural war. The Presbyterian Church in the United States has been enabled by the divine grace to pursue, for the most part, an eminently conservative, because a thoroughly Scriptural, policy in relation to this delicate question. It has planted itself upon the Word of God, and utterly refused to make slaveholding a sin, or non-slaveholding a term of communion. But though both sections are agreed as to this general principle, it is not to be disguised that the North exercises a deep and settled antipathy to slavery itself, while the South is equally zealous in its defense. Recent events can have no other effect than to confirm the antipathy on one hand, and to strengthen the attachment on the other. . . .

And here we may venture to lay before the Christian world our views as a church upon the subject of slavery. We beg a candid hearing. In the first place, we would have it distinctly understood that, in our ecclesiastical capacity, we are neither the friends nor the foes of slavery—that is to say, we have no commission either to propagate or abolish it. The policy of its existence or non-existence is a question which exclusively belongs to the state. We have no right, as a church, to enjoin it as a duty or condemn it as a sin. Our business is with the duties that spring from the relations—the duties of the master on the one hand, and of the slave on the other. These duties we are to proclaim and enforce with spiritual sanctions. The social, civil, political problems connected with this great subject transcend our sphere, as God has not intrusted to his church the organization of society, the construction of governments, nor the allotment of individuals to their various stations. The church has as much right to preach to the monarchies of Europe and the despotisms of Asia the doctrines of republican equality, as to preach to the government of the South the extirpation of slavery. This position is impregnable, unless it can be shown that slavery is a sin. Upon every other hypothesis, it is so clearly a question for the state that the proposition would never for a moment have been doubted had there not been a foregone conclusion in relation to its moral character. Is slavery, then, a sin?

In answering this question, as a church, let it be distinctly borne in mind that the only rule of judgment is the written Word of God. The church knows nothing of the intuitions of reason, or the deductions of philosophy, except those reproduced in the sacred canon. She has a positive constitution in the Holy Scriptures, and has no right to utter a single syllable upon any subject, except as the Lord puts it into her mouth. She is founded, in other words, on express *revelation*. The question, then, is brought within a narrow compass: Do the Scriptures, directly or indirectly, condemn slavery as a sin? If they do not, the dispute is ended, for the church, without forfeiting her character, dares not go beyond them. Now, we venture to assert that if men had drawn their conclusions upon the subject only from the Bible, it would no more have entered into any human head to denounce slavery as a sin, than to denounce monarchy, aristocracy, or poverty. The truth is, men have listened to what they falsely considered as primitive intuitions, or as necessary

deductions from primitive cognitions, and then have gone to the Bible to confirm the crotchets of their vain philosophy.

We have assumed no new attitude. We stand where the Church of God has always stood, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to Christ, from Christ to the Reformers, and from the Reformers to ourselves. We stand upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone. Shall we be excluded from the fellowship of our brethren in other lands because we dare not depart from the Charter of our faith? Shall we be branded with the stigma of reproach because we cannot consent to corrupt the Word of God to suit the intuition of an infidel philosophy? Shall our names be pointed out as evil and the finger of scorn be pointed at us because we utterly refuse to break our communion with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with Moses, David, and Isaiah, with apostles, prophets, and martyrs, with all the noble army of confessors who have gone to glory from slaveholding countries and from a slaveholding church without ever dreaming that they had lived in mortal sin by conniving at slavery in the midst of them? Others, if they please, may spend their time in declaiming on the tyranny of earthly masters; it will be our aim to resist the real tyrants which oppress the soul—Sin and Satan. These are the foes against whom we shall find it employment enough to wage a successful war—and to this holy war it is the purpose of our church to devote itself with redoubled energy. We feel that the souls of our slaves are a solemn trust, and we shall strive to present them faultless before the presence of God.

Indeed, as we contemplate their condition in the Southern States and contrast it with that of their fathers before them, and that of their brethren in the present day in their native land, we cannot but accept it as a gracious Providence that they have been brought in such numbers to our shores, and redeemed from the bondage of barbarism and sin. Slavery to them has certainly been overruled for the greatest good. . . .

As to the endless declamations about human rights, we have only to say that human rights are not a fixed, but a fluctuating quantity. Their sum is not the same in any two nations on the globe. The rights of Englishmen are one thing, the rights of Frenchmen another. There is a minimum without which a man cannot be responsible; there is a maximum which expresses the highest degree of civilization and of Christian culture. The education of the species consists in its ascent along this line. Now when it is said that slavery is inconsistent with human rights, we crave to understand what point in this line is the slave conceived to occupy. There are, no doubt, many rights which belong to other men—to Englishmen, to Frenchmen, to his master, for example—which are denied to him. But is he fit to possess them? Has God qualified him to meet the responsibilities which their possession necessarily implies? His place in the scale is determined by his competency to fulfill its duties. There are other rights which he certainly possesses, without which he could be neither human nor accountable. Before slavery can be charged with doing him injustice it must be shown that the

minimum which falls to his lot at the bottom of the line is out of proportion to his capacity and culture—a thing which can never be done by abstract speculation.

To avoid the suspicion of conscious weakness of our cause when contemplated from the side of pure speculation, we advert for a moment to those pretended intuitions which stamp the reprobation of humanity upon this ancient and hoary institution. We admit that there are primitive principles of morals which lie at the root of human consciousness. But the question is, how are we to distinguish them? The subjective feeling of certainty is no adequate criterion, as it is equally felt in reference to crotchets and hereditary prejudices. The very point is to know when this certainty indicates a primitive cognition, and when it does not. There must, therefore, be some eternal test, and whatever cannot abide that test has no authority as a primary truth. That test is an inward necessity of thought, which in all minds at the proper stage of maturity is absolutely universal. Whatever is universal is natural. We are willing that slavery should be tried by this standard. We are willing to abide by the testimony of the race, and if man, as man, has everywhere condemned it—if all human laws have prohibited it as a crime—if it stands in the same category with malice, murder, and theft—then we are willing, in the name of humanity, to renounce it, and to renounce it forever. But what if the overwhelming majority of mankind have approved it? What if philosophers and statesmen have justified it, and the laws of all nations acknowledged it—what then becomes of these luminous intuitions? They are an *ignis fatuus*, mistaken for a star.

We have now, brethren, in a brief compass—for the nature of this address admits only an outline—opened to you our whole hearts upon this delicate and vexed subject. We have concealed nothing. We have sought to conciliate no sympathy by appeals to your charity. We have tried our cause by the Word of God; and though protesting against its authority to judge in a question concerning the duty of the church, we have not refused to appear at the tribunal of reason. Are we not right, in view of all the preceding considerations, in remitting the social, civil, and political problems connected with slavery in the state?

The ends which we propose to accomplish as a church are the same as those which are proposed by every other church. To proclaim God's truth as a witness to the nations; to gather his elect from the four corners of the earth; and, through the Word, ministries, and ordinances, to train them for eternal life—is the great business of his people. The only thing that will be at all peculiar to us is the manner in which we shall attempt to discharge our duty. In almost every department of labor, except the pastoral care of congregations, it has been usual for the church to resort to societies more or less closely connected with itself, and yet logically and really distinct. It is our purpose to rely upon the regular organs of our government, and executive agencies directly and immediately responsible to them. We wish to make the church not merely a superintendent, but an agent. We wish to develop

the idea that the congregation of believers, as visibly organized, is the very society or corporation which is divinely called to do the work of the Lord. We shall therefore endeavor to do what has never yet been adequately done—bring out the energies of our Presbyterian system of government. From the session to the Assembly we shall strive to enlist all of our courts, as courts, in the department of Christian effort. We are not ashamed to confess that we are intensely Presbyterian. We embrace all other denominations in the arms of Christian fellowship and love, but our own scheme of government we humbly believe to be according to the pattern shown in the mount, and, by God's grace, we propose to put its efficiency to the test.

Brethren, we have done. We have told you who we are, and what we are. We greet you in the ties of Christian brotherhood. We desire to cultivate peace and charity with all our fellow-Christians throughout the world. We invite to ecclesiastical communion all who maintain our principles of faith and order.

And now we commend you to God and the Word of his grace. We devoutly pray that the whole Catholic Church may be afresh baptized with the Holy Ghost, and that she may be speedily stirred up to give the Lord no rest until he establish and make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.<sup>1</sup>

The scene "which was enacted at the moment of the subscription of this letter will be forgotten," says an eloquent participant, "by none who witnessed it. Read, and read again, amid the solemn stillness of an audience whose emotions are hushed with awe, it was finally adopted and laid on the moderator's table; when, one by one, the members came silently forward and signed the instrument with their names. We were carried back to those stirring times in Scottish story when the Solemn League and Covenant was spread upon the gravestones at the Gray Friars' Churchyard, and Christian heroes pricked their veins, that with the red blood they might sign their allegiance to the kingdom and crown of Jesus Christ, their Lord and Head."<sup>2</sup>

*The Distinctive Principles of the Church at First.*—We have now passed in review the more important acts

<sup>1</sup> For this letter in full see "Minutes of 1861," pp. 51-60; Alexander's "Digest," pp. 369-380; "Distinctive Principles," pp. 6-25.

<sup>2</sup> Palmer's "Life of Thornwell," p.

of the Constituting Assembly. Observing the fabric set up as a completed whole, we may remark its distinctive principles, viz.: First, witnessing for the non-secular character of the church and the headship of Christ, or, in other words, for a strict adherence to the constitution. This explains the church's rise. This was the church's great and inspiring mission. Second, the complete organization of the church, obviating the necessity of boards and societies. The Southern Presbyterian Church is one of the most completely organized of all the churches of God. The church itself is its own home missionary society, its own foreign missionary society, its own education society, etc. It attends to the work itself which God gave it to do. Herein it has been a pattern not without effect to other churches. The mother-church from which the Southern Church came has wisely imitated to a certain degree the daughter, in turning her boards into virtual commissions.

*The dignity of the constituting body of this first Assembly* was very great. The writer of the "Address to the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth" was the luminary of the body—a mental and moral giant—but the Assembly was as a whole an able and godly body. A glance at the roll of commissioners shows that they were no mean men. Running down the roll of ministers, we find the names of Dr. John H. Boccock, Dr. Wm. H. Foote, Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, Dr. C. C. Jones, Dr. John N. Waddel, Dr. James A. Lyon, Dr. Drury Lacy, Dr. R. H. Morrison, Dr. J. Leighton Wilson, Dr. John B. Adger, Dr. D. McNeil Turner, Dr. Theodoric Pryor, Dr. Francis McFarland, Dr. James B. Ramsey. Among the elders we note the names of W. P. Webb, T. C. Perrin, W. L. Mitchell, Job Johnston, J. G. Sheppard, J. T. Swayne, J. D. Armstrong, Charles Phillips. Many other names of great

dignity and reputation might have been added to each of these lists. And these were no more than a fair sample of the Southern Church. The Synod of Virginia could have mustered an abler body than the one we have been considering.

Whether we look at the causes of the existence of the Presbyterian Church, South, at the perfection of her organization, at the orientation of herself in the theological cosmos, at her distinctive principles, or, in fine, at the dignity of her members, we are irresistibly led to a conviction of a surpassing excellence in her beginning, and prophesy thereof in her end.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE GROWTH OF THE CHURCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF HER AGENCIES TO THE PRESENT.

WE propose to set forth in this chapter the numerical increase of the church, and to account for the rapidity of this increase. We shall also illustrate the development of the various agencies of the church, including foreign missions, home missions in its various branches, education, and publication; explaining, as we may be able, the slow or rapid progress of each respectively, and remarking on any change of attitude of any particular agency toward the General Assembly. We shall then consider the general posture toward herself in which the General Assembly holds the agencies in common. Finally, on the ground of its connection with our subject by contrast, we shall advert to "voluntary societies" in the church.

#### *The Numerical Increase of the Church.*

In thirty-two years, the devastation and desolation of war and "reconstruction" to the contrary nevertheless, the Southern Presbyterian Church has much more than doubled itself. It has added three to the original number of Synods, there being thirteen at present. The number of its Presbyteries has gone up from 47 to 72, an increase of more than fifty per cent. of the original number. It has as many ministers as in 1861, and about eighty per cent. more, having now 1270; as many churches and one hundred and sixty per cent. more—the present number of

churches is 2652. There are two and a half times as many members as in 1861, and more. Its contributions to foreign missions and to home missions are at least four times as large, and it has kept pace in developing the other departments of church enterprise. The church has made this rapid advance in spite of the fact that between 1866 and 1870 it suffered a great exodus of its colored communicants, 10,000 perhaps, who betook themselves, for the most part, to the organizations which the Northern Presbyterian Church had begun to establish among the freedmen. It has made this growth in spite of most adverse financial and political conditions, and in a wide and sparsely settled territory, where there were no great centers of population, and which had suffered the spoliation of war. Few churches can show an equal growth. It is extraordinary. It may be justly claimed as one of the remarkable phenomena of modern church history.

This growth, under the circumstances, eloquently illustrates the words of the Psalmist who cried out: "It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy statutes."<sup>1</sup>

But while acknowledging the blessing of affliction rightly received, we shall find it useful to inquire into the several proximate and specific causes of this rapid growth. These causes seem to be:

First, *the great esophageal porrections* of our church in the presence of any ecclesiastical minnows which may be assimilated into good strict Presbyterians. The Presbyterian Church, South, has absorbed into ecclesiastical union with herself a good many smaller bodies which once occupied more or less of her present territory, viz.: the Independent Presbyterian Church (1863), the United Synod of the South (1864), the Presbytery of Patapsco (1867),

<sup>1</sup> Psalm cxix. 72.

the Alabama Presbytery of the Associate Reformed Church about the same time, the Synod of Kentucky (1869), the Associated Reformed Presbytery of Kentucky (1870), and the Synod of Missouri (1874). The union with these churches brought in about 282 ministers, 490 or more churches, and 35,600 communicants. Thus is explained in part the church's rapid growth.

Second, the *energetic use of the evangelistic arm* of the church's service. The Southern Presbyterian Church is not unfrequently stigmatized as "orthodox." She undoubtedly holds to a strong and thorough-going Calvinism and to a rather "high church" Presbyterianism. In the later thirties of this century the Old School party won the victory over the New School only by virtue of an almost "solid South." And since the division of the Old School in 1861 the Southern Church is supposed to have strengthened in her Calvinism, and in her tendency toward a belief in a *jure divino* form of church government, rather than to have either declined or stood still. She does not object to being regarded as orthodox in the sense of steadfastly upholding her well-known constitution. On the contrary, she delights in the characterization.

But "orthodoxy" and deadness of spiritual life have often been conjoined in history—so often as to have produced the current impression that one must look for a dead church in one that makes the claim of being orthodox. The impression, however, is very superficial. If there is any power, by its beauty, purity, charm, and magnetism, in truth to quicken, attract, sanctify, hold, and consecrate, then as "orthodoxy" approaches the truth, contrary to this shallow supposition as to the connection between "orthodoxy" and "deadness," we expect the truly orthodox church to be first in its power to win

to genuine Christianity all over whom the truth has any power.

Whether the Southern Presbyterian Church is truly orthodox it is not our present concern to settle. Her well-wishers have the pleasure of reflecting that her "orthodoxy" is in no sense stifling. She has shown an evangelical power which to-day is making her, in spite of her modest dimensions, one of the observed of American churches.

The Assembly of 1866 enjoined upon every Presbytery "to seek out and set apart a minister to the work of the evangelist for its own bounds, to take the superintendence of its vacant congregations wherever practicable"; and wherever such a course should be impracticable, "to apportion such congregations among its ministerial members for the same object, so that every congregation and all freed people" should "enjoy the pastoral oversight of some minister in their assemblies."<sup>1</sup>

This injunction expresses the Assembly's attitude, in general, toward this department of church work, maintained until the present. In 1886 the Assembly adopted a report emphasizing the importance of evangelistic work, and reminding the churches (*a*) "that Presbyterianism cannot accomplish its mission unless it become more aggressive; (*b*) that constant aggressiveness—in other words, preaching the gospel in the regions beyond—is one *great* mission of the church; that preaching the gospel to the poor is the distinguishing characteristic of the true church."<sup>2</sup>

The Presbyteries and churches, as they had ability and grace, responded to the Assembly's resolutions by striving to work them out in life. True, the church has never

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1866," p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of the Assembly of 1886," p. 44.

been satisfied with the results secured in the way of effort; but handsome efforts have been put forth. If the Assembly's evangelistic enterprises have been allowed to languish, many of the Presbyteries and Synods have prosecuted presbyterial and synodical evangelization with great, if somewhat selfish, enthusiasm.

In 1881 the Synod of Kentucky entered upon what is now known as pioneer enterprise of synodical evangelism. Some individual Christians offered to make a liberal donation to home mission work within the bounds of that State, provided the churches of the State should raise a stipulated sum. This offer has been renewed, and the work kept up, from year to year. Recently not less than eight or ten Synods, led on by this example, have inaugurated some form of synodical work.<sup>1</sup>

The various evangelistic efforts, backed some in one way, some in another, have not always co-worked without friction and to the satisfaction of the whole church. It does not fall within the scope of our present purpose to discuss at this point the relative propriety of these several forms of effort. That will come later. Here we have but to observe that in "every way Christ is preached," and the church grows.

Third, *faithful effort on the part of the pastor and people*. Where an army does anything toward the permanent occupation of a hostile country, there must be something more than skirmishes of the advance guard along the few lines of its approach. The real battle occurs later, when the great hosts have come up face to face with one another. The invaders *then* must overwhelm their foes, and must seize and man the citadels of the land. Even then the war is not over. The Philistines may arise at any moment. Israel secures her quiet only at the price of eternal

<sup>1</sup> "Report of Executive Committee of Home Missions of 1893," p. 11.

vigilance. The sort of advance the Southern Presbyterian Church has made is the best possible testimonial to the common watchfulness and fidelity of the whole church. The great majority of her members, under the guidance of her ministers and preachers, have been faithful, and in their measure efficient. The preachers have done their duty nobly in proclaiming the needs, and the poverty of the people has abounded unto the riches of their liberality.

The truth of this assertion will be illustrated with tolerable fullness in the remaining part of this chapter, which is devoted to setting forth the development of the church's several agencies. Anticipating its establishment, we behold in the fact one of the causes, under God, of the rapid numerical increase of the Southern Presbyterian Church.

### 1. *Foreign Missions.*

The large place given to foreign missions in the heart and work of the church at the time of her organization—at a time when there seemed next to no possibility, owing to the barriers of war, of doing any foreign mission work except among the Indians of the Southwest—has been remarked upon and admired for its heroism of faith and singular devotion to our Lord's last command. Special attention was called, moreover, to the nature of the agency which the church then created to carry out this most important of church enterprises. Under the control of natural sagacity the committee and missionaries did their work without the aid of a formal interpretation of the committee's constitutional powers and the missionaries' relations until 1877. But by that time the missionaries had become much more numerous, and there was need of such an interpretation. The Assembly of 1877 adopted a manual for the use of missionaries and missionary candidates.

Certain excerpts from the more important sections of this manual will repay the reader's attention. They are as follows :

*The Executive Committee.*—The committee, in virtue of authority conferred upon it by the General Assembly, directs and superintends the missionary work in all departments, but exercises no ecclesiastical functions. It may, however, give friendly advice to missionaries in relation to church matters when requested to do so. It appoints missionaries and assistant missionaries; determines their fields of labor; fixes their salaries; determines their particular employments; and may transfer a missionary from one department of labor to another, having due regard, however, to the views and feelings of the missionary himself in all these matters. The committee may recall a missionary for incompetence, for neglect of duty, for disobedience to instructions, or for disorderly conduct. The missionary, however, in case he feels aggrieved, has the right to appeal to the General Assembly, to which the missionary and the Executive Committee are alike responsible.

*Missionaries.*—The missionary is regarded in the light of an evangelist in the Scriptural sense of the term. . . . His business is to preach the gospel; to found churches; to aid in forming Presbyteries, when the native churches are prepared for such; to translate the Word of God when necessary; to train native preachers; and to do whatever else may be necessary to the promotion of evangelical religion. He may not become a settled pastor of a church, but shall establish native pastorates over all such churches as soon as suitable persons can be found, while he himself shall go on founding new churches wherever God's providence shall make it proper to do so. He may advise a church session, or may preside at its meetings when requested to do so, but he shall not have an authoritative voice in any of its proceedings. So he may aid in establishing a Presbytery, when the native churches are prepared for it; he may, upon invitation, sit as a corresponding member in the Presbytery and give advice; but he is not to be regarded as a member, or to exercise any of the rights of one, but retains his connection with his Presbytery at home.

*Assistant Missionaries.*—This term is applied indifferently to laymen sent out as teachers, to missionary physicians, to unmarried ladies, and to the wives of missionaries. All these, save the wives of missionaries, are under the general direction of the mission.

*The Mission.*—At every central station there is a mission, technically so called—a sub-committee—acting in direct and constant communication with the Executive Committee of Missions. It is composed of all the missionaries and male assistant missionaries of the different stations. No native can be a member of it except by the appointment of the Executive Committee, on the recommendation of the mission. All members of the mission are expected to correspond freely with the home office; but in relation to

business matters, such as appropriation of funds, the establishment of schools, the formation of new stations, the return of missionaries, and the like, the correspondence shall be between the mission as such and the Executive Committee.

*Qualifications for the Missionary Work.*—As a general thing the same qualifications which will render a minister useful in the home field will make him equally so in the foreign. One who does not promise to be useful and efficient at home ought not for a moment to think of going abroad. The missionary ought to have an unimpaired physical constitution; good intellectual training; a reasonable facility for acquiring language; a sound judgment of men and things; versatility of gifts; tact and adaptation to men of all classes and circumstances; a cheerful, hopeful spirit; ability to work harmoniously with others; persistent energy in carrying out plans once formed; consecrated common sense—all controlled by single-heartedness, self-sacrificing devotion to Christ and his cause.

*Support of Missionaries.*—The salary allowed a missionary is not regarded in the light of a compensation for services rendered. The church, in the prosecution of the work, aims simply to enable the missionary to carry out with efficiency the desires of his own heart to preach the gospel to the unevangelized nations of the earth. She proposes, therefore, to give him what may be regarded as a comfortable but economical support—such a support as will free him from all anxious cares about his temporal comforts and enable him to give himself wholly to the work of the Lord.<sup>1</sup>

As appears from the third article of the constitution of the Executive Committee, but more clearly from the first of the above excerpts, the so-called Executive Committee is a commission rather than a committee.<sup>2</sup> It is empowered to take tentative courses on occasions of emergency, which must be considered and may be approved by the next Assembly, but which are in the interim backed by the power of the court constituting the commission. Just at present there is an agitation in the church as to whether certain functions, now exercised by this committee, should not rather be exercised by the Presbyteries and church sessions. It is affirmed by some that the present usage of our church, as well as of most others, in this particular, is unscriptural; that the Presbyteries should appoint and

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the Assembly of 1877," pp. 418 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Compare Alexander's "Digest," p. 105.

direct the missionaries. This affirmation is incapable of proof. The only debatable ground is that of expediency. Whether the superintendence of missionaries is made the work of a lower or of a higher court depends on the constitutional definitions of the spheres of the several courts. Either court, being composed of elders of two coördinate classes, is a Scriptural body. Before the constitution of the church has defined and restricted the rights of the several courts, the Assembly is Scripturally competent to exercise the functions which have been actually assigned to its committee, and assigned to it in the constitution. But the agitation has been so earnest, and by men of such ability and prominence, that the second Macon Assembly (1893) has appointed "an *ad interim* committee to investigate the entire matter, and report to the next General Assembly . . . as to the expediency of transferring any functions from the Executive Committee to the Presbyteries and church sessions." This committee is assigned the further task of seeing whether, in their judgment, any modification should be made in the present method of administration in this part of the church's work, and whether any amendment should be made, and if so, what, to the present manual.<sup>1</sup>

The size of the Executive Committee, originally *eleven*, was by the Assembly of 1888, owing to some quirk, enlarged to fifteen. The Assembly of 1889 reduced it again to eleven. This number is large enough for counsel. It secures a greater sense of individual responsibility than the larger number.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the Assembly of 1893," p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> The location of the committee was at first at Columbia, S. C. In 1875 it was removed to Baltimore. In 1889 it was carried to Nashville. The reason for the transference to Baltimore was that the committee might be afforded the larger facilities of a commercial and financial center. An unhappy local friction was the occasion of the removal to Nashville.

The secretaries of this committee have been able men.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Wilson was a man of massive virtues, profound sagacity, practical methods, great executive ability, fruitful piety, and marked consecration to the cause of missions. Dr. McIlwaine, as secretary, was characterized by the practical good sense, the earnestness, and the ability to accomplish his ends which have marked him in every relation in which the providence of God has placed him. But the Napoleon of foreign missions thus far in this church has been Dr. Houston. In mental endowment, in iron persistency, in the spirit of "this one thing I do," in a sense of the sublime importance of the work of foreign missions, in a contagious enthusiasm for it, as well as in nearly all the essentials of the executive officer, he is behind no secretary of foreign missions that we know anything of. He may have failed in a few instances to meet with tact the wills of advisers scarcely less imperious than his own; he may have somewhat of the prelate in him; but no man can deny that like a skillful general he has marshaled the hosts among whom God has placed him. That the church is getting into the very first rank of foreign mission workers is due in part to this fragile-looking, high-headed, long-faced, iron-jawed man.

