

THE SOUTHERN  
PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW,

VOL. XXXVI.—NO. 1.

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JANUARY, MDCCCLXXXV.

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ARTICLE I.

PROFESSOR WOODROW'S SPEECH BEFORE THE  
SYNOD OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

*Moderator, Fathers, and Brethren:*

It affords me, notwithstanding the peculiar circumstances which surround us to night, no little pleasure once more to meet with the Synod of South Carolina. It is not the first time that I have enjoyed the pleasure of addressing this body; many years ago I met with you in the dark time that tried men's souls. And therefore I come to you as no stranger. At that meeting, Moderator, I had the satisfaction of communing with my brethren touching the interests of the same Seminary which is occupying so much of your attention at this time. We had been broken and blasted by the fortune of war; we were in the deepest depression, and despair well-nigh filled every heart: and under these circumstances we came together to consider what we should do for our beloved Church. Stout-hearted as is my brother and father who is sitting there before you [Dr. Adger], wrapped up in the Theological Seminary as its venerated Chairman, the Rev. Dr. Howe, so much loved by all—wrapped up in the Seminary as he was—even they were ready to give up all, to retire, the one to his farm in one direction, the other to seek a home in another,

## ARTICLE III.

THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND  
THE FREEDMEN.

As we cannot place a name at the end of our article that will draw readers, we were strongly tempted to devise, if possible, an attractive title to place at the beginning. But we fear that no title would be attractive that suggests the subject under treatment, and as we are too conscientious to adopt the *ruse* of the patent medicine advertiser, we must go before the public with our real purpose disclosed and with a title that will perhaps invite many to turn away. Should any one venture thus far down the page, we promise him this much, that if he will go with us to the end, he will at least find something said which it will require little mental effort to understand. We have very decided views, and they are very decidedly expressed. That he may know where he is going in case he does go with us, we will say in the outset that in our judgment the Southern Presbyterian Church has done very little for the religious instruction of the negro since his emancipation, is now doing very little, and without a change of method is not likely to do any better. For twenty years we have been chiefly occupied in talking about what we ought to do, why we ought to do it, and in resolving that we will do it. There are strong reasons, which we propose to mention, for thinking that this will be our chief occupation during the next twenty years if we continue in the line of our present policy. This may be thought a hard saying—a very grave indictment. Perhaps it is not so grave as it at first seems. There is no field of missionary labor that is so trying to the Southern Church, and no one in which the obstacles are so peculiar and inveterate. But let us see if the indictment is true.

What precisely is the amount of work done by the Southern Presbyterian Church for the negro since his emancipation, we can only judge by results. If these are meagre, doubtless the work that produced them was small. The cause bears a direct ratio to the effect. The Secretary of Home Missions reported to the General

Assembly in 1884 that there are in our bounds thirty-three organised colored churches, with about twenty houses of worship, twelve ministers, three licentiates, and eighteen candidates. This may seem a pretty fair showing. To organise on an average one and a half churches *per annum* is doing something. But whence came the material out of which these churches were constituted? The writer has used great diligence to enable him to answer this question. He has no knowledge whatever of seven of these churches; does not know where they are; to what Presbyteries they belong. He takes it for granted that they are somewhere, because it is so stated in the Secretary's report. In reference to most of the others he can speak with some authority. Nineteen were organised by members from white churches; five were organised out of material gathered independent of the white churches, and about two others there is some doubt, though the strong probability is, from their location and antecedents, that they were colonies from white churches. Suppose we assign one to each of the two classes designated above. Then we have twenty colored churches formed by colonies from white churches; six formed of material gathered from other sources; and seven about which we know nothing. Let us, however, guided by the ratio observed between the two classes, distribute these seven, giving five to the former class and two to the latter. We shall not be far from the truth if we say that twenty-five of our colored churches were set off as colonies from white churches. Now we think it will hardly be questioned that these twenty-five represent either work done before the emancipation of the negro, or work which had no special reference to the negro. Many of the older members of these churches were brought into the white churches before the war; many of the younger members are children of the "old issue," and still other members were gathered into the white churches by efforts that were not aimed primarily at them. They sat in the gallery and fed upon "the crumbs of the children's bread." So that we have only eight churches to show as the unmistakable fruit of work done for the emancipated negro. This is not a very large showing, and if no discount were to be made, it would hardly invalidate our indictment. But

there is one significant fact yet to be noted which tends to show that perhaps these eight churches are largely the outgrowth of influences set in motion in *ante-bellum* days. The fact is this, that from year to year the history of the work shows that our progress is with diminishing speed. The explanation which at once offers itself is that all the old material prepared in those days when masters used some influence to determine the church preference of their slaves, is about used up. If this is the true explanation, then our future will show less fruit than the past has shown.

There is one other indication of the amount of interest felt by our Church in work for the freedmen. For years we have had, or tried to have, what is called a *Colored Evangelistic Fund*. How many churches contributed to this fund last year? Exactly *two*; and the amount contributed was exactly \$27.24. The greatest number of churches reported as having contributed to this fund in any one year was twelve, and in that report it is said, "Franklin Street church, Baltimore, gave nearly two-thirds of all that was received from our own bounds." One man not connected with our Church has given more to this cause than all the Southern Presbyterian Church. The total amount collected in the last seven years is \$2,013.78. It is true that this does not represent all the money that has been expended in this work. Many Presbyteries have raised money to prosecute the work in their own bounds; and the Committee of Home Missions have appropriated, by direction of the General Assembly, quite a considerable aggregate from the Sustentation Fund. Still, it means much as indicating the spirit of the Church that an effort should be made to raise a general fund for the prosecution of evangelistic work among the colored people, and that only \$2,013.78 should be collected in seven years. This shows that however much interest individuals here and there may feel, the Church at large has little heart in the work. Such was the impression made upon the mind of the Secretary of Home Missions, who was intrusted with the management of this fund. To the General Assembly of 1881 he reports: "Most of the Presbyteries have taken no action looking to the development of this branch of

work, and comparatively little interest seems to be manifested in it." The next year his language is of like import: "Most of the Presbyteries have taken no action in regard to this branch of work, nor are any particularly encouraging facts noted at any point. Greater zeal in behalf of this important field seems to be much needed."