Nevertheless, we would not forget that the missionary zeal exhibited arose not primarily from the secretaries, but from the church. The secretaries were of the church, and its exponents. The church has been from the beginning a missionary church. We have seen that it was in 1861.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, D.D., was secretary 1861-85, and secretary *emeritus* 1885-87, Rev. R. McIlwaine having been coördinate secretary 1872-82. M. H. Houston, D.D., was secretary 1884-93. The Rev. H. M. Woods was elected by the Assembly of 1893 to this post of supreme command of the aggressive forces of our church. Dr. Woods has refused to accept the election, however.

In 1862 the Assembly renewed the recommendation "for a concert of prayer, to be held on the first Sabbath of each month, in all our churches, for the Lord's blessing on the cause of missions, and that contributions be made at those meetings whenever expedient."<sup>1</sup> This recommendation in substance has been renewed from year to year, and kindred ones added: such as that in the public services of the church prayer be regularly made for all men,<sup>2</sup> and missionary intelligence be diffused and missionary motives be enforced by the Executive Committee, by pastors, by Sabbath-school superintendents and teachers.<sup>3</sup> In 1867 the Executive Committee was authorized to publish a monthly missionary paper for gratuitous distribution to the ministers and Sabbath-school superintendents. This paper has been fostered carefully by the Assembly from that time to the present. It has grown to be a self-supporting paper of unusual merit. Its circulation on April 1, 1893, was 9250.<sup>4</sup> It is doing incalculable good to the cause of missions.

The Assembly of 1884 recommended to the faculties of the theological seminaries "that in some way they seek to beget and foster among the students a lively interest in foreign missions."<sup>5</sup> This recommendation has been repeated, as by the Assembly of 1890, which recommended further "that the question of the duty of enlisting personally in the missionary service abroad be pressed on the attention, not only of theological students, but of our pastors and consecrated members."<sup>6</sup> The Assembly of 1882 resolved that it "advise the Presbyteries to devote one

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the Assembly of 1862," p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1891," p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> "Minutes of 1874," p. 418; 1884, p. 212; 1887, p. 242.

<sup>4</sup> "Annual Report of Executive Committee of 1891," p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> "Minutes of 1884," p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> "Minutes of the Assembly of 1890," p. 32, part iii.

evening during the spring session, or such other hour as may be convenient, to the general discussion of foreign missions in the presence of the congregation among whom they meet."<sup>1</sup> And since 1867 the Assembly itself has devoted an evening of each session to a discussion of this great enterprise. In all these ways the Assembly has tried to excite an intelligent interest on the subject, and thus occasion larger efforts on the part of the rank and file of the church.

Furthermore, the Assembly has tried to elicit larger gifts by encouraging the formation of congregational missionary societies, ladies', young men's, and children's,<sup>2</sup> and at times by specifying, through her committee, objects for which individual churches might contribute.<sup>3</sup> She has once and again empowered her Executive Committee to make, during defined periods, special appeals for free-will offerings.<sup>4</sup>

Nor has the church made an ignoble response to these efforts by her highest courts. In poverty at the start, in relative poverty now, her people, ever cramped by financial stresses, have yet abounded in their liberality. During the later years of the ninth decade individual churches in considerable numbers undertook the support of one or more missionaries. Some of the congregations which did this had been, as they supposed, unable to give more than the meagerest support to their own pastor. But the Lord enlarged them. Nor have the people been slow in offering themselves as compared with other churches. Pastors, young and middle-aged, candidates for the ministry, consecrated laymen, and ladies, have, as a rule, responded to the calls as fast as made.

The church's missionary zeal has manifested itself fur-

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1882," p. 546.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1873," p. 365; 1785, p. 37; 1878, p. 619; 1892, p. 446.

<sup>3</sup> "Minutes of 1884," p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> "Minutes of 1886," p. 35.

ther in a disposition to scrutinize closely the work of missionaries.<sup>1</sup> The courts of the church have shown this disposition, and the people themselves, to a pleasing degree. One of the common topics of discussion in the Presbyterian home of late years is as to the best method of foreign mission work—the place of the school in foreign mission work, the place of the native Christian worker, the relation which the missionary should sustain to the native Christians, the relation of the church, when set up in the regions beyond, to the home church, whether it should be autonomous or not.

To say the least, the growing zeal of the church in missions has not been retarded by the lives of the missionaries. On the contrary, one of the things which has helped to fan missionary zeal to a flame is the conduct and lives of the noble bands of missionaries who have gone out from the church. Mistakes have been made in sending out missionaries. In rare cases an unworthy man has been sent; some have gone who had little to commend them but an earnest spirit of service; but as a rule the men sent have been a credit to the church. Such men as Lane and Boyle in Brazil, as Houston, Johnson, Davis in China, as Lapsley in Africa, and dozens of others in these countries, have been, and will continue to be, an inspiration to, and provocative of, missionary effort in the home church. Their difficult and lonely duties have been performed with fidelity and ability, and generally with gratifying results.

The church has planted stations in China, Italy, the United States of Colombia, Brazil, Mexico, Greece, Japan, the Congo Free State, Cuba, and Corea, as well as among the Indians. She counted at the end of the ecclesiastical year April 31, 1892, to April 31, 1893, 34 missionaries in China, 22 in Brazil, 8 in Mexico, 21 in Japan, 7 in Africa, 7 in

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1883," p. 32.

Corea, 2 in Cuba, and 1 in Italy. A good many have been sent out since.<sup>1</sup> As a result of missionary effort, the church can now look upon about 2000 communicants, many hundreds of young people receiving Christian instruction, many native teachers, preachers, etc., at work among their people, spreading the light of the glorious gospel of God, an immeasurable influence on the heathen world, predisposing it to hear Christianity as it is. The results in either Mexico or Japan are enough to justify all the efforts which the church has put forth in behalf of missions.

Nevertheless, the great law of its propagation laid down in Acts i. 8 has not been sufficiently followed by the church in its mission work. That law is: *The church shall in its propagandism seek to witness where its witnessing will result in the most efficient additions to the army of witness-bearers for Christ.* We look back with joy on the spirit of missions by which the church has been characterized, but cannot fail to remark that it has lacked an adequate knowledge of the religious conditions of the world so as to know where best to push its witness for Christ. It made a fiasco in the United States of Colombia. It failed to sufficiently concentrate on Japan when Japan was openest to the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ—let the opportunity of centuries slip. Often the church in its mission work has displayed zeal with only limited knowledge. It has struck about like blind Samson, whereas, looking equally to God, it should have used its eyes. The demand which God makes of the church for intelligent effort—a knowledge of the field where present missionary effort will be most effective, and for work there—is one that only the

<sup>1</sup> The China Mission was established in 1866; that to the United States of Colombia existed from 1866 to 1877; that to Italy was established in 1867; that to Brazil, in 1868; that to Mexico, in 1874; that to Greece, in 1874; that to Japan, in 1886; that to the Congo Free State, in 1890; that to Cuba, in 1890; that to Corea, in 1892.

superficial can deny. Yet the church has not been wide awake to the demand. Again, our church courts have given too great a play to voluntarism in missions in determining who should go. It is easy enough to see this in looking over the list of missionaries sent out. The church should pick her men as the early church did—pick them on account of special fitness for the work.

To a greater growth of missionary effort the church needs the Holy Ghost, of course, *and the truth in the heart and the soul of the church, and moving the church*—the truth as to the nature and destiny of unregenerate man, and that Jesus can and will save.

It is worthy of special remark that the church, at the suggestion of the Pan-Presbyterian Council, has for a number of years been employing active measures to bring about all proper coöperation with other Presbyterian bodies of sound faith in the mission field. In particular, a plan of coöperation with the Northern Church in foreign missions was agreed on by the Assembly of 1893, according to which, in schools, theological seminaries, and evangelistic work, the two churches are to work in closest concert and harmony. The missionaries of several Presbyterian churches, including these two, had for years been in virtual coöperation.<sup>1</sup>

This movement is a correct one, though attended by some dangers. Witnessing loses its power when it loses its distinctness.

## 2. *Home Missions.*

We have already shown how before its organization, during the interregnum, the work of this committee was carried on by the Southwestern Advisory Committee; and we have indicated the scope of the work and the con-

<sup>1</sup> See "Report of Executive Committee of 1893," pp. 10, 11.

stitution of the agency as erected by the Assembly of 1861, under the title of "The Committee of Domestic Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America."<sup>1</sup> We propose now to trace the growth and branching of this work to the present.

*The Greater Constitutional Changes.*—Let us look first at the greater constitutional changes in the agency. In 1865 the war left the bounds of the Southern Church filled with crippled and broken-down churches, "especially along the broad track of those desolating marches that were made through most of the central Southern States." The country had been reduced to savage poverty, sanctuaries had been broken down, and ministers—able ones—compelled to betake themselves to secular avocations to get bread. Moreover, emissaries from the conquering section were pouring in with a view to gathering her flocks into folds which they had not known.<sup>2</sup>

The church felt that she must rise and give herself to relieving the distress of her suffering members. The Assembly of 1865, accordingly, determined to raise a sustentation fund, and assigned this work to the Executive Committee of Domestic Missions, adding to the committee, moreover, a wide-awake man from each Synod, whose special duty it was to canvass his Synod, ascertain what churches were needing help, what ones were able to contribute, and to do all he could, by correspondence and visitation, to collect funds for this general object.<sup>3</sup>

The effort was successful. "The appointment of synodical commissioners to act in concert with the committee proved to be a wise and judicious measure. In no other way would it have been possible either to ascertain the condition and wants of the brethren, or to have distributed

<sup>1</sup> Chapter ii., pp. 340 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1865," p. 391.

<sup>3</sup> "Minutes of 1865," p. 391.

the funds in the hands of the committee in a just and equitable manner.”<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime the cause of domestic missions proper had been coming on badly. Not one fifth of the churches during the year 1865–66 contributed anything to the cause, and nineteen twentieths of the funds which came to the hands of the Executive Committee came specially designated to the cause of sustentation. The prostration of the country explained in part the small contributions, but there were other causes. The Executive Committee occupied an anomalous position in the minds of most of the church-members. Some regarded it as a mere financial agency, whose special province it was “to gather up the surplus funds of the wealthier churches and Presbyteries, and apply them to the weaker Presbyteries and destitute regions of the country.”<sup>2</sup> Others, again, regarded the committee as combining in itself both ecclesiastical and financial functions, “as a complete and sufficient instrumentality for carrying on the work of domestic missions.”<sup>3</sup> Further, the church felt that, in her peculiar circumstances, she scarcely had any need, then, of a Committee of Domestic Missions, regarding that committee in the light of an evangelistic, aggressive agency. The whole field was covered with Presbyteries, the best agents that can be em-

<sup>1</sup> “Executive Committee’s Report of 1866,” p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> “Minutes of 1866,” p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> The constitution of the committee had clothed it with powers too large—the rights of the Presbytery were trenched upon. Article III. reads: “It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to take the direction and control of the domestic missionary work, subject to such instructions as may be given by the General Assembly from time to time; to appoint missionaries and evangelists for the field of labor” (*sic*) “and to provide for their support, and to aid feeble churches, and to do whatever else may be necessary for the advancement of domestic missionary work; and that in the discharge of its duties the committee act in concert and harmony with the Presbyteries and churches; that the committee authorize all appropriations and expenditures of money, including the salaries of their officers.”—“Minutes of the Assembly of 1866,” p. 20.

ployed in carrying on missionary work in their own bounds, certainly so far as ecclesiastical control is concerned. The church did feel, on the other hand, an urgent need of her Sustentation Committee. Her work for the time was not so much to establish new churches as to repair old ones. Jerusalem had to rebuild her own walls before she could dwell in safety and repossess the land.

As a natural sequence of this condition of affairs, the Assembly of 1866<sup>1</sup>, in response to an overture from Dr. J. Leighton Wilson, setting forth reasons, the chief of which we have given above, why the Committee of Domestic Missions should be abolished and a Committee of Sustentation be appointed in its place, did substantially what Dr. Wilson overtured.<sup>1</sup>

A glance over the constitution of the Committee of Sustentation shows that the new committee differs from the old in having no ecclesiastical functions<sup>2</sup> save in respect to the missionaries who may be set to work beyond the

<sup>1</sup> For overture, see "Minutes of 1866," pp. 49-52.

<sup>2</sup> The preamble to the resolution which contains the constitution of the Committee of Sustentation asserts: "To the Presbytery it belongs to ordain and commission ministers of the gospel, to commit to them the oversight of the particular congregations, upon the call of the people, and to appoint them, with their own consent, to fields of missionary labor. It is also the province of the Presbytery to determine what part of its territory is to be regarded as missionary ground, and what churches ought to receive assistance in maintaining their pastors, or in erecting houses of worship. It is the duty of the Presbytery to superintend the work of its missionaries, to receive their report, and to the Presbytery alone are they responsible, in the first instance, under God, for the faithful discharge of their duties. It is therefore incumbent on the Presbyteries to provide for the worldly maintenance of the Lord's ministers. . . . And inasmuch as there is a great inequality in the strength and resources of the different Presbyteries, and because, according to the law of the life of the church, it is the imperative duty of the strong to aid the weak, in order that the healthful vigor of the whole body may be preserved, it becomes necessary to have some central agency, through which the vital current of the church's life may flow in due proportion to every part, and that all the energy, zeal, and resources of the church may be combined in the prosecution of its most important work. This is the office of the General Assembly, but it can only be practically fulfilled through a committee."—"Minutes of 1866," pp. 27 ff.

bounds of any Presbytery, in putting sustentation as its first object, and defining more specifically the purposes of the agency. No object of the Committee of Domestic Missions is forgotten in the construction of the Committee of Sustentation. The year following its establishment the Executive Committee asserted in its annual report that four general objects or departments of labor were regarded as included in the general plan of Sustentation: "1. To aid feeble churches in support of their pastors and supplies, and thus accomplish the twofold object of maintaining the stated preaching of the gospel in all these churches, and at the same time secure a competency for every laboring minister throughout the church. . . . 2. To aid in the support of missionaries and evangelists wherever such aid is asked. 3. To assist in building and repairing church edifices wherever the people have not the means of themselves to do it. 4. To assist missionaries or ministerial laborers in getting from one field to another, where they are without the means of doing this of themselves."<sup>1</sup> But while no object of the Committee of Domestic Missions is forgotten, the name of the new committee, the frame of its constitution, as well as the second of its by-laws sanctioned by the Assembly of 1867, and which reads: "The committee shall always appropriate specifically to the different objects presented by the Presbyterial Committee of Missions; and unless a preference is expressed to the contrary, it will always give the precedence to applications in behalf of the feeble churches"<sup>2</sup>—all show that the work of the committee was chiefly to uphold the crushed and broken churches.

*The Invalid Fund.*—But this committee was a living branch of a living tree; it was to grow and branch itself. One of the first branches of the work to develop itself

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1867," pp. 155, 156.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1867," p. 159.

was the Invalid Fund. As far back as 1863 an elaborate overture, urging the Assembly to provide a fund for the relief of superannuated and disabled ministers and their families, was introduced, with the result that a committee was appointed to consider the whole subject, and report to the next General Assembly. No practical measures seem to have resulted from this effort.

In 1867 aid was asked of the Assembly for the family of a minister of the church, recently deceased; and the Assembly authorized the Committee of Sustentation to "appropriate five per cent. of all contributions to its objects to the relief of destitute widows and children of ministers, and indigent ministers in infirm health, provided no such per cent. be appropriated from the contribution of any church or person prohibiting such appropriation, and provided further that this plan of operation shall not continue longer than the meeting of the Assembly for the year 1869."<sup>1</sup>

This was a merely temporary device. In 1868, "in lieu of the appropriation of five per cent. of the Sustentation Fund," the Assembly enjoined upon the Presbyteries to have a collection taken up in all the churches under their care for a relief fund which should be devoted to the relief of disabled ministers, and of widows and orphans of deceased ministers. These collections were to be forwarded to the treasurer of Sustentation, and disbursed according to the discretion of the committee, upon application made through the Presbyterial Standing Committees on Domestic Missions.<sup>2</sup> The Executive Committee was to have no power to make appropriations except they should be first recommended by the Presbyterial Committee. This scheme remains in vogue.

*The Evangelistic Work.*—The Assembly of 1873 deter-

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1867," p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1868," p. 274.

mined that the sustentation and evangelistic work should be conducted separately after January, 1874. This arm of the Assembly's work up to 1873 was regarded as having been a failure. Contributions had been small. Nor is it a matter of wonder—the church had been in the gripe of Titanic poverty. It was hoped that the contributions would be increased by separating the evangelistic work. To a limited extent these hopes were realized, but the contributions to this cause of the Assembly have never been large.

As the years have gone by an increasing number of the Presbyteries and many of the Synods have preferred to handle the funds for their evangelists themselves. Hence, while the church has of late been extraordinarily active in evangelization in the home territory, the Assembly's committee has done but little relatively in the work. It should be observed here, however, that the Assembly's plan is the better one. The plan of independent synodical and presbyterial work appeals more to selfish emulation, synodical and presbyterial ambition. It causes expenditures often where there is no sufficient promise, and non-expenditure in fresh fields, full of promise, in our newer and weaker Synods. It is independent rather than presbyterian in tendency, weakening to the common life of the great body.

In keeping with the projection to the front of the Executive Committee's functions in reference to evangelization was the change of the committee's name, in 1879, to "Executive Committee of Home Missions." This change suited the aspiration of the committee with reference to the church's future. Furthermore, the people found it hard to understand the meaning of "sustentation" as applied to the work of the committee, while they were at once attracted to the word "missions," and would readily

comprehend and fall in with the idea expressed by it.<sup>1</sup> Albeit the name of the committee was changed, the functions remained the same, saving the fact that the evangelizing functions had greater relative emphasis.

*The Colored Evangelistic Fund.*—The next branch of this agency to receive specific development was the Colored Evangelistic Fund, in 1886. We have seen that in the Assembly of 1861 missionary operations among the colored people were especially enjoined upon the Committee of Domestic Missions, the Presbyteries also being exhorted to coöperate with the committee in securing pastors and missionaries for this field. In 1865 the Assembly formed the first of a series of plans for the instruction of the freedmen. The prevailing sentiment in that Assembly was in favor of a united church life for the two peoples, though even so early the plan of separate congregations was contemplated as a possibility. In answer to an overture as to the course to be pursued toward the colored people, the Assembly resolved:

That whereas experience has invariably proved the advantages of the colored people and the white being united together in the worship of God, we see no reason why it should be otherwise now that they are freedmen and not slaves. Should our colored friends think it best to separate from us, and organize themselves into distinct congregations under white pastors and elders, for the present, or under colored elders and pastors as soon as God in his providence shall raise up men suitably qualified for those offices, this church will do all in its power to encourage, foster, and assist them.<sup>2</sup>

In 1867 the Assembly, after expressing the fear that the current condition of the colored race was one of alarming spiritual jeopardy, its sincere affection for these people, and its sense of responsibility to do all in its power to save them from the calamities with which they were threatened, resolved:

<sup>1</sup> "Report of Executive Committee," 1887, pp. 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1865," p. 370.

That, in the judgment of the Assembly, it is highly inexpedient that there should be any ecclesiastical separation of the white and colored races; that such a measure would threaten evil to both races, and especially to the colored, and that, therefore, it is desirable that every warrantable effort be made affectionately to dissuade the freed people from severing their connection with our churches, and to retain them with us as of old. Should they decline this fellowship of ordinances, and desire a separate organization, then our sessions are authorized to organize them into branch congregations.

In such cases the Assembly recommends that such congregations shall be allowed, under the sanction of the sessions, to elect from among themselves, every year, such number of superintendents or watchmen as the session may advise, who shall be charged with the oversight of such congregations. These superintendents shall report to the sessions, for their action, all matters relating to the said congregations.

Whenever Presbyteries may find it necessary to organize separate colored congregations, they shall appoint a commission of elders, who shall discharge the functions committed to the sessions in the preceding resolution.

That while nothing in our Standards or the Word of God prohibits the introduction to the gospel ministry of duly qualified persons of any race, yet difficulties arise in the general structure of society, and from providential causes, which may and should restrain the application of this abstract principle. Holding this in view, the Assembly recommends that wherever the session or Presbytery shall find a colored person who possesses suitable qualifications, they shall be authorized to license him to labor as exhorter among the colored people, under the supervision of the body appointing him.<sup>1</sup>

The burden here was evidently too heavy for the Assembly. It had a bad case of the blind staggers. The church was stronger than the Assembly of 1866. Accordingly, the Synod of Virginia and Presbytery of Mississippi each overtured the next Assembly, proposing such a modification of the action of the Assembly of 1866 on the relation of the church to the colored people as should "authorize the Presbyteries, in the exercise of their discretion, to ordain to the gospel ministry and to organize into separate congregations duly qualified persons of the colored race, and so declare that mere race or color is not regarded as a bar to office or privileges in the Presbyterian

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1866," pp. 35, 36. Dr. Girardeau was the author of this paper.

Church in the United States."<sup>1</sup> In response the Assembly resolved:

1. That resolutions of the last Assembly complained of should be revoked.
2. That inasmuch as, according to the constitution, the duty of admitting candidates to the office of the gospel ministry devolves solely on the Presbyteries, and that of electing elders and deacons solely on the congregations, all male persons of proper qualifications for such offices, of whatever race, color, or civil condition, must be admitted or elected by these authorities respectively, in accordance with the principles of our church government, and in the exercise of a sound Christian discretion.
3. That the Assembly declines, on the ground of constitutional incompetency, to make any declaration respecting the future ecclesiastical organization of such freedmen as may belong to our communion, believing that the responsibility as well as the course to be pursued devolves on these persons, who are both politically and ecclesiastically free as all others to serve God according to the dictates of their own consciences.
4. The Assembly earnestly enjoins on all our ministers and people to use all diligence in affectionate and discreet efforts for the spiritual benefit of the colored race within reach of their private and public ministrations, and to seek by all lawful means to introduce them into a permanent connection with our church; and for this purpose the Assembly recognizes the lawfulness of the measures such as have long been used in various portions of our church, contemplating the judicious selection of the more pious and intelligent persons among the colored communicants in suitable official capacities for the spiritual benefit of their own race.<sup>2</sup>

The Assembly of 1869 was somewhat retrogressive. It tried to formulate a general plan to be followed by all the Presbyteries in dealing with the negro. It resolved:

That separate colored churches might be established, the same to be united with adjacent white churches under a common pastorate; to be allowed to elect deacons and ruling elders; and to be represented in the upper courts by the pastors in charge of them and by the ruling elders in the white churches with which they would be thus associated, until they should be sufficiently educated to warrant their becoming independent; *Provided* that the colored people themselves would not oppose a change in their existing relations, and would consent to the foregoing arrangement.

It further resolved:

That suitable colored men should be employed to speak the word of exhortation to their people, under the direction of pastors and evangelists; that when colored candidates for the ministry should be able to stand the usual

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1867," p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1867," p. 45.

examination, Presbyteries might proceed to license them; and in event of these licentiates being qualified and desired to take charge of colored churches, Presbyteries might either ordain and install them over such churches, still holding their connection with us, or ordain and install them over such churches, with the understanding that they should thenceforward be ecclesiastically separated from us.<sup>1</sup>

This was an improvement over the paper of 1866 in that it does not trespass against the form of church polity to such an extent as the earlier paper did. But even the latter paper is faulty in this respect. What sort of elders are they who cannot represent the church in the Presbytery? While better than the paper of 1866, the resolutions of 1869 are not so good as those of 1867. That paper made the elder an elder, though he were black as ebony; and in respect to the separation into independent ecclesiastical organizations, it was solicitous for union, and held that if separation came it must come of the negro's own motion. The plan of 1869, however, was only tentative. It was not until the Assembly of 1874 that a definite policy, which remains till to-day, was adopted. It has been briefly stated thus: "*The Presbyterian Church, South, is resolved on the establishment and development of a separate, independent, self-sustaining Colored Presbyterian Church, ministered to by colored preachers of approved piety, and such training as shall best suit them for their actual life-work.*"<sup>2</sup>

The reasons for this resolve taken by the Assembly of 1874, and supported consistently since, were: the sentiment of the church, which has been moving steadily in this direction; a recognition of the natural instinct in the colored people, expressing itself in the desire for a separate organization; and the prospect of usefulness in assisting these people in the process of self-development.

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1869," pp. 388, 389. This paper was by Dr. Girardeau.

<sup>2</sup> Phillips, "The Presbyterian Church and the Colored People," p. 3.

Toward the establishment of this independent Colored Presbyterian Church the Southern Presbyterian Church has proposed to give aid in the form of "sympathetic, practical counsel, liberal offerings of money, and training for their ministers."<sup>1</sup>

The Assembly of 1874 requested the Committee of Sustentation "to take into consideration the best method of providing training for the colored candidates for the ministry, and report thereupon to the next Assembly." It asked the Presbyteries to institute measures for their instruction, and in other ways to push the work among the negroes. And it established the Colored Evangelistic Fund for the "sustentation of weak colored churches and for evangelistic work among the negroes." This fund was put into the hands of the Committee of Sustentation for its administration.<sup>2</sup>

The committee had previously made contributions for the work among the colored people. But more prominence was given this department of work in 1874. The Assembly of 1879 gave the committee the right to appropriate for this purpose, according to its discretion.<sup>3</sup> In 1886 the Assembly made an effort to secure increased contributions for the cause by ordering an annual collection in all the churches, on the first Sabbath in December, for the evangelization of the colored race, instead of for the Tuscaloosa Institute, as had been the custom since 1877. The funds secured from this collection were to be applied, first, for supporting the Tuscaloosa Institute, and second, in carrying on evangelization among the colored people.