There is, however, one other direction in which we are putting forth effort in behalf of the negro. We have an institution for training colored ministers. We have made quite a pet of this institution in a certain very inexpensive way; and have solaced ourselves with the idea that its work was atoning for any neglect of which we might be guilty in other directions. The General Assembly of 1881 went so far as to say that the work of educating a colored ministry is all that it is practicable for our Church to do. The people will not attend the preaching of white ministers. They refuse help that is offered in this form, and so all that remains is to reach them indirectly. This opinion was carried up to the General Assembly in Presbyterial narratives. To the question, "What are you doing for the colored people?" the Presbyteries, with remarkable unanimity, answer, "Nothing, and the reason is, they have churches and preachers of their own, which they prefer." In one Presbytery exception was taken to this reason, and it was urged that their preference for their own churches and preachers no more excuses us from labor in their behalf than the similar fact in the case of the Chinese. The exception was overruled, and the Presbytery voted that the reason was satisfactory. It seemed so to the General Assembly, and that venerable body uses the following language: "The colored population seem to have passed, for the present at least, beyond our reach. They prefer their own preachers and services. In some sections they are reached by Sunday-schools, and in a few cases we have colored churches. But it is manifest that we can influence them now only by helping to train their ministry." Here is the representative judgment of the whole Church. The little that we are doing to evangelise them is regarded as the full measure of what we can do; and all that remains is to educate ministers of their own color for them.

Our next duty, then, is to inquire how much has been done in this line? The Tuscaloosa Institute was opened on the 1st day of November, 1876, with one Professor and two students of our denomination. The number of Presbyterian students who have been in attendance in each successive year is as follows: First year, two; second year, three; third year, four; fourth year, five; fifth year, eight; sixth year, eleven; seventh year, sixteen; eighth year, twenty-three. Up to the spring of 1882 only four Presbyterian students had gone out from the Institute; and these had all been taken away by their Presbyteries before completing the course. Of these four, one died in a short while after leaving school, and another after preaching for a time acceptably in Savannah, "turned Methodist and fell from grace," leaving only two who are still in the service of our Church. Since 1882 four other Presbyterian students have gone forth, all of whom are doing well. So that at present we have six colored Presbyterian preachers in the field, who have enjoyed the benefits of our "Institute for Training Colored Ministers." None of these is a full graduate, two of them were in school three years, and the others but two years. Several will have completed the whole course at the end of the present session.

Let us now look at the course of study and see what kind of an education is given. Here is a list of studies presented by the Rev. A. F. Dickson in his first report to the Executive Committee. He says: "In making this first annual report of work done and doing in the Assembly's Colored Theological Institute, I give you first a schedule of studies pursued. The letter F appended indicates that we have finished with it; A, that (for some reason) we have suspended work on it without finishing."

#### I. SENIOR STUDENTS.

Bible reading with special reference to pulpit reading; Greek Testament and Grammar; Natural Theology—Lectures and Questions (F); Analysis of Larger Catechism, collated with the Confession (F); Alexander's Moral Science, read and studied (F); Alexander's Evidences of Christianity, read (A); Lectures on Homiletics; English Composition—skeletons, etc.; Hodge's Commentary on Confession of Faith, lately begun; Pastoral

Theology, with Pilgrim's Progress read; Exercises in Reading and Recitation of Hymns.

## II. JUNIOR STUDENTS.

Bible reading as above; Arithmetic, written and mental; Writing; English Grammar; Spelling and Defining; Catechisms, Larger and Shorter; Alexander's Moral Science, read aloud (F); Alexander's Evidences, read aloud (A); Exercises in Reading and Recitation; Pilgrim's Progress, read aloud with view to Pastoral Theology.

With the profoundest veneration for the memory of the great and good and now glorified man who drafted this course of study, we must yet be permitted to say that *such* a course of study is something "new under the sun," Solomon to the contrary notwithstanding. The idea of preparing a mental *pabulum* by taking about equal parts of the very extremes—the beginning and end—of a liberal education, is, to say the least, novel. Who are to be fed on this wonderful *pabulum*? babes, boys, or full-grown men? It seems equally suitable or unsuitable for either class. Here is the description contained in the same report that contains the course of study: "The students come here entirely unprepared for education *as ministers*. Some, *on entering*, can barely stumble through the simpler verses of the Bible. They know nothing of writing, nothing of arithmetic, nothing of grammar." When we put the course of study side by side with those for whom it was framed, it presents about the same incongruity as would be presented by "killing the fatted calf" to feast a toothless babe. Whether Dr. Dickson modified this course before his death, we do not know. In the year 1882, the course of study is given as used by Prof. Rankin: "The Bible, Story of the Bible, Shorter Catechism, Pilgrim's Progress, Alexander's Moral Science, Dagg's Manual of Systematic Theology, Plumer's Truths for the People, Blackburn's Church History, Barrow's Sacred Geography and Antiquities, Companion to the Bible, by the same author, Harvey's Pastor, English grammar, spelling, arithmetic, geography, and writing." Think of a simple-minded negro, taken from a home where father and mother can neither read nor write, where he