The Executive Committee of Home Missions continued in charge of colored evangelization until 1891, when the

<sup>1</sup> Phillips, "The Presbyterian Church and the Colored People," p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1874," pp. 576 ff.

<sup>3</sup> "Minutes of 1879," p. 51.

Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization was organized. The treasurer of the Home Mission Committee still acts as treasurer of the Colored Evangelization Fund; but in other respects the parent committee has been relieved of the official care of the negroes.

At the time of the formation of the new committee, four Presbyteries,<sup>1</sup> composed entirely of African ministers and churches, existed in kindly relations toward the mother-church, and asked such aid as that church could give in the work undertaken. The efficient and devoted secretary of the Committee of Colored Evangelization is the Rev. A. L. Phillips.

*The Church Erection and Loan Fund.*—The Committee of Home Missions was destined to shoot out yet another branch, viz., “The Church Erection and Loan Fund.” This fund is intended to help feeble organizations to a church home. From the start the Committee of Sustentation had given such help as it could. In 1885 the Assembly authorized the Executive Committee of Home Missions to make loans to congregations in aid of Church Erection, which loans were to become debts of honor, without interest, to be paid back in instalments, running from one to five years. In 1888 the Assembly ordered the establishment of a separate fund for Church Erection, and the committee directed the treasurer to transfer the Loan Fund account to the Church Erection account. The two funds were consolidated. This fund is growing. The cause is popular. The fund is needed that small organizations gathered by the evangelists may be housed and

<sup>1</sup> “One of these, the Presbytery of North and South Carolina, had been formed for a number of years. It had five ministers, one licentiate, and eleven churches, and four hundred and ninety-two communicants. Another, the Presbytery of Texas, organized in 1888, had seven ministers, two licentiates, and seven weak churches. Two other Presbyteries, Ethel and Central, were formed in 1890 and 1891. They were smaller.”—“Report of Executive Committee of Home Missions of 1891,” p. 9.

saved. A considerable proportion of the Presbyteries contribute to, and use of, the fund. The Executive Committee of Home Missions has, therefore, to-day, five different funds under its management: the Church Erection and Loan Funds, the Sustentation, the Evangelistic and Indian Missions, the Invalid, and the Colored Evangelistic Fund.<sup>1</sup>

Having looked at these great constitutional developments in the agency, we propose now to glance at *some of the more important incidental objects which have engaged the attention of this committee* in the course of its history. One of the first of these in time, as well as importance, was *supplying the armies of the Confederacy with chaplains*. The committee's heroic exertions in this direction were in part the cause, so far as man can be cause of such a thing, of the twelve thousand hopeful conversions in the Confederate armies during the year 1863-64, and almost as great a number the year following.<sup>2</sup>

The committee has performed the office, to a certain extent, of an intermediary between vacant churches and unemployed ministers. It has given aid to organizations laboring in behalf of seamen. It has tried to raise the minimum salary of the great body of underpaid pastors, etc.

We now turn to look at the sort of encouragement which the church at large has given to the work of the committee. The Assemblies' course toward the committee has been one of undeviating encouragement, even in the department of evangelization. The Assembly of 1871 instructed the Presbyteries to institute and provide for a visitation of all its churches by commissions of ministers and ruling elders, "to see how each of them stands in relation to this matter," and to exhort those who had coöper-

<sup>1</sup> The last in a limited sense already explained.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1864," pp. 315 ff.

ated before with the Sustentation cause to a still larger effort on its behalf.<sup>1</sup> And this is but a fair specimen of the efforts which have been made in behalf of those several branches of the committee's work by the Assembly. The Presbyteries, on the other hand, did not comply to any considerable extent with the instructions of 1871, and generally have been disproportionately remiss in supporting the Evangelization Fund, while only tolerably faithful in supporting the work of the committee as a whole.

The arms of the great agency which we have been studying had often been exceedingly feeble, especially during the years immediately succeeding the war, except for aid from external sources. The historian would be remiss who should fail to remark on the help which friends in Kentucky, in Maryland, and in New York City extended to the Southern Church during her trying years under the political reconstruction of the country.

*The Board of Aid for Southern Presbyterian Pastors*, located at Louisville, Ky., informed the Assembly of 1865 that already \$6000 had been collected for the purposes of the board in its projected work.<sup>2</sup> The Assembly was touched and deeply gratified at this manifestation of Christian sympathy on the part of the Kentucky brethren, and in the name of their common Master accepted their generous tender of aid. This was God's manna to the Southern Church. The Executive Committee was made agent for receiving and disbursing such aid as might be forwarded to them from the Kentucky source.<sup>3</sup>

According to the report of the Executive Committee of 1868,<sup>4</sup> of the sum received the preceding year for Sustentation \$9190.73 had been contributed by Christian friends outside the church connection, and mainly by those re-

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1871," p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> "Minutes of 1865," p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1865," p. 355.

<sup>4</sup> "Minutes of 1868," p. 286.

standing in Baltimore and the vicinity, and in the State of Kentucky. During the two and a half years preceding the Assembly of 1868 more than \$40,000 of *their* contributions had passed through the hands of the Committee of Sustentation.<sup>1</sup>

*The Southern Aid Society of New York.*—This society, which was organized a few years before the Civil War, for the purpose of rendering aid to the feeble churches in the Southern country, was an incorporated body, and consisted of gentlemen of the highest moral and social position. For several years during and subsequent to the war the society had no funds to distribute, but about 1872 they came into the possession of about \$10,000, devised to their society to be disbursed in accordance with their constitution. After a conference with the secretary of the Committee of Sustentation the society agreed to make its annual appropriations with the advice and under the direction of the General Assembly's Committee of Sustentation.<sup>2</sup>

We have already seen that this committee was consolidated with that of foreign missions in 1863. They were separated on account of the increasing volume of work, and because it was considered desirable to get the location of the Home Mission Committee nearer the center of its great field of operations. In 1886 this committee was carried to Atlanta.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These Christians have for the most part come into the Southern Church. The First Church in Baltimore is an important exception.

<sup>2</sup> The secretaries of each of the agencies are at least in part an explanation of the peculiar history of each. The secretaries of the committee under consideration have been: Rev. John Leyburn, D.D., 1861-63; Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, D.D., 1863-82; Rev. Richard McIlwaine, D.D., coordinate secretary, 1872-82; Rev. R. McIlwaine, D.D., sole secretary, 1882-83; Rev. J. N. Craig, D.D., 1883.

<sup>3</sup> The several locations of this committee have been at New Orleans, 1861-63; Columbia, S. C., 1863-75; Baltimore, 1875-86; Atlanta, 1886-. New Orleans was chosen first because that city had been the seat of the South-

An abortive effort or two has been made at coöperation with the Presbyterian Church, North, in the work of this committee in behalf of the freedmen. The way to a more perfect coöperation is not shut up, however.

### 3. *Education.*

In the account of the Constituting Assembly we have already indicated the nature of the constitution of the Executive Committee of Education. Assuming, at this point, a sufficient knowledge on the part of the reader of said constitution, we propose to trace the more important changes in the constitution, and then the more important experiences and activities of the committee, the support, the results effected, and its manning.

The plan for securing an educated ministry provided in the constitution of the committee organized in 1861 has been styled a beneficiary or eleemosynary plan of education, and has never been in universal esteem throughout the church. Several attempts have been made to have the whole plan substituted by others. In 1863 the Presbytery of Lexington overtured the Assembly to this effect:

In view of the doubt of many in our church in respect to the beneficiary system of education as provided for the ministry, and believing that such a system too long and generally pursued may attract a wrong class of candidates with false motives and inferior qualifications, and may also repel another class (unwarrantably, it is true, but yet as the actual experience of the church); believing, also, that in this Southern confederacy young men of suitable gifts can, in most cases, without injurious delay, pay their own expenses in study by teaching and other useful pursuits, or by winning in fair competition cer-

western Advisory Committee; Columbia was made the second seat as a place relatively safe during the war, and to suit the convenience of Dr. Wilson, the secretary of the committee, as that of Foreign Missions also, which was located there. Baltimore was sought, among other reasons, on the ground of its being a great commercial center. Atlanta had that argument in its favor, in addition to its being nearer to the center of the Home Mission field.

tain bursaries or scholarships that might be provided at our seats of learning; and that in a few cases imperatively needing help, private hands or individual churches might more intelligently and watchfully bestow it—this Presbytery hereby overtures the Assembly to appoint a committee, at its approaching session, to revise the whole subject of beneficiary education, and to report to the General Assembly next ensuing.<sup>1</sup>

In reply to this overture, the Assembly declared that nothing short of the most cogent reasons would justify so early an abandonment, or even any important modification, of a scheme which had been incorporated with the original structure of its ecclesiastical system. On the other hand, it granted that the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America had not, previously to 1861, received the general support of the Southern portion of the church, and affirmed that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the counterpart of that board in the Southern Church, the Executive Committee of Education, and appointed a committee to report on the subject to the next Assembly, with the hope that if there was a better way of managing this valuable agency that better way might be discovered. The committee appointed, of which Dr. J. R. Wilson was the chairman, presented an elaborate report to the Assembly of 1864. It confined itself to a discussion of the question whether that "scheme of stipendiary schooling," practiced by the mother-church and adopted by the Constituting Assembly for the church of the Confederacy, was the "best to be continued." In answer to this question it laid down as a postulate that: "*Every candidate for the gospel ministry does, in sundering the ties which connected him with secular avocations, so far dedicate himself to the service of God in the church as entitles him to expect at her hands the education which he may yet need for that service; and he*

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1863," p. 127.

*is, therefore, not to be regarded by the church, or by himself, in the light of an object of charity, but as a laborer already occupying a place in the field of ministerial duty.*"<sup>1</sup>

It took the ground that from the "outset of the minister's career—from the moment when he first put his hand to the plow in the field of preparation—he is a claimant, not upon the church's generosity, but upon her justice; not upon her feeling of pity, but upon her sense of duty"; that "if they who come to her doors, seeking entrance into her ministry, choose, or their immediate friends choose for them, to afford all needful pecuniary aid to help them onward to the period of their ordination, this is another matter"; that "the church may accept this assistance, but in so doing she is simply accepting a contribution to her treasury, for which she ought to be grateful"; that "she has no authority to demand it"; that he who has been "distinguished by being permitted to look forward to unusual labors and uncommon sacrifices, and it may be preëminent usefulness, in the cause of Christ, may well afford to inaugurate his career by casting all his property, as he does his talents, into the effort to prove worthy of so peculiar a distinction"; but that "the point at issue does not lie here"; that "it is not what the candidate may esteem as his privilege, but what the church must regard as her duty."

It acknowledged that grave difficulties beset the system, but held that they were not insuperable in themselves, nor fatal to the system, and that they were "simply inseparable adjuncts to it, as a system whose working has been necessarily intrusted to the imperfection of human wisdom, and is applied to the weakness of human subjects."<sup>2</sup>

The committee closed its report by recommending the adoption of certain resolutions, of which the following was

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1864," p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1864," pp. 320-22.

the first: "That, in the judgment of this General Assembly, it is the duty of the church to pray unceasingly to her Head for a large increase of candidates for the gospel ministry; and when they are received at her hands it is her further duty to provide them with a suitable education in the way of preparing them for their work, and to provide it *not as a matter of charity, but of justice to all parties concerned.*"<sup>1</sup> The report was approved and the resolutions adopted; but as the committee had spent its effort in discussing *the relation of the candidate to the church* and in proving merely that the church was morally bound to support him, the Assembly had yet to answer the question whether the support of the candidate should be provided for and superintended by the General Assembly, or by the Presbyteries, or in what way. In 1866 it adopted another elaborate report, which asserted that the plan of the Presbyteries' supporting the candidates had been tried between 1806 and 1807 by the parent church and had failed; that after 1807 a modified presbyterial plan had proven unsatisfactory; that, in consequence, about 1820 three great organizations were brought into existence to do the work, one of which was the Board of Education; that after this board, modified by the wakeful circumspection of the fathers down to 1861, the Executive Committee of Education had been formed; and that it was unwise to go back to these schemes which had proven unsatisfactory. In conclusion the report affirmed that "to Presbyteries must always belong the great, the binding duty of recommending candidates for support from the common treasury of the church"; that if they failed in this duty, if they were loose in its discharge, if they thrust forward beneficiaries who were undeserving an education at the hands of the church, with them alone lay the

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1864," p. 334.

blame, as to them, on the other hand, belonged the Master's commendation for searching out and bringing forward worthy men for this purpose; that the chief responsibility of the committee must attach to its one great office, of judiciously expending the education funds of the church, and its duty of keeping the Presbyteries advised of the condition of the work it was prosecuting for them.<sup>1</sup>

This Assembly remodeled the constitution of the Executive Committee of Education. According to the original constitution the Executive Committee had "*a general oversight of the diligence and deportment of those who are aided by it.*"<sup>2</sup>

According to the constitution of 1866, "*no student shall be supplied by this committee except upon the recommendation of the Presbytery to which he belongs, or its Executive Committee of Education; and all candidates shall be solely responsible to their own Presbyteries.*"<sup>3</sup>

Much that was justly offensive in the old constitution was removed in making the new. The new constitution leaves the whole responsibility for the candidates "where the constitution of the church places it—in the hands of the Presbyteries." The committee can be no longer "esteemed superior to the Presbyteries, clothed with authority to revise their proceedings, or inquire into the propriety thereof; but is simply the executive agency through which the Presbyteries perform this part of their work."<sup>4</sup>

In 1875-76 another attempt was made to substitute the Assembly's plan of stipendiary education by remanding the subject to the Presbyteries. But the attempt did not succeed. No better plan could be then devised. The

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1866," p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1861," p. 23. The italics are the compiler's.

<sup>3</sup> "Minutes of 1866," p. 34. The words have been italicized by the compiler.

<sup>4</sup> "Minutes of 1868," p. 294.

Assembly's scheme was again commended to the confidence and support of the churches as the best practicable.

By the Assembly of 1893 the name of the Executive Committee of Education has been changed to "Committee of Education for the Ministry." This was merely to conform the name specifically to the object of the committee. No concomitant change in the constitution occurred.<sup>1</sup>

The support which the agency got in the way of contributions between the years 1863 and 1866 was practically nothing. This was owing, in part, to the fact that the fate of the committee was in suspense during the first two years of that period, and in part to the poverty of the

<sup>1</sup> The reader may readily observe that the Assembly of 1864 adopted a position which, though indorsed by the Assembly of 1866, was untenable, viz.: That the church is bound, as a matter of justice to the candidate, to educate him for the gospel ministry. If so, the church is bound to treat as a minister one who has never been called to the ministry by any congregation of believers, and one who may never be so called. The church is indeed bound to propagate itself, bound to raise up a qualified ministry; but not bound to secure it in a given way. If it can get candidates to prepare themselves without aid by the church, that in certain circumstances may be the preferable way. It is bound to God to secure a proper and sufficient ministry. It is not bound to a certain candidate, or set of candidates, prior to contracting with them, to fit them for the ministry. On the other hand, the candidate for the ministry who feels that he is called of God to the ministry, that in the ministry he can probably serve God best, is bound to get an education, whether the church will help him or not. He is bound to God to do so. Now, if there is a great need for ministers—so great a need that those candidates who are able to educate themselves do not suffice to supply the lack—then it becomes the church's duty to God to take up young men who feel called to the work, and are determined to get into it, but are held back by poverty. Such young men when taken up are not eleemosynary students, indeed. They are not, on the other hand, supported as a matter of justice to them. They are supported as a matter of worship to God. They take the funds not as charities to them; they take the funds as funds which the Church of God is bound to furnish God, that he may get ministers from the poor, in absence of a sufficient number of ministers who have been able to help themselves to an education.

This seems to be the real position taken by the Assembly of 1875, though it did not distinctly repudiate the position of 1864 and 1866; for the Assembly of 1875 indorsed the Assembly's plan as good, seeing the "necessity of beneficiary education, in order to keep up the supply of ministers in the Presbyterian Church." In fine, the constitution of the agency is excellent. If the Presbyteries would do their duty in selecting candidates and explaining their true relations to the funds, no evil consequence would follow.

church and her multitude of crying needs. Thenceforth the support has been better.

Though not at all connected with the Executive Committee of Education, yet because they are a part of the great educational forces of the church it will be convenient to take a brief survey, at this point, of the theological seminaries and of the colleges in connection with the Southern Presbyterian Church, as well as of certain colleges not in formal connection, but really recognized factors in this church.

To begin with the seminaries, there are six such institutions within the bounds, Presbyterian in origin and patronage, some of them, however, not officially known to the Assembly.

*Union Theological Seminary*, in Virginia, has been until the present the most important of these institutions. It was formally opened January 1, 1824, with one professor, the Rev. J. Holt Rice, D.D., and three students. Funds were rapidly raised for an endowment. In 1826 the institution was taken under the care of the General Assembly. The Synods of Virginia and of North Carolina, in the fall of the same year, took the place of Hanover Presbytery in governing the seminary. In 1830-31 the number of students was about forty; an additional professor had been secured. The death of Dr. Rice, in 1831, the troubles in the church which culminated in the division of 1837-38, and which separated from the seminary many of its active and zealous friends, changes of professors, and other causes, conspired to retard its growth and abridge its fullness for more than a score of years. Meanwhile a third professorship, that of ecclesiastical history and polity, was established in 1835; and a fourth, that of biblical introduction and New Testament literature, in

1853. Through zealous efforts of friends its endowment was gradually increased. Its funds were much cut down by the war; but it soon rallied, and has been making a steady growth until the present. The last report of the treasurer (May, 1893) shows that there is now invested in the name of the corporation \$303,298.24. Besides, the institution owns about eighty acres of land; five residences for professors; a main building, which contains a handsome chapel, lecture-rooms, dormitories, and a refectory; three additional buildings for dormitories; a superior library building, with a fine library in it, and a gymnasium.<sup>1</sup> Between 1881 and 1891 a chair of English Bible and pastoral theology was established. The annual attendance has steadily grown; there are now over seventy students. Some of its distinguished teachers have been the honored Dr. George A. Baxter, the scholarly Dr. F. S. Sampson, "the profoundest American theologian," Dr. R. L. Dabney, that most clever exponent of church polity, Dr. T. E. Peck, and the distinguished young savant Dr. W. W. Moore. Dr. B. M. Smith reëndowed the seminary after the war.

*Columbia Seminary* was established in 1828, by the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, its title being then "The Theological Seminary of South Carolina and Georgia." It is now under the immediate joint control of the Synods of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama. Its relation to the General Assembly is identical with that of Union Seminary, in Virginia.

Classes were first organized in 1831, with Dr. Thomas Goulding and Dr. George Howe as professors. In 1833 Dr. A. W. Leland became connected with the seminary, but Dr. Goulding died in 1834, so that only two professors

<sup>1</sup> See historical statement in "Catalogue of Union Theological Seminary, Virginia, 1892-93." Compare the historical statement in the "Constitution and Plan of Seminary," published in 1892.

remained to conduct the classes. Save for another brief period, no addition was made to the staff until 1849. From that time till 1860 improvement was rapid. In 1860 there were five professors—among them Dr. James H. Thornwell—and over fifty students in the seminary. From 1866 to the present time the work of the seminary has been carried on with various changes and interruptions.

In 1863 the property of every kind belonging to the seminary amounted to \$277,940.81. Considerably over half of this vanished with the Confederate Government. The seminary subsequently had a long series of ups and downs. At present it has interest-bearing funds to the amount of \$210,000. The professors' houses and seminary buildings are valued at about \$50,000. The library is a very fine one. The preëminently great name among its teachers is that of Thornwell.

*Tuscaloosa Institute.*—In 1877 this school was established by the General Assembly, and located at Tuscaloosa, Ala.; and was opened for work, with seven students, the first session. The Executive Committee has been authorized by the Assembly of 1893 to move the Tuscaloosa Institute to Birmingham, Ala., whenever it seems advisable and practicable to do so without detriment to the cause for which the institute was founded. Birmingham is the center of a large and increasingly intelligent and well-to-do colored population.

The institute is under the control of the General Assembly, but its work is directed by the "Executive Committee for the Education of Colored Ministers." Its actual work and discipline were conducted by that devoted servant of the church, the Rev. C. A. Stillman, D.D., and chosen helpers, until the present session, the Rev. A. L. Phillips being now superintendent. The whole course of instruction centers about the English Bible. The Standards of

the Southern Presbyterian Church are faithfully taught. The sum total of the students taught in the institute to the end of the session 1892-93 is 152—93 Presbyterians, 45 Methodists, and 14 Baptists.

*The Divinity School of the Southwestern Presbyterian University*, at Clarksville, Tenn., was organized in June, 1885. "It is under the same government as the other schools in the university, viz., the board of directors appointed by the Synods of Alabama, Arkansas, Memphis, Nashville, and Mississippi." The last session was the most prosperous in its history, there being thirty-three students. Dr. Joseph R. Wilson was the first teacher of theology.

*The Austin School of Theology* was founded in 1884 by that distinguished and venerable theologian and philosopher, the Rev. R. L. Dabney, D.D., LL.D. This has been an incidental labor of his blind old age, and has been attended with tremendous difficulties, but followed by many blessings to the church in Texas. It is under the care of the Central Texas Presbytery.

The Rev. Dr. Isaac Long did a work of similar character at Batesville, Ark.

*The Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary* has been organized during the present year by the associated Synods of Kentucky and Missouri. It is placed under the control of the General Assembly somewhat more immediately and directly than Union or Columbia. "Should the Assembly see reason at any time to object to any of the acts of the directors or any of the other authorities of the institution, it may send down in writing to the directors or Synods its opinion in the premises; but it shall have no controlling negative except in the election or transfer of the professors, nor right to originate any measures for the seminary."<sup>1</sup> According to the constitution

<sup>1</sup> Article II. in the constitution.

of Union Seminary the Assembly can reach the seminary *only* through the Synods.<sup>1</sup>

The control which the Assembly has over the theological seminaries was formally defined by the Assembly of 1886 as involving such jurisdiction as will "in every case enable the Assembly, through the proper channels of authority, to keep all such institutions free from everything inconsistent with the spirit of our system, and, of course, free from all teaching inconsistent with the Word of God as expounded in our Standards."<sup>2</sup> Its precise relation to the individual seminaries "differs somewhat, according to the constitution and practice of the institutions as ratified by the Assembly."<sup>3</sup>

The following colleges and universities must be mentioned, not theological, but avowedly or virtually Presbyterian in their character and management.

*Washington and Lee University*,<sup>4</sup> at Lexington, Va., was founded in 1774, on the nucleus of a school taught by the Rev. John Brown, pastor of New Providence Church. This was an enterprise of Hanover Presbytery. It was subsequently removed to Timber Ridge, and later, in 1793, to a site near Lexington. It was thenceforth till 1797 called "Liberty Hall." The trustees had been incorporated in 1782, and authorized to confer degrees. In 1797 Washington donated to the institution one hundred shares of "James River Canal Company," which the General Assembly of Virginia had wished to give him. The trustees at once, in compliment to General Washington, changed the name

<sup>1</sup> The corresponding statement in the constitution of Union and other seminaries reads: "Should the Assembly see reason at any time to object, etc., it shall send down in writing to the Synods its opinion in the premises, but shall have no controlling negative, nor originate any measures for the management of the seminary."—"Constitution and Plan of Theological Seminary," p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1886," p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See historical statement in "The Catalogue of Washington and Lee University, 1892-93, Lexington, Va."

of the institution to Washington Academy. The school thenceforth grew apace in usefulness and renown. At the close of the war the institution was again without income or credit, but under the presidency of Gen. R. E. Lee again burst forth in a rapid career of expansion.

The General Assembly of Virginia in 1871 changed the name of the institution to its present corporate title, "The Washington and Lee University." The institution has continued to grow rapidly. It now has an invested endowment of \$630,999.78, yielding an annual income of \$36,519.97. It has an able faculty of thirteen full professors and six instructors, and two hundred and forty-one students.

The institution has been separated from all formal relations with the church; nevertheless, it has still in its board of trustees and its faculty a very large majority of Presbyterians, and it is one of the principal feeders of the Presbyterian ministry in Virginia.

*Hampton Sidney College*, in Prince Edward County, Va., was opened in 1775-76. It owes its origin to Christian patriotism. Hanover Presbytery, the sole representative of the Presbyterian faith and order in all Virginia and her western territory, whose members in 1774 did not exceed ten, determined to establish a school also for the Piedmont and South Side regions of Virginia. The Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith had been the most zealous promoter of the enterprise. He became its first president and organizer.

The college obtained a most liberal charter in 1783, and has enjoyed "an illustrious career of usefulness." Long lists of distinguished statesmen, judges, professors, and ministers whom she has schooled might be given. Her sixth president, Rev. Moses Hoge, D.D., 1807-20, was by appointment of the Synod of Virginia professor of theol-

ogy; and out of the want thus supplied and enlarged sprang the demand which was and could only be satisfied by the establishment of Union Theological Seminary, in 1824. The college is not rich, but has always maintained a high grade of scholarship, and has exerted a peculiarly ennobling and refining influence on the students. At present the teaching force numbers eight men: six full professors, one assistant professor, and one fellow. The students number about one hundred and fifty. The endowment is sufficient for an economical support. The president, the Rev. Richard McIlwaine, D.D., with tireless energy and good success, is bringing the college forward day by day, by new buildings, new appliances, etc.