has never heard from their lips a grammatical sentence, and never a word of two syllables pronounced correctly, where there were no ideas to be picked up that were worth picking up, and where the mind, that abhors a *vacuum*, was under the necessity of gathering rubbish that would be in the way of the entrance of light. The object is to make a Presbyterian preacher of that negro, and there are only two years in which to do it. Now a Presbyterian preacher means, and has meant for centuries, and must continue to mean, a man who has pursued a liberal course of study. No exception is to be made in the case of this ignorant negro; and so his dark mind is stuffed with the rudiments of English and of mathematics, and then, while these rudiments are lying in a crude, undigested state, church history, theology, exegesis, homiletics, sacred antiquities, etc., are crowded in on them. The attempt to teach so much in so short a time is bound to prove a failure. Take a genius of high order and start him where the average pupil starts who enters Tuscaloosa Institute, and with all his past mental development in a wrong direction, put him through that course and he will come out with his knowledge a loose jumble that will be well-nigh worthless. It may seem very impertinent in the writer to set his judgment up against that of the eminent men and beloved brethren who framed the course of study. But the writer's theoretical judgment has been confirmed by facts that have come to his knowledge; and he speaks with thorough conviction when he says that it is misleading to call the process at Tuscaloosa "*educating* negro preachers." True, the Institute was established with the avowed design of giving only half a loaf; and the writer may be reminded that he is saying nothing to the point unless he is prepared to assert that a half loaf is no better than no bread. He is prepared to express the opinion that what is given at Tuscaloosa is not a half loaf, it is not bread at all, it is dough, and that, not so far advanced as Ephraim, who was "a cake not turned," it is dough in the batter state. To a mind that is not impressed with the idea that our standard of ministerial education is binding by divine authority, the course of study at Tuscaloosa must seem irrational in the extreme. Who would ever think of trying to make a physician



or a lawyer by mixing up the rudiments of English with a professional course of medicine or law? How would it sound to mention as text-books belonging to the same year Holmes's Spelling Book and Draper's Anatomy, or Mental Arithmetic and Blackstone's Commentaries? Is it any more incongruous than to mention such elementary school-books as companion studies of church history and systematic theology? The course seems to have been arranged with the purpose of giving a spoonful from all the dishes that would serve to feed and nourish from childhood to maturity an ideal preacher. Strong meat and hot-water tea are mixed together, and little children must be fed on the mixture. The result would be life-long dyspepsia if enough of the nourishment could be forced down to produce any result at all.

The men sent out from Tuscaloosa are not educated; and, notwithstanding the course has now been extended so as to cover four years, those who are to be sent out in the future will not be educated. It will be all the worse for them and for those subject to their influence if they are imbued with the idea that they are educated. "A little learning is a dangerous thing." It may generate conceit, inflate vanity, and convert a docile pupil into a dogmatic teacher. It is the judgment of the writer that the Church is trying to impose on itself, and is perhaps achieving a fair degree of success. It is persuading itself that it has an "Institute for training colored ministers"—an Institute that furnishes a palpable proof of a generous interest in the religious instruction of the negro—an Institute that is relieving the Church to a very large extent from the obligation to put forth effort in other directions for the good of the negro—an Institute, in a word, which pretty well covers the whole ground of our responsibility. Our Church is furnishing in this an illustration of the truth that it is very easy to believe what one wishes to believe. Were we not exceedingly credulous in the direction of our wishes, we should, perhaps, be troubled with a suspicion that our present attempts to educate a colored ministry are farcical, and that much of our earnest and plausible talk is not far removed from pretence.

The writer would feel deeply grieved if what he has said should

be regarded as showing any want of respect for the venerable and ever to be venerated man whose name is inseparably linked with the history of Tuscaloosa Institute. He is a man whom the Church delights to honor; and he has done what he could with the paltry resources at his command. The writer has ventured to speak his mind freely because the responsibility for Tuscaloosa Institute is spread out over the whole area of the Southern Presbyterian Church. The Institute belongs in the fullest sense to the whole Church, and is held up to the world as representing the full measure of our obligation to the colored people. The last General Assembly declare "that it becomes us as a Church to support Tuscaloosa Institute, established by the Church for the purpose of discharging the duty we owe to the African race in our midst." In the light of other deliverances of that venerable court, this language plainly implies that it is through the Tuscaloosa Institute the Church is to fulfil its whole mission to the negro. If the Church make the Institute so prominent, and burden it with such a great responsibility, there would seem to be no impropriety in subjecting its work to a searching analysis.

We are now through with our review of the Church's past record. Does not this review show that our Church is not pervaded with a lively interest in the religious enlightenment and elevation of the freedmen? It is not questioned that some interest is felt, but it is not general, and it is not very vigorous. We are actually doing less for the negro race than for any other whom it is possible for us to reach. We send more money to Brazil, to China, to Greece, than we expend on these heathen at our doors. Let us now inquire why this is so. It is common to hear remarks which indicate that our first duty is to the colored people; that our duty to them is first, not only on the principle "first come, first served," but especially because we are to some extent responsible for their condition, and further, because we owe them a debt of gratitude for past services. We were nursed by them in infancy, played with them in childhood, and fed upon the fruit of their labor in after years. We have reaped of their carnal things, and should now sow unto them spiritual things. Surely we should give them the preference over the distant heathen to

whom we owe nothing but the debt imposed by the ties of a common humanity. Such is the line of remark frequently indulged in. But is it true that our comparative neglect of the negro, to which it seems we must plead guilty, is to be charged against us as a sin of ingratitude? Is our interest in the negro a measure of our Church's piety? If the writer thought so, he would try to see things in a different light. He does not think so, but believes there is an explanation of our want of interest in work for the freedmen, which, if it does not excuse our Church, is at least a great palliation of our sin. 'The Southern Presbyterian Church is perhaps as much interested in the negro race at large as any Church. In proof of this we might refer to the great desire which has long been cherished, and which will doubtless soon find practical expression, to establish a mission in Africa. When such mission is established, it will enlist as much sympathy as any of our missions. But there are peculiar relations existing between the emancipated negroes and the Southern white population which inevitably tend to damp the Church's ardor in behalf of the African *in the midst of us*.