*Davidson College*, in Mecklenburg County, N. C., was founded in 1837. It was at first opened as a manual labor institution, but the plan did not prove workable. According to the constitution of the college, no one is eligible as trustee, professor, or teacher who is not a member of the Presbyterian Church. During all the years of its course it has been remarkable for its able faculty; it has stimulated a thorough scholarship. Among its alumni are many distinguished men in secular life. More than one third of its graduates have entered the ministry. The college is under the control of a board of trustees appointed by the Presbyteries of the Synods of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.<sup>1</sup> The faculty contains ten professors and instructors. The student body numbers one hundred and fifty-three.<sup>2</sup> The endowment amounts to \$109,000.

*Southwestern Presbyterian University*.—A meeting of commissioners from five Synods, viz., Alabama, Missis-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Semi-Centenary Addresses, Davidson College, 1887. Raleigh, N. C.: E. M. Uzzel, Steam Printer and Binder, 1888. See especially Dr. Ruple's Address.

<sup>2</sup> Session of 1892-93. See "Catalogue of 1892-93."

sippi, Arkansas, Nashville, and Memphis, had been held in May, 1873, to plan for a great common university. The plan formed was adopted by their several Synods and by the Synod of Texas, and they appointed two directors each. In 1874, after receiving many applications for the university, they finally fixed upon Clarksville as the place, and Stuart College, which was already a school of local repute, under the care of the Synod of Nashville, as the nucleus of further operations.

In June, 1879, the board of directors abolished the curriculum and reorganized the school on the plan of coördinate schools and elective courses. The endowment affords an economical support. The faculty, including the professors of the divinity school, consists of nine full professors. The attendance of students during the session 1892-93 was one hundred and thirty-five. A distinguished feature of the plan of the university is that "in connection with every course there shall be comprehensive and faithful biblical training, so as to make an intelligent Scriptural faith a controlling principle in the university."

*Central University.*—At a meeting of the Synod of Kentucky in 1871 resolutions were passed looking to the immediate endowment and equipment of a college. The Synod had despaired of regaining its rights in Center College; but a new movement rose out of the general conviction in the minds of men of intelligence that there was need of a *university*. A number of the alumni of Center College, and friends of learning and of the church, met in convention at Lexington on the 7th of May, 1872, organized themselves into a permanent association, and on the following day tendered to the Synod their coöperation for establishing such an institution. The offer was accepted. A charter was agreed upon by the joint committee of the Synod and the association, and was

adopted by the two bodies severally. "By the charter the donors of the endowment own and control the university under the title of 'The Central University,' and they elect their successors from among the alumni of the institution and its liberal benefactors." Two hundred thousand dollars were soon subscribed, and this was regarded as sufficient to justify the opening of the school. The university opened its first session in 1874; with varying fortunes, it has had on the whole an unusual career of expansion and solid usefulness.

The founders of the university aimed at a university proper. There are now, in addition to the College of Philosophy, Science, and Letters at Richmond, the Hospital College of Medicine and the Louisville College of Dentistry, each at Louisville, Ky. The faculties of these several colleges number respectively 14, 18, 12; and the student body, 201, 97, 46.

The Board of Curators is establishing at central points in the State university high-schools. One of these, the Jackson Collegiate Institute, at Jackson, Ky., has two hundred and two students. Hardin Collegiate Institute, at Elizabethtown, Ky., another, has forty-six students, and there are others in successful operation.<sup>1</sup>

*Westminster College*, at Fulton, Mo., originated in action taken by the Synod of Missouri in 1849. A charter was obtained in 1853. The war shook the college like a cyclone, and swept away most of its endowment. In 1868 it had only about \$30,000 endowment, which was burdened with eighty scholarships affording free tuition to as many students. But the college has struggled bravely on, and all the while maintained a high standard of scholarship. Last session was the most prosperous in its history.

<sup>1</sup> "Catalogue of 1893," pp. 4, 5, 51, 52, 57, 59. Z. E. Smith's "History of Kentucky," pp. 422-551.

There are twelve men in the able faculty, under the presidency of Dr. Wm. H. Marquess, Dr. E. C. Gordon being its vice-president. There are one hundred and fifty students. The endowment amounts to about \$230,000, though a part of it is somewhat encumbered temporarily.

*Austin College*, at Sherman, Tex., was chartered by the legislature in 1849. In 1850 the college began its career at Huntsville. In 1876 it was removed to Sherman. For a long time it was overwhelmed with financial troubles, but it has now emerged, and has an endowment of about \$100,000. Under the present president, the Rev. S. M. Lockett, D.D., the patronage has increased fourfold. The institution was at first under the control of Brazos Presbytery. Later it passed under the control of the Synod of Texas, which now elects the members of the board of trustees.

*King College*, at Bristol, Tenn., was opened in 1868, "a child of necessity." It is not yet out of the financial throes of its birth and earlier years, but has done much good work for the church and state. More than half its graduates have entered the Presbyterian ministry. Many of them have reached eminence by their ability and scholarship. Its curators are appointed by Presbyteries in Tennessee and Virginia.

*The Arkansas College*, at Batesville, Ark., received its charter in 1872. Dr. Isaac Jasper Long was its first self-sacrificing president. The college has accomplished a grand work for the church and state in Arkansas. Prominent features: solidity and thoroughness of the work done; coeducation; prominence of the Bible in its teaching. More than a third of its graduates have become ministers.

*South Carolina College*, at Clinton, S. C., is a promising young institution.

Many female schools are doing their beneficent work for the church and for the homes throughout the land. Some of these are avowedly Presbyterian and under the oversight of Presbyteries. Some of them, while not formally Presbyterian, are really so. There are also many Presbyteral academical schools. There has been some little discussion as to the right of the church to establish Presbyteral schools, colleges, and the like. But the consecrated good sense of the people, and the demand which the Scriptures make that the church should raise up an able ministry, have carried the church over all opposition.

There are several eleemosynary institutions under the control of boards of trustees appointed by church courts. There are others directed and supported by Presbyterians. One of the most widely known is the Thornwell Orphanage, at Clinton, S. C. This is under the care of the Rev. Dr. Wm. P. Jacobs. It is without resources or endowment, dependent on Him who clothes the lilies and feeds the ravens. It has under its roofs, in rearing for useful manhood and womanhood, over a hundred orphans. Some have already left its walls for the ministry. One is a missionary in Japan. The General Assembly has undertaken a "Home and School" for the education of the orphans of Presbyterian ministers and missionaries, at Fredericksburg, Va. The school is well manned, and solicits the patronage of the public on the grounds of its superior advantages. The people of the church, sometimes in association with other Christians, have opened and maintained retreats for the sick and houses for the destitute of all classes.

#### 4. *Publication.*

The constitution given the Executive Committee of Publication in 1861 remains the same to-day, with the exception of an unimportant change or two. For the sake

of convenience in the transaction of business, a separate charter of incorporation for the Committee of Publication was obtained in 1873-75. The separate incorporation was against the preferred policy of the church, but the guarded terms of the charter—forbidding the idea that the corporation could ever become independent of the church—and the business, convenience rendered the church contented.<sup>1</sup>

One of the first heavy calls upon the committee was for literature for the army. In 1863-64 it published fifteen thousand copies of an army hymn-book. In addition to tracts, it put into circulation in the army over fifteen thousand volumes obtained from the Religious Tract Society of London and other sources; and it published "The Soldier's Visitor," consisting mainly of tracts issued in sheet form and circulated free of charge.

It has been the duty of the committee from 1863 on to make a judicious selection of religious books wherever they may be found, and stamp its imprimatur upon them, that the people may be aided in helpful purchases. It has a respectable list of its own publications, too, embracing the imposing works of Dr. Thornwell and Dr. Dabney, as well as more popular works of scarcely less conspicuous men. In the list of its publications are to be found some works of an evangelical, but not distinctly denominational, character. The general oversight of all the Sabbath-school interests of the church, and the advancement of the work in all practicable ways, has been laid on this committee.<sup>2</sup>

It has been a special work of this committee to publish the "Children's Friend," which has a Sunday-school feat-

<sup>1</sup> The committee has always been located at Richmond, Va. The secretaries have been: Rev. Wm. Brown, D.D., 1861-63; Rev. John Leyburne, D.D., 1863-65; Rev. Wm. Brown, D.D., *pro tem*, 1865; Rev. T. E. Baird, 1865-77; Rev. W. A. Campbell, *pro tem*, 1877; Rev. J. K. Hazen, 1877 to the present.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1878," p. 651.

ure, and the "Earnest Worker," devoted since 1877 "exclusively to the exposition of Scripture lessons and other subjects promotive of Sabbath-school work." It has also issued "Lesson Helps" and "Lesson Quarterlies" for several years, and other similar publications.<sup>1</sup>

During a considerable part of its existence the committee has had the burden of colportage on its shoulders. In 1888 it undertook to sustain a colporteur in each Synod, a committee of the Synod to choose the colporteur and take the oversight of the work. This plan has been in operation from that time to the present, though for want of funds it has failed of entire fulfillment.

The church has never been satisfied with the small amount of colportage work done. While it has thrown the burden of it on the committee, and has required the committee, in addition to this colportage, to make gratuitous grants to ministers, churches, and Sunday-schools within certain limits, it has not given a large and kindly support to this important agency. This indisposition to support the committee has been owing to many causes. From 1866 to 1877 the work was badly managed.<sup>2</sup> When, however, the present secretary took hold of the work, the course of its history entered on a happy change. For a good many years the work of colportage and the gratuitous distributions of publications have more than consumed the annual contributions from the churches to the cause;

<sup>1</sup> "It is interesting to note the coöperation in publishing a Sunday-school paper with the Reformed Church in America."—"Minutes of 1876," p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> From November 1, 1866, to October, 1877, the cause of publication received \$125,441.01. During that period the salaries of the secretary and other employees amounted to \$70,229.17. And on October 1, 1877, the total available assets of the Publication Committee amounted to \$53,466.17, and the total liabilities, \$39,993.58. This was after the church had been working for years to endow the committee, and after it was supposed to have an endowment approaching \$50,000. The committee was brought to this bad pass by serious mismanagement on the part of the secretary, Dr. Baird, who seems to have had no business methods.

yet the secretary is able to report in 1893 the net assets of the committee as \$98,436.85.

Probably the fact that the publication cause is now so great a success keeps some from contributing. Probably they think that, seeing it is on such good footing, it should devote a larger percentage of its income to benevolent work. Whatever the cause, Dr. Hazen is worthy of all praise for the way in which he has conducted the work.

Though not under this committee's care in any sense, it is convenient at this point to glance at the journals of the church, which advocate the principles, give information concerning the work, and incite the people to a godly zeal in behalf of the church. Of these, mention must be made first of the weeklies—such as "The Christian Observer" of Louisville, "The Central Presbyterian" of Richmond, "The North Carolina Presbyterian" of Wilmington, "The Southern Presbyterian" of Clinton, "The St. Louis Presbyterian," "The Southwestern Presbyterian" of New Orleans. There are others. These weeklies are edited with varying degrees of ability. Each one is devoted chiefly to building up Presbyterianism in its own region, though striving in a more general way for the advancement of the whole denomination, and, indeed, of the whole church throughout the earth. The church needs sadly a consolidation of some of its weeklies. It wants one great weekly, fresh and able. As matters are, the short subscription-lists of most of these papers forbids such a staff as the church stands in need of.

"The Presbyterian Quarterly," edited by Dr. George Summey, assisted by Drs. Strickler and Barnett, is published in Richmond, Va. It is an able and scholarly publication.<sup>1</sup>

"The Union Seminary Magazine" is doing a good and

<sup>1</sup> Its writers are drawn too largely from others, than the Southern Church, however. The absence of publishers and the poverty so general throughout

growing work, and coming into a larger degree of favor with each session. It is designed to be an organ chiefly for the faculty and students of that seminary.

The Home Mission Committee has a special organ, "The Home Missionary,"<sup>1</sup> through which it brings its great causes before the people. This sheet has been much improved of late. The Foreign Mission Committee at Nashville issues "The Missionary," one of the ablest of missionary publications.

The earnestness of the Assembly in the support of all the agencies whose review we have now completed is evidenced by a host of practical enactments, touching the duty of Presbyteries to incite all their churches to contribute to all the causes, touching the duty of ministers to enlighten their people on the grace and duty of giving, touching times and modes of collections, etc.<sup>2</sup>

##### 5. *The Charter of the Assembly.*

The form of the charter of the board of trustees of the Assembly sought in 1861, obtained in 1866 from the State of North Carolina, has already been indicated.<sup>3</sup> It was amended in 1871-72 so as to enable the trustees to hold the funds which might be contributed for the relief of the widows and children of deceased ministers, and for other eleemosynary objects of the church. The several executive committees of the General Assembly, with the exception of the Executive Committee of Publication, have no separate corporate existence to this day. The board of trustees holds all the property of the General Assembly.<sup>4</sup>

the bounds of the church have not encouraged writing for publication, even in a relatively permanent form. The review writers should be discovered and developed.

<sup>1</sup> Published at Atlanta, Ga.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander's "Digest," pp. 301-317.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter II., p. 346.

<sup>4</sup> The practical relations between the board of trustees and the committees may be defined as follows: "When the trustees shall receive any

6. *Voluntary Agencies.*

The theoretical position of the church as a whole has been that the church, properly organized, is alone the divinely instituted and sufficient agency for the evangelization of the world. As to societies without the church, if they do not undertake functions which belong exclusively to the church, and if their objects and methods are morally and religiously good, they may be approved. Accordingly the Assembly indorsed the *National Bible Society of the Confederate States*, and has, since 1866, cordially commended the *American Bible Society* to the ministers and churches, and recommended contributions to it.<sup>1</sup>

On the subject of young people's societies, missionary societies, etc., there has of late years been much talk. The present trend of thought is in the direction of "societies in the church" and a part of it—that is, a perfected organ-

gift, devise, or bequest without direction from the donor as to the particular use or charity for which it is designed, the same shall be retained by them until the meeting of the next General Assembly. When the donor declares the particular use and the manner of its use, the trustees shall pay over the same to the appropriate committees."—"Minutes of 1873," p. 321.

"When a bequest has been made to the General Assembly, to be paid to two or more of the executive committees of the church, and the terms of the bequest do not specify the proportion according to which the amount of the bequest shall be divided among the committees, the board of trustees is authorized and instructed to divide the amount between the several executive committees for whom the bequest is intended according to the proportion of the annual contribution of the churches (excluding legacies) to these committees for the three years next preceding the time when the amount is divided."—"Minutes of 1886," p. 55.

<sup>1</sup> The precise attitude of the church toward this society may be clearly seen in an excerpt from a report of a committee made to the General Assembly of 1866, in regard to the church's relation to voluntary associations, which reads as follows: "Although it is the opinion of your committee that this society ought to be composed of representatives of different churches, appointed through their constitutional forms, yet as there is nothing in its constitution to prevent the free action in every church in carrying forward the work, and as its organization is simply for the printing and circulation of the Holy Scriptures, your committee recommends its countenance and support."—"Minutes of 1866," p. 38.

ization with every member of the church in such relation to the whole rest of the members as to be brought to work and to do his work. The trend is against "societies in the church but *not a part of it*"—societies which straddle this and other denominations, or which cannot be made to express Presbyterianism. The church believes that the Lord Jesus Christ is King, that his people are his servants, not his confidential advisers, and that the future of the church will be brighter just in proportion as the church follows the plan of the Bible church.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Dr. C. R. Vaughan's article in the "Presbyterian Quarterly," July, 1893.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION AND LIFE OF THE CHURCH.

#### I. *The Doctrine.*

IT will be remembered that the Constituting Assembly declared "that the Confession of Faith, the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, the Form of Government, the Book of Discipline, and the Directory of Worship," which together made up the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, were "the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America."

The church has continued well satisfied with her Confession of Faith. Such changes as have been made at all have touched only the accidents of the Creed. With the heart and soul of the Westminster Confession the church has been so well pleased that while other churches are trying to tear the very liver out of it, this church has been attempting to anchor herself more securely to it. According to the mother-church's Adopting Act of 1788, the Form of Government and Discipline and the Confession of Faith as then ratified were to continue to be the constitution and the confession of faith and practice, unless two thirds of the Presbyteries under the care of the General Assembly should propose alterations or amendments, and such alterations should be agreed to and enacted by the General Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baird's "Digest," p. 36, § 16.

In the Assembly of 1861 an overture was presented proposing to make it much more difficult to change the constitution. It was referred to the Committee on Revision, and does not appear to have come before a subsequent Assembly. It was an exaggerated statement of the real position of the church. The part of the overture relating to the Confession the church was probably ready for in 1861, but it was not ready for that touching changes in the Form of Government. However, the church rested with the Adopting Act of 1788 until 1883, when the Assembly requested all the Presbyteries under its care to send up answers to the following questions to the next Assembly: "Shall Chapter VII. of the Form of Government be amended by adding a third section to read as follows: 'III. Amendments to the Confession of Faith and to the Catechism of this church may be made only upon the recommendation of one Assembly, the concurrence of at least three fourths of the Presbyteries, and the enactment of the same by a subsequent Assembly?'"<sup>1</sup> A large majority of the Presbyteries returned an affirmative answer, whereupon the Assembly of 1884 resolved "that this amendment be and is hereby enacted as paragraph 3, Chapter VII., Form of Government."<sup>2</sup>

During the years 1885-86 inclusive, the new paragraph was itself amended by adding to it the following words, viz.: "This paragraph shall be amended or altered only in the way in which itself provides for amendment of the Confession of Faith and the Catechism of the church." Thus had the old method of amending the Confession been superseded by a more tedious one. A similar but more moderate change had been meanwhile wrought in the method of amending the Form of Government.

While the formal development of the Creed has been

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1883," p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1884," p. 248.

next to nothing, it is believed that in a thorough-going comprehension of the great truths of revelation embodied in the Confession, and in their elaboration and defense, the Southern Presbyterian Church has taken no mean part. To prove that such is the case it is only necessary to mention the works of such great masters in theology and kindred departments of study as those of Drs. J. H. Thornwell and R. L. Dabney. Dabney has irradiated with the torch of thinking genius almost every phase of theology, anthropology, and soteriology; and Thornwell, with a chaste splendor of diction, has illuminated by a marvelous insight many of the perplexing problems in theology and in anthropology. Besides, there are many stars whose shining had been counted brilliant but for these suns. In the department of exegetical theology Dr. W. W. Moore is justly held in high esteem by the church.

## 2. *The Polity.*

The church undertook to revise its Form of Government and Book of Discipline as early as 1861. The Constituting Assembly appointed a very able committee for the purpose, and instructed it to report to the next Assembly. The church's sense of the need of revising these parts of its Standards is well expressed in the first report which the committee was able to make as to its work. That report says:

The committee are deeply impressed with the desirableness of our possessing as a church a more scientific statement of the Scripture doctrine of church government than is found in our present form. The subject has been largely discussed and the doctrine much developed in various directions since our present form was adopted, and the book is no longer abreast of the advanced stage of the doctrine as it is actually held among us. For example: the book does not contain any statement of what are the radical principles of our system, except a very imperfect one, introduced in a mere footnote. Again, our doctrine of the courts receives no adequate presentation, nor is anything found in the book respecting the duties in full of the different office-bearers.

Again, the evangelist does not appear in any part of the book, except in a clause appended to the chapter on ordination, and in the general reference made to that most important office in the chapter on missions. Then, again, the method prescribed in the book for setting apart ruling elders and deacons without the imposition of hands is clearly unscriptural; and the remarkable omission cries aloud for the consideration of the church.<sup>1</sup>

It was owing to the vicissitudes of war that this report was not made until 1864. Along with it was handed the draft of the revision so far as the committee had proceeded—the Rules of Parliamentary Order and Canons of Discipline. Two years later the committee's work on the Form of Government was completed. Their report was adopted and sent down to the Presbyteries. A very large majority of the Presbyteries informed the Assembly of 1867 of their appreciation of the labors of the Committee of Revision, asked to have the results of their labors saved, but emphatically declined to adopt the revision.

There was a great diversity of views with reference to the proposed changes. The committee was therefore discontinued.<sup>2</sup> The church, however, was not satisfied with the old Form of Government and Discipline. During the years 1869–73 another effort to secure a revision was made; but this effort, too, and for reasons which caused the previous failure, was destined to prove a miscarriage. The results, nevertheless, were again stored in the archives of the Assembly.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, between the years 1876–79 inclusive, the successful effort was made. A revision was accomplished which met, to a degree, the want of the church as indicated in the report of the committee in 1864. The revision is on the whole a very worthy work. Had the only result been the erasure of the unscripturally broad de-

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1864," p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1867," pp. 149 ff.

<sup>3</sup> "Minutes of 1869," pp. 377 ff., and p. 396; 1870, pp. 518 ff.; 1873, p. 328.

markation between the minister and ruling elder which the old book made, it had been justified; but the new makes a fairly adequate statement of the ruling elder's rights and duties. It brings out with greatly increased clearness the deacon's duties and relations, and magnifies his office after a biblical fashion. It recognizes at least *quasi* deaconesses, which is a step in the right direction. If women had always been accorded the privilege of so serving the church, there might be less of obnoxious womanism among the churches to-day. It articulately asserts that the church is the "agency which Christ has ordained for the edification and government of his people, for the propagation of the faith, and the evangelization of the world." As this is the biblical and correct position, the church was doing much to become able to take subsequently the correct attitude toward the hosts of partial substitutes for the church which well-meaning but precipitate, rash, and irreverent men have proposed.

Some amendments to the paragraph on the evangelist might well be made, however. The church is somewhat hampered by the limited powers accorded this officer in the foreign field.

The revised book is more distinctly Presbyterian, and issued from a more solid conviction of *jure divino* Presbyterianism, than the old book. Occasional but not substantive amendments to the revised book have been made from time to time since its adoption.

Of the men who have watched and directed the development of church polity, special mention must be made of the names of Drs. J. H. Thornwell, B. M. Palmer, and T. E. Peck. To Thornwell is due credit for the full recognition of the rights of the ruling elder. Palmer has kept before the church the truth that the tenet of the headship of Christ involves the doctrine of the sufficiency of the or-

dained church and the impiety of any substitution therefor. Dr. Peck and Dr. Vaughan have done special service in bringing to light the functions of the diaconate.

### 3. *The Worship.*

The external worship of the church has changed but little. Here and there in the church there is an observable tendency toward a less simple worship; and responsive readings and prayers in which the congregations take oral part, elaborate and unworshipful music, etc., come into vogue. This is very rare.

In 1864-65 Colonel J. T. L. Preston, of Lexington, Va., and others endeavored to have introduced into the Directory of Worship "a few Scriptural and well-considered forms of prayer, requiring responses on the part of the congregation, the use of such forms to be optional on the part of the pastors." The attempt met with overwhelming defeat; and though repeated in 1872, it found its Waterloo in the same year. This has been the most prominent effort looking toward a liturgy. Mention may, however, be made of the effort to have "a directory of the oblations" prepared, in 1868, and of that to have a burial service prepared, in 1880. But the tendency toward forms of worship has been very small, unless you see in the desire to revise the old Directory unrest with its simplicity, which is not very probably true.

As early as 1864 inquiry was made as to whether it was then expedient to revise the Directory of Worship. The work was never undertaken, however, in earnest till 1879, at which time the revision of the Form of Government and the Book of Discipline had been completed. The Assembly of 1879 appointed an able committee, which was once reconstituted, was succeeded by an equally able committee, which in its turn was reconstituted. This

committee gave place in 1892 to a new committee, the work of which, as modified by the last Assembly's criticism, is now in the hands of the Presbyteries, for their reception or rejection, and will probably be adopted.

The revised Directory remains entirely a directory. It is not more a book of prescribed forms than before. Its superiority over the old is in its more copious suggestions, especially about the public profession of religion by new converts and about administering baptism.

The church has shown a praiseworthy zeal in improving its selections of hymns and Psalms.<sup>1</sup>

It is believed that the spirit of worship has not declined during the church's independent history. There seems, on the contrary, evidence to prove that it has deepened, that worship is viewed more as something which is expressed by the output of the life. To illustrate: Giving as an act of worship is kept in the forefront of the church to-day. Dr. T. E. Peck had this burden, also, of the Lord for his people and students. This instance is typical. Worship is regarded generally as intended service.

The meaning and nature of the sacraments have been kept in tolerable clearness before the people.<sup>2</sup> The propriety of special prayer and fasting on occasion has continued to be the common belief.<sup>3</sup> But it must be said that the church's attitude toward the Sabbath is not worthy. Her great teachers and her courts have uttered no uncertain sound. Few churches have had such stanch

<sup>1</sup> It revised its "Hymn-Book" between 1861 and 1866; revised and published its "Hymn and Tune Book" by 1873. In 1882, as many of the congregations had begun to use the "Hymns and Tunes" of Dr. C. S. Robinson, the Assembly placed its imprimatur on that book. (Alexander's "Digest," pp. 357-360.) The Assembly of 1893 gave a similar indorsement and approval to Dr. R. P. Kerr's "The Hymns of the Ages." ("Minutes of 1893," p. 15.)

<sup>2</sup> Alexander's "Digest," pp. 345-354.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 356.

defenders of the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> But the Sunday newspapers, Sunday mails, and Sunday railroad trains, etc., have had an influence as potent as pernicious; and the protests which the church courts and preachers have made against Sabbath desecration are monuments of very considerable dereliction in respect to Sabbath observances on the part of the church-members.<sup>2</sup> Nor can a church long maintain its worshipfulness after losing its reverence for the day especially set apart of God for the purpose of his worship.

Family worship has not made considerable advancement, but the church diligently inculcates the duty, and some progress is observable.