1. *The social relation.* Both races stand on the same platform of legal and political rights and privileges. While the negro as a rule is not aspiring, yet when the law protects him as in public houses and public conveyances, he stands his ground, and it is noticeable that an ever-increasing number prefer to pay full fare and ride in first-class cars. Free schools put within the negro's reach the smattering of an education, merely enough to elevate him in his own esteem and obliterate in his mind the difference between the two races in point of culture and refinement. To be able to read the newspaper, even though the long words must be slowly spelled out, puts one in the educated class and fits him to do justice to any position in society. Gradually he comes to feel that all that bars him from social recognition is prejudice, ignoble and unjust, against his color. This begets envy and ill-will. On the other hand the white people of the South have no practical use for the negro, except in the capacity of servant. When he accepts the position of servant as the only one to which his endowments and accomplishments entitle him, he makes an

unexceptionable servant, and is appreciated to the fullest extent. But there is little room for him in this Southern land in any position above that of servant. We have an abundance of gentlemen of leisure. Our learned professions and mercantile pursuits are well filled, and the only extensive vacancies are in the cotton and tobacco fields. Hence, the negro in his upward social tendency meets with little encouragement. It would perhaps not be going beyond the truth to say that his advances are resented. In the eyes of the white race, broadcloth and kid gloves, silks and jewelry, are the least becoming of all apparel on a dark skin. They have no thought of ever throwing open their parlors and giving access to their bed and table to the negro; and consequently when he outgrows the barn yard and the kitchen, all pleasant intercourse ceases. The negro is under us socially, and there he shall stay while it is in our power to keep him there. Northern abolitionists and high dignitaries of the English Church may preach to us in language as earnest and eloquent as they can command on "the duty of higher to lower races," but all the same negroes will not stand on our social plane if we can help it. This is a settled fact. Let us not be afraid to face it, and stand or fall by it. Social equality we cannot, will not consent to. But we see at a glance how this must interfere with our work among the negroes. We have one hand on their heads holding them down socially; how much can we lift them up religiously with the other? Which hand puts forth most power? Which will we be most reluctant to remove? If to lift them up religiously it should be necessary to remove the social pressure, will we do it? If to hold them under socially it should be necessary to withdraw the religious uplifting, will we do it? Perhaps we should not answer for the whole Church, but we believe we should answer correctly if we were to say that the white people of the South deem it a matter *first* importance to maintain their present social ascendancy, and they cannot take an active interest even in religious work, if that work threatens to disturb this ascendancy. Reflect what would be the result if such social relations should be maintained by our missionaries towards the heathen for whom they labor. Suppose when a Chinaman visits one of our

brethren, he should be sent around to the kitchen, given a plate of victuals in the back yard, and invited to the hay loft to sleep. Such treatment would not predispose the almond-eyed heathen to accept the gospel at the hands of the "foreign devil;" and what is more to the point, the conviction on the part of the missionary that his first business was to maintain a position of social supremacy would poorly qualify him for earnest efforts for the religious elevation of the Chinaman.

2. *The political relation.* The negro is a citizen, dignified with all the honors, privileges, and responsibilities which belong to that character: The way is open to places of the highest official preferment. He would be more or less than man if he did not covet the emoluments of office; and when he learns that in order to obtain these, it is not necessary that one be qualified to discharge the duties of office, but only that he consult the taste of the ignorant and degraded majority, it is inevitable that he should strive for them. This brings on conflict. The white man wants the same prize. One or the other must be defeated. The races are arrayed against each other. It is not mere prejudice against a black skin that makes the whites combine. As a general thing it is the preference for intelligence over ignorance. But their combining naturally leads to a combination of the blacks. Now, it may be asked, what has the Church to do with politics? Has not the Southern Presbyterian Church in particular insisted with intensest earnestness on the non-political character of the Church? Is not this one of the grounds on which it resists all overtures from the Northern Church looking to organic union? True, the Church, in her corporate capacity, has nothing to do with politics, but the individual members of the Church have, and are in duty bound to have, something to do with politics. They cannot look on with indifference and see a race of ignorant, degraded, recently manumitted slaves, under the lead of unscrupulous demagogues, climbing up into political supremacy. They would deserve the degradation to which they would be reduced if they did not put forth their most strenuous efforts to avert so dire a calamity. Who that knows the danger to which they are exposed can blame them? The unprejudiced

Northerner sympathises with the feeling of abhorrence with which the Southern mind contemplates the possibility of having a former slave, or what is worse, a white renegade, for a political master. Let it be borne in mind that in many of the Southern States the two races are pretty equally matched in numbers, and consequently at every election the battle for supremacy must be fought over. Our elections—municipal, county, State, and national—are of such frequent recurrence that there is hardly any cessation of hostilities. From the first of January to the last of December the races are pitted against each other, and the antagonism grows more and more bitter. He is not to be hastily set down as an alarmist who suggests the possibility of fearful collision between the two races at an early day. There are two ways in which this political friction hinders work among the colored people. *First*, it engenders suspicion in the mind of the negro. He doubts the sincerity of the white brother, who is a political enemy, when he comes to preach to him the gospel of love. *Secondly*, it is a poor preparation of mind and heart for work on the part of the white brother. It takes an unusual amount of grace to keep him warmly interested in the spiritual welfare of those who are leagued in unrelenting warfare against what he believes to be his political interests.

3. *Northern influence.* This magnifies both the other troubles. The North freed the negro and clothed him with the right of citizenship. Northern politicians in Church and State, in religious and secular journals, never tire of boasting of the great achievement. They feel that the great war of subjugation waged against the South was well worth all the blood and treasure which it cost, because it furnished the occasion for striking the fetters from four millions of slaves, and for lifting men from the condition of chattels to the high dignity of citizenship. They are ruling out of history all other issues involved, all questions of constitutional law, of State sovereignty, and holding up to the world the one fact that the war freed and enfranchised the negro. On this fact they base a claim to the world's admiration. Even if they did not make such a parade of the boon conferred, it would be natural for the negro, and excusable in him, to look upon the

North as his benefactor. As a matter of fact he does cherish a lasting gratitude, and turns to the North to find there a political ally against his Southern master. He has unbounded confidence in the friendship of his liberator, and takes without suspicion his political creed from that quarter. All this is natural, and if the matter stopped here, the South would have little cause for reasonable complaint. The North hugs itself with sincere love and admiration for what it has done, and we can expect nothing else than that it should seek to guide the new political influence that it has called into existence. But when even religious journals of the North pervert the plainest facts of history in order to make the South responsible for the negro's present degraded condition, there is abundant ground of complaint. In a recent issue of the *New York Observer*, a writer, after describing the negro's condition in his native land of Africa, proceeds in the following strain: "In the land to which he was sold as a captive he has been treated worse than a beast. He has been taught that to think is a crime, to read is a severe penal offence, and to make himself a man, is a breaking of the law of nature and of God." This language is designed to make the impression that the negro's degradation is due to slavery. Only a short while since we felt called on to expostulate with the *Philadelphia Presbyterian* for admitting to its columns a communication charging in express terms the present ignorance of the negro to his former slavery. The same charge was recently made by a writer in the *Interior*. Here are the three leading journals of the Northern Presbyterian Church circulating the statement that slavery degraded the negro. They give to the statement the endorsement of their high authority. Yet every body knows, if he knows enough to entitle his opinions to a moment's consideration, that such was not the case. From the inauguration of slavery up to the date of emancipation the trend of the negro was unfalteringly upward. No one acquainted with the facts of the case doubts that. We are not defending slavery. It might be very wrong, and still the fact be as stated. The master's motive may not have been a desire for the slave's elevation. It may have been his duty to set the slave free and elevate him by

other methods. But results prove that the means which the master used to make the slave profitable were efficient in lifting him far above the low savage state in which he had previously existed. If it suited the purpose of Northern journals to give currency to truth, Southern writers would take pleasure in furnishing it to them free of cost. They might have such as the following from the recent book of Atticus G. Haygood, D. D., President of Emory College, Oxford, Ga.: "There are now (1881) nearly one million of the colored people in the communion of the various Christian Churches in the United States. Half this number were brought into the Church in the days of slavery; and though many so-called philanthropists saw in that institution only the hand of Satan, the old plantations were nevertheless to thousands of God's chosen places for their regeneration; it was doubtless his will that they should remain in slavery that they might become possessors of a higher and nobler freedom—freedom from the dominion of sin." The man who penned these lines lives where the history of slavery was wrought out, and he draws from the stores of that history, and not from the fancies of a heated imagination. He further says: "Seeing that the greatest fact in African slavery in the United States is the Christianising of hundreds of thousands of them, I conclude that Christianising them was the grand providential design in their coming to this country." It does not suit the purpose of our Northern friends to recognise this "*greatest* fact in African slavery in the United States." It is more in harmony with their feelings to say that African slavery made *beasts* of the negroes, than to say that it made *Christians* of half a million of them; and they consult their feelings regardless of history. Up to the date of emancipation the negro was slowly but surely mounting upward. Since that date there is grave doubt on many well informed minds as to the direction in which he is tending. During the existence of slavery his low, depraved will was under control of a higher power, which, for selfish purposes, if you will, restrained it from many hurtful forms of vice. Now the restraint is taken off and liberty is used for other than virtuous ends. Such being the state of the case, it is unjust in the North, cruelly unjust, to their South-




ern brethren to instil into the mind of the negro the belief that whatever is unhappy in his present condition is due to the tyranny of his former master; that all that makes him to differ in social and intellectual standing from his white neighbor is due to the barbarity of that white neighbor. It is very easy to induce the negro to believe this; and then when he reflects that this white neighbor relaxed his grip on him at the point of the bayonet, it is easy to persuade him that the same barbarous spirit still dwells in the breast of his white neighbor, and that he would, if he could, put him back in bondage. Thousands of the negroes firmly believe this, and it suits scheming politicians to encourage the belief. They hold the negro to his party fealty by filling his mind with fears of being remanded to slavery in case the South gets possession of the national government. It is easy now to see how hard it is for the whites, who, despite the social and political antagonisms that are thus constantly stimulated, are willing to devote themselves to the work of evangelising the negro, to win their confidence, and get near enough their hearts to influence them for good.

4. These unfriendly social and political relations which exist between the two races keep the Southern Presbyterian Church in such a timid apprehensive frame that up to this time it has merely tacked its small following of colored churches on to its skirts as a loose fringe. It has not incorporated them into its own organic structure.<sup>1</sup> It ordains colored preachers under special provision, and does not apply in their case the great bed-rock principle of Presbyterianism—the parity of the ministry.