#### 4. *The Social and Moral Life of the Church.*

It is the common observation that war and pestilence are followed by general ungodliness. *A priori* it would be expected that man would be sobered by the destruction of his fellows, and led to set his affections on God by the evident instability and insufficiency of all creature existence; that he would flee from the carnage and chaos around him and make for the source of all beauty and order. But it is not so. The harrowed inhabitants of the land cut up and devastated by war are apt to betray a fondness for trifling and belittling amusements, and a slavish grasping for the meanest muniments of temporal good.

If we do not find a strong tendency to worldly amusements and to dishonest business methods in the South during and after the Civil War, and during the horrible period of reconstruction, we shall therein remark a nota-

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1863," pp. 16, 164; 1878, pp. 628, 641 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1890," p. 91; 1893, p. 73 *et passim*.

ble strength of character, a wonderful work of God's grace in the hearts of his people.

Were we disposed to reconstruct history, as many writers seem inclined, from a literal acceptance of the protests which the church has from time to time made against these forms of sin, it would be easy to set forth a very gloomy view of the social and moral condition of the Southern Presbyterians during the decade 1860-70. But the principle which forbids our seeing, through the protests against concubinage on the part of the priesthood of the church from 400 to 1200, anything but universal uncleanness, permits us to see much of the highest Christian virtue in the life of the Southern Church during the decade named.

The Assembly of 1865 felt called upon to speak concerning the prevalence of fashionable amusements and social recreations in the following strain :

The Assembly expresses itself with more earnestness on this whole subject because of the disposition which is observed in all parts of our borders to run into the inordinate indulgence of worldliness, at this time, in forgetfulness of the mighty chastenings of God which are even yet upon us, and because we see members of our churches and our beloved baptized youth, in forgetfulness of the covenant of God which is upon them, carried away with the world's delusions, to the subversion of the divine influence of the sanctuary, and to the neglect of the interests of their souls.<sup>1</sup>

Again, in 1869, in response to an overture from the Rev. Dr. R. L. Dabney, the Assembly "earnestly and solemnly enjoined" upon all the sessions and Presbyteries under its care the absolute necessity of enforcing the discipline provided in our constitution against offenses—under the word offenses including the attendance by our members upon theatrical exhibitions and performances, and promiscuous dancings, against intemperance, and availing themselves of the expedients for evading pecu-

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1865," p. 362.

niary obligations now permitted by the legislation of the country in such a manner as cannot be justified by a conscience enlightened by the Spirit and the Word of God, and must dishonor the cause of Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup>

These vigorous representations and protests against the evils specified are proofs indeed of their mournful prevalence, but are proofs as well of the fact that there was a large and influential element in the church most watchful against them. It is a marvel that the people of the church kept from frivolity and corruptness as they did. Few conquered people have experienced such a complete overturning of social conditions. A people of as great comfort and frugal plenty as any people on the globe enjoyed, perhaps, were thrown into the hardest conditions, and had a long, difficult struggle for existence. That they did not grow reckless and fall into bestial misanthropy and misotheism is the highest proof at once of their own virtue and God's goodness to them. Southern Presbyterians of to-day and the future may take a just delight in the heroically Christian character of the living in those early years of the church.

But not even with changed conditions and a country again prosperous has the church been free from a struggle on these subjects of dancing, card-playing, and dancing-schools. The church in Atlanta, Ga., was greatly racked in the effort to discipline such offenses in 1877-80. And throughout the church till to-day sessions and pastors have had to fight. Money-grabbing, gambling in stocks, futures, etc., have come to be fearful and prevalent evils among worldlings, and even among professing Christians throughout the nation. The territory of the Southern Presbyterian Church is not exempt. The church even has a share of those who worship mammon. And, further-

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1869," p. 390.

more, these evils have brought other evils in their train—restlessness, thirst for exciting amusements, morally unhealthy living. These evils are naturally more widespread than the first class. Especially is this true in the larger cities. Nor have the church rulers in all cases fought well. Discipline is hard to administer—as hard to give as to receive. The church authorities have in many cases shirked.

Other social and moral evils which the church has had to battle with—to a limited extent among her communicants, to a greater extent among her baptized non-communicants, and especially among the worldlings about her—are intemperance and liquor-selling, ordinary gambling, and profanity. The church has bewailed and protested against profanity as a national sin of huge dimensions, has fought it in the pulpit, and has to a considerable degree lived out her horror of this sin.<sup>1</sup> She has fought gambling manfully, rating it as essentially robbery and leading generally to temporal ruin.<sup>2</sup> As an instance of the stand made by the church, reference may be made to the heroic, drastic, and effective measures against the New Orleans lottery by Dr. B. M. Palmer, culminating with the retirement of the company with the end of the year 1893 from the United States.

The church has been strong in its support of temperance, though consistently with its Standards it has refused to espouse a political party as an advance movement in its onslaught on intemperance. Its genuine attitude toward the question is brought out in a paper adopted by the Assembly of 1892, which is as follows:

WHEREAS, we recognize the liquor traffic as an aggressive enemy to the home, the church, and the state, an alarming menace to the Christian Sabbath, and a powerful obstacle to the work of establishing Christ's kingdom in foreign lands; and

WHEREAS, "Sin is any want of conformity unto or transgression of the

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1862," p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

law of God," and a failure to manifest disapproval of, or opposition to, a prevailing evil is a sin of omission; therefore,

*Resolved*, That we reaffirm the deliverances and testimony of our church, made in 1891, on the subject of temperance, the liquor traffic, and abstinence from intoxicants as a beverage, and we bear our testimony against the establishing and promoting the traffic in intoxicant liquors as the fruitful source of sin, crime, and misery.<sup>1</sup>

This stand was taken against "the liquor traffic" as it is, of course, and is approvable.

The attitude of the church toward lynching and other forms of mob law is one of steady opposition. Her people recognize the extreme provocation which has occasioned so much mob violence in the Southern States—the insufficient penalties affixed by our statutes to such crimes as rape and arson, and the tardy execution of such law as we have, or their damnable evasions. Southern Presbyterians recognize the great provocations; nevertheless, they theoretically and in general practice deprecate at once the provocatives and the outbursts of mob violence. They preach and live commonly against it.

Brighter illustrations of Christian living than are found in Southern Presbyterian homes exist nowhere.

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1892," p. 462.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO OTHER BODIES.

“IF any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?”<sup>1</sup> The Presbyterian family of churches has been wont to recognize brethren in the numerous evangelical churches throughout the world. These churches have been distinguished for a liberality of posture toward the other branches of the Church of God in pleasing contrast to the exclusive claims of the majorities in the Episcopal and Baptist communions. And this posture toward the rest of the Christian world is of such importance as affecting the true unity of the Church of God in its opposition to the world that it deserves particular and careful treatment in the history of any church.

Having set forth, therefore, the origin and the historic development of the Southern Church, external and internal—its growth in numbers and external means and muniments, and its growth in doctrine, polity, and life—it becomes our duty to show how the church has lived with her neighbor churches.

But before doing this we propose to set forth the relations which this church has maintained with the state. These relations are not less important than the foregoing. If a church be united with a civil government, one of two things, as history establishes, invariably follows: the church becomes supreme and uses the state as its servant, thus

<sup>1</sup> 1 John iv. 20.

employing means and methods which God's Word forbids ; or the state becomes supreme and prostitutes the Church of God to its own service.

Some dreamers to-day talk about christianizing the state. This can hardly be done before the millennium. Atheists, infidels, Jews, and hosts of other Antichrist men, are too frequent in this country to have a state essentially Christian in its form of constitution and laws. The constitution of our state may and should be theistic, but not Christian. Hence, the true relation between the church and the state should be that of respectful and friendly independence.

1. *The Non-Secular Character of the Church: Its Relations with the State.*—The reader will remember that in the "Address to all the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth," issued by the Constituting Assembly of 1861, it was distinctly affirmed that the church and state occupied provinces entirely distinct, and should in no wise intermeddle one with the other. And the theory that these two ordinances of God should remain in friendly and respectful and mutually helpful but entire independence, has remained the theory of the Southern Presbyterian Church—a theory which on the whole it has maintained well in practice. In a pastoral letter issued by the Assembly of 1865, and setting forth *the relation of the church to the government of the country*, these words occur :

During the prevalence of this war, "the higher powers" actually bearing rule over most of our bounds, and to which, under the Word of God, we were required to be "subject," were the government of the Confederate States and those of the several States constituting it. By the event of the war the first has been overthrown ; and the second, as constituents thereof, are changed. The "higher powers" now bearing rule over us are confessedly the government of the United States and those existing in the States wherein we reside. The rightfulness of these several authorities, and to which of them the allegiance of our people as citizens was or is primarily due, are matters upon which a judicatory of the church has no right to pro-

nounce judgment. The relations of the Church of Christ to civil governments is not one *de jure*, but *de facto*. As right and good, or wrong and wicked, they rise and fall by the agency and permission of God's providence. In either case the attitude of the church toward them is essentially the same. As long as they stand and are acknowledged, obedience is to be enjoined as a duty, factious resistance condemned as a sin; but in regard to conflicts between existing governments, or as to movements in society, peaceful or otherwise, to effect political changes, the church as such has no more control over them than it has over the polls of the country. If it has authority to uphold on the one side, it has equal authority to condemn on the other; if to suppress a political movement, then also to instigate it. In truth it has neither; and to assert the contrary is to corrupt the church in its principles, forever embroil it with the strifes of the world, and plunge it headlong into ruin.

Under these views, and considering the extraordinary conflict through which the country has passed, as well as the extraordinary circumstances in which it is now placed, it is incumbent upon us to exhort you, brethren, to obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; fulfill with scrupulous fidelity all your obligations to the government of the land, remembering the duty of this compliance, "not only for wrath, but for conscience' sake." For so is the will of God, that with well-doing you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.<sup>1</sup>

In the report of the Committee on Foreign Correspondence, adopted by the Assembly of 1866, are found the following words:

The old conflict for the spirituality and independence of the church is, to the amazement of many, renewed in our day and upon our own continent. The battle fought generations ago by the Melvilles, Gillespies, and Hendersons of Scotland is reopened with singular violence, and the old banner is again floating over us with the historic inscription, "For Christ's Covenant and Crown." Upon no one subject is the mind of this Assembly more clearly ascertained, upon no one doctrine is there a more solid and perfect agreement among those whom this Assembly represents, than the non-secular and non-political character of the Church of Jesus Christ. Whatever ambiguous or indiscreet expressions may have been extorted under pressure of extraordinary excitement from individuals among us, the Assembly of this church deliberately reaffirms the testimony given in the solemn "Address to the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth," issued in 1861, during its session in the city of Augusta.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1865," pp. 382 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The very words of the letter, beginning with "*The provinces of the church and state are perfectly distinct*," and ending with the words "*in the world of matter*," are quoted. See chapter ii., this sketch, p. 349.

[This address] commits us to the maintenance and defense of the crown rights of the Redeemer, whether, on the one hand, they be usurped by the state, or whether, on the other, they be renounced by any portion of God's professing people. Summoned thus in the providence of God to contend for the same principles for which our martyr fathers of the Scottish Reformation testified even to the death, and which the fathers of the Southern Presbyterian Church labored so earnestly to secure, and rejoiced in having obtained their full recognition by the civil government in America, it would be most happy if all those in the different branches of the Presbyterian family who are called to renew the protest could be united in one homogeneous body for the reassertion of Christ's regal supremacy in and over his spiritual kingdom, the church. The scattered testimony of individual witnesses would deepen in intensity if gathered into one volume and rolled against those who would place the crown of Jesus upon the head of Cæsar. In view of all which, this Assembly would tender the hand to all who are of like mind with us as to the doctrines of grace and as to the order and discipline of God's house, that as one compacted church we may oppose a break-water against the current that is sweeping from its moorings our common Protestantism, until the doctrine of the church as a free and spiritual commonwealth shall regain its ascendancy, not only over the Presbyterian but over the whole American Protestant mind.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1866," pp. 30 ff. Compare the letter of the Synod of Kentucky. This letter to the General Assembly contemplating union was written in 1867. It set forth the principles of the Synod. The General Assembly, in giving it a place upon its records, assured the Synod of its "substantial agreement" therewith. It contained the following words:

"It is therefore not only incompetent to the church courts, but positively a perversion of the truth, that they shall assume to consider any questions than those which relate to the government, order, and discipline of Christ's visible kingdom, or to determine these on grounds aside from the Word of God, or to speak in Christ's name and by his authority, otherwise than to the faith and conscience of his people, concerning things to be obeyed as enjoined by the law of Christ. . . . The church has manifestly no commission either to discharge any functions of the state, or to direct, advise, or assist the state. . . . Therefore the attempt on the part of the tribunals of the church to exercise the authority thus delegated to them by Christ in determining questions merely secular, concerning which his Word makes no such determination, is to usurp the prerogative of the church's divine Master; and practically to obscure to the faith of his people the doctrine of his kingly office. . . . Hence this Synod and its Presbyteries have steadfastly protested against and resisted the assumption of authority by the church courts to advise, direct, and assist the civil government in its policy by the exercise of their spiritual authority, or to interpose the power of the spiritual sword for enforcing any theories of social organization, or theories of labor, or political theories, or to direct men as citizens in the choice of their civil polity. . . .

"As to the functions and sphere of the General Assembly and other courts, they have maintained, and desired to have it recognized as the accepted

Concerning the relation of the church to the institution of slavery, the "Address to the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth" had set forth as the church's position that the policy of slavery's existence or non-existence was a question which exclusively belonged to the state; that the church had no right to enjoin it as a duty, or to condemn it as a sin.<sup>1</sup> In the pastoral of 1865 the church affirmed that the address referred to "contains the only full and unambiguous and deliberate and authoritative exposition of our views in regard to this matter"; it reaffirmed "its whole doctrine to be that of Scripture and reason." After quoting at length from the Address, the pastoral letter of 1865 goes on to say:

This relation is now overthrown, suddenly and violently: whether justly or not justly, in wrath or in mercy, for weal or for woe, let history and the Judge of all the earth decide. But there are two considerations of vital interest which still remain. One is that while the existence of slavery may, in its civil aspect, be regarded as a settled question, an issue now gone, yet the lawfulness of the relation as a question of social morality and Scriptural truth has lost nothing of its importance. When we solemnly declare to you, brethren, that the dogma which asserts the inherent sinfulness of this relation is unscriptural and fanatical, that it is condemned not only by the Word of God but by the voice of the church in all ages, that it is one of the most pernicious heresies of modern times, that its countenance by the church is a just cause of separation from it (1 Tim. vi. 1-5), we have surely said enough to warn you from this insidious error as from a fatal shore.<sup>2</sup>

Such were the "well-considered and formal views of the church" up to 1870. The church has, however, once or twice—and according to the judgment of her critics,

interpretation, that the constitution of the church assigns to the General Assembly no function to the end that it may counsel, direct, or assist the civil government. . . . That neither does the constitution assign to the Assembly any authority to consider and determine either questions of the policy of the state touching its citizens, or the duties of the citizens as such, in respect of the policy of the state; or questions between different interpretations of the Federal constitution."—"Minutes of 1867," pp. 183 ff.

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1860," pp. 55 ff. See pp. 344 ff. of chapter ii. for a full statement of the church's position in 1861, in its own terms.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1865," p. 385.

several times—been inconsistent in practice with her formal views. The following instances of real or apparent transgression may be found from her records.

In the Narrative of the state of religion in 1862 it is said:

All the Presbyteries which have reported dwell upon the absorbing topic of the war in which we are now engaged. . . . [Again] All the presbyterial Narratives, without exception, mention the fact that their congregations have evinced the most cordial sympathy with the people of the Confederate States in their efforts to maintain their cherished rights and institutions against the despotic power which is attempting to crush them. Deeply convinced that this struggle is not alone for civil rights and property and home, but also for religion, for the church, for the gospel, for existence itself, the churches in our connection have freely contributed to its prosecution of their substance, their prayers, and above all of their members, and the beloved youths of their congregations. They have parted without a murmur with those who constitute the hope of the church, and have bidden them go forth to the support of this great and sacred cause, with their benedictions and with their supplications for their protection and success. The Assembly desires to record, with its solemn approval, this fact of the unanimity of our people in supporting a contest to which religion as well as patriotism now summons the citizens of this country, and to implore for them the blessing of God in the course they are now pursuing. [Again] We are constrained, however, to call the attention of the churches to the fact mentioned by some of the Presbyteries, that the absorbing interest of the struggle, in which we are contending for everything dear to man, is having some influence in lessening in the minds of God's people a sense of their spiritual obligations.<sup>1</sup>

The report on theological seminaries of the same year says:

We distinctly recognize the right of the state to claim the services of any or all of her citizens in this time of need. We also acknowledge it a privilege as well as a plain duty for our people to pledge each other, and the government of their choice, their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, in united effort to drive back the invaders of our soil and the enemies of our institutions. Yet when and where this necessity does not exist we think that our candidates can better serve their generation, and do more for their country, by diligently preparing to preach the gospel.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1862," pp. 21 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Somewhat similar faults were made in the pastoral letter of 1862, and in the Narrative of 1863.<sup>1</sup>

The Narrative of 1864 contains these words:

One and another message has come to us from the field of deadly strife, filling our minds with the deepest solicitude, urging us to more united prayer, and inspiring us with profound gratitude to God for the repeated repulses of our insolent and cruel foe. . . .

Our enemies have evinced a settled determination to prosecute their enterprises of guilt and horror in the face of all the disastrous consequences which must ensue from this insane attempt to subjugate and destroy us. . . .

The wonderful work of grace in our armies presents the strongest encour-

<sup>1</sup> In the pastoral letter of 1862 it is said: "We have been called on to witness the desolations of the land, and to mourn over the waste places of Zion, created by the havoc of war; and from all our churches we hear the report that the ranks of the armies of our national independence are crowded with the noblest of our brethren and with the choicest of our youth, who have rushed to the rescue of the republic, driven by the impulses of patriotism, and in obedience to the call of God and of our country. But our hearts turn with special solicitude toward the noble youth of our congregations who have gone from our midst to this bloody contest for national life and independence. . . .

"We honor you for your self-denial and patriotic zeal; we would love to see you become the honored instruments in God's hands in leading sinners to the Saviour. . . . In you are wrapped all the hopes of our church and country. With the solution of the question, What are you to become? will be determined the problem of our national glory or shame, and that of the success and usefulness of the church in our beloved land. We tremble for you as we see you drawn away by the duties of patriotism from the constant use of the means of grace and divine influence of the sanctuary. We sympathize with you as you endure fatigue and sickness in camp, as you engage in the life-struggle on the sanguinary field, and as you consecrate everything dear on earth on the altar of patriotic duty."—"Minutes of 1862," pp. 35 ff.

The Narrative of 1863 says: "During the period which has elapsed since the last annual session of this body, our unhappy country has been the theater of a war unexampled, perhaps, in the scope of its operations, of the vast numbers engaged, and of the pitiless barbarity with which it has been conducted on the part of our invaders. The blood of our brethren, our fathers, and our children, unjustly and untimely slain, cries to Heaven. A considerable portion of our territory is in possession of the enemy, and all communication with the churches embraced in those districts must for the time be suspended. We look forward with a cheerful confidence to a renewal of our relations to those churches, when, by the favor of God, the enemy shall have been expelled. We commend these afflicted brethren to your sympathies and your prayers. It is to us matter of devout gratitude to Almighty God that he has so often and so signally baffled the efforts of our enemies to effect our subjugation, and that he has vouchsafed to our arms victories so repeated and so wonderful."—"Minutes of 1863," p. 155.

agement to the praying people at home, and has placed the seal of the divine approbation upon our righteous cause. . . .

The reports of all our Presbyteries indicate an increasing interest in the spiritual welfare of our colored population. The long-continued agitations of our adversaries have wrought within us a deeper conviction of the divine appointment of domestic servitude, and have led to clearer comprehensions of the duties we owe to the African race. We hesitate not to affirm that it is the peculiar mission of the Southern Church to conserve the institution of slavery, and to make it a blessing both to master and slave. We could not, if we would, yield up these four millions of immortal beings to the dictates of fanaticism and the menace of military power. We distinctly recognize the inscrutable Power which brought this benighted people into our midst, and we shall feel that we have not discharged our solemn trust until we have used every effort to bring them under the saving influence of the gospel of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

During the period between the close of the war and 1870 there was a great controversy in the country, upon the spirituality and independence of the church as the visible kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the earth. And in order that the mass of her membership might know clearly the past witness of the church as to her independence, and the proper testimony for the future, the Assembly of 1870 instructed the Committee of Publication to issue in tract form the public official utterances of the Assemblies in relation thereto.<sup>2</sup>

This publication, together with the repeated charge that the church had not maintained an attitude of independence toward the Confederacy, was the occasion of the Assembly's reviewing in 1875-76 its witness as to the non-political character of the church, and formally setting forth its testimony once again. The Assembly of 1876 recited the church's testimony concerning its own non-secular and non-political character, delivered from 1861 to 1867 inclusive. It extracted from the minutes practically the entire body of expressions alleged to be incon-

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1864," p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Compare "Minutes of 1870," p. 542.

sistent with the afore-mentioned declarations.<sup>1</sup> By way of comment on these two classes of extracts, it affirmed :

It will be seen that the doctrine announced and maintained by the Assembly, on the relations of the church to the state, is not, as has often been charged, the unscriptural and impracticable idea that the church and Christian people, as such, have no duties to perform toward the state. True, the Assembly denies the right of the church courts to interfere with the domain of Caesar by legislating on purely political questions ; but at the same time it has the right to enjoin those duties which the citizen confessedly owes to the commonwealth. . . . As long as states stand and are acknowledged, obedience—that is, submission and obedience in all things not sinful—is to be enjoined as a duty ; factious resistance to be condemned as a sin. . . .

In 1861, at the time of its organization, the Assembly found its members placed under the civil authority of the Confederate Government and that of the respective States which constituted it. The governments, State and Confederate, were established and generally acknowledged within our respective bounds. The United States Government was known to us only as one with which the Confederate Government was at war, and by which it was menaced by land and by sea. Under these circumstances, and in accordance with the above principles, our Assembly recognized “ the powers that be,” and which are “ ordained of God over us,” to be those of the government of the Confederate States and of the respective States confederated in it. Hence it was simply carrying out its own principles and the doctrines of the Word of God when it taught the citizens and the soldiers to discharge toward these high civil authorities the duties which the Scriptures enjoin toward “ the powers that be,” and when it made “ intercession for all that are in authority.” . . .

So far as any action of *that kind* goes, and to *that extent*, there is nothing that offends against the principles set forth in our formal declarations.

In the Narrative of 1862 there is a single clause which demands a criticism. The situation of the Southern country was known to be one of extreme peril. The war, if successful on the part of the United States, involved not only the destruction of the Confederate Government, but the forfeiture of the political rights of its citizens, the overthrow of the existing domestic institutions, the loss of property, and other evils universally dreaded. Under these circumstances it was right and proper for our Assembly to utter a strong declaration of sympathy for our people, and to give a decided expression of commendation to those who were performing these acts of what they esteemed a patriotic duty. It was substantially saying to them : “As this is to you not only a government *de facto*, but also one of your own choice, we commend you for acting faithfully and fully according to these convictions, and follow you with our prayers.” But when our Assembly intimates or implies an opinion as

<sup>1</sup> The extracts are just those given in the immediately preceding pages of this chapter.

to whether the war referred to was justly or unjustly waged, or a decision as to which was, in its origin and principle, the government to which the citizens owed obedience, it transcends the limits of its authority. It no longer bases its commendation upon what is *de facto* as to the government, or upon the inherent right which the citizen had in defending the government of his choice, but it assumes to decide upon the righteousness of the war. A court of the Lord Jesus Christ has no commission to do this. It is in principle the error we have condemned in the Northern Assembly of 1861, and those of other years.<sup>1</sup>

Another alleged error is to be remarked in several forms of expression found in the extracts which have been recited; such as: "the war in which we are now engaged"; "the absorbing interest of the struggle in which we are now contending for everything dear to man"; "the armies of our national independence"; "the pitiless barbarity with which it [the war] has been conducted on the part of our invaders"; "it is to us matter of devout gratitude to Almighty God that he has so often and so signally baffled the efforts of our enemies to effect our subjugation, and that he has vouchsafed to our arms victories so repeated and wonderful"; "profound gratitude to God for the repeated repulses of our insolent and cruel foe"; "this insane attempt to subjugate and destroy us."

If these expressions are to be taken in their literal sense, it should be candidly admitted that they are entirely out of place in a court of the Lord Jesus Christ, and are therefore to be regretted and disapproved. They seem to arise from a confusion of thought or a temporary forgetfulness; at any rate, there is a failure to discriminate between what may be properly uttered in the character of a citizen and what may be uttered by an ecclesiastical body.

At the same time, with this admission, it may be rightly insisted that the objection rests to a large extent upon a hypercriticism; for it is evident that the word "our" is here used inadvertently, and in a very general sense, similar to the phrase "our army," or "our country," so often heard in all ecclesiastical assemblies.

#### *Concerning Slavery.*

In the Narrative of the state of religion for 1864 two expressions concerning slavery are found which may have given rise to much criticism. It is

<sup>1</sup> "There is, however, this wide difference between the action of the two Assemblies. The Northern not only decided a purely political question for its own members residing within these States and Territories, confessedly subject to the jurisdiction of the government of the United States, but it also undertook to decide the great question for the members of our churches residing under the *de facto* government of the Confederate States, and one organized under forms of much regularity and with much unanimity; and undertook also to make compliance a condition of church-membership, and to visit with discipline those who disobeyed this act of usurpation. The Southern Assembly was never guilty of this transgression, though it may have erred in the particular mentioned."—"Minutes of 1876," p. 294.

proper to state, as a preliminary remark, that these Narratives in general are not closely scrutinized when presented to the General Assembly, inasmuch as they are not expected to introduce difficult or debatable points. And in regard to the Narrative for that year, it is a well-known fact that it was read on the very eve of the final adjournment of the body, at a time when the most exciting reports of battles occurring or impending had just reached the place [Charlotte, N. C.], and when many members, apprehensive of being cut off by military operations from a return home, were impatiently hurrying away. If, therefore, some things may be found in this paper less carefully expressed than could be desired, the statement just presented may account for the fact that attention was not drawn to them. But taking them as they are, there are a few remarks to be offered which are due to a fair understanding. We notice:

1. The expression that "domestic servitude is of divine appointment." The essential principle of slavery is submission, or subjection to control by the will of another. This is an essential element in every form of civil government also, and in the family relation itself. The application of this principle in the form of "domestic servitude" is right or wrong according to circumstances. It is not an institution essential to the social state, and therefore is not of universal obligation. But in certain conditions of society it has been expressly recognized by God, permitted and appointed. See Exodus xx. 10, 17; Exodus xxi. 7; Leviticus xxv. 44-46; Matthew v. 17; 1 Timothy vi. 1-4. If it is a relation justifiable and lawful in the sight of God, it must be in a certain sense of divine appointment, since whatever is thus lawful implies the sanction of the law-giver. And the existence of wrong laws and usages connected with it no more disproves the lawfulness of the relation itself than such things disprove the lawfulness of marriage or of civil government.

Therefore, by declaring the institution of slavery to be "of divine appointment," our Assembly must not be understood as expressing the opinion that it was ordained of God as a positively divine and obligatory institute of society for all communities; but simply that as it was recognized and enforced by the law of the Confederate States, and of the particular States embraced in that confederation, and was a relation existing and prevailing throughout its boundaries, it was, in the sense of all established civil relations, a matter of divine appointment for the time being, in the midst of the people of those States.

2. It is affirmed that it was the peculiar mission of the "Southern Church to conserve the institution of slavery."

Concerning this we remark that the same form of expression is to be found in the "Minutes of the General Assembly (New School) of 1865." In a carefully considered paper on "The State of the Country," that Assembly says: "God has taught us in this war that the church must conserve the state by instructing the people in the great principles of justice, and inspiring them to practice the same." If any one will define the sense in which it is

proper for the church "to conserve the state," in the same sense it would be also proper for it "to conserve the institution of slavery." It certainly is not the duty of the church to conserve the state in the sense of dictating what form of civil government it shall establish, how long it shall continue, or for what causes it should be changed. Its duty is limited to condemning at all times factious resistance to established civil authority, to inculcating obedience while it remains, and those virtues by which it may be made, as far as possible, a blessing to society. The very same applies to slavery; and whoever will read in its connection the expression used by our Assembly, must see that such is the sense there intended by that word, namely, to secure from this relation and arrangement, as it existed, the greatest practicable amount of good for all classes of society, and thus "*make it a blessing both to master and slave.*" This we know was the sense intended by the writer of the Narrative, now settled as an acceptable minister in connection with the Northern Assembly, and we have no doubt it was the sense in which the Assembly adopted it.

It has been widely proclaimed that our Assembly meant by the word "conserve" to assert that it was the duty of the church to *perpetuate* the institution of slavery. On this point it may be remarked: (a) that no such intended meaning is to be gathered from the context; (b) that such an interpretation is negated by the explicit and carefully considered statement of our church on this point, at its first organization in 1861. (c) Even those who have raised a clamor against us do not themselves seem to be satisfied that the word "conserve" necessarily means to perpetuate. This is evident from the fact that in the minutes of their General Assembly charging us with "grievous heresy" and with "blasphemy" they repeatedly misquote, and therefore misrepresent us. The word *perpetuate* is never used by our Assembly, but is to be found in the *interpolation* of its accusers. ("Minutes of the General Assembly, North, for 1865," pp. 560 ff.) (d) Finally conceding, as we do, that the word "conserve" in this connection is ambiguous, our Assembly in 1865 did all that it could be reasonably expected in the premises to disengage itself from an ambiguous or inappropriate expression. All that was necessary or proper was to declare that the Address of 1861 "contains the full, unambiguous, and authoritative exposition of our views in regard to this matter." And this was done for the *special purpose of disavowing an interpretation which was inconsistent with the deliberately expressed views of our church.*<sup>1</sup>

Finally, the Assembly of 1876, in view of all the circumstances and interests involved, solemnly, in certain specific resolutions, reaffirmed the explicit statements concerning the non-secular character of the church, set forth in the

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1876," pp. 291-297.

“Address to all the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth” of 1861; disavowed all ambiguous and inconsistent expressions found upon the records as forming any part of the well-considered, authoritative teaching of the church; declared the meaning of the Assembly of 1864, in speaking of conserving slavery “as of divine appointment,” to have been, so far as ascertainable, “that as it was recognized and enforced by the Confederate States, and was an existing relation prevailing throughout its boundaries, it was, in the sense of all established civil relations, a matter of divine appointment for the time being in the midst of the people of those States”; and that it was the church’s duty “to secure from this relation and arrangement, as it existed, the greatest practical amount of good for all classes of society, and thus make it a blessing both to master and slave.”<sup>1</sup>

It thus appears that if the Southern Presbyterian Church has faltered in her testimony for the non-secular character of the church, her falterings have been transient inconsistencies. Her witness for this truth has been one of her peculiar glories. The Assembly has humbly explained and acknowledged such mistakes as she has made. “That it faltered at all amidst the pressure and confusion of the times is not the surprise, but rather that it did not fall away from the truth like others. . . . The surprise is that it has had the grace to acknowledge before the world its inconsistency in any transient departure. Awakening from a terrible delirium, and finding that a false and treacherous principle had, in an interval of paroxysm, stealthily insinuated itself, it hurled it with indignation from its embrace, and placed its heel upon it as a deadly viper.”<sup>2</sup>

It is believed that the church has continued to hold until

<sup>1</sup> “Minutes of 1876,” pp. 233, 234.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. S. S. Laws’ “Letter to the Synod of Missouri (O. S.), 1872,” p. 67.

the present the same theoretical view. In 1883, in reply to an overture from Abingdon Presbytery, the Assembly declared "that it is not competent for the church, in its organic capacity, to seek the intervention of the civil powers for the accomplishment of any of the ends before it, as a witness for the truth of God. The Assembly would furthermore deprecate all action which might be construed as committing the church to any alliance with associations or societies outside of its pale for the accomplishment of this or any other object, however worthy in itself."<sup>1</sup> Any apparent deviation from this position since 1883 will appear on investigation to be merely apparent or unintentional.

## 2. *Cases of Organic Union with other Ecclesiastical Bodies.*

*Union with the Independent Presbyterian Church took place in 1863.* The founder of this church was the Rev. W. C. Davis, who withdrew from the Presbyterian Church about 1810—a "man of a vigorous intellect, of considerable influence among the people, and an interesting preacher, given more to metaphysical speculation than most men,"<sup>2</sup> extremely tenacious of what he regarded as new discoveries, and so unacquainted with church history as to be ignorant that most of the beloved offspring of his mind had been broached, advocated, exploded, and forgotten long before.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1883," p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Howe's "History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina," vol. ii., p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Howe's "History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina," vol. ii., p. 158. His views were propagated orally and through his book, "The Gospel Plan," in which the courts of the church found the following objectionable doctrines: 1. "That the active obedience of Christ constitutes no part of that righteousness by which a sinner is justified;" 2. "That obedience to the moral law was not required as the condition of the covenant of works;" 3. "That God could not make Adam, or any other creature, either holy or unholy; . . . regeneration must be a consequence of faith; faith precedes regeneration; faith in the first act of it is not a holy act;" 4. "Christians may sin willfully and habitually;" 5. "If God has to plant all the principal parts of salvation in a sinner's heart to enable him to believe,

He had a small following, not so much of adherents to his peculiar views as of personal friends. They perpetuated their separate life until 1863. In that year, "upon the cordial and hearty adoption of our confession, . . . the only true ground on which we can receive any ecclesiastical body,"<sup>1</sup> they were received into the Southern Presbyterian Church.<sup>2</sup>

*Union with the United Synod of the South* was the next to be consummated. This occurred in 1864. In 1838 a split between the Old and New School wings of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America took place. In 1857-58 the Southern contingent of the New School body withdrew from its Assembly in the North because the Cleveland Assembly of that body (1857) had "adopted a paper touching the subject of slavery, that was regarded by some of the members of the Assembly, as contrary to Scripture and violative of the constitution of the church, in that it virtually made slaveholding a cause for discipline by the church courts."<sup>3</sup> The aggrieved members secured a convention in Richmond, Va., during the following August, to consider the situation. This convention despaired of the cessation of the slavery agitation in the New School Assembly; abhorred being disciplined for something made an offense neither by the Standards nor the Bible, as well as the Assembly's high-handed and unconstitutional measures in condemning a lower judicatory or individuals for any cause unless they have been

the gospel plan is quite out of his reach, and consequently does not suit his case; and it must be impossible for God to condemn a man for unbelief, for no just law condemns a man for not doing what he cannot do." ("Minutes of Assembly of 1810," p. 452 f.) Mr. Davis was deposed in 1812.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander's "Digest," pp. 411, 412.

<sup>2</sup> The membership was confined to the upper parts of South Carolina and adjacent parts of North Carolina, with York County as a center. This union brought in four ministers, one licentiate, and about eleven country and village churches.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander's "Digest," p. 404.

brought before the Assembly in the way prescribed by the constitution; "and resolved to recommend the Presbyteries which were opposed to the slavery agitation in the highest judicatories of the church to appoint delegates," to meet at Knoxville, Tenn., on the third Thursday in May, 1858, to organize a General Synod, under the name of "The United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America." Accordingly, at the time appointed twenty-one commissioners from twelve Presbyteries, located in four different States, met and constituted the "United Synod." A declaration of principles which was adopted contained among its articles one affirming "their agreement in, and approbation of, the Standards of the church," taken in the sense of the Adopting Act of 1729. The Synod made an overture to the Old School Assembly for reception into its fold; but that body was not disposed to receive the overture favorably. By 1863 the Old School Church of the South, however, was inclined to the union. It was no longer suspicious of doctrinal unsoundness in the New School, South. Indeed, it had long been known that the New School men of the South were never advocates of the distinctive New School doctrines, so much as admirers of New School leaders in the North, and protestants against the peculiar ecclesiastical moves of the Old School men of 1837-38.

Accordingly, in 1863 committees to jointly confer as to the basis of union were appointed, met, and with practically entire unanimity recommended a plan of union. This plan contained a *declaration* touching certain doctrines which had formerly been grounds of debate, in order to make clear the hearty and sincere agreement of the two bodies, "to restore full confidence between brethren, and to honor God's saving truth," to wit: first, concerning the *fall of man* and *original sin* including the imputation of the guilt

of Adam's sin; second, concerning *regeneration*; third, concerning the *atonement* of Jesus Christ; fourth, concerning the *believer's justification*; fifth, concerning *revivals*; sixth, concerning *voluntary societies* and the *functions of the church*.

The Assembly of 1864, after a very full consideration, expressed its belief that the approval of these propositions by the committees of conference, and extensively on both sides, "had served a valuable purpose, by presenting satisfactory evidence of such harmony and doctrinal soundness of views as might ground an honorable union"; but judged it most "prudent to unite *on the basis of the existing Standards only*, inasmuch as no actual necessity for other declarations of belief in order to a happy union" existed. The Assembly modified the plan of union further, "so as in every case to require the reception of the Presbyteries under the care of the United Synod into the Synods of this Assembly, so as to preserve the undoubted succession of the latter." It made a few other relatively unimportant changes, and then by a very large majority adopted the plan thus modified. During the August following the United Synod unanimously adopted the plan of union as amended and adopted by the General Assembly.

This union was honorable to both parties, and has been a source of great blessing to Southern Presbyterianism. It was a perfectly safe union for the Old School body. The other body was sound, and even if it had not been completely so, the seminaries for the ministry were to be in the hands of Old School men, for the whole church.<sup>1</sup>

In 1867 the *Presbytery of Patapsco* united with the Assembly. It lay in the State of Maryland. It was com-

<sup>1</sup> The ranks of the church were much strengthened by this union. "In 1861 the United Synod embraced 121 ministers, 199 churches, and had under its care 4 licentiates, 18 candidates for the ministry, and 11,581 communicants.

posed of ministers and churches which had withdrawn from connection with the Northern Presbyterian Church (O. S.) "because of the numerous and persistent violations of the constitution of the church by the highest courts" thereof.<sup>1</sup>

*The Alabama Presbytery of the Associate Reformed Church* was received about the same time, the Assembly guaranteeing its members the right to use Rouse's version of the Psalms in worship, according to their preference.

The *Synod of Kentucky* united with the Presbyterian Church, South, in 1869. In 1861 the Synod of Kentucky, belonging to the Old School Assembly, on the occasion of the withdrawal of the Southern Synods declared that it "adhered with unbroken purpose to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America." It enjoined "upon all its members, and upon all under its control and care, to avoid all divisive and schismatical courses, to cultivate the peace of the church, and to practice great mutual forbearance."<sup>2</sup> It deplored the schism which had taken place in the Southern States, and condemned it as having been made on insufficient grounds. At the same time it expressed its regret "at that part of the action of the last Assembly touching the order<sup>3</sup> for a day of general prayer,

<sup>1</sup> Appearing before the Assembly of 1867, through their commissioners they affirmed that they had no good "ground of hope that the church of" their "former connection" would soon "return to the divine constitution of the church so faithfully set forth in the Standards; that they held it to be the imperative obligation of all God's people, according to the will of Christ, to manifest the invisible unity of their faith in the unity of a visible church, as far and as fast as it can be done consistently with the purity" of the *first*; that they believed "the Presbyterian Church in the United States" to be the largest body of Christians in the land whose faith and government were identical with their own and pure according to the Standards of the church.

The Presbytery was at once received by the Assembly, and attached to the Synod of Virginia as a component part of it. This Presbytery brought an accession of 6 ministers, 3 churches, 576 communicants, much wealth and intelligence. ("Minutes of 1867," pp. 131 ff.)

<sup>2</sup> Alexander's "Digest," p. 427.

<sup>3</sup> The reader has been made acquainted with this order under the caption of "The Spring Resolutions."

which was liable to be construed, and was construed, into a requisition on all the members and office-bearers of the church living in the numerous States which had seceded from the United States, and were in a state of war with them, as bound by Christian duty, and by authority of the church, to disregard the hostile governments which had been established over them, and, in defiance of the actual authority of those governments, to pray for their overthrow." <sup>1</sup> The Assembly in 1862, by way of review, condemned the Synod's disapproval of these acts. <sup>2</sup>

The Assembly of 1862 adopted a paper, too, prepared by Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, in which it declared that public order had "been wickedly superseded by rebellion, anarchy, and violence, in the whole Southern portion of the Union"; that all this had "been brought to pass in a disloyal and traitorous attempt to overthrow the National Government by military force, and to divide the nation contrary to the wishes of the immense majority of the people of the nation, and without satisfactory evidence that the majority of the people in whom the local sovereignty resided, even in the States which revolted, ever authorized any such proceeding, or ever approved the fraud and violence by which this horrible treason" had "achieved whatever success it" had "had"; that "this whole treason, rebellion, anarchy, fraud, and violence" was "utterly contrary to the dictates of natural religion and morality, and plainly condemned by the revealed will of God"; that it was "the clear and solemn duty of the National Government to preserve, at whatever cost, the national union and constitution, to crush force by force"; and that it was "the bounden duty of the people who" composed "this great nation, each one in his several place and degree, to

<sup>1</sup> Alexander's "Digest," p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of Northern Assembly (O. S.) of 1862," p. 631.

uphold the Federal Government, and every State government." This paper further denounced, without naming, certain office-bearers and members of churches in loyal Synods and Presbyteries as "faithless to all authority, human or divine"; and enjoined obedience to civil government, not only in overt act, but "in heart, temper, and motives (as God's law is to be obeyed), and as they shall answer at the judgment-seat."<sup>1</sup> All this was intensely irritating to a large majority of the Kentucky Synod.<sup>2</sup>

Various acts of 1864 were regarded as still more outrageous. Among these was the minute known as the "Stanley-Matthews Paper," adopting the naturalistic views of the slavery question, and declaring the political occurrences of the time to be providential revelations of the will of God that *every vestige of slavery should be effaced*; that the motive for the longer continuance of slavery had been taken away by the war of the slaveholding States in order to found an empire upon the corner-stone of slavery; expressing gratitude to God for overruling the wickedness and calamities of the rebellion to work out the deliverance of the country from the evil and guilt of slavery; and the desire for the extirpation of slavery; and recommending all in their communion "to labor earnestly and unweariedly for this glorious consummation to which human justice and Christian love combine to pledge them."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1862," pp. 624-626. Compare letter of the Synod of Kentucky to the Southern Assembly, "Minutes of Assembly, South, of 1867," p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> The Assembly of 1863 gave similar offense in its elaborate minute "upon the subject of raising the United States flag over the church building in which the body sat; reaffirming the doctrine of the obligation of the church, as such, to proclaim her loyalty to the civil government." (Letter of the Synod of Kentucky to the Southern Assembly of 1867, p. 181 of the "Minutes." For the minute, see "Minutes of Northern Assembly (O. S.) of 1863," pp. 57-59.)

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Synod to Southern Assembly of 1867, pp. 181, 182 of "Minutes." Compare "Minutes of Assembly, North, of 1864," pp. 298, 299.

“The decisions in the cases of the Rev. Dr. McPheeters and the Pine Street Church, St. Louis, and of Rev. Mr. Farris and ruling elder Watson and the St. Charles Church, Missouri, . . . giving the full sanction of the Assembly to the persecution of Christ's ministers who could not in conscience consent to pervert their office and position to the support of a political party,”<sup>1</sup> was not less objectionable. The Synod of Kentucky in the following autumn, in reviewing the minutes of this Assembly, expressed its disapproval of the Assembly's deliverances on slavery, as unnecessary, unwise, and untimely. It looked upon said deliverance as a political, if not partisan, statement—one that made the Assembly seem to cast its influence with one or the other of the political parties which divided the country.<sup>2</sup>

The Assembly of 1865 gave still further offense in acts enforcing the principles of the foregoing acts as a part of the standing law of the church; thus: “First, condemning the Synod of Kentucky for taking exception to the Assembly's paper on slavery in 1864, and because the Synod had ‘wholly failed to make any deliverance calculated to sustain and encourage our government in its efforts to suppress a wanton and wicked rebellion.’”<sup>3</sup> “Second, the order to the Board of Domestic Missions to appoint as missionaries ‘none but those that give satisfactory evidence of their loyalty to the National Government, and that they are in cordial sympathy with the General Assembly in its testimony on doctrine, loyalty, and freedom.’”<sup>4</sup> “Third, the order to all the lower church

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Synod of Kentucky in “Minutes of Assembly, South, of 1867,” p. 183. Compare “Minutes of General Assembly, North, of 1864,” pp. 311, 312.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander's “Digest,” p. 427.

<sup>3</sup> “Minutes of Northern Assembly of 1865,” p. 54. Compare letter of Synod of Kentucky, *ut supra*.

<sup>4</sup> “Minutes of General Assembly, North, of 1865,” pp. 554, 556, 590.

courts requiring the examination of all the ministers and church-members coming from any of the Southern States, and making it a condition precedent to admission to the church courts and churches that they confess as sinful certain opinions before held touching 'States rights,' rebellion, slavery, not in harmony with previous political utterances of the Assembly."<sup>1</sup> "Fourth, the minutes of the same Assembly, declaring untruly that the Southern churches had organized a General Assembly 'in order to render their aid in the attempt to establish, by means of the rebellion, a separate national existence, to conserve and perpetuate the system of slavery—a great crime against the government and against God'—and therefore declaring the Assembly's purpose to ignore the existence of any Presbyterian church in the Southern States except such churches and Presbyteries as are loyal to the government of the United States and to the Northern Presbyterian Church, and whose views are in harmony with its views on subjects of domestic slavery."<sup>2</sup>

During the summer of 1865 the Louisville Presbytery adopted its celebrated "Declaration and Testimony against the Erroneous and Heretical Doctrines and Practices which have Obtained and been Propagated in the Presbyterian Church in the United States during the Last Five Years"—a paper marked by splendid ability, clear, keen, revealing, unanswerable.<sup>3</sup> The signers testified: against the as-

Compare letter of Synod of Kentucky to General Assembly, South, of 1867, p. 182.

<sup>1</sup> See "Minutes of General Assembly, North, of 1865," p. 566. Compare letter of Synod of Kentucky to General Assembly, South, of 1867, p. 181 of "Minutes."

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of General Assembly, North, of 1865," p. 506. Compare "Minutes of Assembly, South, of 1867," p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> The "Declaration and Testimony" was written by Dr. S. R. Wilson, pastor in Louisville—a man born in the North, and who had lived there until a few years before. He was never suspected of a leaning toward secession. His writing the paper in question was the result of a conference

sumption, on the part of the courts of the church, of the right to decide questions of state policy; against the doctrine that the church, as such, owes allegiance to human rulers or governments; against the sanction given by the church to the perversion of the teaching of Christ and his apostles upon the subject of the duty of Christians as citizens to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and "to be subject to the higher powers," into authority for her courts to decide upon political questions; against the action of the Assembly of 1864 on the subject of slavery and emancipation, and against the confirmation of that act by the Assembly of 1865; against the unjust and scandalous contradictions of their own recorded testimony and the well-known fact in regard to the labors of the Presbyterian Church and ministry for the christianizing of the slaves of the South and the preaching<sup>1</sup> of the gospel of Christ; against the doctrine widely taught in the church, and even countenanced by the Assembly, that the acts and deliverances of the courts of Christ's commonwealth may properly be based upon and shaped in accordance with the ordinances and laws of the State legislatures, the orders and proclamations of military chieftains, and even upon the results of popular votes given at the elections; against the doctrine that the will of God and the duty of his church and of his people is to be learned from particular providential events, and that the teachings of the Scriptures are to be interpreted by these providences; against the sanction given, both directly and indirectly, to the usurpation by the secular and military powers of

between himself, Dr. J. H. Brooks, of St. Louis, Mr. Edward Bredell, of St. Louis, and Dr. J. H. Van Dyke, of New York, in the study of Dr. Van Dyke, in New York City. It came not from "hot-headed Southern prejudices," but from cool, intelligent Northern principle!

<sup>1</sup> During the later years of the war the Northern Assemblies denied that Presbyterians had done anything to better the negro's religious condition. They therein contradicted their previous declarations.

authority in and over the worship and government of the church; against that alliance which has been virtually formed by the church with the State; against the persecution which for five years past has been carried on with increasing malignity against those who had refused to sanction or acquiesce in these departures of the church from the foundations of truth and righteousness; against the widespread and destructive perversion of the commission of the ministry and the province of church courts, which as such could know no difference between Jew and Gentile, "Rebel" or "Yankee"; against the action of the Assembly in reference to the churches in the seceded and border States, and against the basing of the action on assertion of what the Assembly had the clearest evidence was not true, viz., on the affirmation that the General Assembly of the Confederate States was *organized* in order to render their aid in the attempt to establish, by means of the rebellion, "*a separate national existence, and conserve and perpetuate the system of slavery*"; against the Assembly's making the Board of Domestic Missions a *court of final and superior jurisdiction* to judge of the orthodoxy of the ministry and the soundness of their views touching the nature of the Government of the United States, and the doctrine of States rights, the freedom of the negroes, and the various important questions touching their social and civil *status*, then and prospective; against every movement in the church which looked toward a union of the state and church, or a subordination of the one to the other, or the interference of either with the jurisdiction of the other. The paper further presented as reasons for the testimony, that the errors testified against were contrary to the Word of God and subversive of its inspiration and supreme authority; contrary to the doctrine of the Presbyterian Church as taught

in her confession, catechism, and constitution; that the errors tended to obliterate all the lines of separation between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, to bring the ministry and all the ordinances of religion and the authority of the church into public disrepute, to keep up strife and alienation between brethren of a common faith, and thus delay the pacification of the country; and that they are schismatical, teaching for doctrines the commandments of man. The protestants further declared that they would not in any way aid or abet the Assembly in its innovating measures, and would withdraw support from any men or institutions who gave themselves to carrying out said measures.<sup>1</sup>

At the meeting of the Synod in the fall of 1865, Dr. R. J. Breckinridge offered a paper calling in question the right of those members of the Presbytery of Louisville, and others who had indorsed and adopted the paper styled the "Declaration and Testimony," to sit and act as members of the Synod of Kentucky. The paper asserted that the signers of the "Declaration and Testimony" had assumed "such a state of open rebellion against the church, and such open contempt and defiance of her Scriptural authority, and such contempt of her faith and order and acts, as to render each and every one of them unqualified, unfit, and incompetent to sit and act as a member of that or any other court of the Presbyterian Church." But this paper was defeated by a vote of 22 to 107. Moreover, this Synod adopted an elaborate paper offered by Judge Sampson, in which it took exception to the Assembly's order to the Board of Missions to appoint as missionaries "none but those who give satisfactory evidence of their

<sup>1</sup> See the "Declaration and Testimony," published at the office of the "St. Louis Presbyterian," 1866, also in Grasty's "Life of McPheeters," pp. 304 ff.

loyalty to the National Government, and that they are in cordial sympathy with the General Assembly in its testimonies on doctrine, loyalty, and freedom." But in the same paper, Synod, by a vote of 57 to 35, expressed its judgment that neither this action nor any of the acts and deliverances of the Assembly or the state of the country during the war justified a withdrawal from its connection with the General Assembly; and it again asserted that it would "adhere with unbroken purpose to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and would oppose every effort to interrupt" its "ecclesiastical relations with the General Assembly."<sup>1</sup>

Acts and deliverances of the Assembly of 1866, ordaining the execution of the orders of 1865, were still more intolerable. This Assembly excluded the commissioners of the Presbytery of Louisville from their seats in the Assembly by a simple resolution, without hearing, "and on premises whose statements were utterly false, and one of them defamatory of a minister of good standing."<sup>2</sup> It ordered "certain persons—some of them under process before the church session, and their case under careful consideration before the Presbytery—to be recognized as elders of the Walnut Street Church, without the possibility of any knowledge on the part of the Assembly whether they had been duly elected and were lawful ruling elders or not."<sup>3</sup> It initiated steps for organic reunion with the New School body, "in utter disregard of the testimonies

<sup>1</sup> Also, by a vote of 54 to 46, it expressed its disapprobation of the terms of the "Declaration and Testimony," and of its spirit and intent, indicated on its face, as looking to the further agitation of the church, if not to its division at a time when great mutual forbearance was called for among brethren. (See Alexander's "Digest," p. 428.) This account of the Synod of Kentucky of 1865 is told here almost in Mr. Alexander's words.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of Southern Assembly of 1867," p. 182. Compare "Minutes of Assembly, North, of 1866," p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> "Minutes of Southern Assembly of 1867," p. 183. Compare "Minutes of General Assembly, North, of 1866," p. 54.

of 1837-38 against errors which the New School body not only had not renounced, but, on the contrary, had added to largely by its monstrous Erastian deliverances on the state of the country in 1863, 1864, and 1865, and the monstrous deliverances just then made indorsing the Civil Rights Bill and negro suffrage as against the President, and calling for more blood in the condign punishment of the chief fomenters of the rebellion."<sup>1</sup> It passed an act "known as the Gurley *ipso facto* order, declaring, first, the 'Declaration and Testimony' to be slanderous and schismatical,<sup>2</sup> then summoning its signers to the bar of the next Assembly for trial, without other citation, or other tabling of charges; devising penalties unknown to the constitution, and utterly incongruous to the Presbyterian theory of the teaching rulers—interdiction of these rulers sitting in any church court higher than the session; and declaring the *ipso facto* dissolution of Presbyteries which refused to execute this unlawful penalty," and enrolled as entitled to a seat in the body any persons designated in the Gurley order.<sup>3</sup> The pastoral letter and the memorials adopted by the Assembly in reference to the same general subject were equally worthy of odium.