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<sup>1</sup>It is true, as our correspondent says, that our Church “does not incorporate a colored membership into its own organic structure.” For various reasons it could not and would not do this. But, on the other hand, it is hardly fair to say it “tacks them on as a loose fringe.” The reader will find in Minutes of our Assembly for 1869 the details of the plan adopted for commencing and carrying out the organisation of an African Presbyterian Church. The idea is to help the colored Presbyterians to have churches of their own, officered by their own men, and growing into Presbyteries, Synods, and a General Assembly of their own. It is the belief of our people that this is what the colored people wish and ought to have.—EDS. S. P. REVIEW.

Although the General Assembly of 1882, in what is known as the Park case, declared that their ordination, though irregular, did nevertheless place them on the same plane, and entitle them to the same privileges with white ministers, yet the Church has practically ignored that action. Many of the colored preachers and churches are not reported to the General Assembly. Their names are not found in the Minutes of that body; and it is perhaps the exception, and not the rule, if either church or preacher is mentioned on the floor of any Presbytery. Their relation to our Church is anything but intimate, and if it may be described as vital, it is vitality of the lowest order. "The spider's most attenuated thread is cord, is cable" to the tender tie that binds them to us. But there is wide-spread uneasiness lest this should result in harm. Strange as it may seem, the General Assembly of 1883, in answer to overtures on the subject, "*Resolved*, That the Synods be advised and instructed to organise the colored ministers and churches under their care into separate Presbyteries as speedily as they can do so consistently with a wise regard to stability and growth, and that these Presbyteries should be formed into an independent Synod by the General Assembly as soon as the way may be clear." Even before this action of the Assembly, the Synod of Virginia, by far the most potent synodical factor in the Church, had taken the matter under serious advisement. At its meeting in the fall of 1882, it appointed a committee to consider the feasibility of forming an independent colored Presbytery within its own bounds. That committee met in the city of Lynchburg in the ensuing December, and found, after careful investigation, that there was just a sufficient number, *with not one to spare*, of colored preachers in the State of Virginia to form a constitutional Presbytery. They also discovered that these three preachers lived so far apart that it would hopelessly bankrupt their churches to meet the necessary expenses incident to a meeting of the proposed Presbytery. They reported the facts to the Synod, and recommended that we brave the danger a while longer and wait for further developments. It is not to the present purpose to discuss the reasonableness of our timidity. Its influence, whether reasonable or unreasonable, will



tell just the same on our work ; and, to say the least, it furnishes little ground of encouragement to believe that we are going to do more in the future than we have done in the past. It is morally certain that our labors in behalf of this people are not going to be very vigorous when we do not wish more of them in our Church than will barely serve as a nucleus for an independent organisation. We have shown in the plainest manner that even now we are afraid that too many may be gathered into our communion. Will we expend much effort to bring in others when we are gravely considering how to get rid of those we already have? Is it not manifest that our zeal for their spiritual good is subordinate to our concern for the safety of our white Church? We have evidently reached a point when, for some reason invisible to weak eyes, our venerable leaders think this safety is imperilled, and this must greatly abate whatever ardor was before felt in the work of evangelising the negroes. We are holding ourselves in readiness to shake them off just as soon as it is possible to do so without destroying their organic existence.

We come now to inquire whether there may not be "a more excellent way." Is it not a discredit to our Church to pursue such a timid and inefficient policy, where interests so momentous are involved? Can we not establish a relation between the colored people and our Church which will be more satisfactory to both parties, and productive of more good? Our present relation serves only to remind the negro of our fixed purpose to keep him in a position of subordination. We are not only careful to hold him at arm's length, but our attitude shows him that as soon as he gets strong enough to stand the shock we intend to push him a little further away. We have shown him that the knife is in readiness to sever the cord that now binds him to us just as soon as he has vitality enough to stand the operation. The writer should have spoken with more reserve in condemnation of our past and present policy, if he had not been prepared to offer what, in his humble judgment, is better. Whether actually better or not, what he has to offer is simply this: that we turn the *management* of the whole work over to the Northern Church, and that we co operate with that Church in the way of sending

young men to their schools to be educated, and contributing of our money to their support. As already noted, we have, through our General Assembly, committed ourselves to the opinion that our work is limited to the one item of educating a colored ministry; and it will not be questioned by those informed on the subject that it is substantially all that we are now trying to do. Can we not do this work much more efficiently by availing ourselves of the facilities afforded by our Northern brethren? In answering this question affirmatively, we will submit a few considerations:

1. The Northern Church has better schools. We might speak of the three universities, Lincoln, Howard, and Biddle, to all of which the Northern Church sustains a more or less intimate and influential relation. The organisation, character, condition, and prospects of Lincoln were set forth to the Synod of Virginia at its recent session in Wytheville, Va., by one of its distinguished professors. This brother made no request for himself or the university, except an opportunity to present the fact that it was doing a work in which the Synod might well take an active interest. He offered such convincing proof of the eminently orthodox character of the faculty, of the painstaking fidelity of the large and able board of directors, of the high standard of scholarship aimed at, of the warm religious atmosphere which pervades the institution, and of the blessed results achieved in Christianising students, and sending forth earnest and well-equipped young men to preach the gospel both in this country and Africa, as completely won the confidence and enlisted the sympathy of all who enjoyed the rare privilege of hearing him. The Synod showed its confidence in the men at the head of Lincoln and in the work done by them in a practical way by at once proceeding to elect an *alumnus* of that institution to the responsible position of Synodical evangelist to the colored people. The enthusiasm which the speaker had awakened was manifest when seven hundred dollars were asked for the support of this evangelist. In almost less time than it takes to tell about it, the whole amount was pledged by the representatives of some of the wealthier churches of the Synod. Lincoln University is amply provided with schol-

arships, upon which they are constrained to place men from the Methodist and Baptist Churches, because men from the Presbyterian Church are not forthcoming. It is known that the authorities there would gladly take all our candidates, educate them free of expense to us, and then, if we so desired, return them to us to be used at our discretion.