At the meeting of the Synod of Kentucky, October, 1866, it disregarded the Gurley *ipso facto* order, and called the roll of all the constituent members and churches of the

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of General Assembly, South, of 1867," p. 182. Compare "Minutes of General Assembly, North, of 1866," p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> "It is a remarkable fact that in a debate extending through two weeks, not even one speaker from the majority has touched the merits of the question before the house either by exposing the unsoundness of the principles contained in the 'Declaration and Testimony,' or the impropriety of the language in which these principles are embodied. We have had denunciation without measure, but not a word of argument or proof."—Dr. J. H. Brooks, in "Concise Record of Assembly of 1866."

<sup>3</sup> "Minutes of 1867," p. 183; "Minutes of Assembly, North, of 1866," pp. 60, 61. For a very just exhibition of "the bald confusion and incongruity of thought in the Gurley *ipso facto* resolutions, see Laws' letter to the Synod of Missouri (O. S.), pp. 6 ff.

Synod. A certain segment of the Synod, under the lead of Dr. Breckinridge, who proposed to follow the Assembly's Gurley orders, withdrew. Synod pronounced the Gurley order an overstretch of power, and said that in the declared contingent dissolution of the Presbyteries which that order effects, the Assembly had attributed to its measures and ordinances a force and operation countenanced by no provision or principle of the church. But it declared that it was not the Synod's purpose to make any change of its formal ecclesiastical relations, but to continue to stand in its present position of open protest and resistance to the enforcement of the acts of the General Assemblies of 1861-66, "concerning doctrine, loyalty, and freedom, as unconstitutional, and therefore null and void."<sup>1</sup>

The number of ministers who withdrew was 32. Over half of them were without charges. They took with them 28 ruling elders, representing a membership of 1800. But 108 ministers maintained connection with the constitutional Synod, representing a membership of about 9800. This Synod addressed a letter "to the churches and people under its charge in vindication of its course."<sup>2</sup>

The General Assembly of 1867 adopted an Encyclopædic Act known as the "Report of the Committee of Ten," wherein they crowded into one indistinguishable mass the judicial cases of near two hundred men, formally summoned to the Assembly; cases of repeal referred to this by the preceding Assembly; cases of irregularity and revolutionary proceedings in Presbyteries and Synods; cases of contested seats in the Assembly; they passed upon all these without any of the usual forms of hearing and trial, by one sweeping sentence of outlawry of two

<sup>1</sup> Alexander's "Digest," pp. 428, 429.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 429. Compare "Minutes of Synod of Kentucky of 1866," p. 27.

Synods—Kentucky and Missouri—and twelve Presbyteries of the church; they declared the seceders from the Kentucky Synod the true Synod, and declared the regular Synod and its Presbyteries no longer the Synod and Presbyteries of the Presbyterian Church. It also passed several acts in accord with the foregoing “for depriving the churches of Kentucky of their property and the control of the schools which their piety and liberality had founded.”<sup>1</sup> Hence, the Synod, at a called meeting in Lexington, in June, 1867, declared that the General Assembly had ceased any longer to be a constitutional body, had become a schismatic and revolutionary body, “was no longer governed by the constitution, but controlled by the will of the majority; that the Assembly having by its own acts separated from the Synod, the Synod now makes solemn declaration of this fact upon its records, and, further, declares that it will in future govern its actions by this recognized sundering of all its relations to the Assembly, by the act of that body itself.”<sup>2</sup>

At a subsequent meeting called for the purpose, Synod prepared a letter to the Southern Assembly, to sit at Nashville in November, 1867. The letter expressed the Synod's belief that “Southern Presbyterian churches and church courts have, in a good degree, preserved pure and unimpaired the constitutional Presbyterianism of the undivided church from 1837 to 1861,” and asserted that the Synod with its Presbyteries, churches, and people, still true to the native instinct of genuine Presbyterianism, and unwilling to stand isolated from their brethren, desired still to be in communion and organic union with all who maintain the principles of church order so dear to their fathers and themselves. It further asserted that it was a

<sup>1</sup> “Minutes of Assembly, South, of 1867,” p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander's “Digest,” p. 429.

first duty to ascertain whether such a union could be formed, and to what extent.

As a step toward the accomplishment of this end, the letter tells how they had come to be an independent Synod; makes a statement of the doctrines and principles for which this Synod and its Presbyteries had been contending in their controversies with the General Assembly, North—setting forth their views concerning the doctrine of the Kingship of Christ, and the manner in which Christ executeth the office of a king in his visible church; concerning the origin, nature, and functions of church government as contrasted with and related to the civil government; concerning the powers of the several courts of the church, their relation to each other and to the office-bearers and people; concerning the interpretation of our Form of Government and Discipline with reference to the functions, powers, and mutual relations of the courts of the church.

The Synod expressed a desire to have its letter embodied in the historical records of the church as a record of the church's appreciation of the inestimable value of these principles as the bulwark of Christian liberty, wherewith Christ sets his people free, and a definitely expressed statute testimony, to which ready appeal "might be made thereafter" as direct authority in support of "those who stand for the truth as it is in Jesus against those who again may treacherously attempt to subvert the doctrine and order of Christ's house."<sup>1</sup> The Kentucky Presbyteries were warmly welcomed. Their commissioners appeared in the Assembly of 1868.

The Southern Church had again taken a large body into her bosom; but it was no alien body. It was a mar-

<sup>1</sup> For the entire letter see "Minutes of the General Assembly, South, of 1867," p. 784.

riage between two who saw alike substantially. The Synod of Kentucky had been an Old School body. It had been a witness for "the supremacy of Christ's crown and covenant."

In 1870 the *Associate Reformed Presbytery of Kentucky* was received into organic union with the Southern Church, on the same terms that the Associate Reformed Presbytery of Alabama had been. It brought four ministers, their elders and churches.

Union with the *Synod of Missouri* was effected in 1874. The history of this Synod between 1861 and 1867 is so like that of Kentucky that it may be dispatched in a few words. In October of 1861 it unanimously declared that the Assembly of 1861 had in the notorious Spring Resolutions taken an action that was "unscriptural, unwise, and unjust; of no binding force whatever on this Synod, nor upon the members of the Presbyterian Church within" its bounds. Nor did it feel less keenly the apostasy and usurpations of the successive Assemblies while the war lasted. Its ministers and people suffered grievously at the hands of the "loyal" brethren at the North: witness the case of the devoted and heroic McPheeters.<sup>1</sup> It, too, was horrified at the measures of the Pittsburg Assembly of 1865, which, at a time when "the soldiers who had stood arrayed against each other on the battlefield were meeting as friends," and when "wise men in the councils of the nation rejoiced in the hope of a speedy restoration of fraternal feeling throughout the land," passed orders at once ungenerous and unscriptural—"required all sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods of the church under its jurisdiction to examine persons, not from the North, but from the South, touching their relation to the Confederate Govern-

<sup>1</sup> See Grasty's "Life of McPheeters." Nothing more heroic than the life of Dr. McPheeters happened during our Civil War.

ment and their views of slavery," and compel them "to make confession of sin under pain of exclusion from the fellowship and sympathy of their brethren in the Lord," if they had voluntarily supported the Confederate Government or had certain views touching slavery.

Many Missouri ministers and elders had signed the noble "Declaration and Testimony" in the fall of 1865.<sup>1</sup>

The reader recalls that the St. Louis Assembly of 1866 adopted the Gurley *ipso facto* order, declaring the dissolution of such Presbyteries and Synods as should allow a signer of the "Declaration and Testimony" to take his seat as a member of the court. The Synod at its next meeting resolved, on the ground that "the Standards of the church are authoritative above the order of any church court," "that the signers of the 'Declaration and Testimony' are not slanderers, schismatics, and rebels against ecclesiastical authority, but have simply exercised a great Protestant right and discharged a solemn duty; . . . that the Synod, having no evidence that these brethren are not in good and regular standing in their respective Presbyteries and Sessions, cannot, without violating the constitution, deny them seats."<sup>2</sup>

Upon the adoption of these resolutions a minority of the Synod withdrew from the house. The Synod organized by the seceders has been popularly known as the Assembly's Synod. The Constitutional Synod continued to be known up to 1874 as the Old School Synod of Missouri.

The Old School Synod proposed to continue its connection with the Old School Assembly, North, but not to sink its witness for the non-secular character of the church. The Assembly of 1867 declared that the commissioners

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of the Synod of Missouri (O. S.), 1869," pp. 22 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Alexander's "Digest," pp. 431, 432.

who represented the Presbyteries in connection with the Assembly's Synod were entitled to seats, "and ordered the signers of the 'Declaration and Testimony,' and those who had acted with them, to repair to" the Presbyteries and Synod, thus recognized, "and to sign a paper disowning any intention of disrespect to the Assembly or of rebellion against its authority in all that had been done by them during the controversy." The Old School Synod of 1867 renewed its stand of 1866. It would abandon neither its right to a place in the Old School Assembly, nor its witnessing for the non-secular character of the church.<sup>1</sup> But it was never able to convert the mother-church to the truth.

The Presbyterian Church, North, in spite of the difference of faith, ruthlessly paid court in 1872 to our Synod; but to no purpose. The Synod resolved, 1873, to unite with the Southern Presbyterian Church. The Synod could not unite with the Northern Church without merging its witness for "*the great principle—the exclusiveness of the spiritual vocation of the church—which it had preserved intact.*"<sup>2</sup> It could not extinguish the lamp of its "own history by hiding under the bushel of any church stained with political corruptions." But it could unite with the Presbyterian Church, South, for that church had maintained equally with the Synod of Missouri the non-secular character of the church, and "the subordination and fidelity of the church courts, and especially of the General Assembly, to the constitution of the Presbyterian Church."<sup>3</sup> It had been against the unconstitutional rule of a bare majority.

In 1874 the commissioners of the six Presbyteries of the

<sup>1</sup> See for these quotations and for authority for the statements, "Minutes of Old School Synod of Missouri of 1869," pp. 22-26.

<sup>2</sup> Laws' letter to the Synod of Missouri of 1872, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Laws' letter to the Synod of Missouri (O. S.) of 1872, p. 26.

Synod of Missouri were welcomed and enrolled as members of the Assembly, South, at Columbus.<sup>1</sup>

Union with other Associated Reformed Presbyteries in North and South Carolina is perhaps near at hand.

3. *Fraternal Correspondence with Other Bodies.*—In 1861 the Constituting Assembly, out of its appreciation of the precious import of that memorable prayer addressed by the adorable Redeemer to the Father, in full view of the agony of the garden and of the cross—“ ‘ That they all might be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me ’—and impelled by a sincere desire to meet the full measure of responsibility which ” devolved upon it as a branch of Christ’s visible church in the accomplishment of this vastly important endeavor avowed that it would earnestly try to draw closer the bonds of Christian intercourse and communion between all the churches of like faith and order in the Confederate States of America.<sup>2</sup> The Assembly has been true to its avowal. As a result of its endeavors it has been able to point to several unions, whose history has just been detailed.

The same Assembly, in the “ Letter to all the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth,” as we have seen, expressed its desire to cultivate peace and charity with all fellow-Christians throughout the world. The Assembly of 1862 affirmed its belief that the unity of God’s people is a reality, and that it is of the highest importance that this unity should be manifested to the world ; and declared its determination, in cases where such manifestation was not practicable, to do all consistent with truth to promote peace and charity between itself and other churches.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Synod of Missouri brought 67 ministers, 141 churches, and 8000 communicants.

<sup>2</sup> “ Minutes of 1861,” p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> “ Minutes of 1862,” p. 14.

The Assembly of 1866 went so far as to appoint a committee of "chosen brethren"—Drs. Hoge, Palmer, and Girardeau—to bear the church's desire for fellowship, as far as practicable, with all true disciples of our common Lord and Saviour in all the world, "to such Christian churches and societies in the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and, if it deemed best, on the continent of Europe also, as the providence of God might designate, and to explain to them, as opportunity might offer, the character, condition, work, and prospects of our beloved Zion; and to receive such contributions in money as might be voluntarily offered in aid of our general schemes of evangelization."<sup>1</sup>

In accord with the desires thus expressed, the church has, in addition to the correspondence eventuating in the cases of union of which we have related, carried on a genial correspondence with the Reformed Episcopal Church in the United States; has enjoyed similar interchanges with several European churches, notably with the impoverished but heroic Waldensian churches, for whom it has long maintained the successful Mission School of Miss Ronzone.

The Southern Church has recognized the Christian character of non-Presbyterian ecclesiastical bodies by the interchange of Christian greetings, e.g., that of the Methodist, Cumberland Presbyterian, etc. It has also recognized the Christian character of, and exchanged Christian greetings with, certain non-ecclesiastical bodies, e.g., with the Y. M. C. A.,<sup>2</sup> though with some scruples as to the propriety of the course. It has continued to be chary about the Evangelical Alliance. But after a little hesitation in recognizing "the principle of an irresponsible alliance," the church, under the lead of Dr. Stuart Robinson

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1866," p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1881," p. 394.

and others, bore an influential part in framing the constitution and insuring the success of the General Presbyterian Alliance. This great conferential council, in "seeking the welfare of the weak and persecuted churches, disseminating information concerning the kingdom of Christ, commending the Presbyterian system as Scriptural, distributing mission work," etc.,<sup>1</sup> has met hearty sympathy at the hands of a large part of the Southern Church.<sup>2</sup> The Southern Presbyterian Church is allowed about thirty delegates in the council.

In 1871 a correspondence was begun with the *General Synod of the Reformed Church in America*, popularly known as the Dutch Reformed Church. Owing to the non-secular character of this body, its thorough-going Calvinistic creed and Presbyterian polity, this correspondence, opened for "the cultivation of a mutual spirit of Christian sympathy and brotherly love," bore fruit very soon in a plan of active coöperation in several important departments of church work.<sup>3</sup> This plan has been fruitful

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1877," p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> For the constitution of the Alliance see "Minutes of Presbyterian Church, South, 1877," p. 492; Alexander's "Digest," p. 508.

<sup>3</sup> In 1875 an elaborate plan of coöperation was adopted by the Assembly on the one hand and the General Synod on the other. This plan embraced features of co-working in publication, home missions, foreign missions, and education. The publishing-house of each denomination was to be "the agent and depository for the sale of the publications of the other denominations." The publication board and committee were "empowered to unite in the publication of a child's paper." It was "recommended that the members of the Reformed Church consider with great sympathy that department of the Assembly's home missionary work" which was concerned with the "evangelization of the colored population of the South," "and send their contributions to the general cause to the treasurer of the Assembly's Committee."

The plan settled the important principle that the contiguous foreign missions of the two churches ought to aim at the establishment of one united church, and decided that the principle should be carried into practice wherever such contiguity should exist, that such churches should "treat each other as though they had been planted and nurtured by one and the same denomination." It decided that young men in either church who should contemplate the work of foreign missions should upon recommendation from the board or committee of their own church be as eligible to the appointment

of much good in the foreign mission fields. The missionaries of the two churches, who are contiguous, labor together for the upbuilding of one united church. In general there is no other church with which the Southern Church has enjoyed such hearty and noble good-fellowship.

*Correspondence with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America was begun in 1870.* The relations with this church up to 1870 had been by no means pleasant. The unconstitutional and Erastian measures which the Old School Assembly of 1861 enacted—the Spring Resolutions—were the forerunners of a long series of acts of usurpation and bitter hostility. The reader can guess at these from what has been brought out in connection with the histories of the Synod of Kentucky and Missouri. Passing over, therefore, all the irritating, rasping acts of intervening years, we come at once to the Pittsburg Assembly, Old School, of 1865, some of whose acts, even at the cost of slight repetition, it is necessary to place before the reader at this point.

by that of the other as by their own, and that such persons should come under the care of the board or committee appointing them, but should not be required to transfer their ecclesiastical relations to any American Presbytery or classis of the body into whose missionary service they should come. The churches were to encourage an equal acquaintance with the missions of the two churches, in order that the variety of missionary fields thus presented might give scope and stimulation to the missionary spirit of the two bodies. To this end there was to be speedy communication of matters of special interest in the missions of either board or committee to the other.

The students of either church were to be allowed to study in the seminaries of the other; and such students as chose to study in a seminary of the other church were not to suffer adverse discrimination in the appropriation of funds for their support by the board or committee of their own church.

It was provided that any provision of this scheme of coöperative union might at any time be omitted or abrogated by either body without impairing the validity of those other provisions on which they should agree. The joint publication of the paper was discontinued early. The coöperation has not been as active in home missions as might reasonably have been hoped. But there has been much earnest and hearty coöperation where circumstances have called for it along other lines. (See "Minutes of 1875," pp. 25 ff.; Alexander's "Digest," pp. 446-448.)

In response to an overture from the Presbytery of Richland, O., and certain members of the Presbytery of Madison, Ind., "asking the Assembly to drop from its roll the names of certain ministers, Presbyteries, and Synods in the so-called Confederate States," the Assembly replied:

WHEREAS, during the existence of the great rebellion which has disturbed the peace and threatened the life of the nation, a large number of Presbyteries and Synods in the Southern States, whose names are on the roll of the General Assembly as constituent parts of the body, have organized an Assembly denominated "The General Assembly of the Confederate States of America," in order to render their aid in the attempt to establish, by means of the rebellion, a separate national existence, "and conserve and perpetuate the system of slavery,"<sup>1</sup> therefore,

*Resolved*, 1. That this Assembly regards the perpetuation of negro slavery as a great crime, both against our National Government and against God; and the secession of those Presbyteries and Synods from the Presbyterian Church, under such circumstances and for such reasons, as unwarranted, schismatical, and unconstitutional. 2. That the General Assembly does not intend to abandon the territory in which these churches are found, or to compromise the rights of any of the church courts, or ministers, ruling elders, and private members belonging to them, who are loyal to the government of the United States and to the Presbyterian Church. On the contrary, this General Assembly will recognize such loyal persons as constituting the churches, Presbyteries, and Synods in all the bounds of the schism, and will use earnest endeavors to restore and revive all such church courts. 3. The Assembly hereby declares that it will recognize as the church the members of any church within the bounds of the schism who are loyal to the government of the United States of America, and whose views are in harmony with the doctrines of the Confession of Faith and with the several testimonies of the Presbyterian Church on the subject of domestic slavery. And where any three ministers who entertain the views above mentioned belong to the same Presbytery, such ministers are hereby authorized and directed to continue their organization as a Presbytery; or any two such ministers are authorized to receive any minister of the same views, regularly dismissed to them, and thus continue their organizations with the churches above described in the same bounds, in connection with this Assembly. But if a sufficient number are not found in one Presbytery, they are authorized to unite with the loyal ministers and churches of one or more adjacent Presbyteries, retaining the name of one or both such united Presbyteries as shall be deemed expedient. A similar course is also authorized with regard to Synods."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A misquotation.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1865," p. 560.

In answer to an overture from the Presbytery of California inquiring what course should be pursued in admitting to their body ministers who were known to be disloyal to the government, or who might be suspected of disloyalty, the Assembly replied: that the Presbytery had a right to examine the intrant "on all subjects which seriously affect the peace, purity, and unity of the church"; that it was an imperative duty in the current "circumstances of the country, when, after the crushing by military force an atrocious rebellion against the United States for the perpetuation of slavery, many ministers who" had aided this revolt "might seek admission into Presbyteries located in the loyal States." Further, the Assembly ordered that all "Presbyteries examine every minister applying for admission from any Presbytery or ecclesiastical body in the Southern States, on the following points": first, as to whether he had in any way countenanced the rebellion; second, "as to whether he holds that the system of negro slavery in the South is a divine institution, and that it is the 'peculiar mission of the Southern Church to conserve' the institution." It ordered that a man holding these views should be required to renounce them before reception into Presbytery. It gave a similar injunction to its Synods about receiving Presbyteries. It laid the same order on sessions to regulate their reception of private members.<sup>1</sup>

It is no wonder that each of these sets of resolutions irritated the Southern Church. It was not true that the Presbyteries and Synods in the Southern Church organized an Assembly in order to render their aid in the attempt to establish by means of the rebellion a separate national existence and to conserve and perpetuate the existence of slavery. It was antichristian for the Northern Assembly "to set up a new test and establish a new term

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1865," pp. 562-564.

of membership in the church and of standing in the ministry—a test authorized neither by the Word of God nor the Confession of Faith, and contrary to the uniform declaration and practice of this church from its foundation up to the year of 1861.” The recognition of two or three members of a Presbytery as a Presbytery because they had been “loyal,” and two or three members of a local church as the church because they had been loyal, and the investing such loyal parties with all the rights, religious and secular, belonging to the whole Presbytery or the whole church, was calculated to stir up strife and enable the “loyal” twos and threes to filch away the ecclesiastical property throughout the South. These resolutions were iniquitous. Their falsehood was clearly revealed and their iniquity nobly withstood in the Assembly by Dr. S. R. Wilson and other protestants.<sup>1</sup> But in answer to Dr. Wilson’s protest the Assembly again charged the Southern States with sinful treason, and again misrepresented the Southern Church in relation to slavery, and reaffirmed the necessity of confession and repentance for the grievous sin of treason before the rebels could be received into the bosom of the church.<sup>2</sup>

The Assembly of 1866, at St. Louis, made an impression not a whit pleasanter. That was the Assembly of the notorious Gurley *ipso facto* order, which did such foul wrong to the Synods of Missouri and Kentucky. That Assembly avowedly indorsed the anti-Southern attitude of the Pittsburg Assembly as to the conditions on which an ex-rebel might be received into the bosom of the mother-church.<sup>3</sup> That was the Assembly, too, that wrenched the Wall Street Church property in Louisville from the

<sup>1</sup> “Minutes of Assembly” (O. S.), 1865, pp. 580–584.

<sup>2</sup> “Minutes” (O. S.), p. 586.

<sup>3</sup> “Minutes (O. S.) of 1866,” pp. 79, 85, 114–117.

Southern members by the aid of machinery prepared by the Pittsburg Assembly. And that Assembly gave place in its minutes to the memorial of the St. Louis Convention of May 15 to 18, 1866—a paper, if possible, more unworthy of a body of Christian Presbyters than the other we have referred to.

The Assembly of 1867 maintained the ground taken in the preceding Assemblies. But if the Old School Assembly had made herself somewhat disagreeable up to 1867 to the Southern Presbyterians, much more had her sister, the New School, as the curious may see by consulting her minutes from 1861 to 1866.

In 1868 the Old School Assembly acknowledged the separate and independent existence of the Presbyterian Church, South. In 1869, on the claim of "holding the same ancient symbols of faith, the same forms of government and of worship," the Old School Assembly expressed a desire to be united with the Southern Presbyterian Church.<sup>1</sup> In 1870 the United Assembly<sup>2</sup> of the Old and the New School Presbyterians sent delegates to the Southern Assembly sitting at Louisville, to confer "in respect to opening a friendly correspondence" between the two Assemblies. This overture was based on a false assumption, viz., that mutual grievances existed in reference to which it was necessary to arbitrate. The Southern Church had never made a single act of aggression on the Northern Church. It had never attempted to wrest property from the Northern Church. It had never hesitated in receiving members on the face of their credentials. From 1861 to 1867 it had given a general consistent testimony to the non-secular character of the church, for the spirituality of the kingdom of Jesus Christ. "No ingenuity of sophistry

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1870," p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Union of the two bodies had occurred in the fall of 1869.

can transmute into political dogmas the scant allusions to the historical reality of the great struggle then pending, or the thankful recognition, in the middle of a paragraph, of the unanimity with which an invaded people rose to the defense of their hearth-stones and the graves of their sires," nor what was said about the conserving of slavery.

The Southern Assembly answered that the obstructions in the way of a cordial intercourse between the two bodies were entirely of a public nature, and involved grave and fundamental principles. It pointed to its records in proof that it had engaged in no act of hostility toward the Northern Church. It declared that it felt no enmity to that church, and that it was ready "to exercise toward the General Assembly, North, such amity as fidelity to our principles could under any circumstances permit." And it proceeded to name the difficulties which lay in the way of cordial correspondence, and which should "be distinctly met and removed," viz.: 1. Both the wings of the United Assembly, North, had fatally complicated themselves with the state in the political utterances deliberately pronounced year after year. It was their duty to purge themselves of this error "and place the crown once more on the head of Jesus Christ as King in Zion." For the Southern Church to undertake official correspondence with them as they were would be for it to blunt its testimony concerning the nature and mission of the church. 2. The union consummated between the Old and New School Assemblies, North, had been "accomplished by methods which in our judgment involve a total surrender of all the great testimonies for the fundamental doctrines of grace" made in 1838. "The United Assembly stands of necessity upon an allowed latitude of interpretation of Standards."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A similar fusion took place between ourselves and the United Synod; but the difference between the two cases is wide. "The Synod of the South

3. Many members of the Southern Church but a short time before had been expelled "violently and unconstitutionally" from the Old School Assembly, under charges which, if true, rendered them utterly infamous before the church and the world. Every principle of honor and faith called for the unequivocal repudiation of that interpretation of the law under which these men were expelled, as a condition precedent to any official correspondence.<sup>1</sup> 4. Similar charges had been preferred against the whole Southern Presbyterian Church. They could not be quietly ignored. If true, the Southern Presbyterians were not worthy of the "confidence, respect, and Christian honor and love" which were tendered in the overture. If untrue, all that was Christian and manly called for their retraction.<sup>2</sup> This was not resentment, but the homage which should always be paid to truth.

The Northern Church was not ready to sweep the obstacles away, and efforts to establish correspondence were discontinued till 1873. In that year the Northern Assembly declared that in accordance with a resolution unanimously adopted by the two bodies then constituting the reunited church, all action touching the brethren of the Southern Presbyterian Church and the brethren of the Old

united with us upon the first interchange of doctrinal views, upon a square acceptance of the Standards, without any metaphysical hair-splitting to find a sense in which to receive them, and without any expunging of whole chapters from the history of the past, with the sacred testimonies with which these are filled. It is not, therefore, the amalgamation of these bodies at the North which embarrasses us, but it is the method by which it is achieved." ("Minutes of 1870," p. 539—the pastoral letter explaining to the people the treatment of the Northern delegates.)

<sup>1</sup> This the pastoral letter further explicates, as follows: "We require as an indispensable condition to all correspondence a renunciation of that theory of church government which practically obliterates the lower church courts and destroys the appellate character of the General Assembly, under which that unrighteous decision was reached against the Synods of Kentucky and Missouri." ("Minutes of 1870," p. 540.)

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1870," p. 450.

School Synod of Missouri had been since the reunion, and was then, null and void.<sup>1</sup> It expressed confidence in the Christian character of the Southern brethren, and affirmed its belief that the barriers of separation would be removed on more intimate communion. With regard to the relation of church to state, the Assembly called attention to certain statements and principles found in their Standards.<sup>2</sup> It appointed a committee to confer with a like committee to be appointed by the Southern Church.<sup>3</sup>

In response to this overture, and at the instance of two restive Presbyteries, the Southern Assembly showed, by appealing to its records, that in the true idea of the communion of the saints it had ever been willing to hold fellowship with all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and especially to establish intimate relations with all bodies of the Presbyterian Church struggling to maintain the true principles of the same confession. It recalled and indorsed the position taken by the Assembly of 1870 in setting forth the barriers to union. Nevertheless, because of its desire to follow the things that make for peace, it appointed an uninstructed committee to confer with the committee of the Northern Church. It candidly asserted, however, that it did not contemplate in this move organic union.<sup>4</sup> A minority in the Assembly, respectable for its size and ability, was in favor of declining official correspondence until the fundamental difficulties which had been set forth in 1870 should be removed. This minority was sagacious enough to see that the overture of the Northern Assembly of 1873 afforded no sufficient reason for

<sup>1</sup> The resolution referred to was in these words: "That no rule or precedent which does not stand approved by both bodies shall be of any authority in the united body, except in so far as such rule or precedent may affect the rights of property founded thereon." ("Minutes of 1870," p. 516.)

<sup>2</sup> It made reference to Confession of Faith, chap. xxxi., sec. iv., and to Form of Government, chap. i., secs. i. and vii.

<sup>3</sup> "Minutes of 1874," pp 500 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 503.

appointing the committee of conference. It saw that the overture evaded "the very point it pretended to meet, assuring us that both bodies composing their Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution making 'null and void and of no binding effect all action touching their brethren adhering to the Southern Assembly,'" whereas the united body had lately adopted, and made a part of their record, a paper which indorsed in the most formal and unequivocal manner the very principles which the Southern Church has always protested against, viz., a decision of the civil court in the case of the Walnut Street Church, Louisville, Ky.<sup>1</sup>

Nor was the minority gifted with a constitution so contradictory as to be able to appreciate the expressions of confidence in the "soundness of doctrine and Christian character" of the Southern Church, contained in the recent overture, in the face of the abusive and slanderous charges, touching doctrine, character, and motives, so often preferred and never once openly and squarely retracted. As for the reference on the part of the Northern Church to the definition in their Standards touching the relation of church to state, it was puerile. It had held those Standards in 1861; had held them through all those years from 1861 to 1867. It was known to have formed the habit of breaking them. It gloried in having broken them, in hav-

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1874," p. 465. For the estimate which the Northern Assembly put on the decision, see its "Digest" (Moore's), pp. 250, 251, where we have these words: "In an elaborate opinion the judges have held for substance that the courts of law must accept as final and conclusive the decision of the General Assembly on subjects purely ecclesiastical, and must give full effect to these decisions in settling the property rights of litigants. The Assembly will not be slow to appreciate the value of this opinion." (Moore's "Digest," p. 251.)

Herein we see that the General Assembly, North, has solemnly and formally adopted the theory that the General Assembly is the judge of the constitutionality of its own acts. It can, if it chooses, by the voice of its bare majority deprive all lower courts of every right. It can, if it chooses, plunder, *ad infinitum*, Synods, Presbyteries, and congregations.

ing wheeled the church into the political fight. It had never gone over its records. It had made no confession of error for discrowning Jesus and putting Cæsar in his stead. For these and such reasons the minority held that to change posture toward the Northern Assembly was for the Southern Church to suppress its testimony to the truth and break the church's glorious record in the past.<sup>1</sup>

The committees of conference met in Baltimore in January, 1875. The Northern committee proposed that the Southern committee join with itself in recommending to the respective Assemblies the interchange of delegates, and thus their reciprocal recognition of each other as corresponding bodies. It professed its hope that such a course would speedily lead to an adjustment of matters of equal interest to both bodies, in the work of missions at home and abroad, and to coöperation in the great work of evangelization. It did not know of any reasons why fraternal relations should not be established.<sup>2</sup>

The Southern committee proceeded to set forth in a manly and Christian way the obstacles which had debarred the Southern Assembly from holding official intercourse with the Northern Assembly, and what was necessary for their removal. It summed up these obstructions under two heads: "*Unjust and injurious accusations preferred against the whole Southern Presbyterian Church; and the course pursued in regard to church property.*" Under the head of "*unjust and injurious accusations*" it specified "*the charge that the Southern Assembly was organized in the interest of and to subserve the ends of the Confederate Government*"; the charge "*that the Southern Assembly had changed its grounds on the subject of slavery so as*

<sup>1</sup> Compare "Minutes of 1874," pp. 497 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1875," p. 82. It may be doubted whether the sons of Jacob had shown repentance if they had been as strong as Joseph when they discovered him.

*to hold opinions which were heretical and blasphemous"; "the charge of schism which is made against the Southern Church."*<sup>1</sup> The committee refuted the charges by an appeal to the records, and justified its church in her past course by a reference to the acts of the Northern Church. It denied that the "Concurrent Declaration"<sup>2</sup> had removed the difficulties mentioned. The declaration when made was made without any reference to the Southern Assembly. If it is any sort of retraction of the slander which the Southern Church has suffered, it is not a square and open retraction. And since its passing the Assembly had persisted in a course—the Walnut Street case—"which by implication made many of the same charges over again."

Finally, the committee affirmed that the course pursued in regard to church property by the Northern Assembly was a serious obstacle. And the iniquitous methods of settling disputes about church property, upon legal technicalities, the false and ridiculous principles adopted by the Supreme Court of the United States in settling the Walnut Street Church case—that of making the judgment of an accidental majority of the highest church court of final authority in interpreting the constitution of the church—and the adoption of that decision of the Supreme Court formally by the Assembly of 1872, were animadverted upon and condemned. A proposal was made to settle the property disputes by arbitration and upon moral rights as a basis.

The Northern committee rejoined that in order to the establishment of fraternal relations, the interchange of delegates, it was not necessary that all the doings of the corresponding bodies be approved. It overlooked the fact that there were hindrances to even fraternal relations. It claimed not to be negotiating with reference to organic

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1875," pp. 83-85.      <sup>2</sup> See this in Note 1, p. 465.

union. It seemed to forget that organic union had from the start been the ultimate aim. It asserted that if the Northern Church had made deliverances unconstitutional and inconsistent with the proper functions of ecclesiastical assemblies, the Southern Assembly had committed the same offense.<sup>1</sup> It recited its Assembly's declaration to Dr. J. H. Brooks and others of the Old School Synod in Missouri in 1874, declaring everything done in the past contrary to the "Confession of Faith, Catechism, Form of Government, and Book of Discipline" to be null and void.<sup>2</sup> It affirmed that by "the concurrent resolutions" the charges of "heresy and blasphemy" against the Southern brethren had been declared "null and void, and therefore of no binding effect and not to be pleaded as precedent in the future"; that the charges made had been made in peculiar times, but were a part of history, and that it was idle to talk of erasing them. It recounted the several overtures for union, made in 1869, 1870, and 1873. Finally, it reaffirmed its belief that there was no sufficient cause for not establishing fraternal relations.

The Southern committee replied that there were hindrances in the way of official fraternal relations. It challenged a comparison of the records in disproof of the assertion that the Southern Church had prostituted herself to the state as the Northern Church had herself. It showed the utter insufficiency of the Concurrent Declarations to atone for the slander done the Southern Church. It desired a plain and direct expression of regret on the part of the Northern Church for these wrongs—wronges such as

<sup>1</sup> For a sufficient refutation of this position, see the first section of this chapter. The mistakes of the Southern Church in this respect were transient lapses.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1875," pp. 90-93. This declaration to Dr. Brooks is mere farce. Who is the judge as to whether the Assembly has done anything unconstitutional? The accidental majority of an Assembly!

no other evangelical church in modern times had dared to heap on another.

The Northern committee was not disposed to ask its Assembly to make this expression of regret. It expressed the pious desire that the Southern Presbyterians might look as leniently on the sins of the Northern Assembly as the Northern Assembly would look on the proceedings of the Southern Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

This virtually ended the conference. The action of the Southern committee had been in all respects worthy. The Northern Church went far in her apostasy, meddling with the affairs of Cæsar. She must repent of this apostasy before she can be trusted. He who knows anything of the power of habit over a church, as over an individual, to make it tread down principle by moral inertia and under external inducements, knows that for years to come, in similar circumstances, the Northern Church would go to equal lengths again, unless she repent most deeply. She shows no repentance for what she did, she rather glories in her political measures of the war time.

The Southern Assembly of 1875 approved the action of its Baltimore committee, particularly of the statement of the issue between the churches by the committee, and its demand for a disapproval of the imputations cast upon the Southern Church by the Northern Assemblies from 1861 to 1867.

But the Assembly of 1876 at Savannah, in response to an overture from the St. Louis Presbytery, in order to remove a misapprehension existing in the "minds of some of our people as to the spirit" of the action of the Baltimore Conference, and "in order to show our disposition to remove on our part real or seeming hindrances to friendly feeling," explicitly declared that "while condemning certain acts and deliverances of the Northern General As-

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1875," pp. 96 ff.

sembly, no acts or deliverances of the Southern General Assembly are to be construed or admitted as impugning in any way the Christian character of the Northern General Assembly, or of the historical bodies of which it is successor."<sup>1</sup>

Subsequently the Savannah Assembly received a telegram from the Northern Assembly, then in session at Brooklyn, reiterating its belief that "no adjustment of differences" can be "accomplished by the rehearsal of the past," and reiterating "its cordial desire to establish fraternal relations" with the Southern Assembly, "on terms of perfect equality and reciprocity as soon" as it should be "agreeable to their brethren to respond to this assurance by a similar expression."

The Southern Assembly, on receipt of this telegram, replied that it was "ready most cordially to enter on fraternal relations with the Northern body on any terms honorable to both parties."

In its reply the Southern Assembly recited also the action which it had just taken in answer to the Presbytery of St. Louis.<sup>2</sup> On receiving the paper from the Savannah Assembly, the Brooklyn Assembly turned parrot and chattered forth:

The overture of this Assembly having been received by the General Assembly of the South with such a cordial expression of gratification, the committee recommended that the same resolution, declarative of the spirit in which this action is taken, be adopted by this Assembly, viz.: "In order to show our disposition to remove on our part all real or seeming hindrance to friendly feeling, the Assembly explicitly declares that, while condemning certain acts and deliverances of the Southern Assembly, no acts or deliverances of the Northern Assembly, nor of the historical bodies of which the present Assembly is the successor, are to be construed or admitted as impugning in any way the Christian character of the Southern General Assembly, or of the historical bodies of which it is the successor."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1876," p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> "Minutes of 1877," pp. 412-413; Alexander's "Digest," p. 491.

The Southern Assembly of 1877, in reply to this from the Northern Assembly, resolved:

That it could not regard this communication as satisfactory, because it could discover in it no reference whatever to the first and main part of the paper adopted by the Assembly at Savannah and communicated to the Brooklyn Assembly. It further said that it could add nothing on this subject to the action of the Assembly of St. Louis adopting the basis proposed by our Committee of Conference at Baltimore, and reaffirmed by the Assembly at Savannah; that if the brethren of the Northern Church could meet them on these terms, which truth and righteousness seem to require, then they were ready to establish such relations with them during the present sessions of the Assemblies.<sup>1</sup>

Little more passed between the Assemblies until 1882. In that year four overtures went up to the Southern Assembly, having substantially the same object. They requested the General Assembly "to establish fully and formally what are called fraternal relations" with the Northern Assembly, "by sending delegates forthwith to that body," then in session at Springfield, Ill. In response, the Assembly adopted the following minute:

While receding from no principle, we hereby declare our regret for and withdrawal of all expressions of our Assembly which may be regarded as reflecting upon, or offensive to, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. *Resolved*, That a copy of this paper be sent by telegraph to the General Assembly now at Springfield, Ill., for their prayerful consideration, and *mutatis mutandis* for their reciprocal concurrence, as affording a basis for the exchange of delegates forthwith.<sup>2</sup>

In reply the Springfield Assembly telegraphed to the Atlanta Assembly that the message from the Southern Assembly had been received with warm enthusiasm; and that, in order to remove all difficulties in the way of that full and formal fraternal correspondence between the two Assemblies, which it, on its part, was prepared to accept, it had adopted the following: "While receding from no

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1877," pp. 412, 413; Alexander's "Digest," p. 491.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1882," p. 530.

principle, etc.”<sup>1</sup> That is, the Northern Assembly made its bow to the Southern with its suggested little speech of regret for whatever in its past acts might be considered as reflecting on the Southern brethren. This “Tweedle to me and I tweedle to you,” tit-for-tat passage between the Assemblies has nothing massive or grand or beautiful in it. In attempting to extort this quasi-apology the Southern Assembly stultified herself. She had committed no act for which she needed apologize to the Northern Church. She seemed to apologize. At this time she lowered her banner. She merged her witness for the truth—forsaking the nobler course under the whips of some goody-goody scolds. And the great Presbyterian Church, North, wears no aspect of dignity in saying its little speech. If it believed it had done no wrong, it should have acted differently; it should not have said its suggested speech. If it was conscious of wrong, it should have made a noble apology. Its acts concerning loyalty and rebellion, its slanderous accusations against Southern brethren, were grounds for just indignation, and should have been withdrawn as St. Paul would know how to retract if he were made conscious of fault.

But the moderator of the Springfield Assembly telegraphed to the moderator of the Atlanta Assembly that in the action just taken the Northern Assembly disclaimed “any reference to the actions of preceding Assemblies concerning loyalty and rebellion,” but referred “only to those concerning schism, heresy, and blasphemy.”

This troubled the Southern Assembly; but on inquiry it was informed that the action mentioned in the moderator’s unofficial telegram did “*not modify but explained the concurrent resolutions*” just passed, and that the explanation was on its face.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Minutes of 1882,” p. 541.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 552.

The Northern Church gloried too much in her political measures of 1861 and 1867 to retract them.

The Southern Assembly expressed its satisfaction, and decided to send delegates to the next Assembly North. The church was not so well satisfied. There was resiling in 1882-83.

In 1883 committees of conference on coöperation, at the suggestion of the Northern Assembly, were appointed by the Assemblies to confer "in regard to plans looking to more successful conduct of the work of the church in such regions and concerning such interests as are more or less common to the two churches." As a result of their conference the committees recommended to their Assemblies the joint occupancy of Danville Seminary, a plan of coöperation in home missions, and comity in matters of discipline such as would forbid the Northern Church throwing open its doors to those under discipline in the Southern Church, or *vice versa*. The recommendations of the committees were rejected, save the last, relating to discipline, which the Assembly adopted.<sup>1</sup>

But in 1887 the Northern General Assembly was supposed, in some quarters, to have indorsed somewhat more fully the tenets of the spirituality of the church; and in response to several overtures touching organic union, the Assembly, South, appointed a committee to meet with a similar committee of the Northern Church "for the sole purpose of inquiring into and ascertaining the facts as to the point above mentioned, and as to the position that Assembly proposes to maintain as to colored churches, ecclesiastical boards, and any other subjects now regarded as obstacles in the way of united effort for the propagation of the gospel, and report these facts to the next Assembly for such action as they may warrant."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Minutes of 1884," p. 19; Alexander's "Digest," p. 504.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of 1887," p. 222.

These committees met, in December, 1887, in joint conference in Louisville. The Southern committee sought information from the Northern on four subjects, viz.: 1. On the doctrine of the Northern Church as to the spirituality of the church—whether the deliverance of the last Northern Assembly is to be interpreted in the light of past political deliverances, which it apparently contravenes, or whether the Northern Church, “as now constituted, holds on this subject views different from those entertained by the two Assemblies to which that church has succeeded.” 2. On the principles and policy which would be recognized as vital by the Northern Assembly in the settlement of the relation of the colored people in the South to the church, in case of union. 3. On the subject of “the powers and responsibilities of ecclesiastical boards” of the Northern Church, and the extent to which these boards are under the control of the General Assembly. 4. On the attitude of opinions within the bounds of the Northern Assembly “touching those portions of the Confession of Faith which more specifically involve the great system of truth known as Calvinistic, and particularly whether there is traceable any distinct tincture of such Pelagian and semi-Pelagian heresies as were matter for controversy in 1837.”<sup>1</sup>

The Northern committee met again in Baltimore in January, 1888, and replied to these questions.<sup>2</sup>

The Southern Assembly of 1888 was “unable to discover in these replies that the obstacles to organic union” theretofore “existing between the Northern and Southern General Assemblies” had “to any considerable extent been removed.” Hence, it continued “established in the conviction that the cause of truth and righteousness, as well as the peace and prosperity of our beloved Zion,” would be “best promoted by remaining . . . a distinct

<sup>1</sup> “Minutes of 1888,” pp. 458, 459.

<sup>2</sup> For answers, see “Minutes of 1888,” pp. 460-462.

member of that one body, the church, of which the Lord Jesus Christ is the supreme and everlasting head."

This conclusion was a wise and righteous one. A few months was sufficient to show that the Northern committee, if sincere in furnishing information on the fourth subject of inquiry, was woefully mistaken. The cry of Revision of the Confession rose in such volume and with such strident and piercing tones, that the deaf had to hear and comprehend that Pelagianism was abroad. The Northern Church was seen to have many gangrened members. Her fifteen hundred ministers from extra-Presbyterian sources and her long-comatose New Schoolism showed themselves.

Though the boards of the Northern Church have indeed been so changed that they differ practically little from our committees, it would be a retrograde movement to go from our committees back to boards; our organization proclaims the sufficiency of the church for its appointed work and its unity. But the attitudes toward the negro differ essentially, and would inevitably fill the "united church" with strife. Northern Pharisees would dictate terms of intercourse between the Christians of the two races, South, which would lead to race amalgamation if followed out.

Moreover, the two churches do not stand together, as the blindest can see, on the non-secular character of the church. They cannot stand together in that witness soon. The past of the Northern Church is too potent on her present and her future. She has had a political past. She glories in it. She has traditions from the past which she loves, and they keep the spirit alive. Given a similar set of circumstances, and the Northern Church of to-morrow would do just as bad or worse than the two Assemblies, New and Old School, North, did in 1861-65. What if she makes deliverances on the spirituality of the church, and points to passages in her confession which set forth

that doctrine plainly! Besides, there is a fundamental difference in the view taken of the moral nature of the relation of slavery by the Southern Church and that taken by the New School wing of the Northern Church. This involves a wide difference in the estimate of the Bible as God's book. The Southern Church holds the biblical view, and maintains that it is right. The churches differ also on the true nature of the ruling elder's office, on the nature of Romish baptism, on the relation of woman to the public work of the church, etc. But while refusing organic union, in 1888 the Assembly appointed a Committee of Conference with a similar committee from the Northern Assembly to confer on such modes of fraternal coöperation "in Christian work, both at home and abroad, as might be considered practicable and edifying," the said committee to report to the next Assembly.

The joint committee met in New York in 1888, and in Atlanta in 1889. They reached agreement on four points, and were able to report a plan of coöperation which, with the exceptions that it contained no plank concerning coöperation in education and contained a provision for the union of weak contiguous congregations under a common pastor from either church—like the Plan of Union with the Congregationalists of 1801—was the close analogue of the plan of coöperation with the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>1</sup>

Their report was adopted entire by the Assembly of 1889. The results so far have not been great. The coöperation in the foreign field is practicable. The questions which disturb and divide here are not so prominently before the missionaries and their converts. The coöpera-

<sup>1</sup> The plank about the evangelization of the colored people was to this effect: Each church will help the other along the lines of its own preferred method of working.

tion in the home field is possible only within narrow limits. The coöperation in the colored evangelization has not been largely illustrated. Neither church is satisfied with the position of the other. Coöperation in publication under the limits indicated above is useful.

The revision movement and the controversies with the rationalistic higher critics have blown a cold breath on the movement of the churches toward each other since 1889.

The churches between which and the Southern Presbyterian Church there subsist terms of most *intimate correspondence* to-day are the *Dutch Reformed Church* and the *Presbyterian Church, North*. Formally, the relation subsisting between the Dutch Reformed Church and the Presbyterian Church, South, is almost precisely that existing between our church and the Presbyterian Church, North. There is a difference in the cordiality. In the former case the relation sprang spontaneously from both churches. There has been no hesitancy. In the latter case the relation is half-hearted on the part of both churches.

4. Thus we have passed over the history of this church: her origin, her growth in numbers and wealth, her growth in the comprehension of the Scriptural doctrine and polity, her relation to other churches throughout the earth. It has been shown that there was good reason for her coming into being as a separate church, for her continuing to exist as a separate church till to-day. God has put high honors on her in the past, making her a witness for the non-secular character of the church, and for a Bible Calvinism, and for a Bible that makes God teach and indorse good ethics, for the government of the church according to her divine constitution, for the highest form of church organization in the Presbyterian body, perhaps. She may never merge her witness for these truths by an adulterous connection with any church that will not and cannot bear

a true witness for them, but to her eternal shame. May the God who raised up a Thornwell to lead this church in her infant days, and a McPheeters to suffer for two of her Synods and for Christians everywhere, who has given a Dabney and a Peck, an H. M. Smith and a B. M. Palmer to minister to her people hitherto, raise up spiritual sons worthy of such fathers to lead the church until another body who has the same witness to make, or can teach us a truer one, shall admit us to union with them.

No church has a right to an independent existence which has not a truth or group of truths to witness for which other churches in the country do not witness for. The church that has such a witness to make should maintain a separate existence. We believe in union, but in union with those who hold God's essential truths fully as we see them.

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