Passing by Howard University, about which our information is scant, we would speak more particularly of Biddle, the only one of the three situated in the South, and the only one under the direct management of the General Assembly, North. This institution is situated at Charlotte, N. C. It has a property in buildings and grounds valued at \$70,000. Its faculty is composed of thirteen professors, assistant professors, and tutors in English. The course of study embraces an elementary and a preparatory course in English, a classical and theological course, in all covering a period of thirteen years. Now, if this school does not offer better facilities for acquiring an education than our Institute at Tuscaloosa, then facts have lost their meaning. It takes the pupil at any stage of his progress and opens before him the road to a liberal and professional education. It does not try to cram systematic theology into a mind that has not yet opened sufficiently to admit the three Rs. It does not try to point out the somewhat abstruse principles of hermeneutics to him whose mental vision is not yet trained to distinguish any "method in the madness" of English grammar. It proposes to begin at the beginning, and lay a foundation before erecting a superstructure. Its idea is to carry up the walls before putting on the roof. The men at the head of this institution are worthy of our Church's confidence and esteem. Those who know them best are loudest in their praise. Of this institution, Rev. Drury Lacy, D. D., of blessed memory, said: "I am prepared to vouch for its importance, both to the country and the world; and I firmly believe it is doing a greater work for missions, foreign and domestic, than any mission at home or abroad. If the Northern people wish to do good with their money, they cannot give it to any more worthy object than Biddle University." We could multiply testimonials of like nature from brethren of our

Church who are in a position to know whereof they affirm. Here, then, is a school of high order, fully equipped, ably manned, and with ample accommodations. The brethren there are doing the very work which we wish done. They teach Calvinistic doctrine and Presbyterian polity in the use of the very text-books that we ourselves would select if the matter were referred to us. It is not exhibiting any lack of loyalty to our own Church to say they are doing this work far more efficiently than we can possibly do it with our present facilities, or with any facilities which we are ever likely to command. Let us apply the golden rule: if we were in quest of an education, into which institution, Biddle University or Tuscaloosa Institute, should we prefer that the hand of benevolence should usher us? That brother's thirst for knowledge is not very ardent who, knowing the comparative merits of the two schools, would give the preference to Tuscaloosa.

2. This recommendation is in the interest of economy. It is not wise to multiply agencies beyond the demands of the work to be accomplished. During the eight years' existence of Tuscaloosa Institute, it has cost about \$230 *per annum* to keep a student there. At Biddle the cost is only \$90. We are not for estimating the value of all church work in dollars and cents. In fact, we have no sympathy with those who think that the first duty of the Church is to study economy of administration. But if the cheapest of two articles is also the best, it is putting great contempt not only on commercial prudence, but on common sense, not to practise economy. We can keep five students in Biddle for what it costs to keep two in Tuscaloosa. Moreover, we release two ministers from professorial chairs to occupy vacant pulpits that are calling aloud for their services. We are neither so plethoric of purse nor so overstocked with preachers that we should exert ourselves to be prodigal. If there were any reason to believe that our prodigality was promoting the interests of our Church, or ministering in the most efficient manner to the good of its objects, we should say nothing against it. But it is clearly not our purpose to advance the interests of our own Church, as we have already announced our purpose to separate the colored

people entirely from us; and it is even more clear that our prodigality, instead of ministering in the most efficient manner to the good of those who are the objects of it, is really making victims of them by giving them the least valuable of two benefits, either of which it is equally in our power to give them. As we do not propose to make the colored people permanently a constituent element of our Church, it is hard to see any selfish end that we are to serve by educating a colored ministry. Every consideration would seem to be eliminated except the interest of the colored people themselves. If then we conserve their interest more effectually at a cost of \$90 at Biddle than at a cost of \$230 at Tuscaloosa, surely it is allowable to put in a plea for economy.

3. When one of our pupils comes out from Tuscaloosa Institute, we cannot license him to preach without violating the Constitution of our Church. We must utterly disregard our standard of ministerial education, and in deference to a black skin open the door wide enough for illiteracy to come in. And yet it is hardly proper to speak of these illiterate men as *coming in*; for even after licensure and ordination, they are hardly in far enough to feel any protection from the cold. They are not in far enough to hang up their hats and feel at home. By licensure and ordination they are introduced into a newly-discovered territory of ministerial rights and privileges. They can preach to their own color and bear rule in the congregational presbytery. But this is the limit of their prerogatives. While the white presbyters have complete jurisdiction over them, they have no more voice in directing the affairs of the white churches than if they belonged to another denomination. They are called *Presbyterian preachers*, but they have few marks of the class. They are not educated; and they are not eligible to a seat in any court above the Session. It is rather a careless use of language to speak of them as being in our Church; they are merely tacked on; and we take pains to tack them on very loosely, so that we can easily rip them off. It is not necessary to do more than to point out this anomalous relation to show that we cannot direct their labors and help them on to great achievements in the service

of the Master. We have very little to do with them, and will suffer them to have nothing to do with us. The attitude of the Northern Church is altogether different. It incorporates the colored element into its own organic structure. When a candidate comes out from Lincoln, Howard, or Biddle, they try him by the same test as in the case of the student from Princeton or Union; and when they license and ordain him, they admit him to the same rights and privileges. It is only a little while since a colored preacher moderated the Presbytery of Baltimore. The Synod of Atlantic has a majority of colored ministers, and they enjoy full and equal rights with their white brethren. Owing to this attitude of the Northern Church, there is never any difficulty about a field of labor when they have the man. There are vacant churches scattered all over the land calling for him; and a limitless field of evangelistic work lying beyond. A fund of about \$100,000 is annually raised to furnish all needed assistance; and the work is thus carried systematically and constantly forward.

4. The Northern Church has the confidence of the negro, and can influence him much more powerfully for good. It is in sympathy with him, and the negro knows it, and in consequence will listen to its teachers with a much more docile spirit. We are aware that objection may be made to the views we advocate on the ground that the Northern Church will take advantage of the negro's confidence to instil notions obnoxious to us. It may be thought by some that we cannot afford to turn the negro over to that Church to be moulded by an influence that is hostile to us. To this it is sufficient to reply that we could not if we would keep the negro from under Northern influence. That influence is rapidly extending all over the South. Even now the Northern Church has congregations in nearly every Southern State, listening every Sabbath to its preachers. What little we are doing will not have a perceptible effect in staying the spread of their influence. The danger is that the *kind* of work we are doing by being brought into contrast with theirs will hasten rather than retard its spread. Already the knowledge of the superior advantages afforded by their schools, and the more sympathetic



relations which they sustain to the students has reached the inmates of Tuscaloosa Institute and become a disturbing element. Moreover, what will become of the independent Presbyteries and Synods which we propose to form? Can any one, after five minutes' reflection, believe that they will remain independent and isolated any longer than it will take the Northern Presbyterian Church to make proposals of union? Of course these proposals will be made, for the Northern Church is particularly fond of forming such unions, and has proved in an unmistakable manner its desire to gather into its sheltering fold the freedmen of the South. When these proposals are made, does any one suppose that the negroes will have so little discernment as not to perceive that they have everything to gain by acceding to them? That such will be the destiny of our independent Church in case we ever gather sufficient material for its organisation is made further evident by the fact that some of the colored churches that once belonged to us went that way without waiting for us to set them free. The only difference between giving them to the North now and waiting for them to give themselves, is that in the mean time we are fastening on them our poorly equipped preachers, and spoiling material which the Northern Church could use to much better purpose. We may further add that the least objectionable channel through which the dreaded influence can spread, is through such an institution as Biddle University. The brethren with whom the negroes are there brought into contact are not politicians. They have no scheme of self-promotion to advance by stimulating the negro's prejudice against his former master. They have come down into the midst of us on a mission of love, and their great aim is to lift the negro from his present low moral and intellectual plane into a region of sunlight and purity. If, in admitting the negro to friendly and intimate social intercourse, they exalt him in his own esteem, it is not for the purpose of exciting hatred against the Southern whites who refuse him social recognition, but it is for the purpose of inspiring those sentiments of self-respect and that pride of character which are essential elements of a true and noble manhood. If we are to be hurt at all by the influence which emanates from that institution,

the evil will certainly not be aggravated by our manifesting a friendly and fraternal spirit. We are not to be understood as questioning the wisdom of our Church in refusing to fuse with the colored people. It may be that our social and political relations are such that we ought not to do it. Yet it seems evident that the Church which does this is the one that will do most to lift the negro up to a higher plane of intelligence and Christian morality. The Northern Church does this, and can afford to do it with far less danger of social embarrassments springing from it. If it is wise to turn our efforts into the channel where they will do the most good, it is true policy for us to reach the negro through Northern agency.

5. This plan further commends itself to the writer, because there is no other way in which we can so well give practical expression to the spirit of fraternity. The negro was the bone of contention. He was the innocent occasion of a great breach that has been sinful and shameful, and that is not yet closed. We have recently extended to each other the hand of Christian fellowship. If, indeed, a more brotherly spirit pervades our two Churches, in what way could we so becomingly exhibit the fact as in joining heart and hand in a work which has for its object the rescue of the poor negro, over whom we have quarrelled so long and so bitterly? He made the chasm that separates us; let us use him to bridge it. He drove us apart; let him now draw us together. Possibly those who are always looking at the end before making a beginning are opposed to coöperation for the very reason that it would draw us nearer together. Many of our most useful and eminent brethren think that the two Churches are as near to each other now as is safe and healthful for our Church. But we believe and the belief awakens no feeling of sadness, that the conviction is gaining ground among us that we can well afford to cherish a much more fraternal spirit towards our brethren of the Northern Church; and that no harm will result from our getting nearer together than we now are if we are drawn by cords that are at the same time drawing us nearer to Christ. Possibly it may hereafter appear that our Northern brethren have followed more closely than we in the foot-steps of

the divine Master, in that they have gone down into the pit after their fallen brother, and with their heart beating against his heart, have put under him the hand of Christian sympathy and love, while we have stood above, fearing to do more than throw him a rope, lest his touch should pollute us. In view of this possibility, let us beware how we make a virtue of our persistent estrangement.

R. C. REED.

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ARTICLE IV.

"THE SIX DAYS."

Half a century ago the news came to Princeton that Benjamin Silliman had espoused the doctrine of the "Demiurgic Days." Boys and men of that date can remember the shock. The College felt it less keenly, but the Seminary appeared dazed. Yale seemed to have struck a blow at the very heart of inspiration.

Time passed, and Arnold Guyot, out of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, came first to Cambridge, and then to our Jersey village, and, after Dr. Alexander and Dr. Miller were in their graves, recited a belief much more extreme than Silliman's, and, strange to say, found that twenty years had entirely brought over the minds of Presbyterians. At least that was received with respect which had been treated with horror, and the writer can well recall how the venerable of that after date, incomparable judges as we all supposed of what was safe and even rigid in scriptural gloss, smiled upon the Swiss exegete, and accepted as almost a divine light what his lectures exhibited.

One feels like what the children call a "loony," or as though he were doing a shameful thing, like picking a pocket, if he say those older professors were right, and Arnold Guyot and the eminent gentlemen who followed were and are most dangerously wrong.

What is really the fulcrum of the "Higher Criticism"? Un-